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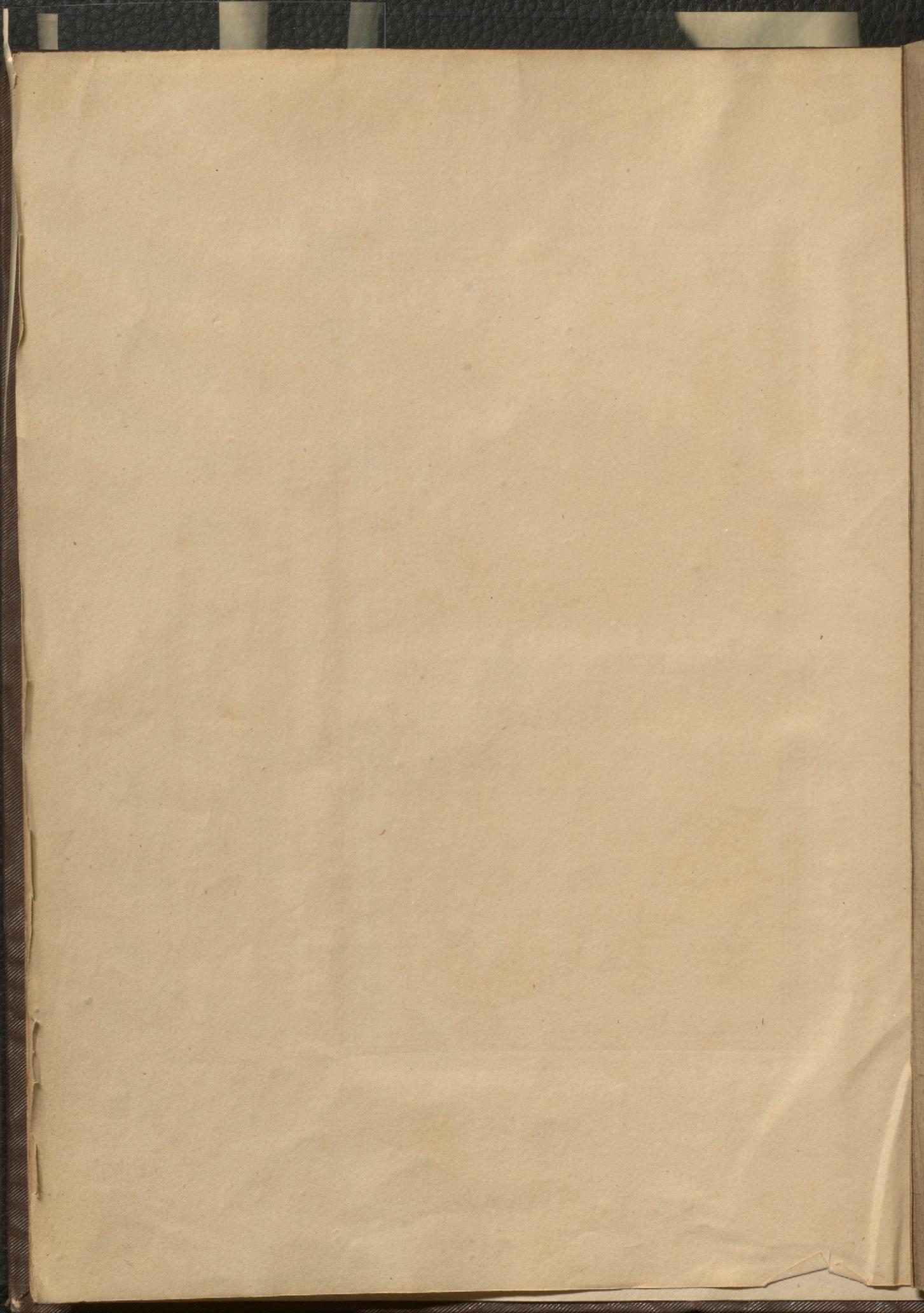
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① - ⑫ = order in this vol.

i - xii = order as catalogued

iii is ⑧, otherwise the order is
the same.



36

L A W

I S A

Bottomless-Pit.

Exemplify'd in the CASE of

The Lord Strutt, John Bull,

Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon.

Who spent all they had in a Law-Suit.

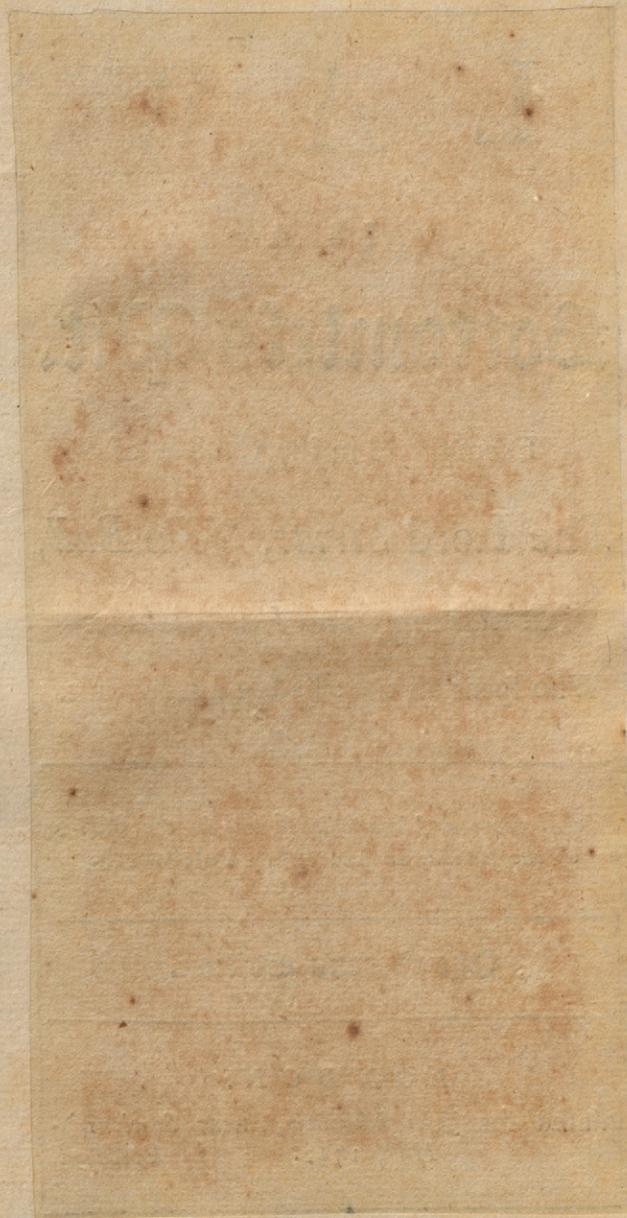
*Printed from a Manuscript found in the Cabinet
of the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth.*

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N .

Printed for *John Morphew, near Stationer's-
Hall, 1712.* Price 3d.

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Law

Law is a Bottomless-Pit.

C H A P. I.

The Oeasion of the Law-Suit.

I Need not tell you of the great Quarrels that have happen'd in our Neighbourhood, since the Death of the late Lord *Strutt*; how the Parson and a cunning Attorney, got him to settle his Estate upon his Cousin *Philip Baboon*, to the great Disappointment of his Cousin Esquire *South*. Some stick not to say, that the Parson and the Attorney forg'd a Will, for which they were well paid by the Family of the *Baboons*: Let that be as it will, it is matter of Fact, that the Honour and Estate have continued ever since in the Person of *Philip Baboon*.

You know that the Lord *Strutts* have for many Years been possess'd of a very great Landed Estate, well condition'd, wooded, water'd, with Coal, Salt, Tin, Copper, Iron, &c. all within themselves; that it has been the Misfortune of that Family, to be the Property of their Stewards, Tradefmen, and inferior Servants, which has brought great Incumbrances upon them; at the same time, not abating of their expensive way of Living, has forc'd them to Mortgage their best Manors: It is credibly reported, that the Butchers and Bakers Bills of a Lord *Strutt* that lived Two hundred Years ago, are not yet paid.

When *Philip Baboon* came first to the Possession of the Lord *Strutt's* Estate, his Tradefmen, as is usual upon

upon such Occasions, waited upon him to wish him Joy, and bespeak his Custom: The two chief were *John Bull* the Clothier, and *Nic. Frog* the Linnen-draper; they told him, that the *Bulls* and *Frogs* had serv'd the Lord *Strutts* with Drapery Ware for many Years; that they were honest and fair Dealers; that their Bills had never been question'd; that the Lord *Strutts* lived generously, and never used to dirty their Fingers with Pen, Ink and Counters; that his Lordship might depend upon their Honesty, that they would use him as kindly as they had done his Predecessors. The Young Lord seem'd to take all in good part, and dismiss'd them with a deal of seeming Content, assuring them he did not intend to change any of the honourable Maxims of his Predecessors.

C H A P. II.

How Bull and Frog grew jealous that the Lord Strutt intended to give all his Custom to his Grandfather Lewis Baboon.

IT happen'd unfortunately for the Peace of our Neighbourhood, that this Young Lord had an old cunning Rogue (or as the *Scots* call it) a *false Loon*, of a Grandfather, that one might justly call a *Jack of all Trades*; sometimes you would see him behind his Counter selling Broad Cloath, sometimes measuring Linnen, next Day he would be dealing in Mercery Ware; high Heads, Ribbons, Gloves, Fans and Lace he understood to a Nicety; *Charles Mather* could not Bubble a young Beau better with a Toy; nay, he would descend ev'n to the selling of Tape, Garters, and Shooe-Buckles: When Shop was shut up, he would go about the Neighbourhood
and

and earn Half a Crown by teaching the young Men and Maids to Dance. By these Methods he had acquir'd immense Riches, which he us'd to squander away at Back-Sword, Quarter-Staff, and Cudgell-Play, in which he took great Pleasure, and challeng'd all the Country. You will say it is no wonder if *Bull* and *Frog* should be jealous of this Fellow. ' It is not impossible (says *Frog* to *Bull*) but this ' old Rogue will take the Management of the ' young Lord's Business into his Hands; besides, the ' Rascal has good Ware, and will serve him as cheap ' as any Body in that Case: I leave you to judge ' what must become of us and our Families, we must ' starve or turn Journeymen to old *Lewis Baboon*; ' therefore, Neighbour, I hold it adviãble, that we ' write to young Lord *Strutt* to know the Bottom ' of this Matter.

C H A P. III.

A Copy of Bull and Frog's Letter to Lord Strutt.

My LORD,

I Suppose your Lordship knows that the Bulls and the Frogs have served the Lord Strutts with all Sorts of Drapery Ware, time out of Mind; and whereas we are jealous, not without Reason, that your Lordship intends henceforth to buy of your Grandfire old *Lewis Baboon*; this is to inform your Lordship, that this Proceeding does not suit with the Circumstances of our Families, who have lived and made a good Figure in the World by the Generosity of the Lord Strutts: Therefore we think fit to acquaint your Lordship, that you must find sufficient Security to us, our Heirs and Assigns, that you will not employ *Lewis Baboon*, or else we will take our Remedy at Law, clap an Action upon you of 20000 l. for old Debts, seize
and

and restrain your Goods and Chattels, which, considering your Lordships Circumstances, will plunge you into Difficulties, from which it will not be easie to extricate your self; therefore we hope, when your Lordship has better considered on it, you will comply with the Desire of

Your loving Friends,

*John Bull,
Nic. Frog.*

Some of *Bull's* Friends advised him to take gentler Methods with the young Lord; but *John* naturally lov'd rough Play. It is impossible to express the Surprize of the Lord *Strutt* upon the Receipt of this Letter; he was not flush in Ready, either to go to Law or clear old Debts, neither could he find good Bail: He offer'd to bring Matters to a friendly Accommodation; and promis'd upon his Word of Honour, that he would not change his Drapers; but all to no purpose, for *Bull* and *Frog* saw clearly, that old *Lewis* would have the Cheating of him.

C H A P. IV.

How Bull and Frog went to Law with Lord Strutt about the Premisses, and were joined by the rest of the Tradesmen.

ALL Endeavours of Accommodation between Lord *Strutt* and his Drapers prov'd vain, Jealousies encreas'd, and indeed it was rumour'd abroad that Lord *Strutt* had bespoke his new Liveries of old *Lewis Baboon*. This coming to Mrs. *Bull's* Ears, when *John Bull* came Home he found all his Family in an uproar. Mrs. *Bull* you must know was very apt to be Choleric. You Set, says she, you loyter

loyter about Alehouses and Taverns, spend your Time at Billiards, Nine-pins or Puppet-shows, or flaunt about the Streets in your new gilt Chariot, never minding me nor your numerous Family; don't you hear how Lord Strutt has bespoke his Liveries at Lewis Baboon's Shop? don't you see how that old Fox steals away your Customers, and turns you out of your Business every day, and you sit like an idle Drone with your hands in your Pockets? Fie upon't, up Man, rouse thy self; I'll sell to my Shift before I'll be so used by that Knave. You must think Mrs Bull had been pretty well tun'd up by Frog, who chim'd in with her learn'd Harangue. No further delay now, but to Counsel learned in the Law they go, who unanimously assur'd 'em both of the Justice and infallible Success of their Law-Suit.

I told you before, that old Lewis Baboon was a sort of a Jack of all Trades, which made the rest of the Tradesmen jealous, as well as Bull and Frog; they hearing of the Quarrel, were glad of an Opportunity of joining against old Lewis Baboon, provided that Bull and Frog would bear the Charges of the Suit; even Lying Ned the Chimney-sweeper and Tom the Dustman put in their Claims, and the Cause was put into the Hands of Humphrey Hocus the Attorney.

A Declaration was drawn up to shew, ' That Bull
' and Frog had undoubted Right by Prescription to
' be Drapers to the Lord Strutts; that there were
' were several old Contracts to that purpose; that
' Lewis Baboon had taken up the Trade of Clothier
' and Draper, without serving his Time, or pur-
' chasing his Freedom; that he sold Goods that
' were not Marketable, without the Stamp; that
' he himself was more fit for a Bully than a Trades-
' man, and went about through all the Country
' Fairs challenging People to fight Prizes, Wrest-
' ling and Cudgel-Play: and abundance more to this
purpose.

C H A P. V.

*The true Characters of John Bull, Nic. Frog,
and Hocus.*

FOR the better understanding the following History, the Reader ought to know, That *Bull*, in the main, was an honest plain-dealing Fellow, Cholerick, Bold, and of a very unconstant Temper, he dreaded not Old *Lewis* either at Back-Sword, single Faulcion, or Cudgél-play; but then he was very apt to quarrel with his best Friends, especially if they pretended to govern him: If you flatter'd him, you might lead him like a Child. *John's* Temper depended very much upon the Air; his Spirits rose and fell with the Weather-glass. *John* was quick, and understood his business very well, but no Man alive was more careless, in looking into his Accounts, or more cheated by Partners, Apprentices, and Servants: This was occasioned by his being a Boon-Companion, loving his Bottle and his Diversion; for to say Truth, no Man kept a better House than *John*, nor spent his Money more generously. By plain and fair dealing, *John* had acquir'd some Plumbs, and might have kept them, had it not been for his unhappy Law-Suit.

Nic. Frog was a cunning sly Whoreson, quite the reverse of *John* in many Particulars; Covetous, Frugal; minded domestick Affairs; would pine his Belly to save his Pocket, never lost a Farthing by careless Servants, or bad Debtors: He did not care much for any sort of Diversions, except Tricks of *High German* Artists, and *Leger de main*; no Man exceded *Nic.* in these, yet it must be own'd, That *Nic.* was a fair Dealer, and in that way had acquir'd immense Riches.

Hocus was an old cunning Attorney, what he wanted of Skill in Law, was made up by a Clerk which he kept, that was the prettiest Fellow in the World; he lov'd Money, was smooth-tongu'd, gave good Words, and seldom lost his Temper: He was not worse than an Infidel; for he provided plentifully for his Family, but he lov'd himself better than them all: He had a termagant Wife, and, as the Neighbours said, was plagny Hen-peck'd; he was seldom observed, as some Attornies will practice, to give his own personal Evidence in Causes; he rather chose to do it *per test. conduct.* in a word, the Man was very well for an Attorney.

C H A P. VI.

Of the various Success of the Law-Suit.

LAW is a Bottomless-Pit, it is a Cormorant, a Harpy, that devours every thing; *John Bull* was flatter'd by his Lawyers that his Suit would not last above a Year or two at most; that before that time he would be in quiet possession of his Business; yet ten long Years did *Hocus* steer his Cause through all the *Aleanders* of the Law, and all the Courts; no Skill, no Address, was wanting; and to say Truth, *John* did not starve the Cause; there wanted not *Yellow-boys* to see Counsel, hire Witnessess, and bribe Juries. Lord *Sruitt* was generally Cast, never had one Verdict in his favour; and *John* was promis'd, That the next and the next would be the final Determination; but alas! that final Determination, and happy Conclusion was like an enchanted Island, the nearer *John* came to it, the further it went from him: New Tryals upon new Points still arose; new Doubts, new Matters to be cleared; in short, Lawyers seldom part with so good a Cause till they have

got the Oyster, and their Clients the Shell. *John's* ready Mony, Book-Debts, Bonds, Mortgages, all went into the Lawyers Pockets; then *John* began to borrow Money upon *Bank-Stock*, *East-India* Bonds, now and then a Farm went to Pot: At last it was thought a good Expedient to set up Esquire *Soub's* Title to prove the Will forg'd, and dispossess *Philip* Lord *Strutt* at once; here again was a new Field for the Lawyers, and the Cause grew more intricate than ever. *John* grew madder and madder; wherever he met any of Lord *Strutt's* Servants he tore off their Cloaths: Now and then you would see them come home naked, without Shoes, Stockings, and Linnen. As for Old *Lewis Baboon*, he was reduc'd to his last Shift, tho' he had as many as any other: His Children were reduced from rich Silks to *Doily* Stuffs, his Servants in Rags and bare-footed, instead of good Victuals, they now lived upon Neck-Beef, and Bullocks-Liver; in short, no Body got much by the Matter, but the Men of Law.

C H A P. VII.

How John Bull was so mightily pleas'd with his Success, that he was going to leave off his Trade, and turn Lawyer.

IT is wisely observed by a great Philosopher, That Habit is a second Nature: This was verif'd in the Case of *John Bull*, who from an honest and plain Tradesman, had got such a haunt about the Courts of Justice, and such a Jargon of Law-words, That he concluded himself as able a Lawyer, as any that pleaded at the Bar, or sat on the Bench: He was overheard one Day, talking to himself after this manner, "How capriciously does Fate or Chance dispose of Mankind? How seldom is that Busi-
" nefs

" nefs allotted to a Man for which he is fitted by
 " Nature? It is plain, I was intended for a Man
 " of Law: How did my Guardians mistake my Ge-
 " nius, in placing me, like a mean Slave, behind a
 " Counter? Bless me! What immense Estates these
 " Fellows raise by the Law? Besides, it is the Pro-
 " fession of a Gentleman: What a Pleasure it is to
 " be victorious in a Cause? To swagger at the Bar?
 " What a Fool am I to drudge any more in this
 " Woollen-Trade? for a Lawyer I was born, and
 " a Lawyer I will be; one is never too Old to
 " learn". All this while *John* had con'd over such
 a Catalogue of hard Words, as were enough to con-
 jure up the Devil; these he used to bubble indif-
 ferently in all Companies, especially at Coffee-hou-
 ses; so that his Neighbour Tradesmen began to shun
 his Company as a Man that was crack'd. Instead
 of the Affairs of *Blackwell-Hall*, and Price of Broad-
 cloath, Wool, and Bayses, he talk'd of nothing but
Actions upon the Case, Returns, Capias, Alias capias, De-
murrers, Venire facias, Replevins, Superseda's, Certiora-
ri's, Writs of Error, Actions of Trover and Conversion,
Trespases, Precipes & Dedimus: This was matter of
 Jest to the learned in Law; however *Hocus*, and the
 rest of the Tribe, encourag'd *John* in his Fancy, as-
 suring him, That he had a great Genius for Law;
 That they question'd not but in time, he might raise
 Money enough by it to reimburse him of all his
 Charges; That if he study'd, he would undoubtedly
 arrive to the Dignity of a Lord Chief Justice; as
 for the Advice of honest Friends and Neighbours,
John despis'd it; he look'd upon them as Fellows of
 a low Genius, poor grovelling Mechanicks; *John*
 reckon'd it more Honour to have got one favourable
 Verdict, than to have sold a Bale of Broad-cloath.
 As for *Nic. Frog*, to say the Truth, he was more
 prudent, for tho' he follow'd his Law-Suit close-
 ly, he neglected not his ordinary Business, but
 was

was both in Court and in his Shop at the proper Hours.

C H A P. VIII.

How John discover'd that Hocus had an Intrigue with his Wife, and what follow'd thereupon.

John had not run on a madding so long, had it not been for an extravagant Bitch of a Wife, whom *Hocus* perceiving *John* to be fond of, was resolv'd to win over to his side. It is a true saying, *That the last Man of the Parish that knows of his Cuckoldom, is himself.* It was observed by all the Neighbourhood, that *Hocus* had Dealings with *John's* Wife, that were not so much for his Honour; but this was perceiv'd by *John* a little too late: She was a luxurious Jade, lov'd splendid Equipages, Plays, Treats and Balls, differing very much from the sober Manners of her Ancestors, and by no means fit for a Tradesman's Wife. *Hocus* fed her Extravagancy (what was still more shameful) with *John's* own Money. Every body said that *Hocus* had a Month's mind to her Body; be that as it will, it is matter of Fact, that upon all occasions she run out extravagantly on the Praise of *Hocus*. When *John* us'd to be finding fault with his Bills, she us'd to reproach him as ungrateful to his greatest Benefactor; One that had taken so much pains in his Law-Suit, and retriev'd his Family from the Oppression of Old *Lewis Baboon*. A good swinging Sum of *John's* readiest Cash, went towards building of *Hocus's* Country-House. This Affair between *Hocus* and Mrs. *Bull* was now so open, that all the World were scandaliz'd at it; *John* was not so Clod-pated, but at last he took the Hint. The Parson of the Parish preaching one Day a little sharply against Adultery, Mrs. *Bull* told her Husband,

band, That he was a very uncivil Fellow to use such course Language before People of Condition, That *Hocus* was of the sane mind, and that they would join to have him turn'd out of his Living for using personal Reflections. How do you mean, says *John*, by personal Reflections? I hope in God, Wife, he did not reflect upon you. " No, thank God, my Reputation is too well established in the World to receive any hurt from such a foul-mouth'd Scoundrel as he; his Doctrine tends only to make Husbands Tyrants, and Wives Slaves; must we be shut up, and Husbands left to their liberty? Very pretty indeed; a Wife must never go abroad with a Platonick to see a Play or a Ball, she must never stir without her Husband; nor walk in *Spring-Garden* with a Cousin. I do say, Husband, and I will stand by it, That without the innocent Freedoms of Life, Matrimony would be a most intolerable State, and that a Wife's Vertue, ought to be the result of her own Reason, and not of her Husband's Government; for my part, I would scorn a Husband that would be Jealous, if he saw a Fellow a-bed with me". All this while *John's* Blood boil'd in his Veins, he was now confirm'd in all his Suspicions; Jade, Bitch and Whore were the best Words that *John* gave her. Things went from better to worse, 'till Mrs. *Bull* aim'd a Knife at *John*, tho' *John* threw a Bottle at her Head very brutally indeed: After this there was nothing but Confusion; Bottles, Glasses, Spoons, Plates, Knives, Forks, and Dishes flew about like Dust, the result of which was, That Mrs. *Bull* receiv'd a bruise in her Right-side, of which she dy'd half a Year after: The Bruise inposthumated, and afterwards turn'd to a stinking Ulcer, which made every body shie to come near her she smelt so; yet she wanted not the help of many able Physicians, who attended very diligently, and did what Men of Skill could

do, but all to no purpose, for her Condition was now quite desperate, all regular Physicians and her nearest Relations having giv'n her over.

C H A P. IX.

How Signior Cavallo, an Italian Quack, undertook to Cure Mrs. Bull of her Ulcer.

THERE is nothing so impossible in Nature, but Mountebanks will undertake; nothing so incredible, but they will affirm: Mrs. Bull's Condition was look'd upon as desperate by all the Men of Art; then Signior Cavallo judg'd it was high time for him to interpose, he bragg'd that he had an infallible Ointment and Plaister, which being applied to the Sore would Cure it in a few Days; at the same time he would give her a Pill that would purge off all her bad Humours, sweeten her Blood, and rectifie her disturb'd Imagination: In spite of all Signior Cavallo's Applications the Patient grew worse, every Day she stank so no Body durst come within a Stone's throw of her, except Signior Cavallo and his Wife, whom he sent every Day to Dress her, she having a very gentle soft Hand. All this while Signior apprehended no Danger. If one ask'd him how Mrs. Bull did? Better and better, says Signior Cavallo; the Parts heal, and her Constitution mends; if she submits to my Government, she will be abroad in a little time. Nay it is reported, that he wrote to her Friends in the Country, that she should dance a Jig next *October* in *Westminster-Hall*; that her Illness had been chiefly owing to bad Physicians. At last Signior one Day was sent for in great haste, his Patient growing worse and worse; when he came he affirmed, that it was a gross Mi-
makes

stake, that she was never in a fairer way : Bring hither the Salve, says he, and give her a plentiful Draught of my Cordial. As he was applying his Ointments, and administering the Cordial, the Patient gave up the Ghost, to the great Confusion of Signior Cavallo, and the great Joy of Bull and his Friends. Signior flung away out of the House in great disorder, and swore there was foul Play, for he was sure his Medicines were infallible. Mrs. Bull having dy'd without any Signs of Repentance or Devotion, the Clergy would hardly allow her Christian Burial. The Relations had once resolved to sue John for the Murder, but considering better of it, and that such a Trial would rip up old Sores, and discover things not so much to the Reputation of the Deceased, they drop'd their Design. She left no Will, only there was found in her strong Box the following Words wrote on a scrip of Paper, *My Curse on John Bull and all my Posterity, if ever they come to any Composition with my Lord Strutt.* There were many Epitaphs writ upon her, one was as follows ;

*Here lies John's Wife,
Plague of his Life ;
She spent his Wealth,
She wrong'd his Health,
And left him Daughters three
As bad as she.*

The Daughters Names were *Polemia, Discordia and Usuria.*

C H A P. X.

*Of John Bull's second Wife, and the good Advice
that she gave him.*

JOH^N quickly got the better of his Grief, and being that neither his Constitution, nor the Affairs of his Family could permit him to live in an unmarried State, he resolv'd to get him another Wife; a Cousin of his last Wife's was propos'd, but *John* would have no more of the Breed: In short, he wedded a sober Country Gentlewoman, of a good Family, and a plentiful Fortune; the reverse of the other in her Temper, not but that she lov'd Mony, for she was of a saving Temper, and apply'd her Fortune to pay *John's* clamorous Debts, that the unfrugal Methods of his last Wife, and this ruinous Law Suit, had brought him into. One day, as she had got her Husband in good Humour, she talk'd to him after the following manner. ' My Dear, since
' I have been your Wife I have observ'd great Abuses
' and Disorders in your Family; your Servants are
' mutinous and quarrelsome, and cheat you most abominably; your Cook-Maid is in a Combination
' with your Butcher, Poulterer and Fishmonger;
' your Butler purloins your Liquor, and your Brewer
' sells your Hogwash; your Baker cheats both in
' Weight and in Tale; even your Milkwoman and
' your Nursery-Maid have a Fellow-feeling; your
' Taylor, instead of Shreds, cabages whole Yards of
' Cloath; besides leaving such long Scores, and not
' going to Market with ready Mony, forces us to
' take bad Ware of the Tradesmen, at their own
' Price. You have not posted your Books these Ten
' Years; how is it possible for a Man of Business to
' keep his Affairs even in the World at this rate?
' Pray

‘ Pray God this *Hocus* be honest ; would to God you
 ‘ would look over his Bills, and see how Matters
 ‘ stand between *Frog* and you ; prodigious Sums are
 ‘ spent in this Law Suit, and more must be borrow’d
 ‘ of Scriveners and Usurers at heavy Interest ; be-
 ‘ sides, my Dear, let me beg of you to lay aside that
 ‘ wild Project of leaving your Business to turn Law-
 ‘ yer, for which, let me tell you, Nature never de-
 ‘ sign’d you. Believe me, these Rogues do but flat-
 ‘ ter, that they may pick your Pocket. *John* heard
 her all this while with patience, ’till she prick’d his
 Maggot, and touch’d him in the tender point ; then
 he broke out into a violent Passion, ‘ What, I not fit
 ‘ for a Lawyer ! let me tell you, my Clodpated Re-
 ‘ lations spoil’d the greatest Genins in World, when
 ‘ they bred me a Mechanick. Lord *Strutt* and his
 ‘ old Rogue of a Grandfire have found to their Cost,
 ‘ that I can manage a Law Suit as well as another.
 ‘ I don’t deny what you, says *Mrs. Bull*, nor do I
 ‘ call in question your Parts, but I say it does not
 ‘ suit with your Circumstances ; you and your Pre-
 ‘ decessors have liv’d in good Reputation among
 ‘ your Neighbours by this same Cloathing Trade,
 ‘ and it were madness to leave it off. Besides, there
 ‘ are few that know all the Tricks and Cheats of
 ‘ these Lawyers ; does not your own Experience
 ‘ teach you how they have drawn you on from one
 ‘ Term to another, and how you have danc’d the
 ‘ Round of all the Courts, still flattering you with
 ‘ a final Issue, and for ought I can see your Cause is
 ‘ not a bit clearer than it was seven Years ago. I
 ‘ will be Damn’d, says *John*, if I accept of any Com-
 ‘ position from *Strutt* or his Grandfather ; I’ll rather
 ‘ wheel about the Streets an Engine to grind Knives
 ‘ and Scissors ; however I’ll take your Advice, and
 ‘ look over my Accounts.

C H A P. XI.

How John look'd over his Attorney's Bill.

WHEN *John* first brought out the Bills, the Surprize of all the Family was unexpressible, at the prodigious Dimensions of them; in short, they would have measur'd with the best Bale of Cloath in *John's* Shop. Fees to Judges, puny Judges, Clerks, Prothonotaries, Philizers, Chirographers, Underclerks, Proclamators, Counsel, Witnesses, Jury-men, Marshals, Tipstuffs, Cryers, Porters; for Enrollings, Exemplifications, Bails, Vouchers, Returns, Caveats, Examinations, Filings of Words, Entries, Declarations, Replications, Recordats, *Nolle Prosequi's*, *Certiorari's*, *Mittimus*, Demurrers, Special Verdicts, Informations, *Scire Facias*, *Superseas*, *Habeas Corpus*, Coach-hire, Treating of Witnesses, &c. *Verily*, says *John*, there are a prodigious Number of learned Words in this Law, what a pretty Science it is! *Ay*, but *Husband*, you have paid for every Syllable and Letter of these fine Words; bless me, what immense Sums are at the bottom of the Accompt! *John* spent several Weeks in looking over his Bills, and by comparing and stating his Accompts, he discovered that, besides the Extravagance of every Article, he had been egregiously Cheated; that he had paid for Counsel that were never fee'd, for Writs that were never drawn, for Dinners that were never dress'd, and Journeys that were never made: In short, that *Hocus* and *Frog* had agreed to throw the Burden of the Law-Suit upon his Shoulders.

C H A P. XII.

*How John grew Angry, resolv'd to accept a Com-
position; and what Methods were practis'd by
the Lawyers for keeping him from it.*

WELL might the Learn'd *Daniel Burges* say,
That a Law-Suit is a Suit for Life. He that
sows his Grain upon Marble, will have many a hun-
gry Belly before Harvest. This *John* felt by woful
Experience. *John's* Cause was a good milch Cow,
and many a Man subsisted his Family out of it. How-
ever *John* began to think it high time to look about
him; he had a Cousin in the Country, one Sir *Roger*
Bold, whose Predecessors had been bred up to the
Law, and knew as much of it as any body; but
having left off the Profession for some time, they
took great pleasure in Compounding Law-Suits
amongst their Neighbours, for which they were the
Aversion of the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, and
at perpetual War with all the Country Attorneys.
John put his Cause in Sir *Roger's* Hands, desiring
him to make the best of it; the News had no sooner
reach'd the Ears of the Lawyers, but they were all
in an uproar: They brought all the rest of the
Tradesmen upon *John*: 'Squire *South* swore he was
betray'd, that he would starve before he compound-
ed; *Frog* said he was highly wrong'd; ev'n lying
Ned the Chimney-sweeper, and *Tom* the Dust-man
complain'd, that their Interest was sacrific'd: As
for *Hocus's* Wife, she took a Hackney-Chair and
came to *John's* House immediately, and fell a scold-
ing at his Wife like the Mother of *Belzebub*, ' You
' silly, awkward, ill-bred, Country Sow you,
' have you no more Manners than to rail at my
' Husband, that has sav'd that Clod-pated, Num-
' skull'd

skull'd Ninny-hammer of yours from Ruin, and all his Family? it is well known how he has rose early and fate up late to make him easy, when he was Sotting at every Ale-house in Town. I knew his last Wife, she was a Woman of breeding, good humour, and complaisance, knew how to live in the World; as for you, you look like a Puppet mov'd by Clock-work; your Cloaths hang upon you, as they were upon Tenter-hooks, and you come into a Room as you were going to steal away a Piss-pot; get you gone into the Country to look after your Mothers Poultry, to milk the Cows, churn the Butter, and dress up Nofegays for a Holy-day, and meddle not with Matters that you know no more of, than the Sign-post before your Door: It is well known that my Husband has an establish'd Reputation, he never swore an Oath, nor told a Lie in all his Life: He is grateful to his Benefactors, faithful to his Friends, liberal to his Dependants, and dutiful to his Superiours; he values not your Money more than the Dust under his Feet, but he hates to be abus'd: Once for all, Mrs. *Mynx*, leave off talking of my Husband; or I will pull out these Saucer-Eyes of yours, and make that red-streak Country-face look as raw as an Ox-Cheek upon a Butcher's Stall; remember, I say, that there are Pillories and Ducking-stools'. With this, away she flung, leaving Mrs. *Bull* no time to reply: No Stone was left unturn'd to fright *John* from this Composition. Sometimes they spread Reports at Coffee-houses, that *John* and his Wife were run mad; that they intended to give up House, and make over all their Estate to old *Lewis Baboon*; That *John* had been often heard talking to himself, and seen in the Streets without Shoes or Stockings; That he did nothing from Morning to Night but beat his

Servants,

Servants, after having been the best Master alive ; as for his Wife, she was a meer Natural. Sometimes *John's* House was beset with a whole Regiment of Attorneys Clerks, Bailiff and Bailiffs-Followers, and other small retainers of the Law, who threw Stones at his Windows, and Dirt at himself, as he went along the Street. When *John* complain'd of want of ready Money to carry on his Suit, they advis'd him to pawn his Plate and Jewels, and that Mrs. *Bull* should sell her Linnen and wearing Cloaths.

C H A P. XIII.

How the Lawyers agreed to send Don Diego Dimallo, the Conjuror, to John Bull, to dissuade him from making an end of his Law-Suit ; and what pass'd between them.

Bull. **H**OW does my good Friend *Don Diego* ?
Don. Never worse. Who can be easie when their Friends are playing the Fool ?

Bull. But then you may be easie, for I am resolv'd to play the Fool no longer : I wish I had hearken'd to your Advice, and compounded this Law-Suit sooner.

Don. It is true ; I was then against the ruinous ways of this Law-Suit, but looking over my Scheme since, I find there is an Error in my Calculation. *Sol* and *Jupiter* were in a wrong House, but I have now discovered their true Places : I tell you I find that the Stars are unanimously of Opinion, That you will be successful in this Cause ; That *Lewis* will come to an untimely End, and *Scrutt* will be turn'd out of Doors by his Wife and Children.

Then

Then he went on with a Torrent of Eclipticks, Cycles, Epicycles, Ascendants, Trines, Quadrants, Conjunctions, Bulls, Bears, Goats, and Rams, and abundance of hard Words, which being put together, signify'd nothing. *John* all this while stood gaping and staring, like a Man in a Trance.

F I N I S.

On *Tuesday* next will be Publish'd,

J O H N B U L L in his Senses : Being the Second Part of *Law is a Bottomless Pit*. Printed from a famous Manuscript found in the Cabinet of the famous Sir *Humphrey Polesworth*. Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. Price 3 d.

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John Bull in his Senses.

CHAP. I.

Mrs. Bull's Vindication of the indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom, incumbent upon Wives, in case of the Tyranny, Infidelity, or Insufficiency of Husbands: Being a full Answer to the Doctor's Sermon against Adultery.

JOHAN found daily fresh Proofs of the Infidelity and bad Designs of his deceas'd Wife; amongst other Things, one Day looking over his Cabinet, he found the following Paper.

IT is evident that Matrimony is founded upon an original Contract, whereby the Wife makes over the Right she has by the Law of Nature to the *Concubitus vagus*, in favour of the Husband, by which he acquires the Property of all her Posterity; but then the Obligation is mutual: And where the Contract is broken on one side, it ceases to bind on the other; where there is a Right, there must be a Power to maintain it, and to punish the offending Party. This Power I affirm to be that Original Right, or rather that indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom, lodg'd in all Wives, in the Cases above-mention'd. No Wife is bound by any Law to which she her self has not consented: All Oeconomical Government is lodg'd originally in the Husband and Wife, the executive part being in the Husband, both have their Privileges secur'd to them by Law and Reason; but will any Man infer from the Husband's being invested with the executive Power, that the Wife is depriv'd

of her Share, and that which is the principal Branch of it, the original Right of Cuckoldom? and that she has no remedy left but *Preces & Lacryme*, or an Appeal to a supreme Court of Judicature? No less frivolous are the Arguments that are drawn, from the general Appellations and Terms of Husband and Wife; a Husband denotes several different sorts of Magistracy, according to the Usages and Customs of different Climates and Countries; in some Eastern Nations it signifies a Tyrant, with the absolute Power of Life and Death. In *Turkey* it denotes an Arbitrary Governor, with power of perpetual Imprisonment; in *Italy* it gives the Husband the power of Poison and Padlocks; in the Countries of *England, France and Holland*, it has quite a different Meaning, implying a free and equal Government, securing to the Wife, in certain Cases, the liberty of Cuckoldom, and the property of Pin-money and separate Maintenance; so that the Arguments drawn from the terms of Husband and Wife are fallacious, and by no means fit to support a tyrannical Doctrine, as that of absolute unlimited Chastity, and conjugal Fidelity.

The general Exhortations to Chastity in Wives, are meant only for Rules in ordinary Cases, but they naturally suppose the three Conditions of Ability, Justice and Fidelity, in the Husband; such an unlimited, uncondition'd Fidelity in the Wife could never be supposed by reasonable Men; it seems a reflexion upon the Church, to charge her with Doctrines that countenance Oppression.

This Doctrine of the original Right of Cuckoldom is congruous to the Law of Nature, which is superior to all human Laws, and for that I dare appeal to all Wives: It is much to the Honour of our *English* Wives, that they have never given up that *fundamental Point*; and that tho' in former Ages they were muffled up in Darkness and Superstition, yet that Notion seem'd engraven on their Minds, and the Impression so strong, that nothing could impair it, To

To assert the Illegality of Cuckoldom, upon any Pretence whatsoever, were to cast odious Colours upon the married State, to blacken the necessary Means of perpetuating Families: Such Laws can never be suppos'd to have been design'd to defeat the very end of Matrimony, the Propagation of Mankind. I call them necessary Means, for in many Cases what other Means are left? Such a Doctrine wounds the Honour of Families, unsettles the Titles to Kingdoms, Honours and Estates; for if the Actions from which such Settlements spring were illegal, all that is built upon them must be so too; but the last is absurd, therefore the first must be so likewise. What is the Cause that *Europe* groans, at present, under the heavy Load of a cruel and expensive War, but the tyrannical Custom of a certain Nation, and the scrupulous Nicety of a silly Quean, in not exercising this indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom, whereby the Kingdom might have had an Heir, and a controverted Succession might have been avoided? These are the Effects of the narrow Maxims of your Clergy, *That one must not do Evil, that Good may come of it.*

The Assertors of this indefeasible Right, and *Jus Divinum* of Matrimony, do all in their Hearts favour Gallants, and the Pretenders to married Women; for if the true legal Foundation of the married State be once sap'd, and instead thereof tyrannical Maxims introduc'd, what must follow but Elopements, instead of secret and peaceable Cuckoldom?

From all that has been said, one may clearly perceive the Absurdity of the Doctrine of this seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying Preacher, asserting, *That the grand Security of the matrimonial State, and the Pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the Wife's belief of an absolute unconditional Fidelity to the Husband's Bed:* By which bold Assertion he strikes at the Root, digs the Foundation, and removes the Basis upon which the Happiness of a married

married State is built. As for his personal Reflexions, I would gladly know who are those *Wanton Wives* he speaks of? who are those Ladies of high Stations, that he so boldly traduces in his Sermon? It is pretty plain who these Aspersions are aim'd at, for which he deserves the Pillory, or something worse.

In confirmation of this Doctrine of the indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom, I could bring the Example of the wisest Wives in all Ages, who by these means have preserv'd their Husband's Families from Ruin and Oblivion, by want of Posterity; but what has been said, is a sufficient Ground for punishing this pragmatical Parson.

C H A P. II.

The two great Parties of Wives, the Devoto's and the Hitts.

THE Doctrine of unlimited Chastity and Fidelity in Wives, was universally espous'd by all Husbands, who went about the Country, and made the Wives sign Papers, signifying their utter Detestation and Abhorrence of Mrs. Bull's wicked Doctrine of the indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom. Some yielded, others refused to part with their native Liberty; which gave rise to two great Parties amongst the Wives, the *Devoto's* and the *Hitts*. Tho' it must be own'd, the distinction was more nominal than real; for the *Devoto's* would abuse Freedoms sometimes; and those who were distinguish'd by the Name of *Hitts*, were often very honest. At the same time there was an ingenious Treatise came out, with the Title of *Good Advice to Husbands*; in which they are counsell'd not to trust too much to their Wives owning the Doctrine of unlimited conjugal Fidelity, and so to neglect Family Duty, and a due watchfulness

ness over the Manners of their Wives; that the greatest Security to Husbands was a vigorous Constitution, good Usage of their Wives, and keeping them from Temptation; many Husbands having been Sufferers by their trusting too much to general Professions, as was exemplified in the Case of a foolish and negligent Husband, who trusting to the Efficacy of this Principle, was undone by his Wife's Elopement from him.

C H A P. II.

An Account of the Conference between Mrs. Bull and Don Diego Dismallo.

Don Diego. **I**S it possible, Cousin *Bull*, that you can forget the honourable Maxims of the Family you are come of, and break your word with three of the honestest best meaning Persons in the World, *Esquire South*, *Frog* and *Hocus*, that have sacrific'd their Interest to yours? It is base to take Advantage of their Simplicity and Credulity, and leave them in the lurch at last.

Mrs. Bull. I am sure they have left my Family in a bad Condition, we have hardly Money to go to Market, and no Body will take our Words for Six Pence. A very fine Spark this *Esquire South*! My Husband took him in, a dirty, snotty-nos'd Boy, it was the Business of half the Servants to attend him, the Rogue did bawl and make such a noise: Sometimes he fell in the Fire and burnt his Face, sometimes broke his Shins clambering over the Benches, often piss'd a-Bed, and always came in so dirty, as if he had been dragg'd thro' the Kennel at a Boarding-School. He lost his Money at Chuck-Farthing, Shuffle-Cap, and All-Fours; sold his Books, pawn'd his Linnen, which we were always forc'd to redeem. Then the whole Generation of him are so in love with Bagpipes and

Poppet Shows; I wish you knew what my Husband has paid at the Pastry Cooks and Confectioners for *Naples* Biscuit, Tarts, Custards, and Sweet-Meats. All this while my Husband consider'd him as a Gentleman of a good Family that had fallen into Decay, gave him good Education, and has settled him in a good Credible way of Living, having procur'd him, by his Interest, one of the best Places of the Country; and what return, think you, does this fine Gentleman make us? he will hardly give me or my Husband a good Word, or a civil Expression: Instead of plain Sir and Madam (which, tho' I say it, is our due) he calls us *Goody* and *Gaffer* such a one, that he did us a great deal Honour to Board with us; huffs and dings at such a rate, because we will not spend the little we have left to get him the Title and Estate of Lord *Strutt*; and then, forsooth, we shall have the Honour to be his Woollen-drapers.

D. Diego. And would you lose the Honour of so noble and generous an Undertaking? would you rather accept the scandalous Composition, and trust that old Rogue, *Lewis Baboon*?

Mrs. Bull. Look you, Friend *Diego*, if we Law it on till *Lewis* turns honest, I am afraid our Credit will run low at *Blackwell-Hall*; I wish every Man had his own; but I still say, that Lord *Strutt's* Money shines as bright, and chinks as well as Esquire *South's*. I don't know any other Hold that we Tradesmen have of these great Folks, but their Interest; buy dear, and sell cheap, and I'll warrant ye you will keep your Customer. The worst is, that Lord *Strutt's* Servants have got such a haunt about that old Rogue's Shop, that it will cost us many a Firkin of strong Beer to bring them back again, and the longer they are in a bad Road, the harder it will be to get them out of it.

D. Diego. But poor *Frog*, what has he done! On my Conscience, if there be an honest, sincere Man in the World, it is that *Frog*.

Mrs Bull. I think I need not tell you how much *Frog* has been oblig'd to our Family from his Childhood; he carries his Head high now, but he had never been the Man he is, without our Help. Ever since the Commencement of this Law-Suit it has been the Business of *Hocus*, in sharing our Expences, to plead for *Frog*. Poor *Frog*, (says he) is in hard Circumstances, he has a numerous Family, and lives from Hand to Mouth; his Children don't eat a bit of good Victuals from one Year's end to the other, but live upon Salt Herring, sower Crud, and Bore-cote; he does his utmost, poor Fellow, to keep things even in the World, and has exerted himself beyond his Ability in this Law-Suit, but he really has not where-withal to go on. What signifies this Hundred Pounds, place it upon your side of the Account; it is a great deal to poor *Frog*, and a Trifle to you. This has been *Hocus's* constant Language, and I am sure he has had Obligations enough to us to have acted another Part.

D. Diego. No doubt *Hocus* meant all this for the best, but he is a tender-hearted charitable Man; *Frog* is indeed in hard Circumstances.

Mrs Bull. Hard Circumstances! I swear this is provoking to the last degree. All the time of the Law-Suit, as fast as I have Mortgaged, *Frog* has purchas'd: From a plain Tradesman, with a Shop, Warehouse, and a Country-Hutt, with a dirty Fish-Pond at the end of it, he is now grown a very rich Country Gentleman, with a noble-landed Estate, noble Palaces, Manors, Parks, Gardens and Farms, finer than any we were ever Master of. Is it not strange, when my Husband disburs'd great Sums every Term, *Frog* should be purchasing some new Farm or Mañor? So that if this Law-Suit lasts, he will be far the richest Man in his Country. What is worse than all this, he steals away my Customers every Day; I have Twelve of the richest, and the best, that have left my Shop by his Perswasion, and

whom, to my certain Knowledge, he has under Bonds never to return again: Judge you if this be neighbourly Dealing.

D. Diego. Frog is indeed pretty close in his Dealings, but very honest: You are so touchy, and take things so hotly, I am sure there must be some Mistake in this.

Mrs. Bull. A plaguy one indeed! You know, and have often told me of it, how *Hocus* and those Rogues kept my Husband, *John Bull*, drunk for five Years together, with Punch and Strong Waters; I am sure he never went one Night sober to Bed, till they got him to sign the strangest Deed that ever you saw in your Life. The Methods they took to manage him I'll tell you another time, at present I'll only read the Writing.

Articles of Agreement betwixt *John Bull*, Clothier, and *Nicholas Frog*, Linnen-draper.

I. That for maintaining the ancient good Correspondence and Friendship between the said Parties, I *Nicholas Frog* do solemnly engage and promise to keep Peace in *John Bull's* Family; that neither his Wife, Children nor Servants give him any Trouble, Disturbance or Molestation whatsoever, but to oblige them all to do their Duty quietly in their respective Stations: And whereas the said *John Bull*, from the assured Confidence that he has in my Friendship, has appointed me Executor of his Last Will and Testament, and Guardian to his Children, I do undertake for me, my Heirs and Assigns, to see the same duly executed and performed, and that it shall be unalterable in all its Parts by *John Bull* or any Body else; For that purpose it shall be lawful and allowable for me to enter his House at any Hour of the Day or Night, to break open Bars, Bolts and Doors, Chests of Drawers and strong Boxes, in order to secure the Peace of my Friend *John Bull's* Family, and to see his Will duly executed.

II. In Consideration of which kind neighbourly Office of
Nicholas

Nicholas Frog, in that he has been pleas'd to accept of the foresaid Trust, I John Bull, having duly consider'd that my Friend Nicholas Frog at this time lives in a marshy Soil and unwholesome Air, infested with Fogs and Damps, destructive of the Health of himself, Wife and Children, do bind and oblige me, my Heirs and Assigns, to Purchase for the said Nicholas Frog, with the best and readiest of my Cash, Bonds, Mortgages, Goods and Chattels, a landed Estate, with Parks, Gardens, Palaces, Rivers, Fields and Outlets, consisting of as large Extent as the said Nicholas Frog shall think fit: And whereas the said Nicholas Frog is at present hem'd in too close by the Grounds of Lewis Baboon, Master of the Science of Defence, I the said John Bull do oblige my self, with the readiest of my Cash, to Purchase and Enclose the said Grounds, for as many Fields and Acres as the said Nicholas shall think fit; to the intent that the said Nicholas may have free Egress and Regress, without Lett or Molestation, suitable to the Demands of himself and Family.

III. Furthermore, the said John Bull obliges himself to make the Country-Neighbours of Nicholas Frog, allot a certain part of Yearly Rents, to pay for the Repairs of the said landed Estate, to the intent that his good Friend Nicholas Frog may be eased of all Charges.

IV. And whereas the said Nicholas Frog did Contract with the deceased Lord Strutt about certain Liberties, Privileges and Immunities, formerly in the Possession of the said John Bull; I the said John Bull do freely, by these Presents, renounce, quit and make over to the said Nicholas the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities contracted for, in as full manner as if they never had belong'd to me.

V. The said John Bull obliges himself, his Heirs and Assigns, not to sell one Rag of Broad or Course Cloath to any Gentleman, within the Neighbourhood of the said Nicholas, except in such Quantities and such Rates, as the said Nicholas shall think fit.

Sign'd and Seal'd,

John Bull,
Nic. Frog.

The

The reading of this Paper put Mrs. Bull in such a Passion, that she fell downright into a Fit, and they were forc'd to give her a good quantity of the Spirit of Hartshorn before she recover'd.

D. Diego. Why in such a Passion, Cousin? Considering your Circumstances at that time, I don't think this such an unreasonable Contract. You see Frog, for all this, is religiously true to his Bargain, he scorns to hearken to any Competition without your Privacy.

Mrs. Bull. You know the contrary, read that Letter.

[Reads the Supercription.] For Lewis Baboon, Master of the Noble Science of Defence.

S I R,

I Understand that you are at this time Treating with my Friend John Bull, about restoring the Lord Strutt's Custom, and besides allowing him certain Privileges of Parks and Fish-Ponds: I wonder how you, that are a Man that knows the World, can talk with that simple Fellow. He has been my Bubble these Twenty Years, and, to my certain knowledge, understands no more of his own Affairs, than a Child in Swadling-Cloaths. I know he has got a sort of a pragmatical silly Jade of a Wife, that pretends to take him out of my Hands, but you and she both will find your selves mistaken, I'll find those that shall manage her; and for him, he dares as well be hang'd as make one step in his Affairs, without my consent. If you will give me what you promised him, I will make all things easie, and stop the Decds of Ejectment against Lord Strutt; if you will not, take what follows; I shall have a good Action against you, for pretending to rob me of my Bubble. Take this warning from

Your loving Friend,

Nic. Frog.

I am told, Cousin Diego, you are one of those that have undertaken to manage me, and that you have
said

said you will carry a Green Bag your self, rather than we shall make an end of our Law-Suit: I'll teach them and you too to manage.

D. Diego. For God's sake, Madam, why so Cholerick? I say, this Letter is some Forgery, it never enter'd into the Head of that honest Man, *Nic. Frog*, to do any such think.

Mrs. Bull. I can't abide you, you have been railing these Twenty Years at *Esquire South, Frog* and *Hocum*, calling them Rogues and Pick-Pockets, and now they are turn'd the honestest Fellows in the World; what is the meaning of all this?

D. Diego. Pray tell me how you came to employ this *Sir Roger* in your Affairs, and not think of your old Friend *Diego*?

Mrs. Bull. So, so, there it pinches. To tell you truth, I have employ'd *Sir Roger* in several weighty Affairs, and have found him trusty and honest, and the poor Man always scorn'd to take a Farthing of me. I have abundance that profess great Zeal, but they are damnable greedy of the Pence. My Husband and I are now in such Circumstances, that we must be serv'd upon cheaper Terms than we have been.

D. Diego. Well, Cousin, I find I can do no good with you, I am sorry that you will ruin your self by trusting this *Sir Roger*.

C H A P. IV.

How the Guardians of the deceas'd Mrs. Bull's three Daughters came to John, and what Advice they gave him; wherein is briefly treated the Characters of the three Daughters: Also John Bull's Answer to the three Guardians.

I Told you in my first Part, that *Mrs. Bull*, before she departed this Life, had bless'd *John* with three Daughters; I need not here repeat their Names, nei-
ther

ther would I willingly use any scandalous Reflections upon young Ladies, whose Reputations ought to be very tenderly handled; but the Characters of these were so well known in the Neighbourhood, that it is doing them no Injury to make a short Description of them.

The Eldest was a termagant, imperious, prodigal, lewd, profligate Wench, as ever breath'd; she used to Rantipole about the House, pinch the Children, kick the Servants, and torture the Cats and the Dogs; she would rob her Father's strong Box, for Money to give the young Fellows that she was fond of: She had a noble Air, and something great in her Mein, but such a noisome infectious Breath, as threw all the Servants that dress'd her into Consumptions; if she smelt to the freshest Nosegay, it would shrivel and wither as it had been blighted: She us'd to come home in her Cups, and break the *China*, and the Looking-glasses, and was of such an irregular Temper, and so entirely given up to her Passion, that you might argue as well with the Northwind, as with her Ladyship; so Expensive, that the Income of three Dukedoms was not enough to supply her Extravagance. *Hocus* lov'd her best, believing her to be his own, got upon the Body of *Mrs. Bull*.

The second Daughter, born a Year after her Sister, was a peevish, froward, ill-condition'd Creature as ever was born, ugly as the Devil, lean, haggard, pale, with saucer Eyes, a sharp Nose and hunch-back'd, but active, sprightly and diligent about her Affairs. Her Ill-Complexion was occasion'd by her bad Diet, which was Coffee, Morning, Noon and Night. She never rested quietly a Bed, but used to disturb the whole Family with shrieking out in her Dreams, and plague them next Day with interpreting them, for she took them all for Gospel. She would cry out Murder, and disturb the whole Neighbourhood; and when *John* came running down Stairs to enquire what

what the Matter was, nothing forsooth, only her Maid had stuck a Pin wrong in her Gown. She turn'd away one Servant for putting too much Oil in her Sallad, and another for putting too little Salt in her Water-Cruel. But such as by Flattery had procur'd her Esteem, she would indulge in the greatest Crimes. Her Father had two Coachmen, when one was in the Coach-box, if the Coach swung but the least to one side, she used to shriek so loud, that all the Street concluded she was overturn'd; but tho' the other was eternally Drunk, and had overturn'd the whole Family, she was very angry with her Father for turning him away. Then she used to carry Tales and Stories from one to another, till she had set the whole Neighbourhood together by the Ears; and this was the only Diversion she took pleasure in. She never went abroad, but she brought home such a bundle of monstrous Lyes as would have amaz'd any Mortal, but such as knew her: Of a Whale that had swallow'd a Fleet of Ships; of the Lyons being let out of the *Tower*, to destroy the Protestant Religion; of the Pope's being seen in a Brandy Shop at *Wapping*, and a prodigious strong Man that was going to shove down the *Cupola* of *Paul's*; of Three millions of Five Pound Pieces that *Esquire South* had found under an old Wall; of Blazing-Stars, Flying Dragons, and abundance of such Stuff. All the Servants in the Family made high Court to her, for she Domineer'd there, and turn'd out and in whom she pleas'd; only there was an old Grudge between her and *Sir Roger*, whom she mortally hated, and used to hire Fellows to squirt Kennel Water upon him as he pass'd along the Streets, so that he was forc'd constantly to wear a Surtout of oil'd Cloath, by which means he came home pretty clean, except where the Surtout was a little scanty.

As for the Third, she was a Thief, and a common mercenary Prostitute, and that without any

Solicitation from Nature, for she own'd she had no Enjoyment. She had no Respect of Persons, a Prince or a Porter was all one, according as they paid; yea she would leave the finest Gentleman in the World to go to an ugly pocky Fellow, for Six Pence more. In the practice of her Profession she had amass'd vast Magazines of all sorts of Things; she had above Five hundred Suits of fine Clothes, and yet went abroad like a Cynder-Wench: She robb'd and starv'd all the Servants, so that no Body could live near her.

So much for *John's* three Daughters, which you will say were Rarities to be fond of. Yet Nature will show it self; no Body could blame their Relations for taking care of them, and therefore it was that *Hocus*, with two other of the Guardians, thought it their Duty to take care of the Interest of the three Girls, and give *John* their best Advice, before he Compounded the Law-Suit.

Hocus. What makes you so shy of late, my good Friend? There's no Body loves you better than I, nor has taken more pains in your Affairs: As I hop'd to be sav'd I would do any thing to serve you, I would crawl upon all Four to serve you; I have spent my Health, and paternal Estate in your Service; I have, indeed, a small Pittance left, with which I might retire, and with as good a Conscience as any Man. But the thoughts of this disgraceful Composition so touches me to the Quick, that I cannot sleep: After I had brought the Cause to the last Stroke, that one Verdict more had quite ruin'd old *Lewis* and Lord *Strutt*, and put you in the quiet Possession of every thing; then to Compound, I cannot bear it. This Cause was my Favourite, I had set my Heart upon it; it is like an only Child, I cannot endure it should miscarry: For God sake consider only to what a dismal Condition old *Lewis*

is brought: He is at an end of all his Cash, his Attorneys have hardly one Trick left, they are at an end of all their *Chicane*; besides, he has both his Law and his daily Bread now upon Trust: Hold out only one Term longer, and, I'll warrant you, before the next, we shall have him in the *Fleet*. I'll bring him to the Pillory, his Ears shall pay for his Perjuries; for the Love of God don't Compound, let me be Damn'd if you have a Friend in the World that loves you better than I; there is no Body can say I am Covetous, or that I have any Interest to pursue but yours.

2d Guardian. There is nothing so plain, than that this *Lewis* has a design to Ruin all his neighbouring Tradesmen, and at this time he has such a prodigious Income, by his Trade of all kinds, that if there is not some stop put to his Exorbitant Riches, he will Monopolize every thing, and no Body will be able to sell a Yard of Drapery or Mercery Ware but himself. I therefore hold it advisable, that you continue the Law-Suit, and burst him at once. My Concern for the three poor Motherless Children obliges me to give you this Advice, for their Estates, poor Girls, depend upon the Success of this Cause.

3d Guardian. I own this Writ of Ejectment has cost dear, but then consider it is a Jewel well worth the Purchasing, at the Price of all you have. None but Mr. *Bull's* declar'd Enemies can say he has any other Security for his Cloathing Trade, but the Ejectment of Lord *Strutt*. The only Question then that remains to be decided, is, Who shall stand the Expences of the Suit? To which the Answer is as plain, Who but he that is to have the Advantage of the Sentence? When Esquire *Sauth* has got Possession of his Title and Honour, is not *John Bull* to be his Clothier? Who then but *John* ought to put him in Possession? Ask but any indifferent Gentleman

who ought to bear his Charges at Law? and he will readily answer, his Tradesmen. I do therefore affirm, and I will go to Death with it, that, being his Clothier, you ought to put him in quiet Possession of his Estate, and with the same generous Spirit you have begun it, compleat the good Work. If you persist in the bad Measures you are now in, what must become of the three poor Orphans? My Heart bleeds for the poor Girls.

John Bull. You are all very eloquent Persons, but give me leave to tell you, that you express a great deal of more Concern for the three Girls than for me; I think my Interest ought to be consider'd in the first place. As for you, *Hocus*, I can't but say you have managed my Law-Suit with great Address, and much to my Honour; and, tho' I say it, you have been well paid for it; never was Attornies Bill more Extravagant, and, give me leave to say, there are many Articles which the most griping of your Profession never demanded. I have trusted you with the disbursing great Sums of Money, and you have constantly sunk some into your own Pocket. I tell you I don't like that Sinking. Why must the Burthen be taken off *Frog's* Back, and laid upon my Shoulders? He can drive about his own Parks and Fields in his gilt Chariot, when I have been forc'd to Mortgage my Estate! his Note will go farther than my Bond! Is it not Matter of Fact, that from the richest Tradesman in all the Country, I am reduced to beg and borrow from Scriveners and Usurers, that suck the Heart, Blood and Guts out of me, and what was all this for? Did you like *Frog's* Countenance better than mine? Was not I your old Friend and Relation? Have I not Presented you nobly? Have I not clad your whole Family? Have you not had an Hundred Yards at a time, of the finest Cloath in my Shop? Why must the rest
of

of the Tradesmen be not only indemnified from Charges, but forbid to go on with their own Business; and what is more their Concern than mine? As to holding out this Term, I Appeal to your own Conscience, has not that been your constant Discourse these Six Years, one *Term more, and old Lewis goes to Pot*; if thou art so fond of my Cause, be generous for once, and lend me a brace of Thousands. Ah *Hocus! Hocus!* I know thee, not a Sou to save me from Goal, I trow. Look ye, Gentlemen, I have liv'd with Credit in the World, and it grieves my Heart, never to stir out of my Doors, but to be pull'd by the Sleeve by some Rascally Dun, or another: *Sir, Remember my Bill: There's a small Concern of a Thousand Pounds, I hope you think on't, Sir.* And to have these Usurers transact my Debts at Coffee-Houses and Ale-Houses, as if I were going to break-up Shop. Lord! That ever the Rich, the Generous *John Bull*, Clothier, the Envy of all his Neighbours, should be brought to Compound his Debts for Five Shillings in the Pound; and to have his Name in an Advertisement, for a Statute of Bankrupt. The Thoughts of it makes me Mad. I have read some-where in the *Apocrypha*, That one should not *consult with a Woman touching her, of whom she is Jealous; nor with a Merchant, concerning Exchange, nor with a Buyer, of Selling; nor with an unmerciful Man of Kindness, &c.* I could have added one thing more; *Nor with an Attorney, about Compounding a Law-Suit.* This Ejectment of Lord *Strutt* will never do. The Evidence is Crimp; the Witnesses swear backwards and forwards, and Contradict themselves, and his Tenants stick by him. If it were practicable, is it reasonable, that when Esquire *South* is losing his Money to Sharppers and Pick-Pockets, going about the Country with Fidlers and Buffoons, and Squandring his Income with Hawks and Dogs,

I should lay out the Fruits of my honest Industry in a Law-Suit for him, only upon the hopes of being his Clothier? and when the Cause is over, I shall not have the Benefit of my Project, for want of Money to go to Market. Look ye, Gentlemen, *John Bull* is but a plain Man; but *John Bull* knows when he is ill used. I know the Infirmity of our Family; we are apt to play the Boon-Companion, and throw away our Money in our Cups: But it was an unfair thing in you, Gentlemen, to take Advantage of my Weakness, to keep a parcel of roaring Bulleys about me, Day and Night, with Huzza's, and Hunting-Horns, and Ringing the Changes on Butchers Cleavers; never to let me cool, and make me set my Hands to Papers, when I could hardly hold my Pen. There will come a Day of Reckoning for all that Proceeding. In the mean time, Gentlemen, I beg you will let me into my Affairs a little, and that you would not grudge me very small Remainder of a very great Estate.

 C H A P. V.

Esquire South's Message and Letter to Mrs. Bull.

THE Arguments us'd by *Hocus*, and the rest of the Guardians, had hitherto prov'd insufficient. *John* and his Wife could not be perswaded to bear the Expence of *Esquire South's* Law-Suit. They thought it reasonable, that since he was to have the Honour and Advantage, he would bear the greatest Share of the Charges; and retrench what he lost to Sharpers, and spent upon Country-Dances, and Puppet-Plays, to apply it to that use. This was not very grateful to the *Esquire*: Therefore, as the last Experiment, he was resolv'd to send *Sig-*
 nior

nior *Benenato*, Master of his Fox-Hounds, to Mrs. *Bull*, to try what good he could do with her. This Signior *Benenato* had all the Qualities of a fine Gentleman, that were fit to Charm a Lady's Heart; and if any Person in the World could have perswaded her, it was he: But such was her unshaken Fidelity to her Husband, and the constant Purpose of her Mind to pursue his Interest, that the most refined Arts of Gallantry, that were practis'd, could not seduce her Loyal Heart. The Necklaces, Diamond Crosses, and rich Bracelets that were offer'd, she rejected with the utmost Scorn and Disdain. The Musick and Serenades that were given her, founded more ungratefully in her Ears, than the Noise of a Screech Owl; however she receiv'd Esquire *South's* Letter, by the Hands of Signior *Benenato*, with that Respect which became his Quality. The Copy of the Letter is as follows; in which you will observe he Changes, a little, his usual Style.

M A D A M,

THE Writ of Ejectment against Philip Baboon, pretended Lord Strutt, is just ready to pass; there wants but a few necessary Forms, and a Verdict or two more, to put me in the quiet Possession of my Honour and Estate: I question not, but that, according to your wonted Generosity and Goodness, you will give it the finishing Stroke; an Honour that I would grudge any Body, but your self. In order to ease you of some part of the Charges, I promise to furnish Pen, Ink and Paper, provided you pay for the Stamps. Besides, I have order'd my Steward to pay, out of the readiest and best of my Rents, Five Pounds ten Shillings a Year, till my Suit is finished. I wish you Health and Happiness, being, with due Respect,

M A D A M,

Your assured Friend,

S O U T H.

What Answer Mrs. Bull return'd to this Letter, you shall know in my Third Part, only they were at a pretty good distance in their Proposals; for as Esquire South only offer'd to be at the Charges of Pen, Ink and Paper, Mrs Bull refus'd any more than to lend her Barge, to carry his Counsel to *Westminster-Hall*.

F I N I S.

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TO
JOHN BULL,

Containing the HISTORY of the

Crown-Inn,

With the DEATH of the

WIDOW,
And what happened
thereon.

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TO

JOHN WILSON

Containing the History of the

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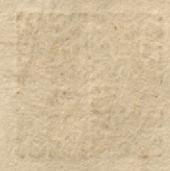
WHICH WAS

WILD O W

and what happened

thereon

The End



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T H E
H I S T O R Y, &c.



YOU desire me to give you some Account of the Death of the *Widow* at the *CROWN-INN* in the *Metropolis* of this Country; and how Affairs have gone since you left the Place.

The *Widow*, you know, was a good sort of a Woman; she was pious and charitable, and did a great deal of Good among her poor Neighbours: Went constantly to the Parish-Church on *Sundays*, and in General had the Character of a conscientious motherly Woman.

Her Husband, whilst he lived, was one of the honestest Men breathing: 'Tis true he would take his Glass in Company, as all his Countrymen will do: But he was a downright honest Fellow, and lov'd the Town; and we shall never forget how tightly he stood by us when Sir *Jacob*, our High Sheriff, would have infring'd on our *Right of Commoning*. Poor Man! he kept her from ill Advice whilst

he lived, and the whole Country was heartily sorry for his Death, having not left an honest Man behind him in the *Parish*.

But what need I tell you things which you are as well acquainted with as my self, only to refresh your Memory in some *Passages* previous to your Request? You desire to know the Disposition of the Estate, and how the *Three Farms* stand affected at this Day.

You remember at her first coming to the House, she found the Debts of an old *Law-Suit* to be paid, which had lasted long, and a new one just ready to begin, which no body could guess the Event of. Money there was little or none in the House; and only a few *Exchequer* Notes, which no body but the *Exciseman* would take for Ready Money.

Her *Tenants* and *Customers* were very unwilling to see her ruined; and as she had treated them very handsomely at her *House-warming*, they swore they would stand by her against all Opposers. By Opposers you know who they meant: For it was by this time certainly known, that old *Savage*, the Extortioner, had set up a *Competitor* against her, *Pretending* he was a real *Branch* of the ancient Family of the *Shute's*, formerly Lords of the *MANOR*, and brought a Writ of Ejectment in his Name, and see'd Council against the Widow. This *Savage* is one who has always made it his business to entertain Renegadoes and Impostors; and by forged Deeds and Wills to take Possession of Estates, and

and then maintain them by troublesome Law-Suits; till at last he has shared a handsome Composition for himself. You cannot chuse too but know, that both by *Will* and *Deed of Gift*, the House it self as well as the *Three Farms* had been settled on her near *Kinsman* Mr. WRIGHT, (a Man whom all the honest *Tenants* wished to succeed her) as well in her Life, as in the time of her *Predecessor*.

To be short (as you must needs know) a hazardous *Suit* commenced; and because it should not lye too hard upon the Widow, many of her Friends became Parties to it. Honest *John Trusty*, by general Consent was made chief Agent in the *Cause*, who the first *Term* put the *Widow's Affairs* in a good Posture; and for several *Terms* following was continually gaining one Advantage or other over her Adversaries; so that they began now to sue for *Composition*, and a Meeting was appointed on both sides; but refusing to allow sufficient Costs and Damages, the *Law* went on.

In this promising State stood Affairs, when that furious *Pulpiteer*, the *Curate* of *High-Ham*, came to preach at *Hockley*, where having pack'd up a Sermon for the purpose, he infus'd Sedition among the *Widow's Tenants* and *Customers*, insinuating, that she began to sell in *short Measure*, Brew'd with *Home-made Malt*, and let her *Lawyers*, *Book-keepers*, *Ostlers*, *Chamberlain*, *Tapster*, &c. run away with what should pay the *Excise*. He inveighed

veighed vehemently against the *Parson of the Parish*, and other *Heads* of the *Town*, for not repairing the *CHURCH*, one part of which he said was *damaged* and ready to *fall*; whilst the *Conventicle* was upheld by some about her, and a Parcel of *GYP-SIES* kept privately in the *Barn* to eat her out of *House* and *Home*.

The Fellow had a good Talent at Railing, and could run on with as much Impudence as a Mountebank exhibits his Pacquet: In short the Poison worked so subtly, that the whole Country was put in a Ferment. The Curate was taken up, and brought before the *Bench of Justices*; where tho' he was reprimanded, and ordered to find Sureties for his *Good Behaviour* for 3 Years, yet it did not quiet the People, who cry'd out, *The Church, the Church!* and ran up and down in Tumults, as tho' it had been falling on their Heads; whilst to strengthen the matter, the Curate took a *Journey* round the Country, possessing the People that the *House* was haunted, and bid them take care how they came near it any more, directing them to the *Dope's head* and *Dagger*, near the *Cross*.

At this time one *Robin Sly-boots*, a *Welch Button-maker*, a notorious cunning Fellow, and fam'd for a *Conjurer*, who had formerly belonged to the Family, but was turned out, for making too bold with the *Widow's Secrets*. This Fellow took his Opportunity to corrupt one of the *Widow's Maids*, by pretending

to tell her her Fortune, which such giting Wenchs are generally fond of; So that taking her one Day, as she was sweeping the Rooms, and making the Beds, he began in this manner.

“ *Nab*, says he, I have often taken notice
 “ that thou art a Pains-taking, industrious
 “ Girl, and hast lived a great while in thy
 “ Service without coming to any Advance-
 “ ment. 'Tis true, you sweep the Rooms,
 “ make the Beds, and get a little sorry
 “ Vails of the *Guests*, but 'tis *Mrs. Sarah*
 “ runs away with all the Profit, and keeps
 “ her whole Family at your *Mistresses* charge.
 “ But tho' she now flouts the *Widow*, and
 “ flies and bounces like bottled Ale, thou
 “ shalt one day, if thou tak'st my Advice,
 “ come to be as high as she: Remember it,
 “ *Nab*, I say, thou shalt come to be a Lady.

“ Bless me, says *Nab*, (with a simpering
 “ Countenance, knowing he had long had the
 “ Reputation of a Conjurer) is it possible
 “ that I should come to such Preferment as
 “ you say? That you may believe me, says
 “ *Robin*, go presently, and look on the Bed
 “ in the *Green Room*, there lies a *Calicoe Gown*
 “ and *Peticoat*, lin'd thro' with the same;
 “ ask your *Mistress* for it, and she will give
 “ it you. As you find this true, believe me
 “ in the rest.

Nab, no longer able to contain her self
 flung down her Besom, and ran to the place,
 where finding it as he had said, she returned
 overjoyed.

“ But,

“ But, Mr. *Slyboots*, says *Nab*, how is
 “ this thing to be effected? I’ll tell you, says
 “ *Robin*, — At Midnight, when all things
 “ are quiet, you shall plant me in some Cor-
 “ ner; and for the greater Solemnity I will
 “ have my *Conjurers Gown* on. You must on
 “ your part infuse strange things into her
 “ Head, and tell her as many *Tales* as you can
 “ of the Servants. Then bring in some talk
 “ of the *Curate*; tell her what a good Man he
 “ is, and that he had always a great Respect
 “ for her; insinuate that the Design of bring-
 “ ing him before the *Bench of Justices* was
 “ to disgrace the *Church*, and that those who
 “ were his Friends, she may assure her self
 “ are hers; and whilst she is musing on these
 “ things, for I know it will work on her Re-
 “ ligious Spirit, I will appear, and then leave
 “ the rest to me.

Nab, in the mean time, had got the *Gown*
 and *Peticoat* which *Robin* spoke of, and was
 pretty sure the rest of his *Predictions* would
 follow. In fine, the *Widow* was so possessed
 and deluded by *Nab’s* whining, and this *Coy-
 juring* Rascal’s Cant, that, tho’ otherwise a
 Woman of Sense, she grew perfectly inflam’d,
 so that without examining farther into the
 matter, giving Ear to *Nab’s* Tales, she pre-
 sently began to reform her Family; and a
 great many of the honestest *Tenants* had warn-
 ing given them against the next Quarter-
 day. However the *Law-Suit* continuing,
 they did not yet think fit to turn out honest

John

John the *Agent*, because the taking the *Papers* out of his hands might be dangerous to the *CAUSE*.

Among the rest, to make room for *Robin*, *Ralph* the *Cash-keeper* was dismissed, a downright honest Fellow, and had held his Place long with great Integrity, tho' many of her best *Customers* told her they would leave the House, and stand by her no longer, if she took these Courses. But all did not avail; every thing went as *Robin* advised; in fine, she turn'd away all her old honest Servants, dissolved the *Club* that was kept at her House, and none were held in favour, but such as had appeared to be Friends to the *Curate*, or were *Robin's* Creatures. *Robin* was first made *Book-keeper* and *Under-Cash-keeper*, and after *Head-Cash-keeper*, which was what he all along aimed at. He grew angry now at being called plain *Robin*, and nothing would go down but *Mr. Slyboots* at every word. He changed his Sign, which was before the *three Button-moles*, and hung up in the room of it the *Star* and *Garter* finely painted, and had *Vanity* and *Impudence* enough to take the two *Angels* for *Supporters* to his *Sign-Post*. All that he said or did, if it may bear an old Pun, was *Bob as a Robin*; he brought in all his Friends, Fellows as poor as *Howlets*, to rule the Roast, and fill their hungry Bellies at the *Widow's Table*; such an avaritious Crew as were hardly worth hanging; a Medley of *Welch Crate-Carriers*, *Pedlars*, *Retalers of Hob-nails*, *Brick-*
B
dust,

dust, &c. and among the rest advanced *Harry Aucumy*, the Brazier, an audacious, lewd young Fellow, to be one of the *Clerks of the Brew-house*. This was a docible young Dog for *Robin's* Purpose, and by a pert way of speaking in the *Club*, dextrously advanc'd the Reputation of *Robin's* Proceedings. In short, all went swimmingly in the *INN* for a Year or two, and the Rogues with thriving Faces, carested one another in their Iniquity.

But they found the *Law-Suit* began to hang heavy on their Hands; they had not the same Credit that the former Servants had to borrow Money, and they had none of their own to lend: The *Rino* was wanted to pay Fees, and the *Tenants* were very backward to advance more; so that finding they were like to bring an old House upon their heads if they went on, they were resolv'd at any rate to come to an Accomodation; and *Harry Aucumy* was sent privately to old *Savage's* House to treat about it, tho' they had still told the *Tenants* it should be push'd on *vigorously* next Term, and constantly got Money out of them for that purpose.

Thinking their Business was now done, they put honest *John Trusty* out of the Agency, and like a Parcel of ungrateful Curs, set their Black Guard to pelt him; but the honest People of the Town could not forbear expressing their Love in respect to his upright and judicious-dealing, by welcoming him Home with loud Acclamations, which fretted the Rogues to the
Plucks

Plucks to see him so careffed, by whose good *Management* the *Cause* had been brought to that *Issue*, that *Judgement* was order'd to be enter'd up, and *Execution* would certainly have followed the very next *Term*. It will be tedious to relate all the intricate Passages of the *Law*, and how the *Widow's Friends* resolv'd to carry the *Cause* on without her, but that *Robin* had order'd the new *Agent Jacob Ruff* to stifle many of the chief *Witnesses*, by which the *Adversary's Attorney* found means to stop *Judgement*.

To amuse the *Tenants*, who they knew would be alarm'd at this *Proceeding* it was given out, that the *Widow's Friends* had not paid their share of the *Law-Charges*, but that all the *Burden* had lain upon her, which had run her grievously in *Debt*, and that she was in a manner forc'd to a *Composition*, and had *Offers* now of a very good one, much to the *Advantage* of her self and her *Friends*. This took with the silly *People*, and in spite of all the *Intreaties* of her honest *Tenants*, an *Agreement* soon followed, which however had taken up more time and *Money* to effect, than would have decided it at *Common-Law*.

'Tis true we burnt our *Faggot-stacks*, set the *Bells* a ringing, and illumined our *Windows*, but we soon experienc'd, that *Humiliation* would have become us better. The *House* lost its *Trade*, and no body in *Town* almost had any thing to do. *People* began to see into this, when it was too late, and no *Remedy*

could be found to help them. Our *old Friends* exclaimed against us, as a treacherous and base sort of People, and shunn'd the Town, and our new ones apparently slighted us, tho' we had done them such signal Service: Nor could we so much as obtain to have the *Quarter-Sessions* kept here, tho' our Credit before us'd to draw every Body to us.

They began to cavil now at the *Widow's* Will in favour of Mr. WRIGHT, and tho' they durst not openly declare themselves, yet 'tis known they were endeavouring to inveigle the People into an Opinion of young *Shute's* Title, and dispers'd *Papers* to prove it, nor did they use Mr. WRIGHT as tho' they ever expected he would come to the Estate. All we could do was to wish them hang'd before they should bring it to pass; for you must know we hate the young Fellow heartily: His Father Sir *Jacob* (if he was honestly begot) used us horribly, quarter'd Soldiers upon us, threaten'd our *Charter*, and play'd the Devil for God's sake thro' the whole Country till we were fain to send him packing; and 'tis very well known the young Rogue will never forgive us for't.

The *Widow* being to send one to old *Savage's* toadjust Accounts on the Accomodation, who should these *Achitophels* advise her to but *Jacob Booty*, a notorious Friend to the Family of the *Shute's*. This put us in such a Fright that we were ready to offer a Leg or Arm, out of every Family for Indemnity: for we supposed
he

he could have no other *Business* but to strike up a Bargain at old **Savage's**; but as it happened we had the good Fortune to see him die in a Ditch before he set out, and save the H ——— n a labour, whose Occupation, 'tis said, he had merited a few Years before by endeavouring to give the *Young Gentleman* Possession of the *North Farm*, with design to burn and plunder it, if he could not hold it by Law.

In short, every day produced fresh Instances of our Misfortunes and of the Villanies of those who had betrayed us: Old **Savage**, who before we had reduced to be as poor as a *Church Mouse*, so that he lay even at our Mercy, began to bully us again, reserving many of the Conditions of the Agreement unexecuted. He demolished a *Turn-pike* upon the *River*, which had been a great Annoyance to our *Trade*, but fallaciouly erected another a little nearer home, and eluded the chief Article of the *Accomodation*; he promised to dismiss young **Shute** out of his Family, and with a mental Reseration only sent him to board with one of his Tenants at next door. Moreover he engaged to use his Interest with young *Savage* his Grandson in behalf of some *Poor People* that lay at his Mercy on account of serving the *Widow*, who appear'd under a great concern for them, instead of which like an accomplish'd *Hypocrite*, he sent his *Mirmidons* and *Bayliffs* to haul them to *Execution*.

Every

Every thing was acted with the same Candour, and seem'd to be pulling on our Ruin, whilst our *Agents* at home, out of the poorness of Spirit, durst not wag a Tongue or a Finger against him, they lay so open and so exposed by the Rogueries he was privy to. Ah poor *Country*! what could relieve thee but a *Miracle*? Or what animate thy hopes, but the Interposition of *Providence*, that dear, that eternal *Providence*, which had rescu'd thee in the like Cases of imminent Danger? Would you believe it, Sir, that these *Desperados* having no other way to shelter themselves, were just entering into a Conspiracy to undermine Mr. WRIGHT's Interest, and carry the Trade to the *Pope's* head.

It could not be expected that Men associat- ed in Mischief should long agree among themselves, which Maxim 'tis very probable produced the old Proverb; *When R——s and W——s fall out honest Men come by their Goods.* You may apply it as you please; the use I shall make of it is only to tell you that the House began to be divided against itself, and so could not stand long; *Robin* had now brought up a Bird to pick out his Eyes; his *Pupil Harry* had got the Start of him and jockeyed him out of the *Widow's* Favour. *Harry* took up a resolution to spur at all, *aut Caesar aut nullus*; but *Robin*, who had always a great Veneration for his Neck, was willing to jog on soberly; *Harry*, out of the Vivacity of his Temper, told him, he was a Fellow of no Spirit,

rit, and that his Cowardice quite baulk'd the Cause: Yes, says *Robin*, (very dryly) but it may be a means of saving your Neck, if you take Example by it, and act with a little more Deliberation and Gravity. This in the end came to an open Rupture, so that one Day above the rest they fell to it Pel-mel before the *Widow*. *Robin* among other things charged him with Ingratitude, and told him, " He took him up an idle, loose, young Fellow, stragling about the Town, when he had hardly nine Pence in his Pocket to go to a Whore withal ; that he brought him acquainted at the *Widow's*, and put him into Business he might live handsomely upon, if he had the Grace to follow it ; but that it was plain he was as loose as ever, and his Management would be the Ruin of his Mistress, if he went on as he begun. *Harry* justly fired at this Language, call'd him *muddy-headed Fellow*, and said, " If it had not been for him his *Mistress* might have made a more advantageous *Composition*. *Robin*, in return to that, upbraided him with his hair-brain'd Negotiations, and that he suffer'd himself to be made drunk, and over-reached at old *Savage's*, where, says he, unless your *Interview* with young *Shute* (for which I hope to see you hang'd,) a few fine Congees, and two or three lewd *Intrigues*, the rest was owing to your Companion *Matt*. the *Tavern-Boy*, who was fain to carry Brains for his Master. *Harry* could hardly contain himself,

self, but with a very cloudy Brow told him, he had neither Brains nor any other Merit to raise him above the Character of a *Trickster*: We know now, says, he, why none but *Cousin Tom* could be trusted at Mr. WRIGHT's; but thou wast ever a trimming, equivocal Rascal, and woot so continue.

Sim the *Scrivener* put in a word on the same side, whom *Robin* took up very smartly. As for your part, says *Robin*, did I not raise you from a *Petifogger* to be *what you are*, took you from writing *hackney up and down*, lent you *Money to pay your Debts*, and help'd you to live like a *Man*, and you to conspire against me too: But by *Jove*, rapping his Knuckles upon the *Table*, I'll make you all as poor and beggarly as I found you! Thou wert always a *Trickster*, replied *Sim*. I hated you before, but now I despise you. *Nab.* too open'd her *Quail-pipe* at *Robin*, but what she said is not recorded.

The *Widow* heard all this with a mixture of Grief and Surprise; but above all she wondered to hear them talk of a better *Composition*, when she had all along been told, it was a very good one; she plainly perceived now she had been trick'd, especially by *Robin*, who she declar'd, had not told her one word of truth from the beginning; so that *Harry* for the present seem'd to carry his *Point*. *Robin* was order'd to deliver up his *Books*, which were soon after given to the *Chamberlain*, one of the honestest Servants in the Family, which partly shewed the *Widow's* good Disposition; for

for as he was known to be very well affected to Mr. WRIGHT's Title, it shewed her own Inclination thereto, by pitching on a Person so very acceptable. This rejoic'd People strangely, and the more, because there had passed a current Rumour for some time, that they had been tampering with her to transfer the Estate to young *Shute*, after her Decease, contrary to Law. How true it is, God knows, but it seems they were disappointed. And I can assure you she told some of her Friends, that she had often repented the dismissing her old Servants, who had served her faithfully, and given Content to her Customers; and if it pleased God to grant her Life and Health, she would make a very great *Alteration* in Affairs.

But in short, what thro' the Grief and Fright she had conceived at their unmannerly Behaviour before her, and the Anguish of a former Distemper, it threw the Pain into her Head with such Violence, that it soon put an end to her Life, for which the whole Town shew'd a general Concern, and lamented her as a pious, good, and charitable Woman, whom it may be truly said, *they brought with Sor-row to the Grave.*

Immediately after she expir'd, the *Trustees* took Possession of the *Premises* in Mr. WRIGHT's Name I cannot describe the infinite Joy on this Occasion, and that wonderful Satisfaction that appeared in People's Countenances: All was acted with that Calmness and Unanimity,

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that Cheerfulness and Alacrity, as seem'd plainly to prognosticate our future Good: No one was wanting to do his part; nay, even the *Parson of the Parish*, tho' crazy with Age and Infirmities, yet appear'd abroad that Day to countenance Mr. WRIGHT's Title, being one of the *Feoffees in Trust* for him.

Poor *Harry Aucumy*, indeed, appear'd under a very deep pressure of mind; not so much for the Loss of the *Widow*, as the sole Power and Grandeur he conceived himself fallen from, and the Inconveniences his past Conduct might bring him into; for he knew in his Conscience he should find it a difficult matter to acquit himself honestly to Mr. WRIGHT. This occasion'd a visible Alteration in his Countenance, and poor *Harry* look'd as queer and dejected as one of the *Vulgar*. He put himself in close *Mourning*, and exploded all Lewdness for nine Days, which you know is the ultimate date of all Wonders, especially with *Harry*. *John Squeamish*, the Head-Tapster, a queer insignificant Fellow of *Bob's* preferring; *Sam. Peticoat*, the Warehouse-keeper; *Will. Wildfire*, *Harry's* Intimate; *Dick*, the Powder-Monkey, and *Nab*, his Sister, with some others seem to lament with the same Humiliation and Concern the great Vicissitude of Fortune.

We expect our new *Landlord* with the utmost Impatience; and then you shall have a farther Account of what happens; assuring you, that this leaves us under the most promising
Aspect

(61) 19)

Aspect of having our Affairs retriev'd again from the languishing Condition the last three Years had thrown them into; and perhaps you never saw a more visible Spirit of Joy than appears at present.

Yours, &c.

P. S. As I divined, poor *Harry* is dismiss'd from his *Clerkship*, by order of Mr. *WRIGHT*, and a Padlock clapp'd on the *Counting-house*: Just now I learn from a Freind that his *Accounts* are very confused, and occasion divers *Speculations*. We are like to have a great *Sessions* on't next time. *Bob* laughs in his *Sleeve*,

Adieu.



A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn :
With CHARACTERS of some of the late
SERVANTS ;
And the PROCEEDING of the
TRUSTEES
To the Coming of the
New LANDLORD.

Part II.

The Second Edition.



L O N D O N :
Printed for J. MOOR, and Sold by the Book-
sellers of London and Westminster.
Price 3 d. 1714.

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OF THE
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AND CHARACTERS OF THE

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AND THE PROCESSING OF THE

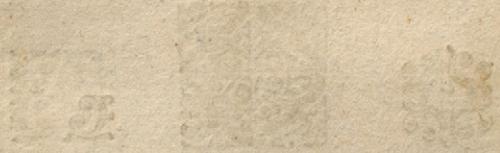
RESULTS

TO THE COMING OF THE

NEW LANDS

Part II

THE SECOND PART



LONDON

Printed for J. Bloor, and sold by the
Booksellers of London and Westminster.



A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY, &c.

SO many things of consequence offer at this time, that I find I shall swell my Design to a much greater length than I imagined : Instead of Writing once a Week, I shall never be able to retain so many memorable Particulars, or get thro' my Promise, without adjusting the Substance every Post.

You would split your Sides at the late Set of Servants, and their *Favourers*, in this Town, were you to see how they behave themselves in their present Circumstances ?

What

What a mixture they discover in their Countenances of the Sullen and the Impertinent ; or indeed of the Spaniel and the Lion. They wou'd fain lay a timely claim to the good Graces and Favour of Mr. *WRIGHT*, but their Pretensions are awkwardly made out, and built on such senceless Foundations, that 'tis queer enough to hear them explain 'em.

Harry Aucumy, who is at leizure now to carry on all the Intrigues that lay upon his Hands, has had a very great Levee of Condolants since his late Misfortune ; for say they, *Harry* appeared a Man of Spirit, and was always firm to his *Purpose*. *Harry* was resolute and constant in the Measures he pursued, and wou'd have pushed Things with another manner of Spirit than that unaccountable Fellow *Slyboots* shew'd, who had been asleep for three Years, and always kept his *Friends* as well as his *Enemies* in doubt what he designed. *Harry* was the Life of the *Cause*, the Joy of the *Party*, and the Toast of the *CLUB*. From *Harry* we expected something very great and surprizing ; he had a Spirit and Impudence really fitted for it. Our hopes in him daily increas'd ; we saw him, on *Robin's* Downfal, which was owing to his dextrous Conduct, placed in a Sphere, whereby his excellent Talents wou'd have come to shine in their full Lustre ; nay, he had manag'd it so admirably, that he sent the Trickster *Robin* off the Stage with

with the utmost Disgrace, which for Reasons well known to us, would have proved of Service to future Purposes.

But I must not stay to finish the *Encomiums* these Visitants of *Harry's* bestow'd on him, without letting you know, that they were such Friends of young *Shute's*, as began to place the greatest Confidence in him, from the several steps which they plainly saw he had taken in his Favour. The rest were such as *Harry* had really let into the Secret; and among whom there ran a mutual and entire Chain of Confidence, in which they wou'd all rather have Hang'd together, than to have broke their Faith with one another.

Must it not therefore be the most sensible Mortification to Men elated with such Hopes, and inspired by a *Genius* so very promising as *Harry's* to promote their Views, to see him at two Steps fall headlong from such an Eminence of Power and Authority, and lye the bleeding Sacrifice of a *Ruined-Party* at the Feet of his Enemies, despis'd, threaten'd and level'd to their Resentments by the Act of the new *LAND LORD*, who singled him out, like a Deer for the Chace, to be the common Sport of all the honest Servants and Tenants; nay, even to his Antagonist *Robin*? What can shew a Man more despis'd than the Mes-
sage

sage delivered him by the *TRUSTEES* for his Dismission.

Mr. Aucumy,

Your Proceedings having rendered your Conduct suspected, we are Order'd by our new *LANDLORD* Mr. *WRIGHT* to tell you, that he has no farther Service for you; with Directions likewise to take from you your Books of Accounts, and Seal up the *COUNTING-HOUSE*.

You may be sure his Friends bleed inwardly for him; but they have, indeed, the most admirable way of out-facing Things that ever was known. They had before this given out, that he stood on no bad terms with Mr. *WRIGHT*, and chiefly, that on the first Indisposition of the *Widdow*, it was he who promoted the Delivery of *BOB's* *Conjuring-Vwand* into the Hands of the *Chamberlain*; which He could not chuse but acknowledge as a peice of good Service: But this is somewhat like *BOB's* *INVIOLEABLE ATTACH*.

This they maintain'd with an Assurance peculiar to them, till the time of *Harry's* disgrace, when a fresh Astonishment appeared in them; and for two or three Days there was a general run of *Guilty* confused Faces among

mong the Party, *Harry* himself stood this shock with a great deal of outward Confidence before his Friends, because he was unwilling to discourage them, but alas we know that nothing but a clear and unspotted Conscience can really support a Man's Spirits under such sudden and capital Afflictions. This required that they should give their Sentiments a new turn, and now *Harry* was consoled by his Friends as a Man purely suffering for his Principles, and one who deserved all the Confidence they had placed in him.

One wou'd think this Indication should have taught them a little Modesty, but they go on at the old rate: They will not stand convinced that they have a less share of the Favour of Mr. WRIGHT than others, tho' it is with the utmost Impudence and Vanity they dare even make Pretences to it. They are the most impatient People at the loss of Power imaginable, and certainly make the worst use of it when they have it of any living, for they are all Heat and Choler: whence it is observable, thro' their precipitate and Post-haste Fury, that they have never been long before they finished their Course.

They have the merriest Way of Interpreting Things that can be: They pretend they are very impatient for the arrival of the New LANDLORD, being uneasy at
the

the Management of the TRUSTEES, who have gone a great way toward putting the Affairs of the INN in a better Posture, and to draw a better Trade to the whole Town. They cannot, or rather will not believe, that the Choice of the TRUSTEES has any thing of the true Meaning of Mr. WRIGHT in it; but that it was done upon their own Solicitations and Intelligence; and that they doubt not, *but they shall soon convince him when they come to talk with him.*

Wou'd it not anger one that these Fellows should have the Impudence to form these preposterous Suggestions? (for I will forgive the Folly of it) Do they think he has forgot, or ever will, their turning two or three of his Servants out of the House in a rude Sort of Manner, though they paid honestly for what they called for, only because they gave their Master Notice of their Intrigues? Was any thing more grossly Impudent than *Harry's* Conduct in this Matter? Or his inspiring the CLUB to do all they could to hinder *Young Mr. VVright* from coming among them? They are mistaken if they think him a Person so short-sighted as to be deceived in distinguishing his *Friends* from his *Foes*: And if those who have always appeared in his Interest, and on all Occasions justified their Love to him, are not to be

be intitled to his Favour; nay, if his own Sence of this, in chusing such for TRUSTEES, is not sufficient to prove it, I leave them to be corrected by their own Folly.

Every Reed serves a drowning Man to catch at; you wou'd smile, did you but know the mighty Splutter they make, that their Consort, *Tom Scatterwit*, has shook Hands with Mr. WRIGHT. Now you must know there is no more in it than this. *Tom* was Agent for the Widow at *NICK FROG*'s, especially on the Composition: *Tom*, like the rest of his Fraternity, was a very active furious Fellow, and when Reason wou'd not do, he used to cock his Hat, and tread upon *NICK*'s Toes. *NICK* made damn'd four Faces, but was not able to cope with the young Bully. *Nick*, in his Time had been a very sturdy Fellow, but he was then cursedly pinched with Corns, and could hardly stir out of his Elbow-Chair: 'Tis true, he kicked and winced a little, but *Tom* always turned him by main Strength, and in the End work'd him into Temper to consent quietly to the Agreement. *Tom*, on the *Widow*'s Death, lay under dreadful Apprehensions; he was conscious that a very good Understanding wou'd ensue between Mr. WRIGHT and *NICK*; and that if *NICK* should remember the Smart of his Toes, it wou'd prove but a little queer for him.

Tom therefore came to *NICK*, and shewed a great deal of unusual Condescension. Instead of the Bully Cock, he now came Cap in Hand, and entered into an Expostulation somewhat servile. He desir'd *NICK* to forget old Grudges, and to make the best of Matters to Mr. *WRIGHT*. *NICK* looked a little sour on him, as remembering the cursed Gripes he had given him; however, like a Man of Honour, he told him he forgave him, and should be glad to hear of his Conversion. Another thing likewise laid *Tom*'s Friends under some Apprehensions for him; he was dipped in *Harry*'s Project of entering into a League with Old *Savage* and his Grandson, tending to the Prejudice of Mr. *WRIGHT*'s Interest; and had unluckily written for further Orders therein just at the Time of the Widow's Death; which Pacquet falling of course into the Hands of the *TRUSTEES*, they sealed it up, and sent it to Mr. *WRIGHT*.

Poor *Tom* looked plaguy queer upon it at first; but it seems he has had a long Conference with Mr. *WRIGHT* on his arrival at *NICK FROG*'s; which his Friends interpret strangely to his Advantage; not that they think *Tom* will prove very Stanch, but that they love a Fellow of a predominant Spirit. Most People laugh heartily at this, and say, that *Tom*, who is an excellent

cellent Fellow at *Congee* and *Grimace*, took all Opportunities to wriggle himself into Mr. WRIGHT'S Acquaintance, and screw'd in at the lower End of the Table to Dinner.

Nick Spitfire, was to have played the same Game at 'Squire SOUTH'S, but the 'Squire being a Man of Spirit forbid *Nick* the House, and resolv'd to receive no Message from the Widow by such Hands; which put *Nick* upon the Splutter for losing so favourable an Opportunity of exerting himself.

Bob Bungey is selling his Equipage again, sensibly afflicted at the Miscarriage of his Business to **Phil. Baboon**. *Bob* breeds excellent Bullocks, and has got Money by it; but was never looked on to be a Fellow of any tollerable Sence.

Matt Spindleshanks, the Tavern-Boy, is in a strange Quandary whether he shall return Home, or stay at Old **Savage's**. 'Tis noted for excellent Air in a Consumption, and 'tis very probable that *Matt*, who is a little infirm, will chuse it for his Health's Sake. Life is sweet, and 'tis very probable that the late Damps that have happened in this Country may be apt to suffocate poor *Matt*, so that his Physicians have advised him, that the other Air is more safe and convenient for him.

Peregrine Scamper, who makes such a mighty Noise of his CONDUCT, is lately return'd from his last *Errand*. He pleads a great deal of Merit, and is angry he was not nam'd one of the TRUSTEES. To say Truth, the Man had had never much Harm in him, but being always thought a little Troublesome at Home, was usually sent out of the Way for Quietness Sake. Most People would believe he had done some Service, if he talk'd less of it, and had shewn less Compliance to some Points which render him a little disagreeable.

Jacob Rush, the New Agent, is the less concerned at being shut out of the Management of all Affairs at the INN, because it furnishes him with an Opportunity to indulge himself in a voluptuous Life. He was a zealous Promoter of *Harry's* New Scheme, and a great Closeter of the BUFF-COATS upon that Occasion. *Jacob* has lost his former Reputation, and has the Misfortune of being looked on as a Tool, when perhaps too much Idolence and good Nature only has been his Fault.

Old *Biafs* the Malster, has a greater Inclination than a Spirit to do Mischief: Covetousness, which is in others a Crime, has in him proved a Virtue. He wou'd have gone
greater

greater lengths in Young *Shute's* Favour, but for the excessive dread of losing his Pelf: Besides, he saw no reason why he should Embark on a Level with Fellows of desperate Fortunes. *Biafs* dropt them in several Important Points, and cry'd, *Safe's the Word*: He was willing to come in for something among them, but wou'd not run the Hazard of losing one of his G——s for ne'er a Cause in *Christendom*; so that People say, *Though he is no very honest Man, yet he has provid an excellent BOWLER.*

I know no one lies more exposel than *Sim* the Scrivener: *Sim's* Principles prevailed over his Gratitude, to shew his good Inclinations to Young *Shute*. 'Tis whisper'd, that he has already receiv'd his *Quietus*; and no doubt but a Post or two more will confirm it. *Will Bromingham*, notwithstanding his great Pretences, looks with a very formidable dull Air. He wou'd fain be thought to merit his Place, but I hear Mr. *WRIGHT* is of another Opinion.

BOB and *Harry Aucumy* are as far from being Friends as ever: *Bob* has lost his Reputation with both Parties, but *Harry* stands fair with one side at least. In short, *Harry* appears most Guilty, but *Bob* has the more despicable Phiz.

Will

Will Wildfire would be a solitary Fellow too if he was capable of thinking; but that is what he never did in his Life: He is a great Comforter to *Harry* under his Affliction, and talks mightily of his Interest in a certain Family he is allied to by Marriage, that are like to come into Favour; but a Bottle I believe is the more solid consolation of the two.

Arthur Skipkennel has packed up his Moveables and is ready for the Scamper. *Con* — is turned out of the *West Farm* by the TRUSTEES. A Fellow that has done a damn'd deal of Mischief to the Country there. More of this in my next.

Tom Dimple has recovered his former Reputation. *Tom* you must know, was pitched on to carry Instructions to *Jacob Rusb*, in relation to stifling the Evidence, mentioned in my last. *Tom*, thought he had been sent to influence the CAUSE; but by a cursed Artifice found, that *Bob* and *Harry* had sealed his Pocket up. *Tom* was chose Steward at the next CLUB, and has shewn himself a very honest Friend of Mr. WRIGHT's.

Honest *Charles Barrier* is made Clerk of the Brewhouse in *Harry's* Room, which is highly Satisfactory to all honest Men here; and

and no doubt is an Instance of Mr. WRIGHT's Esteem to *Nick Frog*, and to take off the Odium of his Conduct in concert with *Charles*, when the CLUB at the INN, in the *Widow's* Time fell foul on him in opprobrious Words; and had like to have sent *Charles* to the Stocks for the Bargain he made with *Nick* in relation to some *Copses* and *Inclosures* on *Esq; South's* Estate, which were to be put into *NICK's* Occupation; wherein *Charles*, as they alledged, suffer'd him to infringe on a TURNIP FIELD, or two of the *Widow's*

Never was Man so joyfully caressed and entertained as Mr. WRIGHT was at *NICK's* House; both he, and all his *Tenants* were ready to devour him for Joy. And indeed, to say Truth, *NICK* had a great deal of Reason for his Exaltation, for he had been used but a little scurvily in the latter part of the *Widow's* Days. Many of the New Servants hated him in their Hearts; and 'twas feared, that to bring about some other Design, they wou'd not have stuck to persuade the *Widow* into a Law Suit against poor *NICK*. But these Fears are all cured now, and *NICK* begins to speak and act with his usual Spirit again.

I am yours, &c,

Postscript.



POSTSCRIPT.

THE swift Current of Affairs at this Time, will not let me, I find, conclude without a *Postscript*.

Jacob Rush is dismiss'd from the Agency, and honest *John Trusty* has got his Place again. *John* met Mr. WRIGHT on the Road, and wishing him Joy on his Accession to the Estate; Mr. WRIGHT answer'd, *That he was satisfied a great deal was owing to him on that Occasion; and he should always very gratefully remember his Services.*

This Day Mr. WRIGHT arrived in Town: Nothing can express the great Joy and Satisfaction of the People: He was met
by

by the Heads of the Town, and conducted to the *INN* thro' Crowds of Spectators making loud Acclamations.

I just now learn that *Harry Aucumy* is sent for to be present at the opening of the *COUNTING-HOUSE*; and that he comes with a heavy splenetick Air. The same Hand informs me, that poor *Sim* has receiv'd a very civil Message from Mr. *WRIGHT*, to desire his Absence from the House, to make room for honest *WILL* the *COOPER*. A Man that can *SEE* a little farther into a *Milstone* than the other. *Sim* takes his misfortune very heavily; and some queer Fellows that used to write *Hackney* under him, are like to be reduced to the Circumstance of wanting Heels to their Shoes again. These scurvy Dogs had just as much Love for Mr. *WRIGHT* as their Master.

I am likewise credibly informed that *Charles* the *HEAD-OSTLER*, *Ned Topsail*, and several other of the honest old Servants will have their Places again at the *INN*. The House begins to flourish, and none are to be admitted but what are known to be Men that have always promoted its Interest.

I must now finish, for every moment almost brings me some fresh Particular, and I ne'er
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should

should have done if I waited for any Conclusive Period.

I wish this may come safe to your Hands ; for the **Post-Boy** is such a damn'd impudent Rascal, one is hardly **Abel** to express it. The **Dog** sold Ballads up and down the Town before and now sets up for Writing News Letters. He was a great **Lurker** about *Harry's Office*, and 'tis thought, has convey'd many a private Packet for him to Young **Shute**. He has been often basted for his scurrilous sawcy Tongue, without any Effect, but 'tis very probable we shall now bring him to the *Whipping-Post*. When *Will Bromingham* troops off, he will be forbid coming near the **INN** ; and we hope then to rid the Town of such a scurrilous Varlet.

Even whilst I am Writing this short **Post-script**, there is News of other numerous Changes at the **INN**, but I cannot enter into Particulars till my next.

Honest Dan. Soberides is popp'd into old **Biafs's TWO-ARM'D-CHAIR**, at the **CLUB**. **Jemmy Brisk**, one of the prettiest Fellows in Town, is made **Chief-Clerk** in the room of *Will. Bromingham*.

You may perhaps not give this Article its full Weight, but I can assure you 'tis meant

as

as a distant Compliment to 'Squire SOUTH,
Jemmy is one he has a particular Esteem for;
and his Preferment is an Argument that a
good Understanding is renewed with the
'*Squire*. I believe you'll soon see Young
Shute removed to a little farther Distance
from the Estate. If I don't conclude now, I
never shall.



a different Court than to apply SOU
way is one he has a particular Reason for
his Plea is an Argument that
of Understanding is removed with it
I believe you'll soon see your
is removed to a little further Distance
to the Issue. If I don't conclude now,
never shall.



A
Farther Continuation
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn.

PART III.

Containing the present State of the
INN, and other Particulars.

The Second Edition.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. MOOR, and Sold by the Book-
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Price 3d. 1714.

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A
Farther Continuation
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn, &c.



IN my last I told you what furious Pretentions were made to Mr. WRIGHT's Favour, by a Set of Fellows, who, you will conclude little deserve it; and if you consider that the greatest part of that Letter was writ before His coming to Town; you will likewise agree, that I spoke somewhat like a Prophet.

But indeed, what is easier than to foresee Things which have such natural and unavoidable

voidable Consequences ; for nothing but the grossest Impudence, as well as the most absurd and vain Conceptions, could have given them the least Pretence to it ; or have urg'd them to hope what they were neither intituled to, or qualified for.

They were very officious in their Attendance on Mr. WRIGHT when he arrived near the Town, and as suppliant as Spaniels in their Sycophantick *Devoires*. They feigned and wrung out an hundred Compliments which he took littlenotice of ; But of all, you would have laught heartily at BOB, with his *INVIO-LABLE ATTACH*, and *boasted Interest* ; BOB after all was fain to implore the Favour to be introduced ; and when he had duck'd himself into a low and obsequious Cringe, as he drew near, Mr. WRIGHT by a sudden Presence of Mind, turned his back upon him, and poor BOB's Countenance fell like a *Weather-Glass* at the Alteration of the Weather.

This admirable Farce wou'd have lasted much longer, to the great Diversion of the Town ; but that Mr. WRIGHT who is the most free and unaffected Man living, and cannot endure any thing that looks like constraint, or servile Flattery, resolv'd not to be pester'd with 'em ; and therefore by dismissing *Jacob Ruff*, *Sim*, and some other of the *Ringleaders*, designed to convince the rest, what

what he thought of their Company; and that he was capable to distinguish those who had merited from him, from those who had not.

You will hardly believe me, when I tell you, that the *CURATE* had the Impudence to appear publicly at the *INN*. Surely the Front of that Fellow must be of the most solid and obdurate Brass. Can it be forgot how often he has drank young *Shute's* Health; and preach'd up his Interest by Inuendo's, in direct opposition to Mr. *WRIGHT's* Succession? Is any thing more notorious, unless his own corrupt Life, than his encouraging his Enemies, both in Life and Doctrine? How often has he been drunk at the *Popes Head*, the *Cross Keys*, and *Mitre*, with the Friends of young *Shute*? For he promotes no House, that is not even in its very Description well affected to him. Was this a Wretch now to appear bare-faced to Mr. *WRIGHT*? or can any thing better describe the unaccountable Vanity of an unthinking termagant Party?

The Conclusion of this was, that the Wretch was hustled out of the House, and had been buffeted, but out of deference to his *Coat*. Can you divine now, what should be in the Man's Head? His Friends indeed, according to their usual Vanity, said we shou'd
see

see him a B—p, but could even the most stupid *Clodpate* alive, really hope or believe this, after he saw his Confederates under the deplorable Circumstances of *Disgrace*, and the *Interest* entirely sunk that could support his unjust Pretensions? Well of all the Senseless furious Creatures that breath in the open Regions of the Air, commend me to the *CURATE* and his Party, for something very ridiculous, and out of the common Road and Propriety of Thinking.

A Friend of mine gives a very good turn to this and says, it was a Design of the Party to send him thither on purpose to be affronted, thereby to give a second handle to enflame the Mob, as at an Injury or Disrespect offered to the *Church*; and this to be sounded by the *Trumpets of Zion* among the People. I will grant for once they may be capable to Think, for there are some shallow *Tricksters* among them; and therefore my Friends Notion may be just but if ever they are hanged for *Conjurers* I'll be Shot, or throw my self out of the Window, as an Auspicious *Patron* of his did, when he remembered the irreparable Injury he had done his Country, by *Charioting* and Countenancing such a pernicious *Incendiary*.

Upon the whole, the Party have now changed their Sentiments; it is at length beaten into their fortified Skulls; that their mighty

mighty Pretences to Mr. WRIGHT's Favour were frivilous, and without Ground. They do not so warmly, and proudly affirm now, *That they were the Men who brought him in*; and all the Love, and previous Grimaces, and the faint Acclamations before his Arrival, are turned into dull and insignificant *Sbruggs*.

The glorious *Changes* at the *INN* have almost work'd them into their Ancient Spirit: The Consternation is great, but they have always a Body of Reserve ready to sustain them under the most shocking and terrible Defeats. It is pleasant to hear these Fellows, who but a few Days ago, were heard to utter the most melodious Things imaginable of Mr. WRIGHT, now assume a dogmatical Air of reasoning upon his Conduct; and straining themselves into ambiguous and ridiculous Hints; as if his known and celebrated Virtue, were any way in the Case of discountenancing such a pack of deep Mouth'd *Curs*, that are always full Cry in running down *Truth* and *Innocence*; and where they hav. neither Courage nor Honesty to speak the^{ir} Minds, are Villains enough to make distant and raskally Reflections. But let them take care, for we have a substantial pair of *Stocks* here, and a *Whipping-Post* of the fittest Magnitude, equal to the brawniest Back of the most Sizeable Villain among them; besides two sturdy young *Elms* at the

Town-

Towns-end, that grew in a true Protestant Country, where HEREDITARY RIGHT, SLAVERY, and ARBITRARY POWER were never heard off.

I am vexed that I must trouble you with such Trifles as these, but I shall never get through my Purpose without letting you into these little Details; nor wou'd you be so capable to relish Things more momentous, if you were not truly possessed of the present State and litigious Spirit of the Party You remember what they were in Power, and 'tis proper you shou'd know what they are in *Adversity*,

They forget the old Proverb, *That Sawce for the Goose is Sawce for the Gander*. What havock they made in turning out the *Old Servants*, upon the most frivolous Pretences, and what a Scrabbling they made to get their Fingers into the *Widow's Dish*. Never was such a Set of *Cormorants* known, they devoured by wholesale, yet went on with eager Complaints against the *Old Servants*, the better to conceal their own voracious Stomachs: One was accused of taking *Half Penny Rolls* out of the *Bakers Basket*, another for Embezling the *Hay and Oats*, and a third for receiving *Reckonings* and not bringing the Money to the *Bar*: But for Truth, they left that to be made out by *Jonathan Wormwood* their *Amanuensis* a very bitter Fellow against all the *old Servants*, a witty facetious Varlet, and a
Companion

and hanger on to *Bob*, who kept him for such Purposes, for which he was excellently qualified, for he was as wicked as his Heart could wish ; and had the best Talent at *Railery* and *Lies* a Man could possibly be endued withal.

How he handled the *Widow's Friends* and *Servants* you have heard already ; it was however equal to the Justice and Candour of all their other Proceedings, and helpt to furnish half the Blockheads in Town of that Party with Matter to hold an Argument. Some drew the whole *Rigmaro* into a kind of useful Common Place, for the greater Ease to their Memory's ; and every *Jackdaw* or *Owl* in Town could hoot out some fenceless Lesson taken from his Scurrilous Memoirs.

Bob had half a Dozen of these Fellows at his Beck, who hated him heartily, but for the Bread they receiv'd out of the *Widow's Basket*. Every Raskal had his separate Instructions. To one it was given to blacken the *Widow's* Friends, and shew the Necessity of coming to an Agreement without them ; to another, to render our own Condition desperate, the better to frighten People into a Sence of it ; a third was to run down the Credit of the Old Servants, and cry up the great Honesty of the new ; a fourth, to discant on the *Church* ; a fifth on *Trade* ; and a sixth incessantly to cry out *Faction*, *Plots*, *wicked Designs*, &c. and keep the Town in continual Alarm, to

prevent their cooling, or recovering their proper Sences.

These *Tools*, as infamous as they were, answer'd the Ends they were employed on ; the Mob especially, and the most unthinking and injudicious People, were taken by the Ears, and listened to them with great Attention, and by such Mountebank Methods, the Credit of their Proceedings at the *Inn* was wholly supported.

The *Widow*, poor Woman, they kept up in her Chamber, and persuaded her, that her appearing below Stairs might be prejudicial to her Health, and that every thing went on well, and her *Customers* appeared all very much pleased with their Entertainment : So that she seldome came into the *Bar*, unless now and then on a *Market-day* or so, or at a CLUB - SUPPER, when it was necessary for her to pass some *Accounts*. The Rogues had indeed some Reason to say, she was misled and abused by the Old Servants, if they judged from the result of their own Conduct, for they found she was a perfect easie Woman ; and if her *Tenants* and *Customers* were but pleased with their Usage, she seldome enquired further, and they took special Care that none of the Old Servants might come near her, and stifled all Letters by the Post when they suspected the Hand Writing, for
fear

ear she shou'd get any Intelligence of the true Statof the *House*.

They were taking all other Methods they could think on to make the Game sure, when they differed among themselves about the Means, and to the great Satisfaction of the Town, fell together by the Ears. *Nab*, like an ungrateful Slut as she was, had not that regard to the Advancement *Bob* had been a Means to promote her to ; and perhaps there was something in it more than ordinary : *Bob* was on the decline, aged Fifty-five, and upwards ; of a temperate and phlegmatick Constitution. *Harry* was in the meridian of his Days ; a robust young Dog, full of Life and Fire, with a vigorous Shape, strong Back, and hale Complexion, fed high, and had an amorous Soul of his own. The Rogue has good Blood in his Veins too, but no more the Son of old *HARRY* than I am of *Jupiter*. The old Man disowns his Proceedings, and says, he always feared he would come to some violent End, from his turbulent disobedient Spirit. That his Mother, rest her Soul, dreamt of a *Comet* the Night she was delivered of him, and could never govern him as he shou'd be. Nay, you must know the young Knave took up a Belt against his own Father once at a **WRESTLING**, and threw him out of the *Ring*.

But to proceed. *Harry*, by these strong Persuasions, drew *Nab* into his Party: Not that she has many *Babies* to be seen in her Eyes, for they have for some Years past, displayed but a very dull Water, yet the *Jade* had a feeling Conception of the foregoing Qualifications, and there was an excellent Character stirring of his singular Talent that Way. *Nab* *Evesdropt* dropp'd all that pass'd between the *Widow* and *Bob*, and gave *Harry* an Account still; and took all Opportunities to improve Things to his Advantage; for I should have told you, that *Nab*, according to *Bob's* Prediction, was by this Time become a Lady; and I can assure you, valued herself not a little upon it: She looked as much above her former Occupation, as an *Upstart* Squire does above a *Hack*, when he has dipt the ANTIENT SEAT, for a Gilt Chariot, and a Pair of *Swish Tails*. *Nab* was *Hand and Glove* with the *Widow*, and not a Pin could be stuck right, if it was not of *Nab's* doing; for *Nab* had been well brought up, and could handle her Needle, tiff up a *Fal-below*, or do any other Work, as well as *Drudgery*; tho' the *BEE SOM* was indeed the most exquisitely adapted to her Hands of any other Perquisite of her Office. *Nab* kept the *Widow's* Purse, and bought *Perfumes*, *Powder*, and *Patches*, &c. and made many a round Penny of her Markettings: She had

a Liquorish Tooth of her own, and loved a Cordial at her Heart, which she always posted in her Bill of Incidents : They say 'twas pretty large at the *Widow's* Death.

There were other of the Female Servants at the INN violently attached to *Harry's* Person, through the Impression of his smug Countenance, and brawny Shoulders : No *Page* cou'd swallow *Quince-Marmalet* more greedily, than these *Simpering Baggages* did the Complimental Addresses of the young *Brazier* ; every one believing, like *Don John's* six Wives, *That she was the Woman!* and each putting herself forward, with the greatest Address to serve him, and render him gracious in the Eyes of the *Widow* : This it is to have the Reputation of being what we call a *Woman's Man* : *Bob*, with all his Politick Airs, and Set Faces, could not conjure himself into the Womens Graces ; and *Harry* had a favourable Gift beyond all the Magick of his *Vand*. *Harry* wou'd Dance with them on the Green, play at *Drop-Glove*, *Stool-Ball*, and the like ; which *Bob* was too feeble and stiff in the Hams for ; and could only sigh that he had introduced such a Smock-faced young *Whoresbird* to Supplant him.

Thus

Thus you see by what Measures *Harry* carried his Point, and engag'd the *Private Services* of these *Female Advocates*, whose short *Triumph*, and sudden *Fall*, is now the Subject of their *Tears* and *Concern*. Really, the *Fellow* might be very happy, could he but lay aside *Ambition*, and confine himself to a rural kind of *Life*. The great *Resort* of *Females* his *Reputation* wou'd soon draw about him, could not but afford a very happy *Prospect* of *Pleasure* to one, who is by *Nature* fitlier qualified for the *lascivious Drudgery* of a *Seraglio*, than the *Gravity* of *Publick Business*. In short, *Harry's* a very pretty *Fellow*, and a boon *Companion*; but the *Rogue* was so near sacrificing his *Country*; he's never to be trusted at the *INN* more, if he comes off no worse.

I must not forget, that I promised you an *Account* of the present *State* thereof. I concluded with telling you of the several *Changes* made at the *INN*, and what was likely to ensue. *Charles*, the *Head-Ostler*, and *Ned-Topsail*, as I hinted, are both restored to their *Places*: *Honest Will Truby* has jostled that queer *Fellow Jack Squeamish*, out of his *STEWARDSHIP*; and *Frank Stirrup*, Son of old *Ralph* the *Cash-keeper*, has received the *Keys* of the *C OFFER*

FER again, from the reluctant Hands of Nab's enabled Consort.

Every thing looks with a good Aspect, and the House begins to appear in its ancient Grandeur : You may remember in what a Plight you left us ; Solitary and Disconsolate ; our Credit sunk ; our Trade cramp'd and ruin'd ; the *Country* Beggard ; and the INN in the Hands of a Set of Arbitrary Fellows that drove on *Jehu*-like to our Destruction ; our Friends affronted and discouraged ; Honest Men put out of all, and none but a parcel of indefeasible Raskals preferr'd, who deserved hanging for their known Zeal to young *Shute* : But you will now find us with smiling Countenances, chearful Spirits, and composed Minds. We could hardly speak before for fear of our *Taskmasters* ; but we dare now Nose those Villains that used to gibe us. Men of Integrity are only looked on at the INN, and to have been well attached to the New LANDLORD, is the best Argument for present Merit.

Robin Bold, the Plummer, *Dick File-dust*, the Smith, *Nick Silver-Tongue*, the Lapidary, and the rest of the honest Lads that stood ritely for him at the last WRESTLING, are brought into Play again, and are ready to take up a *Cudgel* on the *same side*, whenever Occasion offers. They threaten us hard in some Parts
of

of the *Country*, but we have as good as carried the *Belt* in this *Town* already almost two to one; and we doubt not but to shew 'em fair Play for it every where else: We have a Parcel of mettled Lads that have been used to Sport, and are not afraid of a broken Head or two, if it comes to the Push.

You may remember, I always told you *Things* could not last long as they went on; and 'tis confirmed what I told you in my First, that the *Widow* designed to have made great Alterations at the *INN*, had she recovered. 'Tis likewise as certain, that they broke her Heart among them, by discovering one anothers Rogueries, when they fell out. Poor Woman! they had harras'd her so for 3 Years together, and made her break her Word so often with her honest *Friends* and *Tenants*, that when she came once to reflect, it cast her into such a deep Melancholy, as carried her precipitately to the Grave. In her last Intervals, she entered into the following *Soliloquy*, " Unhappy Woman! have I for this
 " so long eat the Bread of Carefulness? Took
 " Pains early and late to promote a Trade,
 " and gain Reputation to the *INN*, on
 " purpose to make all thy *Tenants* and *Custo-*
 " *mers* easie and happy? And is all my Trou-
 " ble and Care come to this at last? It was
 " not so, says she, in the Days of my old
 " Servants: My Affairs went well then;
 and

“ and nothing I undertook but was Successful. I had a Reputation far and near, and
 “ was esteemed and courted even by my very
 “ Adversaries : My Tenants and Customers
 “ were perpetually Rejoicing ; but I fear
 “ I have now given them too great an Occa-
 “ sion for Sorrow. Could I recal a little
 “ Time, *But I shall ne’er outlive it* ; I wou’d
 “ endeavour to remove the Cause, and make
 “ them all easie again. But this is reserved
 “ for Heaven and my Successor : Tell my
 “ poor *People* I dye theirs ; and yet I am for-
 “ ry I cannot do more to redress them before
 “ I depart. This said, she turned about,
 and with a Sigh breathed out her Soul to him
 that gave it.

Were these Fellows capable of Correction,
 sure this would have some effect on them :
 But I despair of ever seeing them shew the
 least Signs of Grace and Repentance.

You have heard how they wou’d have infi-
 nuated themselves into Mr. WRIGHT’S
 Favour, and what a fawning and cringing they
 used at first, but when they saw he was not to
 be cajoled, and made a very just Distinction of
 their Proceedings toward him, by clearing
 the *House* of them ; they presently changed
 their Notes, and are forming a Cabal against
 his Conduct.

The rewarding the long and eminent Services of honest *John Trusty*, is one of the greatest *Cuts* to 'em of all ; for tho' they bear the rest with Spleen and Impatience enough, yet there is in this a double Portion of Acrimony. *John* was the Honour and Support of the old *Servants*, and the Terror and Disgrace of the *New*: *John* caried the CAUSE against Old *Savage* for many Years together, to the great Disadvantage of their Idol Young *Shute*. *John* refused to Countenance their Schemes in making the Composition, and rather chose to retire out of the Country, than breath the same Air with such Villains as seemed to have abandoned all Faith and Honour, and were driving at the Ruin of their Country. And if that Raskal *Slyboots* had nothing else to answer but the Persecution and ill Treatment of this worthy Man, that were enough never to have him forgiven.

How easie it is to guefs the Rage and Ferment these Fellows are in at Mr. WRIGHT's glorious Proceedings. They say, *he begins too soon, moves too fast, and that this cannot last long*, with other such ridiculous Stuff: But these are rather their Wishes than their Sentiments ; both which are as much below his Resentment, as the senceless Reflection of the Party. He came here to govern, and chose rather to shew them, that he saw no
Rea-

Reason to conceal his Resentment, nor to continue Men about him whom he cou'd not chuse but be uneasie at ; and if they have any Modesty, they ought to believe themselves obnoxious, and make a silent Retreat. That there was more Sincerity and Justice in opening himself freely at first, and letting them see he had no Reason to disguise himself, than to act in Deference to their Judgement, or have any regard to the censure of People he had so little reason to value. They Mistake, he has both too much Courage and too much Honesty to endeavour to veil his Conduct ; or proceed with the least regard to their empty Commendations : *Hipocrisie* was Property a rather becoming the last Three Years, than the Prudence, Justice, Honour, and excellent Management of the New LANDLORD, whose Rule is TO REWARD HIS FRIENDS, DO JUSTICE TO HIS ENEMIES ; AND FEAR NONE.

They are endeavouring to possess the People that he designs to curtail the Dignity of the INN ; by reducing the Gates two Foot narrower in Circumference ; to prohibit the *Eating of Beef* ; abridge the Servants Wages ; and allow them only Small Beer at their Victuals ; and finally, that he intends to take down the *Steeple*, and employ the *Stones* and *Rubbish* to make a *Fence* for the *Conventicle*, with other
pre-

preposterous *Cant*. Then, to give terrible Idea's of his Person, they represent him with a furious stern Look, and a Head like a *Dragon*, with Scales and Fins like a Fish; and with such-like incredible Stuff endeavour to make an Impression on the People: But let them go on; when they have *Lyed* till they are weary of it, the *Banter* will end in their own Shame and Confusion.

I could enlarge egregiously on his admirable Qualities; the great Temperance, Justice, Candour and Moderation of his Temper: but I shall omit it till a more favourable Opportunity, having already almost fill'd up my Scrole.

I had almost forgot to tell you, that some unlucky Knaves, in a Picture spread privately about, have drawn poor *Harry* in *Deep Mourning*, with the LEAGUE in one Hand, and a Halter in the other, the *Hangman* carrying an *Axe* before him with the *Edge* towards him; In the upper Copartment is the *Gallows* hung with *Black Bays*, for *Arthur Skip-kennel*, *Mat. the Tavern-Boy*, *Con.* and some of the rest of them. I am,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.

THE
Fourth and Last PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn :

With the CHARACTER of
JOHN BULL,
AND OTHER
NOVELS.

Part IV.



LONDON:

Printed for J. MOOR, and Sold by the Book-
sellers of *London* and *Westminster*,

Price 3 *d.* 1714.

OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LOWLANDS
AND OTHER
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THE
Fourth and Last PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn, &c.



Shall for once chuse to begin where other People end : You may be assured how much I am yours, when I use all this Pains and Diligence to acquit my self of my Promise to you.

I was in hopes I should have had no farther Occasion to continue it : I mean, that your Affairs would by this time have per-

mitted you to evidence the glorious Things I so confusedly write to you. Pardon me, for I cannot forbear owning my self somewhat transported at our present happy Condition. Many other of your intimate Acquaintance are the same; and nothing would add more to it than the pleasure of sharing with you that personal Satisfaction which arises among Friends from such agreeable Subjects.

I thank you for the last Favour; nothing but a Friendship so valuable as yours could be more acceptable. I cannot lose this Opportunity to congratulate with you, that Mr. *Worthy*, your present Patron, who I know you particularly honour, has been so early recommended to Mr. WRIGHT's Esteem. He has always acted like an honest Man, and justly merits whatever Favours are bestowed on him; I hear with Pleasure he will be employed at the INN: 'Tis now a time for honest Men to be seen there.

There is a visible Appearance of the Increase of Trade, by the great Resort that is made there: Yet I cannot assure you, that among those who frequent the *House* purely out of respect to the New LANDLORD, there is not some, and perhaps a pretty many, who go thither only to spy Faults, and carry Intelligence to the *Cross Keys*, and other disaffected

disaffected Houses. One of these Fellows, a whiffling young Coxcombs, very well known for his Affection to young *Shute*, being observ'd there Eves-dropping the Company, was challeng'd as a Spy, and decently whipt thro' the Guts, as a Terror to the rest. This young Fellow, you must know, was particularly noted for his having hung the Picture of Mr. WILLIAM WRIGHT, one of our former *Landlords*, on the Back of his *House of Office Door*: But according to an old *English* Phrase, *We lived to see it come home to him*, tho' 'tis pity it was without the Ceremony of a Halter, for I would have every thing done in its proper kind. He was one of the Favourite Disciples of *Harry Aucumy*, but is not worth the saying ten Words more of.

There are a great many of this Fellow's Complexion among us, who require Chastisement; Men of mighty Tongues, but small Hearts; who can do more Mischief fawningly, than it was possible for them to do in Armour: For I dare affirm, that let 'em but discover what they aim at, and no Men shall be sooner answered, or shew more peaceable Spirits when they are opposed: There are a great many of them have jump'd over a Stick already, to shew the Practice of the Party, and the excellent *Spaniel-like* Qualities they can display upon Occasion; and

and you may assure your self, that those who make most Noise are only the *Asses* that bray in *Lions Skins*.

Were it not natural for one to commiserate Men under unfortunate Circumstances, no Quarter was to be assigned these Fellows, who will neither confess they love G—d, nor hate Mammon.

In the last three Years of the *Widow*, the Prerogative ran so high, that they never came near the *House*, without pulling off their Hats to the *Sign*, tho' their inviolable Obedience had not slept so quietly for nine Years before. They cannot but remember, that the *Old Servants* were taxed with infringing on the *Widow's* Right and their honest and wholesome *Advice* called a *Sawcy arraigning their Mistress's Conduct*. When they reasoned with her in the most submissive way, and besought her not to make a hasty and precarious End of the *Law-Suit*, to the Disadvantage of her self and *Friends*; was not the *Prerogative* thrown in their teeth, with a great deal of vehemence, to stop their Mouths? That as soon as they had shuffled themselves into Play, they hoisted the *Sign* six Foot higher than it had been before; insomuch that some *honest Travellers* did not know it from the *Pope's* head, that was then come within a Door or

two of it. But now you may depend on't, Mr. WRIGHT will move it farther off in a little time, or try his Title to the Premises.

The Explication of their Conduct is this, they would love the New LANDLORD plaguily, (for heartily they can't say) provided he would be so good to them as to let them have the sole Power in their Hands again, and do nothing at all to contradict them: Let them engross every Place of Power and Profit, turn the *INN* topsie-turvy, and never be called to any Account for it: In short, to go on as they did for three Years past, raise themselves from Beggars, throw the *House* out at the Window, sell their Country, and glory in their Roguery; and these Men would be Mr. WRIGHT's very humble Servants. Nay, there is not one of them, but would set his Hand and Seal to these Articles, and cry him up for the most *Wise* and *Honest* Man breathing, an excellent CHURCHMAN, and the very *Man of Men*. And yet with all this *Cant*, these Fellows are very Rascals, Hypocrites, Cowards and Panders; and if ever young *Shute* should make the least bold or probable Attempt, they would *sneak their Heads out of the Collar*, and not venture a *Sise*, or one Drop of base Blood to keep him out, tho' *Phlebotomy* were necessary to cure them

them of a Fever. Such Fellows therefore ought to be cur'd by Leeches clapt to their Jugular Veins. They would then be as really *Passive*, as at other times they are pretendedly so; tho' take them right, they are the hottest and most furious Fellows imaginable, when a Faggot is clap't to their A——es.

It would be a very happy Circumstance if these Men would reconcile their Principles with their Practice: If they who have advanced the Measures of *Obedience*, till they have even made another *Babel* of it, would not be the first that overthrow their own Arguments. It is worth remembring what a Splutter they made about the *Widow's* Right to displace her old Servants, upon the most groundless and frivolous Pretences of their Enemies; but 'tis imputed as an Error in Mr. WRIGHT's Conduct, to create about him, at his first Coming, such a Set of Servants as he has reason to like, upon the most palpable and convincing Proofs; and throwing out others, who in all their Actions plainly shewed they never designed to have had his Company, if they could any way have helped it. Was not *Will. Snapdragon* a pretty Fellow to have the Keeping of the *Back Door* which young *Shute* was to be let in at? He that has always made it his Business to speech for him in the *CLUBB*, and maintained,

maintained, *That to wrong an Hair of his Head, was a cruel or Unchristian Proceeding.*

Was not *Tom Scatterwit* an excellent Fellow to be kept at *NICK FROG's*, to bully and hare honest *NICK* out of his Senses, and threaten him every foot with the *Widow's* Repentment, if he durst sign his Lease with *Squire South* without her Approbation, So that *NICK* must have been forc'd to have left his *Fences open*, and his *Ground unplough'd*, had not Providence interven'd.

Was not *Jacob Booty* a pretty Implement to be made use of at old *Sabage's*? He that always boasted publickly his Integrity and Zeal to young *Shute*, and his Family, and was so openly and apparently known to have invited him to take Possession of the Estate? What could be his Business there, but to have propagated those Schemes at old *Sabage's*, which his Fellow-Traitors had cut out for him at home; and to have merited what he was always ambitious of, the Honour of restoring the Family of *Shute* to the *INN* again.

Was not *Ned Bufflehead* a special Fool, to be sent to Mr. *WRIGHT*, to banter him out of his Senses, when no body else would undertake the Office? Could any one but such an empty Skull promise himself to be

received there but as a Spy, who was embark'd on the Subject of three such Letters, as no body could have Impudence enough to dictate but *Harry Aucumy*? Was there none for them to make their *Stalking-horse* on but the *Widow's* Relation? And does not the poor Fellow look very queer on't now he's come home?

Was not *Con* a precious *Stick of Wood* to be trusted with the *Management* of the *West-Farm*, who ow'd his Rise to the Defence of the Curate, and was chosen to that honourable Station for his known Zeal and Integrity to the *Cause*? A Fellow that trampled all Law and Justice under his Feet, and cut thro' all Opposition to do the *Journey-Work* of his Masters at *Home*. He that in three Years had advanced young *Shute's* Interest in that *Country* more than ever *T——* did with six times his Power: He that had certainly done the Business he was sent on, had not honest *CHARLES* the *Chamberlain* snubb'd him a little, and set the *Club* there to sift into his Rogueries. We shall soon see what Account he gives of himself, and what *Leases* were drawn for *Enseoffing* young *Shute* in the *Estate*.

Was not *Arthur Skip-kennel* a hopeful Rascal, to be trusted with the principal Branches of our Trade; who would not only have sold

told his Country for half the Sum of 2000 Pistoles a Year, but his Wife and Children into the Bargain? All his *Ancestors* in *Teagueland* since the Conquest, scarce ever heard the bare mention of such a Sum? Who would not venture to be voted a Rogue for so great a Mass, if he escapes unchanged for it?

There are others that need no particularizing, you know their Characters well enough. The *INN* was like to have come to a fine pass in time, had such Fellows continued in the *Management* of it. *Matt.* sleeps in a whole Skin at old *Savage's*. 'Twould be a good Jest to have him turn Evidence against his Masters. Who knows what may happen?

Here are many Occurrences stirring; yet it is very probable I may omit some: You must take the Will for the Deed. My Inclination makes me think every thing a Pleasure I do to serve you (in this case especially); but you must excuse my Judgment in the proper Application and Method of things.

Bob, or somebody for him, has hung up a *Declaration* at the *Market-Cross*, in Vindication of his *Proceedings*. The Country People that come to Market, have por'd their Eyes out these two or three days to read it,

and have sent to all the adjacent Towns for *Spectacles*, but swear they can make neither head nor tale of it. Some say, he has rolled himself in Goose Feathers, to make him look white, and hide his own Tardiness and Guilt: But 'tis very probable he will be *plucked* by that time the *CLUBB* meets again; when it will be seen whose *A—se* is blackest. *Bob* has fathered all the Iniquity upon *Harry Aucumy*, and his *Associates*, and is cursed by *Bell, Book, and Candle* among the Party. He has shewn more the part of a *Conjurer* in this, than perhaps in any of his former Practices; but with this difference in respect to other *Conjurers*, that the Storm he has raised may be of Benefit to the *Publick*, if the old Proverb holds good, Pray Heaven bless every honest Man's Cattle however: The very Mountains in *Wales* have trembled before now at *Bob's* Exploits, and the Goats have skipped up and down like parched Peas at the Motion of his *Wand*. Many a poor Cow or Pig has gone to *Pot* when *Bob* has been ruffled by his Neighbours; for he is known to be a Fellow of a shrewd unforgiving Temper.

Harry and his Friends have set the *Cryer* to work to justify themselves from *Bob's* Aspersions; and 'tis pleasant enough to hear how they *Rogue* and *Rascal* one another in the open Streets: You must believe it is some Satisfaction to honest Men to see that they are pleas'd

to give one another their proper Titles, being best acquainted with each others Perfections.

I cannot but compare them, since the Death of the *Widow*, to a sturdy Oak, that has been violently rent by some sudden Clap of Thunder, which has afterwards withered and decayed, and its ancient Memory been committed to the Flames.

This splitting and dividing the Party into Collateral Branches, cutting the *Gordian Knot* afunder may perhaps be ominous. An arch Fellow here, by way of Emblem, has hung up the Sign of a *She-Tyger* with two Heads, giving Suck to a Litter of *French Spaniels*. I expect the Fellow will incur their Resentment; but he has drawn a great Resort to his House by it.

Another, more politically, has hung up the Funeral of *JOHN BULL*, attended to the Grave in very great Pomp and Splendor; the *CURATE* following the *Corps*, with several of *JOHN*'s Relations in compleat Mourning. What gives the greater Cause of Speculation is, the Crucifix that goes before the *Hearse*, from whence they say that *JOHN* died a *Papist*.

Now you must know the Man's Principles were always leaning that way; yet he was

a strict *Churchman* in Profession. His Family sprung out of the Seeds of *Ignatius Loyala*, tho' many of our expert and learned *Genealogists* deduce their Original from *Phalaris*. Sir *Hector Bull*, one of *JOHN's* Ancestors suffered about the time of the *Reformation*, for his Adherence to the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Another of them in the Days of good *Q. Bess* was a great Persecutor of the *Puritans*; and entailed his Principles upon his Generation, which they have made good in all Ages.

JOHN's Family have always been great Pretenders to Loyalty; and this is to be said for them, that they were never the Men who once wrangled with, or opposed that *LANDLORD* who indulg'd them in all their Hearts required; nor accorded well with any who abridg'd them of the least Favours which their own Vanity suggested to them was owing to their Merit. After all their boasted *Submission* and Nonsensical *Passive Obedience*, they were the first Men that took up the Cudgels against Sir *JACOB*, and led down the *Posse* against him, when he threatened their *Inclosures*. What Addresses they made to his Successor is easily remembered; and how they serv'd him, will never be forgot, when they saw he would not lodge the sole Power in their Hands.

It was the same with the *Widow*, when she came first to the *INN*: Never Men were so elevated with the pleasing Prospect of new *Days of Grace*. The *Faggot-Mongers* and *Tallow-Chandlers* blessed the time of their *Exaltation*; *Bumpers* were crown'd in *Healths* to the glorious *Projects* they had formed. Some of them for a time were taken into the *INN*, but soon besh—t their *Offices*; for there was a Set of honest *Servants* employ'd with them, who opposed their *ancient Principles* and *destructive Schemes*: So that for almost nine *Years* they looked on the *Widow* as a *Comet* or *dark Cloud* that obscured their *Horizon*, and constantly murmur'd and repin'd at all her *Proceedings*. But when *Rage* and *Madness* worked among the *People*, and the *evil Genius* of the *Country* was so active to advance them into *Favour*, she was then chang'd into a *Constellation of Virtue* again, who else had shared all the malicious *Reflections* that a furious *Party* is capable to invent, and lain under the common *Calumny* of their *Tongues*, as her *Glorious Predecessor* had done upon the like *Occasion*.

It is not to be remembered in what *Age* the *Family* of the *BULL's* have acted under any other *Restriction* of *Principle*. In the time of *Sir Jacob's Brother* they shew'd the same predominant *Spirit*; and by their fatal
 Counsels

Counfels drew him into almost insuperable Difficulties; who, had he not been a very easy Man, and led away by his Pleasure, had had more Leisure to inspect their Conduct. They inveigled him to join with old **Savage** in a *LAW SUIT* against *NICK FROG*, to the incontestible Prejudice of his Interest, but very much to the Advantage of their own, by sharing large *Premiums* of old **Savage's** Gold.

Now was the time that we truly felt the Effects of the *BULL's* Conduct: The *CROWN-INN* was almost reduc'd to a state of Bankruptcy: The *Cellar* was emptied, the *Barns* ransack'd, and the *Counting-house* shut up. This was the Juncture that some Rascals took the Opportunity to set up the **Pope's-head**, encouraged by Sir **JACOB** and other *Papists*, to draw all the Trade from the *INN*. The *Family* of the *BULLS* were here very active: They prais'd the Wine, promoted Custom, and were very obsequious to Sir **Jacob**, whose Interest they vehemently supported, when the *Bench of Justices*, to prevent the Ruin of the *Town*, would have cut off the *Entail*, and prevented his succeeding to the *Estate*. How they used him after, I have hinted already, when they plainly found that Sir **JACOB** was engross'd by another Set of *Favourites*.

It is in vain to reap up more, you know something of the History of those times, and what Analogy it bears with the Management of the last 3 Years. I almost tremble to think of the desperate Condition we were in: I compare it to looking down a very steep and amazing Precipice, when a Man has escaped the Danger; and I am hardly cur'd of the Fright yet; so generous a Concern has every honest Man that loves his Country.

Thus I have given you some Account of the Family of the *BULLS*, and their Behaviour under all Circumstances: Not but I can assure you there are some very honest Men among them, and well-affected to the present *Interest*. I hope others in a little time will hear Reason, because I foresee they will have no Opportunity in any Compass of time to exert themselves again.

JOHN himself was a Man of tolerable Sense, and understood a little of Politicks; but intolerably addicted to Passion and false Reasoning: In short he was too much infected with the common Infirmary of the *Family*, yet was otherwise a good Neighbour enough, and had lived very peaceably for some Years, till the seditious time of the *CURATE's* bellowing at *Hockley* (for he was descended of the *Bull's Family* too; and as some say, of the *TOWN-BULLS*;) when *JOHN*,
 C who

who had better have minded somewhat else, being poss-essed with the inherent Spirit and Qualities of his famous *Ancestors*, left his Corn standing, his Grass unmowed, and all his Affairs at *Sixes and Sevens* to muddle himself again in Politicks.

You cannot but have heard how active a Man *JOHN* was at this time, and the great hand he had in composing the *LAW-SUIT*. Tho' he had a sore Struggle with *NICK FROG* about it: *NICK* wrestled well, but *JOHN* was clearly too hard for him at *Quarter-staff*; and by that confounded *Rap* over *NICK's Knuckles* quite put him out of his Play: Yet I must tell you, that for some time *NICK* was judged to have the better of the *Combat*, till he receiv'd that unlucky *Stroke*; which some Men of the *Science* will tell ye, was not so fair in *JOHN* as might have been expected: However, he cleverly won the *Stage* by it, and that was sufficient.

JOHN had very near brought all his *Projects* to bear; and was big with the Glorious Harvest he should reap for all his Labour: *JOHN* grew very Grand and haughty, and would hardly speak to his old Neighbours; when on a sudden, to see the Instability of humane Fortune, the *Widow's* Death blew up the Train of *JOHN's* Greatness, and all his rich *Schemes* vanish'd away in Smoke. *JOHN* return'd

turn'd to his own House, found a desolate ruin'd Place of it, and his *Family* under a deep *Melancholy*. Consider whether this Man was *to be reputed in his Sences?* And whether he was not fitter to be bound in his Bed, than to have been trusted with his Liberty. Poor Man ! they say he died raving mad at last, and that the Distemper is like to spread farther in the *Family*.

But 'tis time to conclude. — I hope we shall have your Company here at Mr. WRIGHT's *Inauguration*. We are like to have a Glorious Day of it ; but I cannot tell how the *Family* of the BULL's will behave themselves. The Arrival of young Mr. WRIGHT's Consort with her dear Progeny, and some other late mortifying Circumstances, have given them fresh Fits of the Spleen ; but as I have told you, the Men can jump over a Stick, and do all their Tricks, upon Occasion.

I am
Yours, &c.

F I N I S.

...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...

...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
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...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...
...and I have a ...

I am
Yours, &c

AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn :

With a KEY to the Whole.



LONDON:

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APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

City of London

THE KEY TO THE WHOLE



LONDON

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APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Crown - Inn, &c.



Must assure you, that had I not, thro' the great Hopes and Expectation of seeing you e're this, omitted something in my last which I thought proper to communicate to you, and would have done it Personally if our good Stars had so directed, I should have had no farther Occasion of adding to all my former, being of themselves sufficiently long and tiresome.

As in the greatest Variety we are always put to the hardest difficulty in fixing our Choice; so in the vast Field, the numerous Subjects for Discourse, one is at greater loss to put one's Thoughts into any Method: for in all Instances, we find, there is no surer Evidence of a good *Genius* than that which is shewn in the Effect of Choice.

I have very great reason to believe, that every thing is well receiv'd by you; not thro' any Motive, but your sincere Friendship, nor any Merit but the Subject; both I know are particular, but one much more worthy your Attention.

One wou'd believe by their Actions, that a Set of People here are really infected in their Brains, and that they lie under the same Influence with Creatures of another Species which have lately been visited with a very odd Distemper: There is some kind of correspondency in their Maladies; only that which affects the Two-legg'd Creatures seems to be of the most fearful and tremendous Consequence, and to threaten the Country in the most dear and tender Part: But thank God the Distemper is not Epidemical; tho' it seems the Nature of those infected, to endeavour all they can to spread it about, and to make others

others in the same pickle with themselves,

The Symptoms they are seiz'd with, are a kind of Splenatick Mad Fits, not much unlike Madness; they foam at the Mouth, roll their Eyes, and utter strange incoherent Speeches, and in this manner go raving up and down the Town. The direct Cure for this we know were a Dark Room, and Clean Straw, with some Manual Exercise, slender Diet, and other proper Methods to correct the Fumes of the Distemper: But at the rate they go on, I despair of any Cure for them; and were it not for the Honour of living in a Free Country, where LIBERTY has been always the Peoples Right, they are such as ought rather to be shut up in *Pest-houses* to prevent a Contagion, than to breath in the open Air among Men of free and generous Principles.

Some of these Creatures appear in *Furr'd Gowns, Tufted Garments*, and sit in the *High Places*, but are indeed Men of the most shallow and humble Understandings; and you will find very few among them that act with a Spirit of Disinterestedness, or are not attached to the Person of young *Shute*.

I have scarce Patience to Preface any longer, when I think what degenerate Fellows
I treat

I treat on. Good G—d, what is become of that ancient Spirit that used to reign in this Kingdom! or for which of our Sins was this stubborn Generation sown among us, which have sprung up like the *Tares* that almost choaked the *good Corn*!

Wou'd they produce an Instance of that Time when they have not been Tumultuous and Troublesome, I would spare their Shame; unless it were like the D—l, *who is good when he is pleased*. They had set their Hearts so upon Rule, in the *Widow's* Reign, when they carry'd their Point as far, and sat with as much Security, as the memory of any known Time ever afforded them, (the Days of *Sir JACOB* excepted) that 'tis no very great wonder they are so Impatient under their present Circumstances. They had really under Her procured a pretty Tenantable Lease, few *COPY-HOLDS* were firmer; and they were endeavouring to get a Grant of the *Inheritance* in *Fee-simple*; when, alas, the *Lease* itself depending on one single Life casually expired.

Considering the Mischief they might do, by the Influence of their former Power, and how likely the Desperateness of their Case was to put them upon it; what a Happiness must we acknowledge their Stupidity to be, in fancying they had Pretensions to Renew it
under

under Mr. WRIGHT? And how justly may we impute our Safety to their miserably deceived Expectations; and regret the less, that it is the deplorable Occasion of their present Inveteracy, Rage, and Fury.

I told you the State they stood in at preferring the *Old Servants* again, and the grievous Clamours they raised against it; tho' their justifying the same thing in the *Widow*, had made it a very remarkable Precedent; which, of all Men, they ought to be the last to Censure: But Nature is predominant. 'Tis true, one Inconveniency seems to arise from their being displaced, which is, that they are too much at leisure to Plot and Cabal with the *Friends* of young *Shute*, who by that Encouragement and Addition to their *Party*, begin to gather Life again, and to rouse themselves from a Despair that the late Alteration had thrown them into. Their Business is now to act in concert together, and not unlikely as Properties to each other; the *Family of the Bulls*, by their Assistance, to introduce themselves into Power again; and the other, by assisting them, to advance the Interest of young *Sir Jacob*. One thing in this is certain, that they have united their Forces again; and the daily Clamours and Disturbances we hear of in the Country, are the true Effects of it. 'Tis strange, that the *BULLS FAMILY*, who have

have always been the Tools to *Sir JACOB* and his *Issue*, should not once endeavour to honour themselves, by disclaiming so scandalous a Correspondence. But Reproofs are vain.

The *Widow*, poor Woman, began severely to feel the Effect of Patronizing them so long; and 'tis pity a Life of such Consequence should be sullied with their *MIS-CARRIAGES*. I can hardly mention without Tears, the Advantage it may give Posterity of treating her Memory with Contempt, and obscuring a History that would else have appeared as bright as the Element her own Vertues shone in, and could have been liable to no Contradiction from the most partial *Pen*.

But we will forgive them this; forgive the sad Occasion of her Death: But shall we forgive their going on in the same Road, their repetition of Practices that have always been pernicious to the Interest of their Country. 'Tis well known, they were her Aversion; the least of her Care or Concern for Nine Years; which they sufficiently revenged, by teasing her out of her Life in less than half the time; and heaping on her anxious Head as great a weight of Trouble and Perplexity, as their Predecessors the *OLD SERVANTS* had loaded

loaded with accumulated Glory and Advantages.

But I will have done with this Repetition; you know the Truth of it too well already: Do but revolve the Passages and Incidents of their last short Reign, (for you must understand they have been in Power in other past Times to as good a Purpose) and you will find, that not one single Action or Consequence went well from the very footing of their Administration: Unless you will believe that idle Story trump't up by them at that time, of their beginning with Saving the *Church*; which in reality never flourished with greater Tranquillity than during the *Widow's* time: And I believe they will themselves acknowledge, when they have not a mind to be merry with us, that it was the highest Insolence and Affront to impute the contrary to Her.

Now I am speaking of this, I cannot but acquaint you with an odd Accident that happen'd here t'other Day: An innocent Country Vicar Preaching in Town, was Insulted and very rudely Treated by the Parishioners of the BULLIAN PARTY. The Offence he was guilty of, was, *blessing Heaven for the happy Situation of Affairs, and the imminent Danger we were lately rescued from.* But that is not the Occasion I men-

tion it on. I cannot but smile to think, that the first Insult or Indignity literally offered to the *Church* since the time of *Sir JACOB*, should be by the *Family of the Bulls* themselves, who have always expressed such Reverence and Veneration to the Place, and justified the Dignity of its Priests even to Rage and Madness.

Had the other Party done as much, good Heaven, what Clamours wou'd have been raised ! It could not have escaped the Censure and Construction of their going to pull the *Church* down, if no worse. I hope they will not forget it, together with their pulling down of *Conventicles*, if there should be Occasion for the future to mention it to them by way of Alternative.

Poor Men, they have really been unfortunate, for the most part, in raising up Precedents against themselves ; tho' they are the least inclinable to be judged by their own Laws of any Men breathing. Had they foreseen the Consequence of justifying the *Widow's* Proceeding in Displacing her *Old Servants*, and that the Splutter they made about her Right to do it, which they termed the highest Insolence in any one to question, wou'd so soon have reverted upon themselves, they wou'd not probably have been so violent in maintaining the Legality and
Justice

Justice of it. Had they devised how soon that tremendous *Word* the *PREROGATIVE* would have risen in Judgment against themselves, no doubt but they would have been more sparing in asserting it on every trifling Occasion. This was the Healing Conserve to palliate every Bolus the People were to swallow: And if a Squeamish stomach'd Person now and then happen'd to boggle or keck at it, the *Quack-Politicians* cry'd immediately, *Zoons, Sir, Is it not the PREROGATIVE?*

I'm afraid they will be the first that find fault with their own *Prescriptions*, and not easily swallow any thing that comes recommended to them in a Sence so repugnant to the Use they always intended it for. There is a difference in the Construction of the *Word*, tho' not perhaps in the *Word* it self; and that Authority or Power which binds a Man over to his own Behaviour, his own Inclination, is always like to be most acceptable to him. The *PREROGATIVE* was a glorious *Word*, while they held the Reins of *Power*, and served on all Occasions to justify their Conduct. *IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE PREROGATIVE OF THE CROWN*, [vid. *Crown-Inn*] was the general Preamble to all Disputes, especially that on the *Widow's COMPOSITION*; when indeed her Authority was never question'd in that

Point; but, whether it were not better to continue the *LAW-SUIT*, than make a base and disadvantageous *Agreement*?

This latter, which can only be the Cause of intailing another tedious *SUIT* upon us, will bring these People to a Tryal how they can relish a Submission to their own Doctrine. It is much to be fear'd, that the Seeds of the late *Accommodation*, so welcome to our Adversaries, and so unsatisfactory to many of our Friends, may produce an earlier Occasion of commencing a new *LAW-SUIT* than we imagine; for I must tell you, that Affairs *Abroad* seem at present very much out of Frame, and depend not a little on Mr. *WRIGHT*'s Reputation to compose them. Now, how wou'd these Men clamour against such an Article! What imaginary Dangers wou'd they suggest to the Populace, that a fresh *LAW-SUIT* wou'd ruin us, tho' it were the only Means to save us from Ruin? And how unwilling wou'd they be to contribute toward the Charge of it, notwithstanding it was owing to their own wretched Conduct, and the false and clandestine Steps they had taken?

This you must know I say by way of Compassion, not Complaint; for I could heartily wish they wou'd have more regard to their own Welfare and Reputation,
and

and not to be the first that break through their own Precepts, and set up Fences to keep others in awe, which they can leap over themselves at Pleasure.

They have started the *old Hare again*, that is, the *Church's Danger*, and the Pack are set on it full Cry: 'Tis open Weather, and the Scent lies rarely: This has always been the Artifice, when they found themselves out of Power, and 'tis the most excellent Musick they can devise, to tickle the Ears of the Mobb, upon whose Shoulders they generally ascend to Preferment; when in reality, upon the nicest Survey that can be made, not a Stone is amiss, nor the least piece of painted Glass broke in all the Church Windows, to occasion this mighty Squabble; and if they will promise for the future to forbear injuring and dishonouring the *Church* themselves, as they lately did, by insulting and abusing one of the Priests of it, in his holy Vestments, and even in the Temple it self, I will engage it shall never receive so manifest an Affront from any of the *Well-wishers* to the present *Administration*.

I will not trouble you any longer; only to tell you, that all their Endeavours are like to prove fruitless, in disturbing the glorious Circumstances are like to accrue from the present happy prospect of Affairs. They threaten

(14)

ten us hard in the choice of the next *Club*,
and the *Curate* is very busie in the Country
again, spiriting up the People ; but we may
desire them to remember, there is a Word
made up of five small Syllables, which they
were once very fond of, and were the last
that used it.

I am

Yours, &c.

A



A
KEY
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Crown - Inn, &c.

PART I.

Crown-Inn, The C—t.
Widow, The late 2—.
Her Husband, P. G—e.
Sir Jacob, Late K. J—s.
Right of Commoning, Liberty and Property.
The Three Farms, Great B—n and I—d.
Her House-warming, Sp—h on her Accession.
Old

Old Savage, The Fr. K—g.
 Competitor, The Pre—r.
 Family of the Skutes, K. J—s's Lineage.
 Mr. Wright, K. G—e.
 Law-Suit, The late War,
 John Trusty, The D. of M—b.
 Chief Agent in the Cause, Gen—l of the Ar—s.
 Term, The Campaign.
 Composition, The Peace.
 The Curate, Dr. S—l.
 Lawyers, Book-keepers, &c. Officers and Cour-
 tiers.
 Pay the Excise, Publick Debts.
 Parson of the Parish, Arth. B. of C—y.
 Heads of the Town, The B—ps.
 A parcel of Gypsies, Pensioners.
 Bench of Justices, H. of P—rs.
 Popes-head and Dagger near the Cross, Popery.
 Robin Slyboots, The late T—r.
 Nab, L. M—m.
 Mrs. Sarah, D—ls of M—b.
 Ralph the Cash-keeper, late E. of G—n.
 Harry Ancumy, L. B—
 Clerk of the Brewhouse, Sec—ry of S—te.
 The Club, The P—t.
 Judgment ordered to be enter'd up, Measures
 concerted to enter France.
 Next Term, Next Campaign.
 Jacob Rush, D. O—.
 Widow's Friends, The Confederates.
 Law Charges, Expence of the War.
 Honest Tenants, The Whiggs.

Decided

*Decided it at Common Law, Made an end on't
by the Sword,*

*The House lost its Trade, Decrease of Trade
upon the Peace.*

Young Shute, The Pretender.

Jacob Booty, Late D. H———n.

North Farm, Scot——d.

Turn-pike, Dunkirk.

Accommodation, The Peace.

*Promised to dismiss young Shute out of his Fa-
mily, Promised to remove the Pretender
out of his Dominions.*

One of his Tenants at next Door, D. of L——n.

Poor People, The Catalans.

*Set his Mirmidons and Bailiffs to haul them to
Execution, Sent his Troops to reduce
them.*

Matt the Tavern-Boy, M——P——r.

Sim the Scrivener, The late C———r.

The Chamberlain, D. Sh———y.

The Trustees, The Lords J———s.

John Squeamish, E——P——t.

Sam Petticoat, L. M———.

Will Wildfire, Sir W——W——.

Dick the Powder Monkey, G——H——l.

Counting-House, Se——ys Office.

PART II.

- F*riends of young *Shute*, The Jacobites.
 Ruined Party, Tory M——y.
 New Landlord, K——G——e.
 Bob's Conjuring-Wand. T——rs Staff.
 Bob's Inviolable Attach. See his Letter to
 H——r.
 Tom Scatterwit, E. S——d.
 Nick Frog, The D——ch.
 Trod upon Nicks Toes, His Conduct to them
 on the P——e.
 Nick Spitfire, E. S——e.
 Squire South, The E——r.
 Bob Bungey, L. B——y.
 Phil. Baboon. See *John Bull*.
 Matt Spindleshanks, M——P——r.
 Peregrine Scamper, E——P——.
 Jacob Rush. See the First Part.
 The Buff-coats, The Officers.
 Old Bias, D. B——m.
 Sim——. See the 1st Part.
 Will. Bromingham. Vid. *German Doctor*.
 Arthur Skipkennel, A——r M——r.
 Con—— Late C—— of I——d.
 Tom. Dimple, Sir Tho——H——r.
 Charles Barrier, Ld. Towns——d.
 Copses and Inclosures on *Squire South's Estate*,
 The Towns given the Dutch by the Barrier
 Treaty.
 Turnip-Field or two of the Widow's, Our
 Flanders Trade. Will.

Will. the Cooper, Present Ld. Ch——r.
Head Ostler, M——r of the Horse.
Ned. Topsail, E. of Or——d.
The Post-Boy, *Abel Roper*.
Honest Dan. Soberfides, E. of N——m.
Jemmy Brisk, General S——pe.

PART III.

P*ope's Head, Cross-Keys and Mitre, Houses*
 affected to the Pretender.

Trumpets of Zion, The Cl——y.
Auspicious Patron, S. G—— N——d.
Jonathan Wormwood, Dr. S——t.
Club-Supper, Passing of Bills.
Wrestling, Election.
Will. Truby, D, of D——re.
Frank Stirrop, E. of G——n.
Robin Bold, *Robert W——le* Esq;
Dick Filedust, *Richard St——e* Esq;
Nick Silvertongue, *Sir Nich. L——re*
Carried the Belt in this Town, Election for
 Sheriffs.

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Will Snapdragon, L. N——G——
Back-door to let the Pretender in at, Ports——th.
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Jacob

Jacob Booty. See 1st Part.
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F I N I S.

LEWIS BABOON
Turned Honest,
AND
JOHN BULL
POLITICIAN.

Being
The FOURTH PART
O F
Law is a Bottomless-Pit.

Printed from a Manuscript found in the
Cabinet of the famous Sir *Humphry*
Polesworth: And Publish'd, (as well
as the Three former Parts and *Appen-*
dix) by the Author of the *N*EW
ATALANTIS.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

LONDON: Printed for *John Morphew*, near
Stationers-Hall. 1712. Price 6d.

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ATLANTIC

The Second Edition, Corrected

LONDON: Printed for John Almon, 1784

Successor to the late Mr. T. Cadogan

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Eloquence! the quaint Metaphor, the poignant Irony, the proper Epithet, and the lively Simile, are fled to *Burleigh on the Hill*: Instead of these, we shall have *I know not what*—— * *The Illiterate will tell the* * Vid. Ep. of St. Asaph's Preface. I hope the Reader will excuse this Digression, due by way of Condolance to my worthy Brethren of *Grub-street*, for the approaching Barbarity that is likely to overspread all its Regions, by this oppressive and exorbitant Tax. It has been my good Fortune to receive my Education there; and so long as I preserv'd some Figure and Rank amongst the Learned of that Society, I scorn'd to take my Degree either at *Utrecht* or *Leyden*, though I was offer'd it gratis by the Professors there.

CHAP. I.

The Sequel of the History of the Meeting at the Salutation,

WHere, I think, I left *John Bull*, sitting between *Nic. Frog* and *Lewis Baboon*, with his Arms *a-kimbo*, in great Concern to keep *Lewis* and *Nic.* asunder. As watchful as he was, *Nic.* found the Means, now and then, to steal a Whisper, and, by a cleanly Conveyance under the Table, to slip a short Note into *Lewis's* hand, which

which *Lewis* as flyly put into *John's* Pocket, with a Pinch or a Jog, to warn him what he was about. *John* had the Curiosity to retire into a Corner, to peruse these *Billet deus* of *Nic's*; wherein he found, that *Nic.* had used great Freedoms, both with his Interest and Reputation. One contained these words, *Dear Lewis, Thou seest clearly that this Blockhead can never bring his Matters to bear: Let thee and me talk to right by our selves at the Rose, and I'll give thee Satisfaction.* Another was thus express'd; *Friend Lewis, Has thy Sense quite forsaken thee, to make Bull such Offers? Hold fast, part with nothing, and I will give thee a better Bargain, I'll warrant thee.*

In some of his Billets, he told *Lewis* " that *John Bull* was under his Guardianship; " that the best part of his Servants were at " his Command; that he could have *John* " gagg'd and bound whenever he pleased, " by the People of his own Family." In all these Epistles, Blockhead, Dunce, Ass, Coxcomb, were the best Epithets he gave poor *John*: In others he threatned, " that He, " Esquire *South*, and the rest of the Tradesmen, would lay *Lewis* down upon his Back, " beat out his Teeth, if he did not retire " immediatly, and break up the Meeting.

I fancy I need not tell my Reader, that *John* often chang'd Colour as he read, and that his Fingers itch'd to give *Nic.* a good Slap on the Chops; but he wisely moderated his

his cholerick Temper: " I sav'd this Fellow,
 " (quoth he) from the Gallows when he ran
 " away from his last Master, because I thought
 " he was harshly treated; but the Rogue was
 " no sooner safe under my Protection, than
 " he began to lie, pilfer, and steal, like the
 " Devil: When I first set him up in a warm
 " House, he had hardly put up his Sign,
 " when he began to debauch my best Cū-
 " stomers from me: Then it was his con-
 " stant Practice to rob my Fish-ponds, not
 " only to feed his Family, but to trade with
 " the Fishmongers: I conniv'd at the Fellow
 " till he began to tell me, that they were
 " his as much as mine: In my Manour of
 " *Eastcheap*, because it lay at some distance
 " from my constant Inspection, he broke
 " down my Fences, robb'd my Orchards, and
 " beat my Servants. When I us'd to reprimand
 " him for his Tricks, he would talk
 " saucily, lye, and brazen it out, as if he
 " had done nothing amiss. Will nothing
 " cure thee of thy Pranks *Nic.* (quoth I?) I
 " shall be forced, some time or another, to
 " chastise thee: The Rogue got up his Cane
 " and threatned me, and was well thwack'd
 " for his Pains: But I think his Behaviour
 " at this time worst of all; after I have al-
 " most drowned my self, to keep his Head
 " above Water, he would leave me sticking
 " in the Mud, trusting to his Goodness to
 " help me out. After I have beggar'd my

“ self with his troublesome Law-Suit, with-
 “ a Pox to him, he takes it in mighty Dud-
 “ geon because I have brought him here to
 “ end Matters amicably, and because I won’t
 “ let him make me over, by Deed and Inden-
 “ ture, as his lawful Cully; which, to my
 “ certain Knowledge, he has attempted se-
 “ veral times. But, after all, canst thou ga-
 “ ther Grapes from Thorns? *Nic.* does not
 “ pretend to be a Gentleman, he is a Trades-
 “ man, a self-seeking Wretch; but how ca-
 “ mest thou to bear all this, *John*? The Rea-
 “ son is plain; Thou conferrest the Benefits,
 “ and he receives them; the first produces
 “ Love, and the last Ingratitude: Ah! *Nic.*
 “ *Nic.* thou art a damn’d Dog, that’s cer-
 “ tain; thou knowest too well, that I will
 “ take care of thee, else thou would’st not
 “ use me thus: I won’t give thee up, it is
 “ true; but as true as it is, thou shalt not sell
 “ me, according to thy laudable Custom.
 “ While *John* was deep in this Soliloquy,
 “ *Nic.* broke out into the following Protesta-
 “ tion.

Gentlemen,

“ I believe every body here present will
 “ allow me to be a very just and disinte-
 “ rested Person. My Friend *John Bull* here
 “ is very angry with me, forsooth, because
 “ I won’t agree to his foolish Bargains. Now
 “ I declare to all Mankind, I should be ready
 “ to

“ to sacrifice my own Concerns to his Quiet;
 “ but the care of his Interest, and that of the
 “ honest Tradesmen that are embark'd with
 “ us, keeps me from entering into this Com-
 “ position. What shall become of those poor
 “ Creatures? The Thoughts of their impen-
 “ ding Ruin disturbs my Night's Rest, there-
 “ fore I desire they may speak for themselves,
 “ If they are willing to give up this Affair,
 “ I shan't make two words of it.

John Bull begg'd him to lay aside that
 immoderate Concern for him; and withal,
 put him in mind, that the Interest of those
 Tradesmen had not sat quite so heavy upon
 him some Years ago, on a like Occasion. *Nic.*
 answer'd little to that, but immediately pull'd
 out a Boatswain's Whistle; upon the first
 Whiff, the Tradesmen came jumping into the
 Room, and began to surround *Lewis* like so
 many yelping Curs about a great Boar; or,
 to use a modester Simile, like Duns at a great
 Lord's Leve the Morning he goes into the
 Country; one pull'd him by the Sleeve, ano-
 ther by the Skirt, a third hallow'd in his
 Ear; they began to ask him for all that had
 been taken from their Forefathers by Stealth,
 Fraud, Force, or lawful Purchase; some ask'd
 for Manours, others for Acres, that lay con-
 venient for them; that he would pull down
 his Fences, level his Ditches; all agreed in
 one common Demand, that he should be
 purg'd,

purg'd, sweated, vomited, and starv'd, till he came to a sizeable Bulk, like that of his Neighbours; one modestly ask'd him Leave to call him Brother. *Nic. Frog* demanded two Things, to be his Porter and his Fishmonger, to keep the Keys of his Gates, and furnish his Kitchen. *John's* Sister *Peg* only desir'd that he would let his Servants sing Psalms a Sundays. Some descended even to the asking of old Cloaths, Shoes, and Boots, broken Bottles, Tobacco-pipes, and Ends of Candles.

Monfieur Bull (quoth *Lewis*) you seem to be a Man of some Breeding; for God's sake use your Interest with these Messieurs, that they wou'd speak but one at once; for if one had a hundred pair of Hands, and as many Tongues, he cannot satisfy them all at this rate. *John* begg'd they might proceed with some Method; then they stop'd all of a sudden, and would not say a word. If this be your Play (quoth *John*) that we may not be like a Quaker's dumb Meeting, let us begin some Diversion; what d'ye think of Rouly-Pouly, or a Country-Dance? What if we should have a Match at Football! I am sure we shall never end Matters at this rate.

C H A P. II.

*How John Bull and Nic. Frog settled
their Accompts.*

J. Bull. *During this general Cessation of Talk, what if You and I Nic. should enquire how Money-matters stand between us?*

Nic. Frog. *With all my Heart, I love exact Dealing; and let Hocus Audit; he knows how the Money was disburs'd.*

J. Bull. *I am not much for that at present; we'll settle it between Ourselves: Fair and Square Nic. keeps Friends together. There have been laid out in this Law-Suit, at one time 36000 Pounds and 40000 Crowns: In some Cases I, in others you, bear the greatest proportion.*

Nic. Right: *I pay three Fifths of the greatest Number, and you pay two Thirds of the lesser Number: I think this is Fair and Square as you call it.*

John. *Well, go on.*

Nic. *Two Thirds of 36000 Pounds are 24000 Pounds for your Share, and there remains 12000 for mine. Again, Of the 40000 Crowns I pay 24000, which is three Fifths, and you pay only 16000, which is two Fifths; 24000 Crowns make 6000 Pounds, and 16000 Crowns make 4000 Pounds: 12000 and 6000 make 18000: 24000 and 4000 makes 28000. So there are 18000 Pounds to my Share of the Expences, and 28000 to yours.*

After

After *Nic.* had bambouzed *John* a while about the 18000 and the 28000, *John* call'd for Counters; but what with Slight of Hand, and taking from his own Score and adding to *John's*, *Nic.* brought the Balance always on his own side.

J. Bull. Nay, good Friend *Nic.* though I am not quite so nimble in the Fingers, I understand Cyphering as well as you: I will produce you my Accompts one by one, fairly writ out of my own Books: And here I begin with the first. You must excuse me if I don't pronounce the Law Terms right.

[*John Reads.*]

	l.	s.	d.
Fees to the Lord Ch. Justice and other Judges, by way of Di- vidend	200	10	06
Fees to puny Judges	50	00	00
To Esquire South for <i>post Ter- minums</i>	100	10	06
To ditto for <i>Non est Factums</i>	200	00	00
To ditto for <i>Discontinuance, Noli prosequi, and Retraxit</i>	80	10	06
To ditto for a <i>Non Omittas</i> , and Filing a <i>post Diem</i>	50	00	00
To <i>Hocas</i> for a <i>Dedimus pote- statem</i>	300	00	00
To ditto for <i>Casas</i> and <i>Fifas</i> af- ter a <i>Devastavit</i>	500	00	00
Carry over	1481	11	06
			Brought

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	1481	11	06
To ditto for a <i>Capias ad comp-</i> <i>tandam</i>	100	10	06
To Frog's new Tenants per Ac- count to <i>Hocus</i> , for <i>Audita que-</i> <i>rela's</i>	200	00	00
On the said Account for Writs of <i>Ejectment</i> and <i>Distringas</i>	300	00	00
To Esquire <i>South's</i> Quora for a Return of a <i>Non est invent.</i> and <i>nulla habet bona</i>	150	10	00
To — for a Pardon <i>in forma</i> <i>pauperis</i>	200	00	00
To <i>Jack</i> for a <i>Melius inquiren-</i> <i>dum</i> upon a <i>Feto de se</i>	100	00	00
To <i>Don Diego</i> for a <i>Defecit</i>	50	00	00
To <i>Coach-hire</i>	500	00	00
For Treats to Juries and Witnesses	300	00	00
	Sum	3382	12 06
Due by <i>Nic. Frog</i>	1691	06	00
Of which paid by <i>Nic. Frog</i>	1036	11	00
Remains due by <i>Nic. Frog</i>	654	15	00

Then *Nic. Frog* pull'd his Bill out of his
Pocket, and began to read.

Nicholas Frog's Account.

Remains to be deducted out of the former
Account,

	l.	s.	d.
To <i>Hocus</i> for Entries of a <i>Rege</i> <i>inconsulto</i> _____	200	00	00
To <i>John Bull's</i> Nephew for a <i>Ve-</i> <i>nire facias</i> , the Money not yet all laid out _____	300	00	00
To Coach-hire for my Wife and Family, and the Carriage of my Goods during the time of this Law-Suit _____	200	10	06
For the extraordinary Expences of feeding my Family du- ring this Law-Suit _____	500	00	00
To <i>Major Ab.</i> _____	300	00	00
To <i>Major Will.</i> _____	200	00	00
Sum	1700	10	06
From which deduct	1691	06	00
There remains due to <i>Nic. Frog</i>	09	04	06

Besides, recollecting, I believe I paid for
Diego's Defecit.

John Bull. As for your *Venire facias*, I have
paid you for one already; in the other, I be-
lieve you will be Nonsuited: I'll take care of
my Nephew my self. Your *Coach-hire* and
Family-Charges are most unreasonable Dedu-
ctions;

Etions; at that rate, I can bring in any Man in the World my Debtor. But who the Devil are those two *Majors* that consume all my Money? I find they always run away with the Ballance in all Accompts.

Nic. Frog. Two very honest Gentlemen, I assure you, that have done me some Service. To tell you plainly *Major Ab.* denotes thy greater *Ability*, and *Major Will* thy greater *Willingness* to carry on this Law-suit. It was but reasonable thou shouldst pay both for thy *Power* and thy *Positiveness*.

J. Bull. I believe I shall have those two honest *Majors* discount on my side in a little time.

Nic. Frog. Why all this Higgling with thy Friend about such a paltry Sum? Does this become the Generosity of the Noble and Rich *John Bull*? I wonder thou art not asham'd. Oh *Hocus! Hocus!* where art thou? It used to go another-guefs manner in thy time; when a poor Man has almost undone himself for thy sake, thou art for fleecing him and fleecing him; is that thy Conscience *John*?

J. Bull. Very pleasant indeed; it is well known thou retainst thy Lawyers by the Year, so a fresh Law-suit adds but little to thy Expence, they are thy Customers, I hardly ever sell them a Farthings worth of any thing; nay, thou hast set up an Eating-house, where the whole Tribe of them spend all they can rap or run; if it were well reckon'd, I believe

thou getst more of my Money than thou spends of thy own: However, if thou wilt needs plead Poverty, own at least that thy Accounts are false.

Nic. Frog. No marry won't I, I refer my self to these honest Gentlemen, let them judge between us; let Esquire *South* speak his Mind, whither my Accounts are not right, and whither we ought not to go on with our Law-suit.

J. Bull. Consult the Butchers about keeping of *Lent*. I tell you once for all, *John Bull* knows where his Shoe pinches, none of your Esquires shall give him the Law, as long as he wears this trusty Weapon by his side, or has an inch of broad Cloath in his Shop.

Nic. Frog. Why there it is, you will be both Judge and Party; I am sorry thou discoverest so much of thy head-strong Humour before these strange Gentlemen, I have often told you that it would prove thy Ruin some time or another.

John saw clearly he should have nothing but wrangling, and that he should have as little Success in settling his Accounts as ending the Composition: Since they will needs overload my Shoulders (quoth *John*) I shall throw down the Burden with a squash amongst them, take it up who dares; a Man has a fine time of it, amongst a combination of Sharpers, that Vouch for one anothers Honesty. *John* look to thy self, Old *Lewis* makes reasonable Offers,

Offers, when thou hast spent the small Pittance that is left, thou wilt make a glorious Figure, when thou art brought to live upon *Nic. Frog* and Esquire *South's* Generosity and Gratitude; if they use thee thus, when they want thee, what will they do when thou wants them? I say again, *John*, look to thy self.

John wisely stifled his Resentments, and told the Company that in a little time he should give them Law, or something better.

All. Law! Law! Sir, by all means, what is Twenty Two poor Years towards the finishing a Law-suit? For the Love of God more Law, Sir!

J. Bull. Prepare your Demands, how many Years more of Law you want, that I may order my Affairs accordingly. In the mean while farewell.

CHAP. III.

How John Bull found all his Family in an Up-roar at Home.

N*ic. Frog*, who thought of nothing but carrying *John* to the Market, and there disposing of him as his own proper Goods, was mad to find that *John* thought himself now of Age to look after his own Affairs. He resolv'd to traverse this
new

new Project, and to make him uneasie in his own Family. He had corrupted or deluded most of his Servants into the extravagantest Conceits in the World, that their Master was run mad, and wore a Dagger in one Pocket, and Poison in the other; that he had sold his Wife and Children to *Lewis*, disinherited his Heir, and was going to settle his Estate upon a *Parish Boy*; that if they did not look after their Master, he would do some very mischievous Thing. When *John* came home he found a more surprizing Scene than any he had yet met with, and that you will say was somewhat extraordinary.

He call'd his Cook-maid *Betty* to bespeak his Dinner. *Betty* told him, *That she beg'd his Pardon, she could not dress Dinner till she knew what he intended to do with his Will.* Why *Betty*, forsooth (quoth *John*) thou art not run mad, art thou? My Will at present is to have Dinner. That may be (quoth *Betty*) but my Conscience won't allow me to dress it, till I know whither you intend to do righteous Things by your Heir. I am sorry for that, *Betty* (quoth *John*) I must find some body else then. Then he call'd *John* the Barber. Before I begin (quoth *John*) I hope your Honour won't be offended, if I ask you whither you intend to alter your Will? If you won't give me a positive Answer, your Beard may grow down to your Middle, for me. I gad and so it shall (quoth *Bull*) for I will never trust my Throat
in

Baboon below wanted to speak with him. *John* had got an Impression that *Lewis* was so deadly a cunning Man, that he was afraid to venture himself alone with him. At last he took heart of Grace. *Let him come up* (quoth he) *it is but sticking to my Point, and he can never over-reach me.*

Lewis Baboon. Monsieur Bull I will frankly acknowledge, that my Behaviour to my Neighbours has been somewhat uncivil; and I believe you will readily grant me, that I have met with Usage accordingly. I was fond of Back-sword and Cudgel play from my Youth, and I now bear in my Body many a black and blue Gash and Scar, God knows. I had as good a Ware-house, and as fair Possessions as any of my Neighbours, tho' I say it; but a contentious Temper, flattering Servants, and unfortunate Stars, have brought me in to Circumstances that are not unknown to you. These my Misfortunes are heighten'd by domestick Calamities, that I need not relate. I am a poor old batter'd Fellow, and I would willingly end my Days in Peace: But alas, I see but small hopes of that, for every new Circumstance affords an Argument to my Enemies to pursue their Revenge; formerly I was to be bang'd because I was too Strong, and now because I am too Weak to resist. I am to be brought down when too Rich, and oppress'd when too Poor. *Nic. Frog* has used me like a Scoundrel; You are a

Gentleman, and I freely put my self in your Hands, to dispose of me as you think fit.

J. Bull. Look you, Master *Baboon*, as to your Usage of your Neighbours, you had best not dwell too much upon that Chapter; let it suffice at present that you have been met with, you have been rolling a great Stone uphill all your Life, and at last it has come tumbling down till it is like to crush you to pieces: Plain dealing is best. If you have any particular Mark, Mr. *Baboon*, whereby one may know when you Fib, and when you speak Truth, you had best tell it me, that one may proceed accordingly; but since at present I know of none such, it is better that you should trust me, than that I should trust you.

Mr. Baboon. I know of no particular Mark of Veracity, amongst us Tradesmen, but Interest; and it is manifestly mine not to deceive you at this time; you may safely trust me, I can assure you.

J. Bull. The Trust I give is in short this, I must have something in hand before I make the Bargain, and the rest before it is concluded.

A. Baboon. To shew you I deal fairly, name your something.

J. Bull. I need not tell thee, old Boy; thou canst guess.

L. Baboon. *Ecclesdown Castle*, I'll warrant you, because it has been formerly in your
Fami-

Family! Say no more, you shall have it.

J. Bull. I shall have it to m'own self?

L. Baboon. To thy n'own self.

J. Bull. Every Wall, Gate, Room, and Inch of *Ecclesdown Castle*, you say?

L. Baboon. Just so.

J. Bull. Every single Stone of *Ecclesdown Castle*, to m'own self, speedily!

L. Baboon. When you please, what needs more Words?

J. Bull. But tell me, old Boy, hast thou laid aside all thy *Equivocals* and *Mentals* in this case?

L. Baboon. There is nothing like Matter of Fact; Seeing is Believing.

J. Bull. Now thou talk'st to the purpose; let us shake Hands, old Boy. Let me ask thee one Question more; What hast thou to do to meddle with the Affairs of my Family, to dispose of my Estate, old Boy?

L. Baboon. Just as much as you have to do with the Affairs of Lord *Strat*.

J. Bull. Ay, but my Trade, my very Being, was concern'd in that.

L. Baboon. And my Interest was concern'd in the other: but let us drop both our Pretences; for I believe it is a moot point, whether I am mote likely to make a Master *Bull*, or you a Lord *Strat*.

J. Bull. Agreed, old Boy; but then I must have Security that I shall carry my Broadcloth to Market, old Boy.

L. Ba-

L. Baboon. That you shall: *Ecclesdown Castle!* *Ecclesdown* Remember that: Why would'st thou not take it when it was offer'd thee some Years ago?

J. Bull. I would not take it, because they told me thou would'st not give it me.

L. Baboon. How could Monsieur *Bull* be so grossly abused by downright Nonsense? They that advised you to refuse, must have believed I intended to give, else why would they not make the Experiment? But I can tell you more of that Matter than perhaps you know at present.

J. Bull. But what say'st thou as to the Esquire, *Nic. Frog*, and the rest of the Tradesmen? I must take care of them.

L. Baboon. Thou hast but small Obligations to *Nic.* to my certain Knowledge: He has not us'd me like a Gentleman.

J. Bull. *Nic.* indeed, is not very nice in your Punctilio's of Ceremony; he is Clownish, as a Man may say; Belching and Calling of Names have been allow'd him time out of mind, by Prescription: but however, we are engag'd in one Common Cause, and I must look after him.

L. Baboon. All Matters that relate to him, and the rest of the Plaintiffs in this Law-Suit, I will refer to your Justice.

J. Bull. Agreed, old Boy; but then I must have Security that I shall carry my Broad-CHAMBER

ters, till it appears by your own Ac-
 counts, that V. H. A. is something due to
 me upon the Balance. Having nothing
 Nic. Frog's Letter to John Bull; wherein he ex-
 -deavours to vindicate all his Conduct; with re-
 -velation to John Bull and the Law-Suit.

N I C. perceiv'd now that his Cully had
 -velop'd, that John intended henceforth
 to deal without a Broker; but he was resolv'd
 to leave no Stone unturn'd to recover his Bub-
 -ble. Amongst other Artifices, he wrote a
 most obliging Letter, which he sent him
 Printed in a fair Character.

Dear Friend,

When I consider the late ill Usage I have
 met with from you, I was reflecting what
 it was that could provoke you to it; but
 upon a narrow Inspection into my Con-
 duct, I can find nothing to reproach my
 self with, but too partial a Concern for
 your Interest. You no sooner set this
 Composition a-foot, but I was ready to
 comply, and prevented your very Wishes;
 and the Affair might have been ended be-
 fore now, had it not been for the greater
 Concerns of Esq; South, and the other poor
 Creatures, embark'd in the same Common
 Cause, whose Safety touches me to the
 Quick. You seem'd a little jealous that I
 had dealt unfairly with you in Money-mat-
 ters,

" ters, till it appear'd by your own Ac-
 " counts, that these was something due to
 " me upon the Ballance. Having nothing
 " to answer to so plain a Demonstration, you
 " began to complain as if I had been fami-
 " liar with your Reputation; when it is well
 " known, not only I, but the meanest Ser-
 " vant in my Family, talk of you with the
 " utmost Respect: I have always, as far as
 " in me lies, exhorted your Servants and
 " Tenants to be dutiful; not that I shou-
 " ld ways meddle in your domestick Affairs,
 " which were very unbecoming for me to
 " do. If some of your Servants express their
 " great Concern for you in a manner that is
 " not so very polite, you ought to impute it
 " to their extraordinary Zeal, which deserves
 " a Reward rather than a Reproof. You can-
 " not reproach me for want of Success at the
 " *Salutation*, since I am not Master of the
 " Passions and Interests of other Folks. I
 " have beggar'd my self with this Law-Suit,
 " undertaken merely in Complaisance to you;
 " and if you would have had but a little Pa-
 " tience, I had still greater things in Reserve
 " that I intended to have done for you. I
 " hope what I have said will prevail with you
 " to lay aside your unreasonable Jealousies,
 " and that we may have no more Meetings
 " at the *Salutation*, spending our Time and
 " Money to no Purpose. My Concern for
 " your Welfare and Prosperity, almost makes
 " me

“ me mad. You may be assur’d I will con-
 “ tinue to be

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant,

NIC. FROG:

John receiv’d this with a good deal of
Sang froid; *Transeat* (quoth John) *cum ceteris*
erroribus: He was now at his Ease; he saw
 he could now make a very good Bargain for
 himself, and a very safe one for other Folks.
My Shirt (quoth he) *is near me, but my*
Skin is nearer: Whilst I take care of the
 Welfare of other Folks, no body can blame
 me, to apply a little Balsam to my own Sores.
 It’s a pretty thing, after all, for a Man to do
 his own Business; a Man has such a tender
 Concern for himself, there’s nothing like it.
 This is somewhat better, I trow, than for
John Bull to be standing in the Market, like
 a great Dray-horse, with *Frog’s Paws* upon his
 Head, *What will ye give me for this Beast?*
Serviteur Nic. Frog, you may kiss my Backside if
you please. Though *John Bull* has not read
 your *Aristotles*, *Plato’s*, and *Machiavels*, he can
 see as far into a Millstone as another: With
 that *John* began to chuckle and laugh, till he
 was like to burst his Sides.

E

CHAP.

CH A P. VI.

The Discourse that pass'd between Nic. Frog and Esquire South, which John Bull overheard.

John thought every Minute a Year till he got into *Ecclesdown Castle*; he repairs to the *Salutation*, with a Design to break the Matter gently to his Partners: Before he enter'd, he overheard *Nic.* and the Esquire in a very pleasant Conference.

Esq; South. Oh the Ingratitude and Injustice of Mankind! That *John Bull*, whom I have honour'd with my Friendship and Protection so long, should flinch at last, and pretend that he can disburse no more Money for me; that the Family of the *Souths*, by his sneaking Temper, should be kept out of their own.

Nic. Frog. An't like your Worship, I am in amaze at it; I think the Rogue should be compell'd to do his Duty.

Esq; South. That he should prefer his scandalous Pelf, the Dust and Dregs of the Earth, to the Prosperity and Grandeur of my Family!

Nic. Frog. Nay, he is mistaken there too; for, he would quickly lick himself whole again by his Vails. It's strange he should prefer *Philip Baboon's* Custom to *Esq; South's*.

Esq;

Esq; South. As you say, that my Clothier, that is to get so much by the Purchase, should refuse to put me in Possession; did you ever know any Man's Tradesman serve him so before?

Nic. Frog. No, indeed, an't please your Worship, it is a very unusual Proceeding; and I would not have been guilty of it for the World. If your Honour had not a great Stock of Moderation and Patience, you would not bear it so well as you do.

Esq; South. It is most intolerable, that's certain *Nic.* and I will be reveng'd.

Nic. Frog. Methinks it is strange, that *Philip Baboon's* Tenants do not all take your Honour's part, considering how good and gentle a Master you are.

Esq; South. True, *Nic.* but few are sensible of Merit in this World: It is a great Comfort, to have so faithful a Friend as thy self in so critical a Juncture.

Nic. Frog. If all the World should forsake you, be assur'd *Nic. Frog* never will; let us stick to our Point, and we'll manage *Bull*, I'll warrant ye.

Esq; South. Let me kiss thee, dear *Nic.* I have found one honest Man amongst a thousand at last.

Nic. Frog. If it were possible, your Honour has it in your Power to wed me still closer to your Interest.

Esq; South. Tell me quickly, dear *Nic.*

Nic. Frog. You know I am your Tenant; the Difference between my Lease and an Inheritance is such a Trifle, as I am sure you will not grudge your poor Friend; that will be an Encouragement to go on; besides, it will make *Bull* as mad as the Devil: You and I shall be able to manage him then to some purpose.

Esq; South. Say no more, it shall be done *Nic.* to thy Heart's Content.

John, all this while, was listening to this comical Dialogue, and laugh'd heartily in his Sleeve, at the Pride and Simplicity of the *Esquire*, and the sly Roguery of his Friend

Nic. Then of a sudden bolting into the Room, he began to tell them, that he believ'd he had brought *Lewis* to reasonable Terms, if they would please to hear them.

Then they all bawl'd out aloud, *No Composition, Long live Esquire South and the Law!* As *John* was going to proceed, some roar'd, some stamp'd with their Feet, others stop'd their Ears with their Fingers.

Nay, Gentlemen (quoth *John*) if you will but stop proceeding for a while, you shall judge your selves whether *Lewis's* Proposals are reasonable.

All. Very fine indeed, stop proceeding, and so lose a Term.

J. Bull. Not so neither, we have something by way of Advance, he will put us in Possession of his Mannor and Castle of *Ecclesdown*.

Nic'

Nic. Frog. What dost talk of us, thou mean'st thy self?

J. Bull. When *Frog* took Possession of any thing, it was always said to be for *Us*; and why may not *John Bull* be *Us*, as well as *Nic. Frog* was *Us*? I hope *John Bull* is no more confin'd to Singularity than *Nic. Frog*; or take it so, the constant Doctrine that thou hast preach'd up for many Years, was that Thou and I are One; and why must we be supposed Two in this Case, that were always One before? It's impossible that Thou and I can fall out *Nic.* we must trust one another. I have trusted thee with a great many things, prithee trust me with this one Trifle.

Nic. Frog. That Principle is true in the main; but there is some Speciality in this Case, that makes it highly inconvenient for us both.

J. Bull. Those are your Jealousies, that the common Enemies sow between us; how often hast thou warn'd me of those Rogues, *Nic.* that would make us mistrustful of one another?

Nic. Frog. This *Ecclesdown*-Castle is only a Bone of Contention.

J. Bull. It depends upon you to make it so, for my part I am as peaceable as a Lamb.

Nic. Frog. But do you consider the unwholesomness of the Air and Soil, the Expences of Reparations and Servants, I would scorn to accept of such a Quag-mire.

J. Bull.

J. Bull. You are a great Man, *Nic.* but in my Circumstances, I must be e'en content to take it as it is.

Nic. Frog. And you are really so silly, as to believe the old cheating Rogue will give it you.

J. Bull. I believe nothing but Matter of Fact; I stand and fall by that, I am resolv'd to put him to it.

Nic. Frog. And so relinquish the hopefulest Cause in the World, a Claim that will certainly in the End, make thy Fortune for ever.

J. Bull. Wilt thou purchase it *Nic?* thou shalt have a lumping Pennyworth; nay, rather than we should differ, I'll give thee something to take it off my Hands.

Nic. Frog. If thou would'st but moderate that hasty impatient Temper of thine, thou should'st quickly see a better thing than all that: What should'st thou think to find old *Lewis* turn'd out of his paternal Estates and Mansion-house of *Clay-Pool*? Would not that do thy Heart good to see thy old Friend *Nic. Frog* Lord of *Clay Pool*? Then thou and thy Wife and Children shall walk in my Gardens, buy Toys, drink Lemonade, and now and then we should have a Country-dance.

J. Bull. I love to be plain, I'd as lieve see my self in *Ecclesdown-Castle*, as thee in *Clay-Pool*. I tell you again, *Lewis* gives this as a
Pledge

Pledge of his Sincerity, if you won't stop proceeding to hear him, I will.

CHAP. VII.

The rest of Nic's Fetches to keep John out of Eccleldoun-Castle.

WHEN *Nic.* could not diswade *John* by Argument, he try'd to move his Pity, he pretended to be sick and like to dye, that he should leave his Wife and Children in a starving Condition, if *John* did abandon him; that he was hardly able to crawl about the Room, far less capable to look after such a troublesome Business as this Law-suit, and therefore begg'd that his good Friend would not leave him. When he saw that *John* was still inexorable, he pull'd out a Case-Knife, with which he used to Sneaker-snee, and threaten'd to cut his own Throat. "Thrice
 " he aim'd the Knife to his Wind-pipe with a
 " most determin'd threatning Air. What
 " signifies Life (quoth he) in this languishing
 " Condition, it will be some Pleasure that
 " my Friends will revenge my Death upon
 " this barbarous Man, that has been the
 " Cause of it? All this while *John* look'd Se-
 date and Calm, neither offering in the least to
 snatch the Knife, nor stop his Blow, trusting
 to the Tendernefs *Nic.* had for his own Per-
 son,

son: When he perceiv'd that *John* was immoveable in his Purpose, he apply'd himself to *Lewis*.

Art thou (quoth he) turn'd Bubble in thy Old Age, from being a Sharper in thy Youth? what occasion hast thou to give up Ecclefdoun-Castle to John Bull? his Friendship is not worth a Rush, give it me and I'll make it worth the while. If thou dislikest that Proposition, keep it thy self, I'd rather thou shouldst have it then he. If thou hearkens not to my Advice, take what follows; Esquire South and I will go on with our Law-suit in spite of John Bull's Teeth.

L. Baboon. Monsieur Bull has used me like a Gentleman, and I am resolv'd to make good my Promise, and trust him for the Consequences.

Nic. Frog. Then I tell thee thou art an old doating Fool. With that *Nic* bounc'd up with a Spring equal to that of one of your nimblest Tumblers or Rope-dancers, falls foul upon *John Bull* to snatch the Cudgel he had in his Hand, that he might thwack *Lewis* with it. *John* held it fast, so that there was no wrenching it from him. At last *Esquire South* buck'd to, to assist his Friend *Nic*. *John* hall'd on one side, and they two on the other; sometimes they were like to pull *John* over; then it went, all of a sudden again, on *John's* side; so they went *see-sawing* up and down, from one End of the Room to the other.

other: Down tumbld the Tables, Bottles, Glasses, and Tobacco Pipes: The Wine and the Tobacco were all spilt about the Room, and the little Fellows were almost trod under Foot, 'till more of the Tradesmen joyning with *Nic.* and the Esquire, *John* was hardly able to pull against them all, yet he never quit hold of his trusty Cudgel; which by the contranitent Force of two so great Powers, broke short in his Hands. *Nic.* seiz'd the longer end, and with it began to Baffinado Old *Lewis*, who had slunk into a Corner, waiting the Event of this Squabble. *Nic.* came up to him with an insolent menacing Air, so that the old Fellow was forc'd to skuttle out of the Room, and retire behind a Dung-cart: He call'd to *Nic.* thou insolent Jackanapes, time was when thou durst not have used me so, thou now takest me unprovided, but old and infirm as I am, I shall find a Weapon by and by to chastise thy Impudence.

When *John Bull* had recover'd his Breath, he began to parly with *Nic.* Friend *Nic.* I am glad to find thee so strong after thy great Complaints; really thy Motions *Nic.* are pretty Vigorous for a consumptive Man. As for thy worldly Affairs *Nic.* if it can do thee any Service, I freely make over to thee this profitable Law-suit; and I desire all these Gentlemen to bear witness to this my Act and Deed, yours be all the Gain, as mine has been the

F

Charges,

Charges, I have brought it to bear finely; However, all I have laid out upon it goes for nothing, thou shalt have it with all its Appurtenances, I ask nothing but leave to go home.

Nic. Frog. The Counsel are fee'd, and all Things prepared for a Tryal, thou shalt be forced to stand the Issue: It shall be plead- ed in thy Name as well as mine: Go home if thou can'st, the Gates are shut, the Turn- pikes locked, and the Roads barracado'd.

J. Bull. Even these very ways *Nic* that thou toldest me, were as open to me as thy self? If I can't pass with my own Equipage, what can I expect for my Goods and Wag- gons? I am deny'd Passage through those ve- ry Grounds that I have purchased with my own Money; however, I am glad I have made the Experiment, it may serve me in some stead.

John Bull was so over-joy'd that he was going to take Possession of *Ecclesdown*, that nothing could vex him. *Nic* (quoth he) *I am just a going to leave thee, cast a kind look upon me at parting.*

Nic look'd sower and grum, and would not open his Mouth.

J. Bull. *I wish thee all the Success that thy Heart can desire, and that these honest Gentle- men of the long Robe may have their Belly full of Law.*

Nic

Nic could stand it no longer, but flung out of the Rooms with disdain, and beckon'd the Lawyers to follow him.

J. Bull. B'y, b'y Nic, not one poor Smite as parting, won't you shake your day day, Nic? B'y

Nic: With that John march'd out of the common Road cross the Country, to take Possession of Ecclefdoun.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the great Joy that John express'd when he got Possession of Ecclefdoun.

WHEN John had got into his Castle, he seem'd like Ulysses upon his Plank after he had been well fous'd in Salt-water; who (as Homer says) was as glad as a Judge going to sit down to Dinner, after hearing a long Cause upon the Bench. I dare say John Bull's Joy was equal to that of either of the two; he skip'd from Room to Room; ran up Stairs and down Stairs, from the Kitchen to the Garrets, and from the Garrets to the Kitchen; he peep'd into every Crany; sometimes he admir'd the Beauty of the Architecture, and the vast Solidity of the Mafons Work; at other times he commended the Symetry and Proportion of the Rooms. He walk'd

about the Gardens; he Bath'd himself in the Canal, swimming, diving, and beating the liquid Element, like a milk-white Swan. The Hall resounded with the sprightly Violin and the martial Hautboy. The Family trip'd it about and Caper'd like *Hail-stones bounding from a Marble Floor*: Wine, Ale and October flew about as plentifully as Kennel-Water; then a Frolick took *John* in the Head to call up some of *Nic Frog's* Pensioners that had been so mutinous in his Family.

J. Bull. Are you glad to see your Master in *Ecclesdown-Castle*?

All. Yes indeed, Sir.

J. Bull. Extremely glad?

All. Extremely glad, Sir.

J. Bull. Swear to me that you are so.

Then they began to damn and sink their Souls to the lowest Pit of Hell, if any Person in the World rejoyc'd more than they did.

J. Bull. Now hang me if I don't believe you are a parcel of perjurd Rascals; however take this Bumper of October to your Master's Health.

Then *John* got upon the Battlements, and looking over he call'd to *Nic Frog*.

How do's ye do, *Nic*? D'ye see where I am *Nic*? I hope the Cause goes on swimmingly *Nic*; when dost thou intend to go to *Clay-Pool*, *Nic*? Wilt thou buy there some High-Heads of the newest Cut for my Daughters? How comest thou to go with thy Arm ty'd

up? Has old *Lewis* given thee a rap over the Knuckles? Thy Weapon was a good one when I weilded it, but the Butt-end remains in my Hands. I am so busy in packing up my Goods, that I have no time to talk with thee any longer: It would do thy Heart good to see what Waggon Loads I am preparing for Market; if thou wantest any good Office of mine, for all that has happen'd, I will use thee well *Nic*; b'y *Nic*.

* * * *John Bull's Thanks to Sir Roger, and Nic Frog's Malediction upon all Shrews, the Original Cause of his Misfortunes, are refer'd for the next Volume.*

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IT cannot but be visible to every Man, considering the present Juncture of Affairs, how highly it concerns the Nation, to shew their utmost Prudence and Caution in the Election of such Members, that have both Capacity to know, and Will and Steadiness to pursue the true Interest of the Government and Country, so as to settle Both upon an unshaken Bottom and Foundation. The ill Consequences that have attended Corruption in Elections, are a sufficient Argument to awaken the Sense of the People, who have for so many Years *Bought* and *Sold* themselves into the Hands of a mercenary Prostitute, and complying Ministry, who had inevitably ruin'd both Church and State, had not the inimitable Conduct, Vigilance and Resolution of the last Parliament, and the nice Penetration, Learning and Fidelity of the *Lower House of Convocation*, interpos'd for the Preservation of Both. The scandalous Methods that have been taken by this Party, the sworn Enemies of our Constitution, to bribe and corrupt this present Election, upon which its Welfare so entirely depends, and the Prevention of all that Train of Mischief they have laid, is too open an Indication of their Designs, not to alarm every Honest and *True English-Man*, to endeavour what lies in his power to contribute towards the Detection of their Villany, in the Choice of such Persons as shall be ready, not only to do the Nation Right and Justice in the Discovery of this *Mystery of Iniquity*, but to bring the *Authors* of it to that Punishment they have so long deserv'd, and the Publick so justly demanded. Now to keep out such *Members*, who in the *Last Parliament* honourably signaliz'd their good Intentions in this Matter, from pursuing and accomplishing the same in *This*, all the indirect Practices have been taken, that either the fear of danger in those Men, or the hopes of settling and enlarging their unjust Power and ill-gotten Revenues, cou'd contrive or inspire. To promote this Design, their *Mint of Scandal* has been indefatigably ply'd, and every corner of the Kingdom fill'd with some malicious Libel, as False as Infamous, to traduce all the honest and most considerable part of the Nation, who having too good Estates to be Brib'd, or too much Honour to be Corrupted, were resolv'd to assert the Right and Liberty of their Country, against all the Oppression, Avarice and Usurpation of these destructive Invaders. No Man's Character was secure from those infinite Lies and Lampons; which were dealt about with no Distinction, unless it were to those Persons who were the most unworthy Object of their Slanders. To work whom out of that venerable Estimation and just Value which they had gain'd in their Countries, for the Services they had done, they were represented as Men disaffected to the Government; Brib'd into the *French Interest*, and as sour, discontented and malignant *Jacobites*, who were ready when Occasion offer'd its self, to make good those Characters in the Subversion

of the Constitution. Thus they cast a Mist upon the Eyes of the Nation more dextrously to pick their Pockets, and made themselves the Instruments of their own Ruin. But this *Popular Cant* being by the Providence of God blown over, with the *Government* that supported it, another Game must be play'd. *Her Majesty* succeeding so opportunely to the Throne, and so heartily declaring her Inclinations and Principles, in Favour and Defence of the Church, the only way to prevent Her good Designs, was to give such a false and malicious Representation of its True Members, as might at the same time poyson the Country with wrong Notions, and make them jealous of those Persons, who are as well its Truest Ornament, as the only Support of its Establishment. This was the main End and Purport of this Pamphlet here answer'd, a Paper which 'tis hard to judge, whether it contains more Malice or Falshood, less Wit or Argument. Yet such as 'tis, it was thought of that Service to the *Party*, that it was industriously dispers'd throughout the whole Kingdom, and has met with too many credulous and injudicious People, who having not Reason to discern its ill Tendency, have suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon with Cant and Harangue. Tho' the Design of it was in general against the whole Body of the *Church Party*, to exclude them out of the *Present Election*, and the Favour of their Country, yet as some particular Strokes point out their Object, so was it peculiarly levell'd, as a *Personal Brand* on that worthy Gentleman Sir *John Packer*, whose greatest Enemy is suppos'd to be its Author, and who by his high Station and Office in the Church, one would have thought had been oblig'd not to have cast such an Unchristian Abuse, and such a notoriously False and Scandalous Libel upon so eminent a Patriot and Defender of it. Yet he has appear'd so open and barefac'd in it, that this Lampoon was dispers'd by his own Son, and his Officers the *Apparitors* throughout the County of *Worcester* (and which was both a Rebuke and Contradiction to it) with the *Queen's Proclamation against Immorality*, to every Minister or Church-warden in the Diocese. How *This Honourable Gentleman* came to be Obnoxious to so much Spight and Malice, shall be reveal'd in its proper Place, wherein his Character is more immediately struck at. What sinister Practises have been carry'd on to keep him out of the Representation of *This County*, to which *He* and his *Whole Family* have been such a *Successive Honour*, is too well known to be recited here. But however it may be observ'd, that a certain *Great Man*, in his Visitation at *Worcester*, told his Reverend Brother, whose joint Endeavours in this Matter have been too apparent not to distinguish him, *That though the Zeal of the Lord of Hosts had not Eaten Him up, yet it had sorely Bit Him*: which Reflection some thought a little too severe upon one that had done very well for a Prelate of his Years, who by that time he comes to his *Diocesan's* Age, if he makes the like Progress, may not only be *Bit*, but like him *Run Mad too with Prophecy and Enthusiasm*.

But

But to leave these *Gentlemen* very Hot in the Election, and Tampering with their *Clergy*, to seduce them against their Promises, Protestations and Interest, to give their Votes to such as they know to be the professed Enemies both of their Church and Religion, let Us come to consider *Their Character*: Turn the Tables, and see how justly it may be *Retorted* upon them.

And now a Man cannot but wonder at the strange Impudence of this *Author*, who in the very Beginning enters upon an Invective against that Practice, which this very Paper is so notorious an Instance and Example of. But always the Cant of a *Whore* is upon Chastity and Modesty, more effectually to blind and catch her Cully. Here we are told of the *Power and Mischief of Party Names*, that are so apt to Deceive Us into false Opinions of Men; when they are either ignorantly or designedly apply'd to wrong Persons, and what controlling Influence they have had in Publick Elections. To what Party of People this vile Practice justly belongs let the World judge, and the Sufferings of this Nation decide. But one would have little expected to find the Character of a *Church-man* rank'd among these odious and distinguishing Appellations, and represented by any one pretending to bear it, as only a *Party-Name*, as an insidious Sound, and ensnaring Title, that carried nothing in it but *Atheism* and *Insidelity*, *Hypocrisy* and *Malice*, *Vice* and *Irreligion*, *Sedition*, *Disloyalty* and *Rebellion*, *Dissention* and *Superstition*; and, in a word, *Republicanism* and *Fanaticism*. A Man that understands the Sense of the Word, and knows the Persons it has been always justly apply'd to, by the universal Consent of the Nation, cannot but wonder how any one could be so ignorant as to appropriate it, or so villainous as to *Design* to couch such a vile Heap of Inconsistencies, under a Term that is a profess'd Contradiction to every one of 'em. But this *Author's Wit* and *Reason* are both of a piece, and his *Logick* and *Prophecy* equally infallible. He ought to have consider'd this to be a very high Charge and heinous Accusation, and to have been well assur'd, both of the *Person* and *Character*, before he presum'd to fix his odious Imputation upon either. Especially since He tells Us, that 'tis *Sufficient to Unqualify any Man to serve God, his King, or his Country in Church and State, or to bear any Publick Office or Trust in either*. Here truly the *Design* is laid Open, and this Brand and Mark set upon some Men to exclude 'em out of that Government, which this Party has so basely Usurp'd and Abus'd, and which they know others of true Principles, that have either a real Love for their Church or Country, would endeavour to redress and relieve. Which is one of the greatest Objections he has against this Honourable Gentleman, Sir *John Pakington*. More effectually to expose these Persons to the ill Will and Malice of the Multitude, they are stigmatiz'd with the distinguishing Character of *High-Church-Men*, and set out as the Object of all the Insolence and Affront that *Malice*, join'd with *Power*, cou'd pass upon them. Whilst they *Sandify* and *Consecrate* those of the *Dissent Principle*, with the Fashionable and Endearing Name of *Low-Church-Men*, endeavouring by the Abuse of the Name, utterly to

Subvert and Extirpate the Thing it self. For whilst the Church is thus *Divided against it self*, and the World impos'd upon, with wrong and scandalous Notions of it, it is impossible that either its Religion or Constitution should be kept up from falling, when those that are its *Supports* prove its worst *Traytors* and *Underminers*. To undeceive these who have been misled in this Matter, and to vindicate the *Church* and its *True Sons* from this unreasonable Calumny, let us see which Side can *lay the fairest Claim to her Character, which has the clearest Right to it, can best Answer, and most Honour that Name*. To follow the Method our Author has prescribed, we will put the Issue of the Tryal on the Examination of these Six Heads. 1. As to Faith and Principles. 2. As to the Communion of the Church. 3. As to Life and Conversation. 4. As to Loyalty and Obedience to the Civil Government. 5. As to Conformity to the Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline. 6. As to Steadiness and Uniformity in all Times, Governments and Circumstances. And first, As to Faith and Principles. Here we meet with a mighty Discovery, that a *True Church-man ought to be a Christian*. As if 'twere possible to separate those Terms, and it was not as much Sense to affirm a Man might be a Christian and of no Church, as that he can be a *Church-man* and not profess the Principles of Christianity. We must certainly expect wonderful Demonstration to follow, when such *Oracular Sentences* lead the way. But Error is of that fruitful Nature, that having committed one Blunder, he cou'd not chuse but make another *Bull*, to keep it in Countenance. We are therefore told upon his Division of the Church, that the other part of it consists of *Atheists* and *Infidels*, which besides the uncharitable and unjustifiable Supposition, were it True, makes them no longer a Part or Branch of the Church: so that here is a *Division* into *One*. This Piece of Spiritual Pride of distinguishing Men by their Sanctity, and casting Villainous Names upon Others, under the Pharisaical Pretence and *Form of Godliness*, is one of those pious Doctrines and Policies the *Low-Church Party* have learnt of their Dear Friends and Brethren the *Fanatics*; and to make them all of a Piece, and as agreeable in their Language as they are in their Practice. We find 'em here Borrowing their *Old Cant*, and reviling their Neighbours in the Solemn Dialect of *XLI*. that they are *The Synagogue of Satan, and no Great Believers in God and Jesus Christ; that they are Blasphemers and Ridiculers of the Scripture, &c.* Certainly the Church of England never taught her *Sons* to use this unmannerly and reproachful Stile, in which they as much shew their Breeding, as their Sense and Religion. But to enter into the Merits of the Cause, and to see where this Character is to be plac'd. It may not only be affirm'd, that those that call themselves *Low-Church-men* are not, but that by their very Principles they are oblig'd not to be Christians. For a Man that is of no Religion can never pretend to that Name. And he that is of All Religions is really of no Religion. Now to cloak this Impiety, they stile themselves in *Indefinite Terms*, *Protestants at large*; that is, of all Religions be-
sides

sides the *Popish*, which they will not allow to be such, and so by an *Universal Latitude, Comprehension and Indifference* to every Sect and Party, but that of the *True Establish'd Church*, they run into the common Herd, and are *Deists, Socinians, Quakers, Anabaptists* or *Independents, Turks or Jews* upon Occasion, take all to be equally Orthodox, as it suits best with their Interest: and espouse the Principles of any, that are most likely to be Serviceable to their Secular Designs. To carry on which, they can find Nine and Thirty Senses to every one of the Nine and Thirty Articles, and yet all equally True and Consistent; and tho' never so Destructive and Repugnant to each other, yet they can subscribe 'em all with a *Comprehensive Faith, and General Belief*, as so many Fundamental Tenets and Amicable Opinions. With what Impudence can these Men call this *Medly of Contradiction* the Faith and Doctrine of the *Church of England*, or pretend to be Partakers in that *Sacred Depositum*, which they so manifestly endeavour to destroy and annihilate? With what Conscience can they fall foul on others as *Moderate Believers*, who have not the least Shadow of any Belief? Were the *High-Church Party* such as they represent, yet even in this Allowance they must grant them the Superiority and Preference. Who can with Patience hear such *Ambodexters* object the *Ridiculing of Religion, and the Scriptures, and Blaspheming God*, who so openly derive a Contempt, Mock and Affront upon 'em all, and Establish nothing, by their sordid Compliance, but *Atheism and Infidelity* in the World? Can any one Believe the Word of God, that thus Distorts and Wrests it to any Meaning, and makes it speak what Sense he pleases, to Authorize and Countenance a Secular Design? That can Justify the *Revolution* out of the *Apocalypse*, and maintain *Rebellion* out of the *13th* of the *Romans*? Resolve *Monarchy* into *Popular Power*, and *Bishopric* into *Presbytery* out of *Timothy* and *Titus*? These Men use the Scriptures as an *Orvietan* to all their Poysons, to expel their Malignity, to make 'em go down, and pass glibly off, without Danger or Injury? But to make this Matter clear, We will sum up the *Articles* of a *Low-Church-man's Creed*. Tho' We must intreat the Reader to be content with a *Negative Description* of it, for He has no *Positive standing Rule of Faith*.

He Believes very Little or no Revelation, and had rather lay His Faith upon the *Substantial Evidences of His Own Reason*, than the precarious Authority of *Divine Testimony*. So that if He does suppose the Being of a God, as for the Nature of Jesus Christ, He is not concern'd about His Divinity, whether His Union is Hypostatical or Accidental, being an utter Enemy to Hard Terms in Religion. And therefore the Scholastick Jargon of the Trinity will ill suit with One of so Polite a Genius, so that He had rather be a Deist, Socinian, or Nestorian, than to Affront his Own Understanding with Believing what is Incomprehensible, or be so Rude as to Obtrude on Others what He cannot Himself Explain. He Thinks the *Articles* of the Church too Stiff, Formal and Strait-lac'd a Rule to Confine His Faith in, and Complements 'em out of their Rigour and Severity.

He sets Loose to All Opinions, can Embrace those of Every Sect, and is too Good-Natur'd to Prosecute any One for Heresy or Schism. He looks upon the Censuring Atheism, Infidelity or False Doctrine, as a Dogmatical Usurpation, as an Intrusion and Breaking in upon That Human Liberty, which He sets up as the Measure and Extent of His Belief. He makes the most He can of This World, being not Over-confident of any Other : However, He Hopes God will be better than His Word, and not so Cruel as to Punish Him with Everlasting Torments for a short and Temporary Enjoyment. So when He comes to Dye, He does not Trouble Himself about Confession, Repentance or Sacraments, those Formal Ordinances made to Quiet Timorous and Scrupulous Consciences, but concludes a Spiritual Guide is of no Use to One who is Going to take a Leap in the Dark. God Deliver Us from Such Church-men, and the Church from the Scandal of such Pretenders.

The Second Criterion allerdg'd, whereby We are to Discern the Character of a True Church-man, is by His Communion with the Church. Which Communion is here stated on a bare, naked Communicating only in Religious Offices, Prayers and Sacraments. But if this is alone Sufficient to Entitle Men to This Sacred Character, certainly *Owen*, *Bates* and *Baxter* were as Good Church-men as Our Author, who knows in particular, that one of 'em received the Sacrament in a Church in London, Sitting, from the hands of one of his Dear Friends. It is well known how Great Patrons and Advocates they were of this Principle of the Low-Church, in allowing Occasional Communion, the most Pernicious and Destructive Principle that ever the Church of England suffer'd under, and the Greatest Cloak for Spiritual Hypocrisy ; for a Redress whereof, She has long made Her Complaint in Vain to the Royal Power, and the Assembly of the Nation. This is that which Blinds Her Eyes, that She cannot Discern Her Enemies from Her Friends, that She often takes those to be Such, who make no other Use of Her Offices and Favours, than to Qualify themselves more Secretly and effectually to Undermine Her. Who upon Occasion can Swallow Her Sacraments with as much Ease, as formerly they did the Covenant. And take an Oath from Her, more Religiously to be against Her. A Church-Fanatick is no Contradiction in Practice and Experience, whatever it may be in Terms. Neither is it any strange News to meet with these Church-goers, as they are called, who shall constantly frequent Her Communion, and yet keep a Presbyterian Chaplain in their Houses, to Debauch Their Families with their Extemporary Cant ; and at the Hearing whereof some of this Author's Great Friends have Patiently attended, notwithstanding their Obligations to Assert the Common-Prayer : So that 'tis not in the least impossible, but that any Man may thus openly pretend a great Outward Zeal and Affection for the True Establish'd Worship of the Church of England, and be notwithstanding Privately as Great Friends and Promoters of the Interest of the Conventicle. There's no knowing Men's Principles but by their Practice, and if their Pretended Principles and real Practices

Practices thwart and interfere, We are to judge the Man by the *Evidence* of the one, and not by the *Profession* of the Other : There is therefore something more Essential to entitle a Man to the *Character of a True Church-man*, than barely Communicating in its Offices, which the most rigid of the *Fanatics* will allow ; namely, An hearty Promotion of its true Interests, a steady Adherence to its Establishment, a strict Defence of its Doctrines and Discipline, and Observance of its Rules, an Open and a Publick Appearance for its Rights and Privileges, for its Honour and Service, whenever they lye at Stake, or are call'd in Question. On the contrary, how Cautious are these *Low-Church-men* in declaring Openly their Opinions in its Favour ? How will they Shuffle about, and Guard themselves with Excuses, when its Interest comes in Competition with their Own, or any ways exposes them to Danger ? Is there any of 'em that will Stick by Her in a Plunge and Distress ? In this alone they are the true Disciples of Christ, when their Lord and Master comes to try their Faith and Trust, they never fail to *Forsake Him and Fly*. Have they not always Join'd our Enemies, when any Vote that concern'd Us, or the Publick Welfare of the *Church or Nation*, was to pass ? Were they not, even the Greatest among 'em, under the Pretence for being *for the Government*, industrious to Subvert Our *Constitution*, and for the *Church*, to overthrow its *Establishment* ? Let their Principles be what they will, Interest alone is that they Act upon, which will make 'em Trim and Comply with any Party, look one way and Row another, protest for the Communion of the Church, and Betray it, whenever they can do it with Safety and Advantage : And yet these Religious *Double-Dealers*, in Our *Author's* Opinion, are as franch Church-men as Himself, and may perhaps as justly lay Claim to the Character : Who here under a Pretence of Inveighing against a Man of no Religion, has so cunningly manag'd His Point, as if He insinuated, that a Church-man might Comply with any, and *If the Communicating with Dissenters, can give any Men the Title of Church-men*, I own they have the best Claim to it of any under Heaven : And I think 'tis a Question of no great Difficulty to be Decided, whether One had not as well profess no Religion, as espouse one Notoriously *false*, made up of Inconsistencies and Self-Contradictions, of Superstition, Heresy and Enthusiasm. We are here told they *All agree in Worshipping God, and Differ only in Modes of Worship*. By this we may Guess what Our *Latinudinarian* Writer means by *Modes of Worship*, that is not only the whole *Orders and Discipline* of the Church, but most of its Essential *Doctrines and Sacraments*, which are it seems, Things *Indifferent* in their Nature, to be comply'd with or *Rejected* at Pleasure : But before I dismiss this Paragraph, which is very full of kind Inuendo's to the Dissenters and their *Nearness to the Church of England*, which they would make much Nearer, it may not be amiss to Observe another Pernicious Mistake, wherein the Division of the Church-Members is brancht out into *Men professing some Religion, and Men*
professing

professing none, as tho' Some Atheists were Men of Religion, and he Intimates who they are, viz. Such as don't pretend to be Church-men, but go often to Church or Conventicle (here insinuated if not allow'd) with some Signs of Devotion. These it seems are Friends, and must be Spar'd, for 'tis well known how Serviceable they have been to This profligate Party, which consists of such a Majority of 'em, that their Interest and Character is chiefly, if not wholly supported by Them.

So that if, as the Whole World has allow'd, the Company a Man keeps, and the Friends he makes Use of is the best Distinction of his Character, a Low-Church-man is One, who though He professes Himself to be of the Communion of the Church of England, and sometimes Joins in His Religious Offices, in Prayers and Sacraments, yet He has that Tender Regard to Weak Brethren, that upon Occasion, He can see the Inside of a Conventicle, be of any Synagogue, but that of Satan, and can Shew more Signs of Devotion, at the Heat and Rapture of an Extemporary Cant, than at the Cold, Flat Forms of the Ungifted Liturgy. He is of such a Condescending Spirit, that rather than Offend Religious Ears, He will Silence the Unhallowed Sound of an Organ, and so careful to Avoid All the Reliques of Popery, that He will not by any means Chant his Litany or Creed, but before Sermon can Whine out a Long-winded Prayer; and in Nothing more shews His Obstinacy against Superstition, than in Standing Stiff at the Name of Jesus. He can dispense with that Idolatrous Posture of Kneeling at the Sacrament, and that He may not lose my Lady's Favour, He will Christen the Child at home, and Omit the Sign of the Cross. If His Presbyterian Patron requires, He can leave off the Surplice, and rather than give Scandal in Lawn, can even Consecrate Scotch-Cloth. To serve His Good Old-Cause, He can quit his Dear Moderation, and warmly express his Zeal at Elections, where He can Charitably Insinuate Men of the Clearest Reputations, Fortunes and Families, to be Enemies to the Government, Jacobites and French Pensioners. And if his Merit and Friends advance Him to be a Member, neither the Interest of Church nor State shall Bribe Him from being Grateful, as being a Man of that steady Honour and Conscience, that He will never Betray the Trust repos'd in Him. There is too Great a Party of these, their Neighbours must know them, and I hope for the Honour of Religion, will never call them Church-men.

The Third Criterion propos'd to Judge a True Church-man by, is his Life and Conversation. Now tho' 'tis certain, that True Principles ought to have that Power over a Man's Actions, as to render 'em conformable, yet 'tis as certain, that a Man's Faith may be Right, and yet His Practice Wrong. There is not such a Necessary and Irresistible Influence from the Understanding over the Will, but that the Conscience may clearly apprehend one in Sin and Error, and at the same time Explode and Disallow it in Judgment. So that Ill Lives must not be charg'd upon the Doctrines and Principles of a Church, nor the true Part of the Church of England condemn'd, because some of its Members do

not come up to its Doctrines. There is no Church in the World, that has laid stricter Rules of Vertue and Morality on her Sons, than the *Church of England*, but nevertheless it cannot be expected, but that she must have some in Her *Communion*, that cannot rise to that Pitch of Holiness and Perfection she has enjoin'd, and that may be Guilty of some Errors and Miscarriages in their Lives. This is the common Misfortune, not only of Her self (who has Guarded the most Cautiously against the Objection) but of all Other *Churches* in the World, and can't be otherwise, as long as they consist of Men. These are the Excrecences of its Body, and are to be lookt upon as Preternatural Tumours, which may indeed a little Disadvantage its Beauty, but no ways reflect on its Constitution : But why that Catalogue of Enormous Sins here mention'd, *Drunkenness, Swearing, Adultery, Fornication, &c.* should with a Sly *Inuendo* be put as a Distinction of Her Professors, will be found as little unaccountable for in Reason, as 'tis manifestly False in Experience. If these General, Scandalous Imputations have not some Particular Aim and Object, they are meer Arrows shot at Random, and the Effects of Envy, Spight and Malice, casting about their Venom, in hopes it may Light upon some, that may have the Misfortune to come in their Way and Reach. This was the Old Policy of the *Fanaticks*, to draw a *General Character*, and to leave the Application of it to those whose *Humour, Interest or Revenge* cou'd induce 'em to appropriate it to their Enemies. This Specious Pretence to Godliness, and *Sandify'd Railing* against Vice, smells so strong of the *Pharisee*, that 'tis always to be suspected to be the Mask and Disguise of Hypocrisy, to cover Scandal in those that *Deserve* it, and to derive the Reproach of it upon those that do not. Now if to *Recriminate* were an Argument, how easy were it to Retort this Objection upon the *Low-Church Party*, which has been the meer *Conflux* and *Sink* of *Debauchery*, the very *Refuge* and *Asylum* of *Villains* of all Sorts, Sizes and Characters ? when they have been Spew'd out of the Communion of the *Church*, there they never fail'd of a kind Treatment, and a favourable Reception, as Persons of their Own Colour, Hue and Complexion, enrag'd against the *Church*, ready to undertake any Villanous Design, and to join in any Conspiracy to Subvert and Overturn its Constitution. And now with what Face can these Men call out for *Church-Discipline*, who are such a Standing Mock and Affront upon it ? What a *Solemn Ridicule* is it for those who have always made Use of such Lewd, Profligate and Scandalous Instruments to manage their Cause, to Declaim upon *Ecclesiastical Authority*, and *Church-Censures*, and to tell Us they lie under *Restraints*, and cannot be duly Executed. But I desire them to tell Me, *Who* have occasion'd these *Restraints*, who have been the Obstacles and Impediments that have stept in betwixt their Power and Execution, and have so scandalously prevented it ? To whom does the Church owe its Weakness and Impotency, but either to those *Supream Officers* that are its Judges, who have

stopt that Power in themselves, or have given it out of the Church, and Betray'd that Sacred Branch of its Prerogative, Its only Support and Defence, into the Hands of the *Civil Power*? What a wretched Instance had We of this in the *Last Convocation*? Wherein the *Lower-House*, well knowing what Mischievous Effects the *Unlimited License* of the *Press* had produc'd, to corrupt and destroy both the *Religion* and *Morality* of the Nation, wisely interpos'd; to put a Stop to the Growing Evil, by selecting out of that Infinite Number that *Swarm'd* up and down, one of the most *Atheistical Pamphlets* that ever was suffer'd to be Published in any *Christian Church* and *Government*; and passing their Just Censure upon these Damnable Tenets and Pernicious Principles, that so evidently overturn'd all Christianity. Both the *Book* and the *Author*, if He had been apprehended, had undergone the same Just Fate in *Ireland*, which had set a very handsome President for the *English Church* to follow, who certainly ought not to be less Jealous or concern'd for their *Interest, Doctrine* and *Honour*, which were all so Visibly struck at. How notoriously impudent and bare-fac'd were not only the Professors of *Deism, Socinianism, Heresy, Atheism*, and all sorts of *Infidelity*, together with the *Patrons of Rebellion, Regicide, Republicanism* and *Paganism*, with all their Scurrilous and Reproachful *Writings*, (enough to sink a Nation) let pass up and down amongst us with Freedom and Impunity, I am unwilling to say Approbation? And was it not then High Time for the Church to begin to Exert Its Authority, and to execute that Power deriv'd to it, as well from its *Primitive Constitution*, as Lodg'd in it by the *Legal Grant*, and Corroborated by the *Civil Establishment*, to prevent so Threatning a Danger, by Branding one of the most Notorious *Offenders*, for a Dreadful Example to the Rest?

And could one Imagine, that so Laudable, so Pious and so Necessary a Design, upon which the Welfare and Subsistence of our *Government*, as well as *Religion*, depended, so much for the Honour of the *Kingdom*, as well as the Glory of *God*, should have been Openly Oppos'd and Prevented by those who were the *Legal Sworn Executioners* of this Power? And that when such a Vile and *Despicable* Wretch, as *Toland*, stood in Competition with the Church, that She should Lose Her Cause, even by Her Own *Judges*, and in Her own *Court*? But it seems, there was something more at the Bottom. If this *Censuring* was carry'd on, they did not know where 't might end, and some *Dear Friends* might come under the Lash of this *Ecclesiastical Scourge*, and accidentally partake of that Punishment, which was design'd only for Enemies. This was a Tender Point, and made a *Self-Conscious Pretare*, with wise Precaution, step in to Guard against that Danger which so visibly threaten'd him. But the Courage and Resolution of the *Lower-House*, that would not be born down by any Opposition, though from never so *Powerful a Party*, obstinately persisted in their just Endeavours, and charg'd *Error* and *Heterodoxy* on One of the most Considerable Members of the

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the *Upper-House*, in misrepresenting, distorting and corrupting the true and Genuine Scope and Sense of the *Articles* of the *Church*, which seem'd to be a *Work* framed with so *pernicious* and *treacherous* a Design, as if the *Author* intended to lay these *Sacred Boundaries* of Our *Faith* wide Open, to let in all Our *Enemies*, of whatsoever Persuasion, into Our *Communion*, to Triumph in the Ruin of the *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Constitution* of Our *Church*. This Pious Piece, which was a Draught of the *Author's* *Diffusive Charity* and *Moderation*, was it seems Contrived to have led the way for that noble Design of Arch-bishop *Tillotson*, in the Beginning of the *Last Revolution*, to have fetch'd in All *Dissenters* upon the same Bottom with that of the *Church of England*; and by altering, circumcising and abolishing its *Rubrick*, *Liturgy* and *Canons*, to have Establish'd the *Low-Church Party* upon their Own Universal and *Comprehensive Principles*: But the *Clergy* cou'd do no more than Express their Just Zeal in this Matter, and were forc'd at length to make their *Appeal* to the *Press*, where We doubt not, by those excellent *Specimens* they have already given to the World, but that they will make good their *Charge*, and vindicate the Honour and Faith of their *Native Church*, against all the false and scandalous Representations a *Foreign Invader* and a *False Defender* can cast upon them.

Let therefore these Persons be asham'd to impose upon the World, with the idle Pretences of the *Inefficacy*, and *Restraints* of *Ecclesiastical Power* and *Discipline*, which they themselves have thus Weaken'd and Enervated, and in time, had not an *Opportune Providence* interpos'd, would have utterly annihilated and destroy'd: And to Colour this Design a little over, and make it look a little more plausible, instead of this *Ancient, Primitive Discipline* of the *Church*, which for so many Ages has, like a Rampart, secur'd its Religion from *Vice* and *Immorality*, *Schism* and *Heresy*, we must have substituted in its Place, a *Society for the Reformation of Manners*, wherein every *Tradesman* and *Mechanic* is to take upon him the Gift of the Spirit, and to expound the Difficult Passages of Scripture, and every *Justice of Peace* is allow'd to settle Its Canon, and Infallibly Decide what is *Orthodox* or *Heretical*: And now to what End or Purpose must all these Alterations be made, and this Mungril Institution be brought into the Church? But only to insinuate an Insufficiency in Its *Discipline*, to over-turn Its *Ancient Genuine Constitution*, to betray Its Power into the Hands of *Lay-Eldership* and *Fanaticism*, and to leave it dependant and precarious on the Will and Humour of the Senseless and Giddy Multitude? Thus, in all their Proceedings, This Party, to Curry Favour with the People, the main Instrument and Engine of their Designs, have complemented 'em at no less an Expence than the Corruption of the *Faith*, the Subversion of the *Discipline*, and the Alienation of the *Rights*, *Powers* and *Privileges* of the *Establish'd Church*: And yet these are the Men that Boast of their Sanctify'd Lives, and so Devoutly Reproach Those of much Better, and who actually

shut Others out of that Church, to which They have not the least Claim themselves; but are so Unqualify'd to enter it, that they would avoid both the Name and Place, did they not want a Cloak for their Sly Impieties and Immoralities, and hope, that a pretended Zeal for Religion should Atone for their Real Enmity to the Church.

Now, though We are Unwilling to Recriminate, yet in Drawing a Low-Church-man's Life, We must do Him This Justice, to set it out in its Proper Colours, and to the best Advantage, and to let the World know, That He is as Good in his Actions, as He is in his Principles. Though He is as much a Friend to the Sin as He would represent his Adversary the High-Church-man, yet He is a Bitter Enemy to the Scandal; and as for those Enormous Crimes of Drunkenness, Fornication, Adultery, Swearing, &c. He hates them in Nothing so much as in the Name and Discovery: He shews Himself an Entire Master of the Saint's Perfection, Hypocrisy; and can, with an Outward Simplicity, Varnish the Blackest Villany, and make Faction, Knavery and Rebellion, pass for Religion. No wonder that He who allows such a Latitude to His Thoughts, should no less Indulge it in His Life. He is in every Thing for the Liberty of the Subject. He looks upon Matrimony as too Great a Confinement, and is not for Stinting His Pleasures to Either Sex: But takes Care to Manage his Private and Sly Intrigues so closely, as to keep himself out of the Reach of that Spiritual Correction, which he is so forward to bring upon Others. He is always Declaiming against the Vice of the Age, and the Insufficiency of our Laws to Restrain it; and more securely to Cloak it, He Screens Himself under a Pretended Society to Reform it. But whatever Protection or Advantage the Name of Religion may, by the Unwariness or Design of others, gain these Men, I am sure it can bring nothing but Scandal and Reproach upon the Church. Never let a Sacred Name be thus Prostituted, to Countenance Wickedness, or take off any Part of the Shame and Infamy that Belongs to it.

The Fourth Mark We have of a Church-man's Character is his Loyalty: That He is True to the Interest both of Church and State, as by Law Establish'd. This indeed, He justly tells Us, has been the Glory of the True Sons of the Church of England: And being something Conscious how little Claim the Low-Church Party could in Right lay to this Character, which they have so Basely Violated, he very Cautiously Guards them with a Distinction, contradicts what He had just before Laid down, and accuses the Church of England of False Doctrine, being Convinc'd, that her Principles relating to Government were utterly inconsistent with, and repugnant to their Practices: To wipe off which Reproach He insinuates, She has prest the Point of Obedience and Subjection too far, even to the setting up Arbitrary Power, and the Will of the Prince above Law: But He recalls himself, and tells Us, That this is a Misrepresentation of the True Doctrine of Obedience taught in Our Church, which was Oppos'd to Faction and Sedition, not to a Legal Government: This is strange Incoherent Shuffling,

Shuffling, and shews Our Author to be *Pres'd* with an Objection, whatever Our Church is with Her Doctrine: For a true Knowledge whereof, this Paper has very justly directed Us to her *Homilies, Liturgies, Canons, &c.* Wherein I defy the Author to shew Me any such Silly, Time-serving and Rebellious Distinction, as is here alledg'd of a *Legal Government*. We find *Passive Obedience* as 'tis Stated there, without any Limitations or Exceptions, and as no *Conditional*, but as an *Absolute Duty*. Let the *Consequences* of it be what they will, we are not to consider them in Submission to any of God's Commands: the Question is, whether, as 'tis thus Explain'd, it does not stand ratify'd by the *Divine Authority*, and the *Express Words of the Scripture*. That this was the Opinion of *Our Church*, as well as *State*, our *Lawyers* as well as *Divines*, I shall appeal only to the plain Words of the *Oath of Allegiance*. I shall not enter upon this Argument, which of late Years has been so fully Discuss'd, that it has left the Point under no Doubt or Ambiguity. If there is a Revolution in Mens Opinions, together with Times and Circumstances, this Doctrine however will be found of an *Eternal and Indispensable Truth*, and is as much the greatest Guard and Support of *Government*, as 'tis the noblest Distinction of the *Loyalty of our Ancient Church*. What *Prince or Government* can be safe, where Our Author's Principle is admitted, *That Obedience is a Duty only Owing to settled Governments administr'd by Legal Methods*? For if the People are to be Judges of the *Legality of Princes Actions*, and every Misconduct or Male-administration is a *Forfeiture of the Crown*, Obedience is so *precarious* a Duty, that it loses its Nature according to the *Humour, Will or Fashion* of the Multitude; and there can be no such thing as *Rebellion* in the World, which never yet wanted a *Legal Pretence* to justify it: But to give this *Position* a New Turn, least it might be made use of against Themselves, We find Our Author *Softeing and Tempering* its Rigour, and telling Us, that in *All Governments in the Imperfect State of this World*, there ever have, and will be several *Faults and Miscarriages in the Administration*: And how easy it is to improve, *exasperate and blacken* those with the worst *Colours*, to the Subversion of any State, we need recur no farther for an Example, than to the Misfortune of that *Best* as well as *Unhappiest* of Kings, *Charles the First*.

But considering the pernicious Consequence of this *Political* (for it can never be *Term'd Religious*) *Tenet*, what a Paradox is it, to hear Men professing it, Inveighing against its Natural and Necessary Product, *Faction and Sedition, and Imbroiling Government*? Which is a piece of *Harangue* calculated for the *Late Reign*: In which, if any of *Those Gentlemen*, here Struck at shew'd Themselves *Uneasy*, through a Tender concern for the *Safety and Welfare of the Nation*, as well as the *Preservation and Establishment of the Church*, it is to be charg'd on *That Party and Ministry* alone which so Visibly Endanger'd Both. If his Majesty's Person or Authority was brought under any disregard or contempt,

tempt, it was owing to Their *False Counsels* and *Ensnaring Practices*; who, to accomplish their Own Private Ends, had Trickt and Betray'd Him into a Jealousy of his *Best Friends*, and a confidence in his and His Kingdom's *Worst Enemies*, in such a Base, Treacherous and undermining Set of Fellows, who were posted as so many *State-Machines* ready to Say, Do or Be any Thing, as they were Acted by those behind the *Curtain*, to Amuse the People, and Pick their Pockets. To Maintain this *Nuisance* of the Nation such prodigious Sums were Lavish'd, as may Entail a standing *Debt* upon our Posterity, and made Us as *Poor* at Home as they had represented Us *Scandalous* and *Contemptible* Abroad. To Remove these Publick *Blood-Suckers*, that had brought our Kingdom and Government into a *Consumption*, was the noble Design of these *Patriots*, who were for *Disabusing the King*, clearing that Mist they had cast before his Eyes, and representing the Danger they had brought his *Honour, Interest* and *Crown* into: To prevent which, they shew'd him the Necessity of Establishing a *Triennial Parliament*, to secure it from that *Corruption* and *Bribery* a great Number of its *Members* stood so scandalously convicted of? That for the Satisfaction of his People, the *Publick Accounts* ought to have been stated, and the *Misapplication* and *Embezzlement* of that vast Quantity of *Money* and *Forfeited Estates* laid Open, that at least we might have seen how we came so deeply involv'd in *Debt*: That the *Treaty of Partition*, instead of bringing Us an Honourable Peace, had not only brought a General *Disgrace* upon Our Selves and Allies, but had engag'd us further into *War* and *Ruin*: With many other Great and Enormous Grievances, enough to sink and subvert Our *Constitution*. On the other Hand, This Party, thinking themselves not Secure, Labour'd hard for a *Standing Army*, to keep the *Kingdom* under *Terror* and *Slavery*; that failing, they brought a *Mob* on the *House of Commons* to hinder their *Impeachments*, and to fright them into the Betraying that Great Rampart of the common *Rights* and *Liberties*; and at last forc'd the King, as contrary to his Own Interest as that of the Nation, to Dissolve this Parliament, whose utmost Endeavours and Consultations were to settle and establish Both; and who in all their *Votes* had shewn themselves the *Best Patriots*, and the most Resolute Asserters of the Honour and Liberty of their *Country*, and the Power and Privileges of their *Establish'd Church*: So that this Scandalous Reflection here of *Sedition* and *Faction*, which is in particular charg'd upon Sir *John Packington*, who had the Honour to be One of those Worthy Gentlemen that so Gloriously Signaliz'd themselves in the Defence of the Nation, is a General Brand and Reproach upon the *Whole Body of the House of Commons*; who to prevent any false Representations of them, have, by *Order of the House*, Printed their Reasons in their Addresses to his Majesty, which will for ever stand as an Undeniable and Immortal Vindication of their Proceedings.

And now, if there were some Administrations in the State which *Those Gentlemen*, out of a sincere Love and Concern for the Welfare of their Country, thought themselves Oblig'd not only to express their Dislike of, but as became the Duty of their Post, to endeavour to Redress; it were to be Wish'd there had not been some Miscarriages too in the *Church*, and such a Misconduct in some of its most *Considerable Officers*, as they could not without Trouble see who were *Friends* to its *Constitution*, and Well-wishers to the *Order*. Whatever Reasons might have induc'd Others to exercise their Authority in *Doubtful Cases of Blood*, yet These might have Exempted themselves from that *Jurisdiction*, and Wav'd a *Privilege* which any One would have gladly avoided, even in an *Ambiguous* Matter, and much more where it seem'd to run counter to the common Sense and express Law of the Nation. If in this and some other Publick Transaction, with which the *Clergy* were not Oblig'd to Intermeddle, some of them had *Prostituted* their *Character*, and deriv'd an *Odium* on their Persons, they could not Blame those who were concern'd for Both, if either in their *Conversation* or *Writings* they did not allow that *Respect* to such of their *Spiritual Fathers*, which as they thought due to their Sacred Function, was in some Measure forfeited by those that sustain'd it: Who, whether They were *Courted* or *Brib'd*, or out of a mean and sordid compliance, upon *All Accounts* fell in with the *Honour and Fancy* of Those who long'd to see the *Order* Betray'd, and Its *Honour and Dignity* Expos'd and Violated, and who were profess'd *Enemies* to its *Establishment and Constitution*. The *Favour and Tenderness* shewn to this Profligate *Fanatical* Party, and the *Ill Usage and Insolence* express'd to those of their *Own Clergy*, who did not only *Deserve*, but might justly Demand the contrary, and who were Excluded out of *Preferment*, *Brow-beaten*, and *Abus'd* for Vindicating the *Doctrines* of their *Church* from *Their Heretodoxical Misrepresentations*, might be thought a sufficient cause, as well to prevent this *Scandalous* Objection of Failure in Point of *Canonical Obedience*, as to Justify that *Open* complaint they have laid to their charge. These *Defects* in *Our Governors Ecclesiastical and Civil* were so Great and Manifest, as ought perhaps by Every Good Man to be Lamented, but by None could either be *Conceal'd* or *Excus'd*, unless 'twere to the Publick Prejudice of the Kingdom, and the *Eternal* Disadvantage and Ruin of the *Church*. The *Case* of the *Bishop of St. Davids* is a notorious Instance, to whom the exposing the *Episcopal Order* is to be justly imputed: But had they went through with their *Designs*, they had receiv'd the *Thanks* of the *Publick* for that *National Piece* of Justice: But the Keeping in *Another* that was equally as *Notoriously* Guilty of the same heinous Crime, and that purely to *Serve a Turn*, did not give a little Scandal and Offence to those who expected *Impartiality* and upright *Dealing* from a *Spiritual Court*, Judging over an *Affair* which so highly concern'd the *Honour and Reputation* of the *Clergy*: And if

that was a little better consulted, We should not hear those *Impudent Invektives* so frequently cast upon 'em by their *Visitors* in their *Charges* and *Sermons* out of which the *Laitie* gather such *Scandalous Materials*, to asperse and abuse their *Ministers* by this *Holy Example* set before 'em : *But if to expose Failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, was never any part of the Spirit of Our Church*, how exactly some Men act by its Rule, and whether He that so much pretends to the *Revelation of the Spirit*, has had this *Spirit* upon him, let the World Judge : If *Railing*, as 'tis suppos'd here, is a *Title to the Church*, it is the only Qualification these *Low-Church-men* have to lay claim to it, who have been resolv'd to make their Party Good one way at least, and to shew themselves no ways Deficient in *Lying, Scandal* and *Reproach*, whatever they were in *Wit* or *Learning*, *Good Language* or *Good Manners* : One Notorious Instance whereof I cannot but take particular Notice of, which to the Shame and Disgrace of Our *Nation, Church* and *Government*, has been suffer'd so Openly and Impudently to appear every where, I mean that *Fanatical* and *Villainous Blaspheming* the *Sacred Person* of *King Charles the First*, together with *All his Royal Offspring* ; whose *Lives* and *Actions* have been so basely Bely'd and Traduc'd, and their *Reigns* and *Characters* so infamously Misrepresented and Abus'd, that this *Blessed Prince*, who so bravely Seal'd Our Faith with his *Blood*, has as 'twere undergone a *Second Martyrdom*, and felt a *Double Share* of *Malice, Revenge* and *Murder*, in his *Memory*. What was the Aim of this *Rebellious* and *Damnable Design* was too apparent, by that *Glancing Turn* they gave their *Scandals* : For, besides wounding the *Church of England* in the most tender part of Her Honour, they thought this was the most effectual way to Destroy it, by deriving such a *Reproach* upon the *Last Relique* of the *Royal Family* (which God out of his *Mercy* has preserv'd as Its *Last Support* and *Only Defence*) to have first *Excluded Her* out of Her *Subjects* good *Opinions*, and afterwards out of *That Throne* to which not only *Her Successive Right*, but *Her Personal Merit* has by *Good Providence* Advanc'd Her : And we need not Question, though *Her Mercy* and *Piety* will prevail upon Her to forgive Their wicked Intentions, yet *Her Prudence* and *Policy* will effectually Guard both Her *Self* and Her *Church*, Her *Government* and *Religion*, for the future, against such *Faithless, Treacherous* and *Insidious Enemies*.

And now, if We come to take a further View of a *Low-Churchman's Life*, We shall find His *Behaviour*, in relation to the *Publick*, exactly correspondent to what He does in *Private* : He can strike in with *All Governments*, but is *True* to *None* : When a *Court* Favours it, He can make *Passive Obedience* a *Primitive Doctrine* ; but a *Revolution* can give a new Turn to his *Thoughts*, and quickly change His *Passive Quality* into an *Active One*, and His *Evangelical* into a *Legal Duty*, Owing only to *Settled Governments* Establish'd by Their *Own Laws* : What He Defended in *One Reign* He
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can Condemn in Another, and be in every Thing His Own Reverse : He is so tender in bringing an Accusation on the Church of England for carrying its Doctrines too High, that He thinks they can never be sunk Low enough; and is resolv'd not to Press his Obedience so far, as to make Himself an Example of it. If he has any Settled Principles, they are for Republicanism and Presbytery; and to shew himself as True a Patriot of his Country as a Son of His Church, He would Vote His King a Standing Army to Defend the One, and give up all the Powers and Privileges of the Convocation into His Orthodox Bishop's hands, to support the Other as being the most secure Guards against the Subversion of Laws, and Our Civil and Religious Rights, at the Will of the Prince. He is Openly a professed Enemy to all the Arts of Sedition and Faction, but nicely understands the Secret of Privately Embroiling Government; and can Bribe a whole Nation to Betray their Own Interest to support His, and Lavish away the Revenues of a Kingdom in Taxes to set himself upon Its Poverty and Ruins. He sticks at no Villany to carry on His Design, and tho' He Inveighs as much against Railing as Sedition, can as Slyly Act the One as the Other; and under the Pretence of Excusing can more Effectually Expose the Defects of his Governors. His Conversation and Writings are both of a piece, full of Malice and Hypocrisy, wherein He always Personates the Character of a True Church-man more Dexterously to Betray it. But God be thank'd, this was never any part of the Spirit of Our Church, which always instill'd more Loyal and Religious Lessons.

The Fifth Characterestick of a True Church-man is drawn from his Conformity to the Discipline of the Church. He is One (says our Author) who takes the Measures of his Behaviour as a Son of the Church, from the Rule that Our Church herself has laid down for His Direction in her Liturgy and Rubrick, Her Articles, Homilies and Canons : This is the Rule, in Subordination to the Holy Scriptures, which Our Constitution has laid down as the Distinguishing Mark of Its True Disciples : From which we are told there are Two Sorts of Men Deviate, those who transgress its Bounds, and those who come not up to them, Both which our Author calls Dissenters on either Side. Now if we examine this Distinction, we shall find Our Acute Writer, with his Usual Sagacity and Penetration, making Another Division, but with One Member, for a Dissenter beyond the Church is a Bull and meer Contradiction in Terms : For the Principles and Doctrines of the Church of England are carry'd up to the utmost Height, Pitch and Extremity of the Christian Religion; and if a Man Believes and Practices them according to Her Injunction, it is impossible He should Err beyond the Rules of the Church. To put any Shadow of Sense upon This Distinction, We must suppose, that there are some Men that fully and entirely conform to all the Injunctions of the Church, and have a Sort of Supererogatory Religion besides, and beyond what is therein commanded : And who they are to whom this Imaginary and Utopian Character belongs, We must

be contented to wait for Information till *Our Author* thinks fit to Reveal His Secret : But I am apt to think, for That He is *himself* as much in the Dark as he has left his *Reader* : For it is evident, this Character cannot agree to any Person before describ'd, Whom He has all along drawn as One that does not come up in the least to the Rules of the Church, even the most Solemn and Necessary Duties enjoin'd in it, as frequenting the Church, and *Communicating in its Religious Offices*, attending to Its Doctrines Preach'd therein, and partaking of the *Prayers and Sacraments* of the Church, all which He is said positively to Neglect and Omit, and to be so far from shewing any Signs of Devotion, that he has not the least Sense of God or Religion, that he is a meer Heathen and Infidel, believes nothing, but lives like an *Atheist*, is a common *Drunkard, Swearer, Adulterer, Fornicator*, and is possess'd with a *Legion of Sins and Devils*, and to close and finish his Picture, is a Debauch'd *Rake-bell and Rebel* : But now *Our Author* considering the Matter a little Better, is for *Varying* his Character, and tells Us, he is a Man of most *Exalted Preiencies*, that he *Goes beyond the Rules of the Church, even up to Superstition*. This is a strange *Mixture and Medley* of a Man, a meer *Hypocentaur* in Religion, that is Both an *High-Church-man* and a *Low-Church-man*, both *Above and Below, Beyond and Beside* the Rules of the Church : What most Incomprehensible Nonsense is this ? He might as well have told Us, that the Character of a *Bishop* was an *Utter Enemy to Episcopacy and Monarchy, a great Favourer of the Presbyterians, no Friend of the Common-Prayer, One that Believ'd neither the Articles nor the Homilies of the Church, and never conform'd to the Rubrick or Canons, that hated Confirmation, and was for altering the Form of that and other Parts in the Liturgy ; that was for complying with all Sorts of Sectarists, and was for introducing them into the Communion of the Church by a fine Stratagem of Comprehension and Moderation, without Episcopal Orders ; and in short, was both in Principle and Practice a Latitudinarian, and a Low-Church-man.*

And now, who would Believe this Contradictious and Inconsistent Character ? And yet might He not with the same Reason and Justice couple such *Disagreeable Jargon* together ? Could *Our Author* find any credit if He told Us, that He knew a certain Bp. in the Church, who in *King James's Time* preach'd down the *Papish-Plot*, which He had preach'd up before in the *Beginning of that Reign* ; that He was a Friend and Co-adjutor to *L. Ch. J. J.* yet that in the *Beginning of the Revolution* He courted the *Dissemers*, and gave the Holy Communion in a Church at *London* to an *Eminent Presbyterian-Preacher*, Sitting in a Pew. Why would not this be Exploded at first View as *Monstrous, Absurd and Incredible*, for a Bp. of *The Church of England* thus to prostitute and betray his Sacred Function, Trust and Character ? And yet *Our Author* perhaps would *Reply*, that some Men can do any thing with Gravity in their Looks, and the Name of God in their Mouths ; that they can Act at one
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Time *Below* and at another Time *Above* the *Rule*, as the Prospect of *Preferment* directs them: That they could Sacrifice the *Orders of the Church*, confer them on *Deists, Socinians* or *Lutherans*, without the *Sacrament*, and like so many *Anti-Pauls*, become *All things to All Men*; and when convenience offer'd maintain, that the *Doctrines* and *Precepts* of the *Church* are but about *Modes, Trifles* and *Indifferent Things*, whilst those who never deviate from them are *Stiff, Squeamish High-Church-men*, that will stick at *Betraying Its Honour, Doctrine* and *Authority*.

Perhaps if we would ask him what Character Sir *John Packington* has and Deserves in the *Country*, He would be apt to Insinuate, that He was *High* for the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, *High* for the *Uninterrupted Succession*, *High* for the *Liturgies* against *Extemporary Prayers*, *High* for the *Primitive Doctrine* and *Discipline of the Ancient Church*; And perhaps He would add, that He much Lamented the *Destruction of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, and shou'd be for *Addressing Her Majesty* to restore it; that He believes *Separation from the Church of England* to be a *Damning Schism*, and our Reverend *Libeller's* dear Friends the *Dissenters* to be in a very *Dangerous State*, notwithstanding the *Toleration*: And Ten to One He would whisper, that He is an *Enemy* to all *Accommodations to Comprehension* and *Trimming Moderation*: that He is so *High* as to Observe the *Traditional Customs*, as well as the *Written Laws of the Church*; that He always Bow'd very *Low* towards the *Altar*, and at the Name of *Jesus*: And to Sum up His Character, perhaps he wou'd not omit His *Hatred to Conquest and Translations*, tho' the Last he might have the greatest Reason to wish of any Man in the *Diocese*. Now what a *Formidable* and *Dangerous Character* is this? Was it not enough to *Exasperate* his *Diocesan*, to try his utmost *Power and Interest* amongst his *Clergy and Tenants*, and with the most frightful *Menaces and Threats* conjure them not to *Vote* for such a *Bitter Enemy to the Church of England*, and such a *Pernicious Patriot* to his *Country*? but that they would *Espouse* the Person He recommended, whom He would assure, upon His *Episcopal Word and Honour*, deserv'd not the least of this *Character*, but was as *Point Blank a Contradiction* to Every Particular as Himself: That He was a Man so far from being given to *Superstition*, that He believ'd nothing at all in *Religion*, and that He should be ready to Satisfy the *Country*, if they would be so kind as to chuse him; that He would be a *Deist, Socinian* or *Republican*, or any thing, to promote their, and His, and the *Church's Interest*; and in a word, a *Thorough-Pac'd and Season'd Low-Church-man*.

But to set Our Author right in his Distinction of an *High-Church-man* and *Low-Church-man*, I will for once be so kind and charitable as to tell him a *Secret* I believe he is not acquainted with: Namely, Who was the *God-father* and *Original* of these *Party-Names*, viz. No less a Friend to the *Church of England* than his Dear Country-man Mr. *Baxter*; who (in his Answer to that

Great Pillar and Light of Our Church, the Venerable Mr. Hooker) first Broach'd this *Canting Distinction*, which He cast upon that *Apostolical and Primitive* Writer, as the greatest Brand of Re-proach, and as the most *Inodiating Title* (as indeed 'twas in those times of *Rebellion and Confusion*) that could be fix'd upon a Man's Character, to mark him out for the *Fury and Destruction* of the Multitude. Now I appeal to the *Whole Body* of the *True Sons of the Church of England*, whether the Application of the Name of of *High-Church-man* to *Such a Person* (who was as great an Honour and Support to it as ever She enjoy'd) be not as manifest a Proof of Our Author's *Ignorance* as 'tis of His *Malice*, in fallly representing and appropriating it to *wrong Persons*. And what other Design he could have in this but to *Expose the Church* and its *True Members*, I leave them to Judge: So that I hope he will give Me leave to place the *Fanatick and Dissenter* on its Proper Object, upon this *Vile Latitudinarian Party*, Who can go on any Side of the Rule, and comply with any Principles, to promote and establish their Interest, which is the *Rubrick, Articles, Homilies* and *Canons* by which they direct themselves, and for which at any time they are ready to dispense with or give up those of the Church. And now with what Impudence can such *Wretches* presume to take upon them the *Sacred and Inviolable Title* of the Church, who are thus for Sinking it into the *Lowest Degree of Presbytery and Ruin*; that are not only for betraying its *Constitution, Rights and Liberties*, but for corrupting its *Doctrine* and *Undermining the Civil State and Government*, upon which alone it depends; and reducing the Kingdom into *Anarchy, Atheism* and *Desolation*? If therefore they will make any *Distinction*, let it be of *Church-men* and *Atheists, High-Church* and *No Church*.

From hence We may Draw a *Low-Church-man's Character*, in relation to Church Government and Discipline, That He is not One of *Exalted Pretences* to it, and never Goes Beyond the Rule of the Church. He looks upon the *Homilies* as tolerably Good for the Time they were compiled in; but that they contain some *Doctrines* not so Suitable to This Age. Being a Man of a *condescending and peaceable Temper*, He is for making the *Articles and Liturgy* to comply with tender Consciences, and so very charitable, as to let his *Dissenting Brethren* even into the *Enjoyment of the Church-Revenues*. He will not maintain the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, for Fear of *Offending the Reform'd Churches Abroad*; and to Please his *Dear Friends the Fanaticks at Home*, will in case of Necessity Allow even a *Lay-Brother* to *Ordain a Presbyter*. He thinks the *Ecclesiastical Canons* an *Encroachment upon the Civil Power*, and that *Christ's Kingdom* is not to be *Establish'd by Force and Usurpation*. While his Interest and the Church is on a side, it may perhaps expect Him her *Time-serving Friend*: But Interest will not Lye, if the Church and Interest part Farewell the Church.

The Last Characteristick here propos'd to Discriminate a True Church-man by, is his Uniformity and Steadiness in all Times, Governments and Circumstances: For We are told, *He is One who governs himself by Principle, and not by the Uncertain Turns of Humour or Interest. He will not be Zealous for Monarchy and Episcopacy at one time, and at another fall in with Measures for Diminishing the Just Prerogative, and Depressing his Ecclesiastical Superiors.* Now how much like a solemn Jest and Ridicule does it sound, to hear this Low-Church Party talking in Vindication of the Prerogative, who were the very Persons that in Reigns wherein the Church was Favour'd, were its Worst Enemies and Abridgers. And it may be Observ'd, that those who in the Late Reign carry'd the Episcopal Power to that Extravagant and Unreasonable Pitch, were the very Men who before they were Reconcil'd by Their Advancement to it, were the most uneasy under that Holy Institution, which nothing but the Enjoyment of its Privileges, Honours and Revenues, could ever persuade them to think it such: But those were Arguments that Over-power'd their Understanding and Wills, and quickly captivated their Reason and Affection; that could make them turn about their Principles and Inclinations, and change Sides and Opinions as their Interest Veer'd and Led them.

But it ought to be consider'd, in the Vindication of that Honest Gentleman Sir John Packington, whose Character is here more particularly struck at, that What Our Author calls the Just Prerogative was no Part of the Prerogative before the XXV. of Harry the Eighth: And therefore is no Essential Prerogative of the Crown, but Adventitious by Act of Parliament, and by Act of Parliament, without any Hurt or Disberison of the Crown, may be taken away. And 'tis sufficiently known, how the Church has Groan'd under this Prerogative Act of the Letter Missive, and Terror of the Penalty for not Obeying it, the Pains of Premunire ever since that Act was made: Even the Best Church-men ever since have complain'd of it as a Mighty Grievance and Burden; and I will say, I hope without Offence, that it was a Yoke upon the Neck of Our Fathers, and yet Our Author Miscalls, Entering into Measures to take off that Yoke, Diminishing the Prerogative, and Depressing the Ecclesiastical Superiors. Whereas 'tis evident, that it only put the Church and Clergy into that State of Just Liberty, which they had before the Act of Submission, and reduc'd them into that Free State which was secur'd to them by the First Article of Magna Charta, and which the Church of England ought to enjoy, by the Constitution of the Catholick Church. Now certainly, there could not be more Pleasant Reasons alludg'd to Brand an Honourable Gentleman with the Vile Character of Republican and Fanatick, for courageously interposing with the Royal Power, and Zealously endeavouring to express his Good-will to the Church and Clergy, in asserting so Ancient a Lost Right, and restoring them to that Primitive State
of

of Liberty and Freedom they have both so long Lamented, and so earnestly Wish'd for.

But now the *Plot begins to Thicken*, and the whole Mystery Unravels: We have here a heinous Accusation, that Our Author doubts not but will effectually fix this Charge upon Sir *John Packington*, and as much affect his Reputation as Our Writer's Interest; which being touch'd in his Copy-hold, makes him very Indultrious to prevent the same Design ever being brought into Play again; I mean his *Bill against Translations of Bishops*: Which is an Objection of the same Nature with the former; and which if it had succeeded, had brought Our Church so much nearer the State of the ancient *Primitive, Apostolical* Constitution, wherein a Bishop was Married to His *Diocese*; and it would have been esteem'd as an Act of *Spiritual Adultery*, to be Divorced from His *Spouse*, or Forsake his *First Love*. And how much this Design had been for the Interest, Happiness and Honour of the *Church of England*, is evident from that *Guard and Security* it would have Rais'd against Corruption and Scandal; for then the Court could not *Bribe* or *Buy* their Votes, with the Promises and Expectations of Removals; nor Our *Fathers*; to their Disgrace, be so Translated from *See to See*, merely for Wealth and Revenue. However Pious and Honourable this Design was, it was no wonder it met with Opposition from Some, who could not with Patience hear of so *Tender a Point of Reformation*. A *Scheme certainly that cannot be Mention'd but with Approbation* in any Reign, or by any One pretending to promote the true Interest and Glory of our Church and Religion: And yet here we find the *Good Projector* Reproach'd, with the *Nonsensical Scandal* of being an *Advocate for the Popular Election of Bishops*, as if the Election of *Bishops* by their *Provincial Bishops*, or by the *Clergy of the Convocation*, were a *Popular Election*: But however, this *false Colour* must be cast on this *Laudable Proposal*, to mislead the *Clergy* against him with a *Base and Villainous Insinuation*: But certainly, the Name and Character of Sir *John Packington*, and his *Family*, are so well known to the World, and more especially to the *Clergy*, that it would be as much an *Affront* to the One as a *Dishonour* to the Other, to offer to say any thing in Vindication of That which is above the little *Aspersions of Vulgar Malice and Reproach*. And 'tis truly Surprizing, that any One pretending to be a *Minister*, and much more a *Bishop of the Church of England*, shou'd so much forget both Their and His Own Character and Obligations, as ungratefully to *Traduce, Revile and Oppose* That which was so much its *Succour and Defence* in the time of its severest Sufferings and Troubles. This is enough to raise the *Venerable Ghosts* of Old Bp. *Morley, Fell and Hammond*, to upbraid their Brethren with the past Services done for their Church, when it stood under the most pressing Want and Necessity of their Assistance. And I doubt not in the least, but that the *Clergy and Country* will so much consider both their *Interest and Obligations*, as to make a Grate-

ful Return of that Friendship and Favour they have receiv'd from *this Family*, in the choice of the *present Head* of it, who is both a *True Patriot of His Country*, and *Defender of his Church and Religion*, by *Inheritance*, by *Principle*, and by *Inclination*; and that they will not prefer a Person before Him that is well known to have neither *Faith*, nor *Worship*, nor *Morals*, nor *Loyalty*, nor *Steadiness*.

To conclude the *Low-Church-man's Character*. He is one that *Governs himself by no Principle*, but by the *Uncertain Turns of Humour and Interest*. In a *Reign* wherein He finds His Arms not so likely to succeed at Court, he can be *Zealous against Monarchy and Episcopacy*, and for *Diminishing the Just Prerogative of the Crown*, and *Depressing his Ecclesiastical Superiors*: But in Another that Favours his Designs, he will turn a *Popular Advocate for Both*, and *Overstrain that Power which formerly he would have Abolish'd*. In short, He is a *Trimming Villain* under All Governments, and is drawn by *Private Gain and Ambitions*, to pursue such Methods as really will *Subvert our Constitution*, and *Overturn the Foundations of Peace and Order* in Church and State.

Now I hope the *Low-Church-man* has no Reason to complain that I have not done ample Justice to his Character, which lay so *Obscurely smother'd and conceal'd* in this Pamphlet, that it requir'd a little Trouble to fetch it Out; but I doubt not the *Picture* is so like, that He cannot but Know himself; and I hope will be so well known to All Others, as to make the World *Avoid and Beware Trusting such a crafty, sly and insidious Knave*, that ought to be *Spew'd out of Our Church and Government*, both which He endeavours to *Subvert, Undermine and Betray*: But lest *Our Author* should not think his *Scurrilous Libel* fully Answer'd, We must have a Word or two about his *Epilogue* before We Part. For having plentifully *Abus'd All the Honest Laity of the Kingdom* before, He was resolv'd at last to make his Address to the *Clergy*, and give them their Share too in the *Scandal*. Wherein He has represented all the *Lower House of Convocation* as a *Pack of Fanatical, Ignorant, Seditious Knaves*, that were for *Destroying the Essential Constitution of the Church of England*, renouncing the *Metropolitcal Authority*, *Ursurping the Episcopal Rights and Privileges*, and *Abolishing the Act of Submission*, and giving up that *Fundamental Doctrine and Distinction of Our Church*, the *King's Power and Supremacy*: What a notoriously *Scandalous, False, Impudent and Malignant Charge* this is upon that *Sacred and Venerable Body*, I appeal even to the *Bishops themselves* and the whole World, that have been so *Happy* in their *Incomparable Writings* in this *Difficult Controversy* to *Decide*. Wherein they have *Justify'd* both their *Claim and Behaviour* with so much *Modesty and Learning*, so much *Judgment, Eloquence and Perspicuity*, That 'tis to be hop'd (especially in *This Reign* that is so profess'd a *Favourer of the Rights and Interests of the Church*) that the *One* is as effectually

effectually Settled and Secur'd as the *Other* is Vindicated beyond the Reach of Malice or Reproach. To the Profound and Polite Labours of these *Worthy Gentlemen*, certainly the Thanks, Honours and Preferments, and not the Censures of Our Church are due : to whom the Support of Its Orthodox and True Religion, the Establishment of its Power and Constitution, and the Enjoyment of its Liberties and Privileges are so visibly Owing.

And 'tis not to be doubted, but that the Clergy will consider their *Merit and Services*, and follow both their Duty and Interest in the choice of such Persons of Steadiness, Knowledge and Principles, to represent them in That Convocation, where they gave such Signal and Eminent Instances of it : And 'tis to be hop'd, they will carefully Distinguish those to *Falſe Brethren*, that then ran counter to *Their Honourable Designs*, that shew'd themselves Men of as little *Learning as Religion*, as little *Probity as Courage or Fidelity*, that would have comply'd with any *Usurpation*, and Betray'd the Rights, Powers and Doctrines of that Church, they were so unhappily Entrusted to Defend and Maintain. *And how fit such Men are to Lead, or Represent them, I hope All Honest Episcopal Clergy-men will consider.*

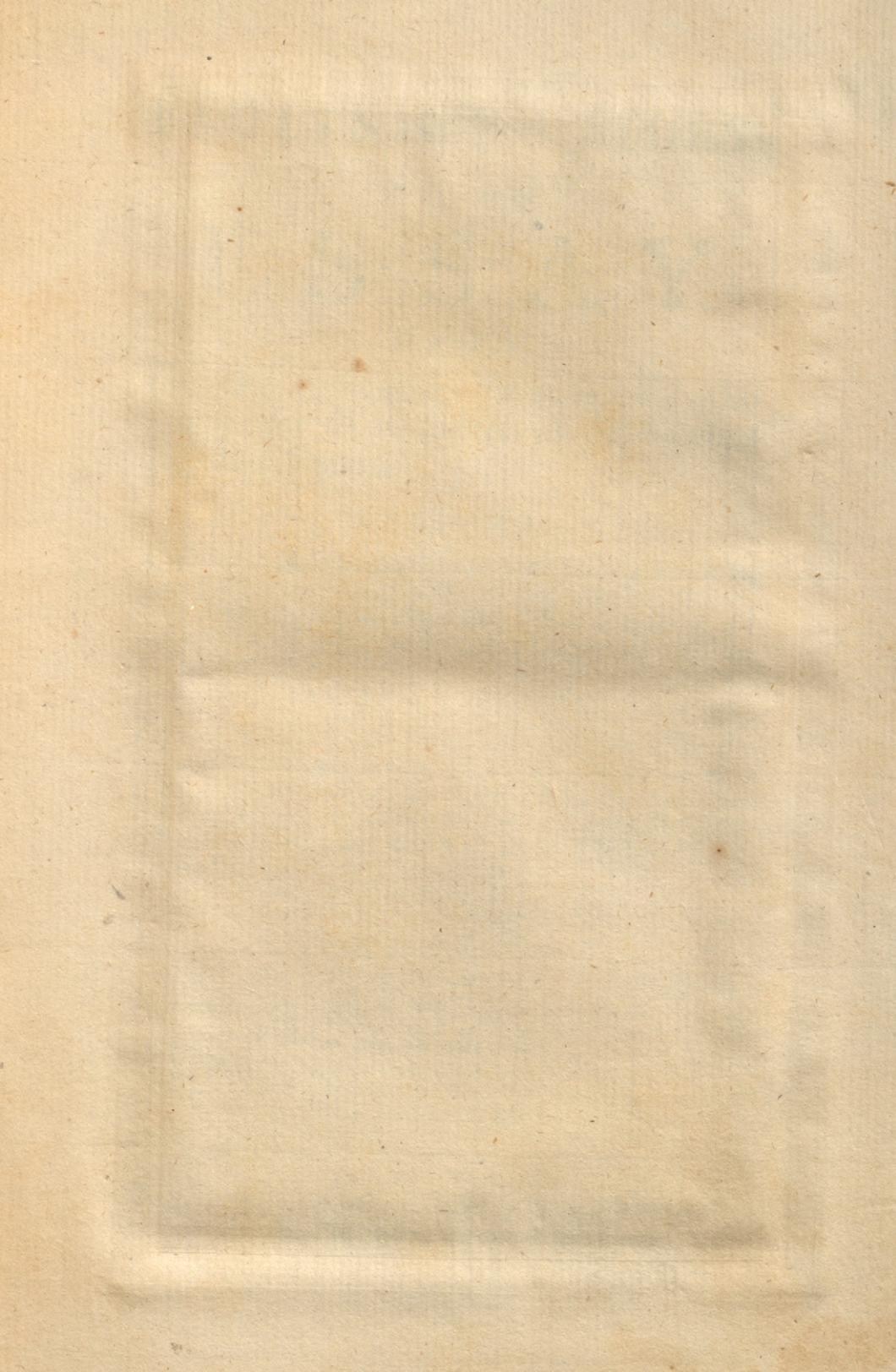
Had we to deal with any Sovereign of less Prudence, Temper and Insight into Men, than Her Present Gracious Majesty, Whom God long Preserve, What an Opinion would this give Her of the Church of England, when She would find Men pretending to be its Parsons and Members, to have neither Religion, Morals, Loyalty or Steadiness, to be Troublesome and Factionous, and Great Disturbers of Her Government, and of all that She Designs for the Publick Good of the Church and State ? But 'tis not to be Doubted, but that Her Majesty, who so thoroughly understands the True Interest of Both, will Guard them from these Treacherous, Wily and Perfidious Enemies, and settle them upon a Secure and Immoveable Foundation.

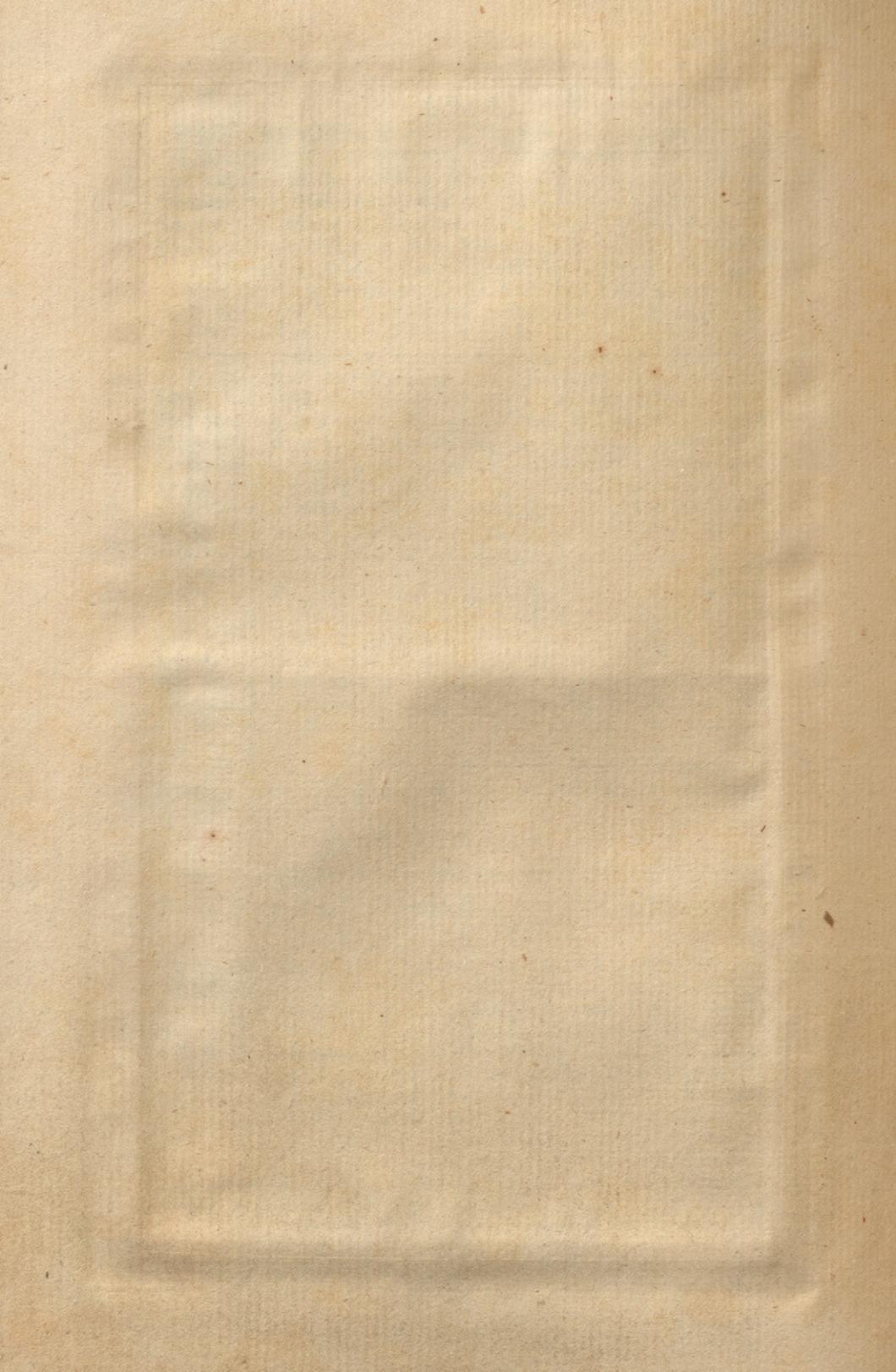
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FAULTS on both SIDES:

OR, AN

ESSAY

UPON

The Original Cause, Progress, and Mischievous Consequences of the Factions in this Nation.

SHEWING,

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OR AN
ESSAY

UPON

the Original Cause, Progress, and Manner
of our Controversies of the Nation
in this Nation

SHewing

the Liberty and Freedom on both sides have always
inward upon that Liberty of their respective Parties
in order to compare their own Liberty with the
Liberty of the Party and Transferring of
Liberty.

SINCERELY INTENDED

in the serving the Liberty and Amelioration of
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Men to compose their Party-Quarrels, and in
their Hearts and Affections for the promotion
Publick Good, and safety of their COUNTRY.

By way of Answer to the
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FAULTS on both SIDES:

OR, AN

ESSAY

UPON

The Original Cause, Progress,
and Mischievous Consequences of the
Factions in this Nation, &c.

By way of Answer to the

Thoughts of *an* Honest Tory.

S I R,

YOUR Thoughts and mine agree in so many things, that I could please my self to think that there were a Possibility of reconciling *Whigs* and *Tories*, if there were to be found among your Party Men of such Moderate Sentiments as you have exprest through your whole Letter ; but,

Timeo Danaos, & Dona ferentes.

your Concessions are so large in our Favour, that you give me Cause to suspect you have only assum'd the Name of a *Tory*, but are indeed a Crafty *Whig* at the bottom ; however, I am willing to incline to the Charitable Side, and had rather submit to the Delusion, than omit

omit so fair an Occasion to own my Belief, that there are honest Men in both Parties; and to endeavour to convince the Honest *Whigs* as well as the Honest *Tories*, that the Difference of their Opinions in relation to Religion and Civil Government is not so great as they are made to believe; and that they might easily be brought to agree in preserving the Publick Tranquility, if there were not designing Men in both Parties, who have each in their turns artfully contriv'd to keep open the Breach, and ventilate the Heats and Animosities of ignorant People; that by the Strength of their respective Factions they may be enabled to promote their own sinister Designs, which generally have been to engross the Places and the Profits of the Government into their own hands; to raise vast Estates to themselves by purloyning all they can from the Publick, and to establish such an Interest as may always support them from being call'd to account for their Mismanagements.

I can think of no way that is more likely to create a right Understanding between us, than by an Impartial Inquiry into the Original Cause and Spring of our destructive Feuds and Divisions, which is primarily the affecting a greater Power than our Constitution admits, on the part of the Crown; and the endeavouring to maintain the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Nation, on the Part of the People: But there is a second Cause, hitherto less observ'd by the Writers on this Subject, which has, as it were by a Natural Course, led us into these Contests; and that is, the mighty Alteration that has happen'd in the Property of the Lands, and consequently in the constituent Strength and Power of the Government, since the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh:

For, as in Ancient Times, the Peers of this Kingdom were possess'd of vast Tracts of Land, (some of them perhaps equal to whole Counties) they had by virtue of their Tenures, the Power of Sheriffs in the Civil Administration, and the Power of Lord Lieutenant in the Military, whereby they did for many Ages hold the Balance of the Government, and were able to defend their own and the Peoples Rights, and check the Exorbitant Power of such of our Kings as have at any time attempted

pted to usurp upon them. A very large Proportion also of the Lands of the Nation was, in those Times, annex'd to the Crown, together with all the Military Services dependent thereon; and then the Possessions of the Abbies and Monasteries made likewise another considerable Tenure of Lands.

But we have seen, that in the Course of one Century, since the forementioned Reign, this vast Allotment of Property (which perhaps amounted to not less than three quarrer Parts of the whole Lands of the Kingdom) was quite alienated and sold off from the former powerful Possessors, and divided into the hands of a numerous Gentry and Commonalty, who (for the most part) by making their Purchases in smaller Portions, and by the Subdivisions that have been since made, neglected the Military Services that were annex'd to the Tenures; (which have been since quite abolish'd) and by this means the mediate Power which the former great Proprietors of Lands exercis'd over at least Seven Eight Parts of the Militia of the Kingdom coming to fall, the Crown took to the immediate Administration of the whole; which great Assumption of Power, seems likely to have been the prevailing Argument with the false Politicians of K. Charles the 1st's time, to put that Prince (contrary to the Goodness of his own Natural Inclination) on some Arbitrary Methods of Government, upon a Presumption, that now the Strength of the Lords was broken, there was no Power left in the Kingdom able to dispute or oppose the Royal Will and Pleasure in any thing; and the Parliament of 41 were doubtless very apprehensive of the Danger that threaten'd the Constitution from this Encrease of Power on the Crown side, and therefore endeavour'd to have the Militia settled by Act of Parliament in such a way that it might not be made use of to destroy the People's Liberties; and the King's utterly refusing to consent to this, seems to be the principal point that occasion'd that fatal War between him and his Parliament.

If that King had found himself in the Possession of all the Ancient Crown Lands, together with the Military Strength annex'd to them, he might have been enabled

to raise and maintain such an Army out of his own Lands, as would have been strong enough to subjugate the Nation; because the ballancing Power which had been fix'd in the Peers was utterly broken, and the People had now no visible Standard to resort to for the Defence of their Liberties: But as the Natural Power, inherent to the Lands, was now also fallen away from the Crown, it soon became visible, that the effectual Strength of a Limited Monarchy is inseparably united to the Property of the Lands and Riches of the Nation; for tho' the King, with the Assistance of such of the Nobility and Gentry as voluntarily joyn'd with him (many of them rather with an Intent to assist him to come to good Terms, than really to enable him to vanquish the Parliament, and withal their own Liberties) carried on the War with some Vigour at the first; yet, having no Fund of his own either of Treasure or Strength, the single Authority of his Prerogative prov'd but an artificial and precarious Power, unable long to hold out against the real and natural Power of Property, which was now so largely vested in the People, that when they had found the way to put their Affairs into a Method, and came to feel their own Strength, they were able to bear down all before them; tho' 'tis probable that this Maxim in Politicks had never been considered by the King's Advisers, till they came to be convinc'd by this Unhappy Experiment.

'Tis at this Period then that I would place the beginning of those unhappy Divisions, which, from the same Original Cause, and by the same evil Arts and factious Disposition, tho' distinguish'd by different Names of mutual Reproach and different Circumstances, hath continued even to this time miserably to distract the publick Affairs, and obstruct the Tranquility of our dear Country.

It is neither in my Inclination or Purpose, to vindicate any of those many ill things that were acted in the Prosecution of that Civil War; but since my Lord *Clarendon* himself fairly acknowledges, That that Prince was misled into many Mistakes in the Conduct of his Government, we may modestly say, that 'twas the proper Business

ness of the Parliament to insist upon a through Reformation of all that been done amiss, and to obtain such Laws as might effectually secure the Liberties and Properties of the People from the like Invasions for the future: If the King, at first, adher'd to the Advice of those who dissuaded him from giving such Satisfaction to his Parliament as he would have yielded to at last; and if he was persuaded to decide the Dispute by the Sword, and to begin it by displaying his Standard of War against his People, what could then remain for them to chuse, but either to give up for ever all their Rights and Liberties, and to submit themselves and their Posterity to be govern'd by the Will and Pleasure of all their future Kings: Or to resolve to defend their ancient Laws and Privileges to the utmost, and to oppose Force with Force?

There is, doubtless, a true Distinction to be made between a Rebellion and a Civil War; the first is notorious, when Subjects take up Arms against Lawful Governors Lawfully governing; but when a Prince violates the Establish'd Laws of the Nation, raises Taxes by his own Authority contrary to the known Rules of the Constitution, invades the Liberties of his Subjects by illegal Imprisonments, unjust Prosecutions, and other grievous Oppressions, and persists in such arbitrary Acts of Government for a Course of Years; if a People can find no other means to preserve their most valuable Interests, but by having recourse to the last Remedy, and shall take up Arms to compel such a Prince to restore their Rights, and reform his ill Government; 'tis evident, from the Histories of the Civil Wars of *France* and other Countries, that grave and impartial Historians have not thought fit to treat this way of opposing the unlawful Usurpation of Princes with the odious Name of Rebellion; and 'tis observ'd, that our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts pass'd after the Restoration, in relation to the preceding War between the King and Parliament, they would never give it the Name of a Rebellion, doubtless out of the Consideration that it behov'd them to keep up the Sanction of the Parliamentary Authority; and that that War was authoriz'd

thoriz'd by a Legal Parliament, who had Right to vindicate the Liberty of the Nation.

The Names of Reproach, which pass'd in these times, were *Cavalier* for those who sided with the King, and *Roundheads* for such as took part with the Parliament: Now if the Intention of the Later were no other than to bring the Evil Counsellors to condign Punishment, to prevail with the King to comply in a just Settlement of their Civil and Religious Liberties, and then to restore him to the Regal State under such Limitations as might secure them from any future Invasions of their Rights and Privileges, (and this, I believe, was the general Design of those that took up Arms at first) I see no reason why those *Roundheads* should lie under a harder Censure for what they acted at that time, than may be imputed to our selves for what we have done in the late Happy Revolution, for the rescuing our Laws and Religion from the Violations of the late King *James*.

Hitherto you will say I have argued like a *Whig*, but I shall soon shew you that I am not inclin'd to be partial. When this very reforming Party had reduc'd the Forces of the King, and 'twas in their power to have put a good end to the War, they fell into Factions and Divisions among themselves, and many of those that had eminently distinguish'd themselves and gain'd the Applause of the People, entered into Designs to advance their own Grandeur; the great Officers of the Army form'd Cabals in the House of Commons, who by their Strength and Interest violated the Rights of Parliament, by imprisoning several of their Fellow Members without just Cause, and excluded such as oppos'd their sinister Designs, without filling the House with new Elections; so that they became no true Representative of the People, and carry'd on all their extravagant Actions afterwards by a small Number of their own Faction: In short, when the King was at last brought to yield to such Terms as might have settled the Nation in Peace, they rejected all manner of Accommodation with him, hurried him to the Block, usurp'd the Regal Power, kept up the Army to support their own Tyranny, oppress'd the People with illegal Exactions, and rul'd the

Three

Three Nations by the Sword; and if those who stile the whole a Rebellion, had but distinguish'd between the Commencement of the Civil War, and the time when these Actions were perpetrated, I should be content to allow them that Term, or even a worse if they could invent it.

And thus, after our Fathers had spent their Blood and Treasure to rescue their ancient Rights and Privileges from the Invasions of a misguided but Legal King, they were cheated out of all by the Chiefs of their own Side, who made it evident to the World, that their Hypocritical Zeal for Religion, and their specious Pretences for Civil Liberty, were made use of as Artifices to delude the simple People, and make them their willing Tools whereby to accomplish their own ambitious Designs; and I have the rather gone so far backwards to bring in this Instance of the Deceits of these Men, because 'tis my Intent to shew that from the beginning of our Contests to this very time, the Zeal and Affections of the People have always been kept up by both Parties with fair and specious Pretensions of Publick Good, till the Heads and Leaders of either Side can get themselves into the Saddle, and then they have driven on their own Interests, and left the poor People to shift for themselves, till they have further occasion to make use of their Credulity.

To proceed then with my Observations in what manner the Frame of our Government is varied from the ancient Constitution, and to shew what mischievous Inconveniencies have been introduc'd thereby; as I have already noted, that the ancient Possessions allotted for the Support of the Dignity of the Crown were alienated, so now after the Restoration (mostly) there was a necessity to find out some other ways of raising Money to enlarge the small Revenue that remain'd, so as it might enable the King to live honourably, and to maintain the Charge of the Civil and Military Lists: The Customs on Merchandize were much advanc'd, great Duties of Excise, together with that of Hearth-Money were given, and these new ways of taxing the People requir'd a Multitude of Officers for the Collection, and
many

many profitable Places for Men of Quality, all in the Gift of the Crown, and consequently a means of engaging abundance of Creatures and Dependants upon it.

It may be asserted for a Truth (though it has been contested by some) that the Representatives of the People (or House of Commons) did in ours, and in all right Gothic Governments, make a constituent part of the Assembly of the States, (or Parliament) tho' it be certain that in old times they bore a much lesser Figure than now, and were much at the Devotion of the great Lords; but as their Power decreas'd, that of the Commons grew, and (as is said before) their larger Share of Property has naturally devolv'd the Ballance of the Government upon them, and their Authority is much encreas'd since the Crown is brought to have so great a Dependence upon them for its Support; but as the Commons were formerly wont to be elected, and to sit and vote with Freedom, having nothing more in view than to serve their Country faithfully, now our Kings came to apply their utmost Endeavours to influence Elections, and then to gain as many Members as they could into their Interests, by giving them Honours, profitable Places, and Pensions: So that our Parliaments have since come to be divided into the Court and Country Factions, by which means the Crown has acquir'd a new sort of Power, that has sometimes prov'd more dangerous to our Constitution than its former Power, which (as I have shewn) was founded upon Property, because a sufficient Ballance was provided to check the Excess of that; whereas this introduces a Corruption into our very Constitution, and it appears a Matter of the utmost difficulty to provide a sufficient Remedy against it.

I must not omit also to observe, that in the times of Popery the great Preferments of the Church depending upon the Pope, the Clergy were then as Zealous as the Temporality in defending the Liberties of the People against the Usurpations of the Crown; but when, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, the Parliament abolish'd this Foreign Jurisdiction, and plac'd the Power of conferring the Dignities of the Church in the King, this laid the Foundation for Men of aspiring Tempers, since the
Reformation,

Reformation, to strain their Inventions to form such Schemes of Divinity as might render them acceptable to the Court, and become a means to advance them to Deanaries and Bishopricks; and thus they came to wrest the holy Scriptures, and to pervert the pure and uncontroversed Doctrines of Christianity to maintain Falsities and Absurdities, to flatter Princes with an Opinion that God had plac'd them in a Sphere above all human Laws, and that they were accountable to him alone for their Maleadministrations; to teach the People that they are bound by the Precepts of the Gospel to pay an unlimited passive Obedience to Princes in all possible Cases; and that themselves may not want a fair share in these Heavenly Privileges, they would make us believe that they are *Jure Divino* God's peculiar heritage in a distinct Superiority to the Layety, and that their Order is exempted from any dependency upon the State, &c. But I shall leave the examination of these Opinions to another place, my intent at present being only to shew, that as the Clergy are dispers'd over the whole Kingdom, and have a great influence upon the People, they have deluded multitudes of unthinking Men into these false Notions of Government, and almost perswaded them out of their own Birth-right; and have ruin'd more than one King by misleading them into the actual practice of Arbitrary Rule, from a confidence that these Principles would support them in it: And in this manner they are become another additional Power to the Crown with a Mischief, for it has operated but like a Sword in the hands of a Madman, to his own destruction.

By what has been said then you'll see that the essential Powers of our Constitution are very much chang'd, and 'tis from thence that the first Occasion of all our National Contentions spring, while on the one hand, the Crown is struggling to supply the Loss of it's natural Strength by Arbitrary or Artificial Innovations; and the People, on the other hand, are contending to preserve their Ancient Rights and Privileges; when in the mean time both are made a prey to the Ambition and Avarice of self-seeking Men; and we must always expect to be subject to the breakings out of this old Sore, 'till some good Patriots shall

shall be so happy as to find out such a Temperament as may make the Crown easy and the People secure; wherein, as it will always be the true Interest of the latter to keep to the ancient Constitution as near as possible in preserving the Lustre and Salutary Authority of the Crown, so on the other, it will be more for the ease and safety of the Prince, to soften any such Powers of the Prerogative, as may tend to keep up fears and jealousies in the Subjects, and which indeed are more apt to be made use of by Favourites and evil Ministers to promote their own Grandeur and private Gain, than to contribute any real Advantage to the Crown.

After the Restoration, the Nation run into an excess of Loyalty, and (except the violent Persecution of the poor Dissenters) things went on smoothly for several Years, the generality of the People not much concerning themselves in the contests between the Court and Country Parties in the House of Commons, 'till after the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*, which alarm'd the whole Kingdom, and then all sorts of Protestants thought themselves equally concern'd to oppose the impending Danger, the Court itself was forc'd for a time to give way to the Current, 'till they had form'd new Intrigues to sham the *Popish Plot* and turn it upon the Presbyterians; too many of the Clergy came into this Scheme, and by theirs and the Court influence many of the Gentry and common People were drawn off from their late Indignation against Papists, and taught to believe that the Presbyterians (not excepting the other Dissenters) were a more dangerous People; and, as great numbers of the more considerate People of all ranks who had always adher'd to the establish'd Church, join'd with the Dissenters in the common apprehension of the danger of Popery, and in their mutual Jealousy of the Intrigues of the Court; all these (who made at that time the much greater Party) were by the others reproach'd with the appellation of *Whigs*, which was a name that had been formerly put upon the *Scotch* Presbyterians; they, on the other side, call'd their Adversaries *Tories*, which originally denoted the wild *Irish* Papists: And thus began these opprobrious Distinctions, which with sometimes more sometimes less warmth, have

have divided this poor Nation, and kept up Feuds and Animosities between the unhappy People for more than Thirty Years.

It may be very material also to observe to you, that as these Names of distinction are taken from words signifying Parties differing in their religious Sentiments, the World has been led into, and still persists in a mistake, as if the one sort were altogether Dissenters, and the other included all that were true Church of *England*-men, whereas there has always been a great number of the *Whig* Party, even of the Clergy as well as the Laity, who are as zealous for the Episcopal Church Government as the *Tories* themselves; so that they are indeed more truly to be accounted Factions in the State than in the Church; nor can we have a more just Idea of the real difference between them, than that in the beginning, the *Whigs* consider'd that the Duke of *York* was a Papist, and gave Life and Strength to that Party; that if he should live to inherit the Crown, our Religion and Liberties would be in the utmost danger; that he had a great influence over the King his Brother; that such Ministers were employ'd in the Administration of the Government as were in his Interests, and who were evidently inclin'd to Arbitrary measures; they every where us'd their utmost diligence in the Elections of Magistrates for Corporations, and Members for Parliament, to chuse such as they believ'd to be zealous for the good of the Publick, and would oppose the Designs of the Court in any thing that might tend to the prejudice of the People in their religious or civil Rights; they foresaw and endeavoured to prevent the many Mischiefs that have since fallen upon us, so that all Men of candour must confess that they were then true Patriots, and had espous'd the best Cause: On the other hand, the *Tories* applauded the Duke of *York* and promoted his Interest all they could; they contended for such Elections as should be intirely devoted to the Court; the Magistrates of that side oppress'd the *Whigs* with vexatious prosecutions, violently persecuted those that were Dissenters, and went so far, as by pack'd Juries and strain'd Laws to destroy some of the best Men in the Kingdom; in short, that Generation of *Tories* gave themselves up to fulfil the
will

will and pleasure of the Court in every thing that lay in their Power, and, by what we have since seen come to pass, 'tis evident that they engag'd on the wrong side, and were made the very Instruments to bring about those evil Designs of the Duke of *York* and the Papists, which broke out upon the Nation in the next Reign: I will not yet doubt but that many honest well-meaning Men, zealous for the Monarchy and the Church, were impos'd upon by the Leaders of that Party, (who were all the while playing their own game at Court preferments) and deluded into a groundless Jealousy that the Dissenters were aiming at the destruction of both.

When the late King *James* succeeded to the Crown, the *Tories* deafened him with the noise of their Addresses from all parts of the Kingdom, stuff'd with expressions of the most extravagant Loyalty and unlimited passive Obedience and non-resistance, professing them to be even Principles of their Religion, and the very Characteristic of their Church; and, after the suppression of the Rebellion of the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, to compleat the enslaving of the Nation, (and themselves withal) they furnish'd him with a formidable standing Army; and thus provided he soon discover'd his long projected Scheme, and fell on a main to establish Popery and Arbitrary Power.

It was by his influence (when Duke of *York*) that the violent Persecutions were carry'd on against the Dissenters, and the Chief Instruments were known to be his Creatures and Partizans; this hard usage had begotten in the Dissenters the utmost Animosity against the persecuting Churchmen; and now he changes the Scene, and, in an Instance so plausible, breaks through all the Laws to gratify them, (and the Papists withal) with a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, pretending also that it had always been his own Principle; the Charters of Corporations are taken away and (by the dispensing Power) Dissenters are made Magistrates to revenge themselves upon the Churchmen, and thus Protestants were to maul one another that Popery might slide in with the less noise and resentment; Papists are brought into the King's Privy Council, then into the Universities, and Ecclesiastical

cal Commissions executed to deprive such of their Incumbencies as oppos'd these illegal Innovations; Protestants are turn'd out, and Papists brought into the Army and Magistracy in *Ireland*, and so that whole Kingdom put into their hands; Popish Chapels are set up and Mass publickly celebrated in the City of *London*; Papists made Officers in the English Army; and at last in Army of five Thousand Papists brought over from *Ireland*.

At length the flattering Addressers and Acorsers of *James* the Just have their Eyes open'd to see how near Popery and Tyranny was approach'd to their own dwellings; now they begin to stir themselves, Seven Bishops (to their great honour be it remembered tho' they had been all of the high side) took the courage to Petition the King, for which they were sent to the *Tower*, the whole Party were frighten'd out of their passive Obedience and Non-resistance Doctrine, (I mean in that undistinguish'd Sense that many of them had preach'd it) they enter'd into a Confederacy (otherwise call'd a *Plot*) to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army, (not to resist or compel, you'll say, but with Prayers and Tears, or some way or other) to bring King *James* to reason, and re-establish the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Nation on a secure Foundation; now they courted the *Whigs* (who were forward enough to join with them, it having always been their Principle to endeavour to reform what was amiss in the Government) and profess'd their readiness to come to a temper for the Ease of tender Consciences; and thus when they themselves came to feel the weight of the Power which they had been so many Years raising up, they saw their Error before it was quite too late, and both Parties heartily join'd to bring about the late happy Revolution; tho' to their honour, it must be acknowledged that for almost the whole merit of the contrivance; and the larger share of the success, we stood indebted to the *Tories*.

But as soon as the Convention Parliament came to declare King *James* abdicated, the Throne Vacant, and to settle the Crown upon King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Behold! the *Tory* Spirit returns upon many of them a-

gain,

Naturam expellas furca licet usque recurret.

they struggled to set up a new sort of Government, a Regency over a King that was a grown Man, a thing that our Laws never knew, probably they had a mind to be Regents themselves : Surely if the People have power so far to unking their King, and leave him nothing but the bare name; they us'd their Authority much better in making a new King, and keeping to the Constitution : But those of them who refus'd to swear to the new King and Queen, (in that yet much honest Men than those that took the Oaths and remain'd Enemies to the Government) how could they have better kept their Oaths and maintain'd their Allegiance to King *James*, if they had set up a Regency over him ? However, I must still own that the wiser and better part of those that had been call'd *Tories* became true Converts, came into the Government, and I doubt not (though they may have sometimes contended about other matters) but that they have been hearty in it's support ever since.

And now the Factions are at peace for a time, and the general expectation was, that some, at least, of the many that had been the Advisers and Instruments of King *James's* Misdadministration would have been punished for an Example to deter others from the like Attempts ; and that Laws should be made to settle the Government on such a foundation that it might not be in the power of any future King to endanger the Rights of the Nation : For the first, it seem'd as if King *James* alone in his own Person had done all the mischief, for not one Man could be found whom they thought worthy to be prosecuted : The other Point, for fencing the Constitution against any future Invasions of the Crown, was slightly pass'd over with only a Bill of Rights, which was no more than a bare Recognition of such Privileges as were well known to be the Peoples due before ; but no Provision was then made for frequent Parliaments, for punishing the Delinquency of Ministers of State, or for purging the House of Commons from the Dead Weight of Court Officers and Dependents ; on the contrary, 'twas, now become the
Language

Language of *Whigs*, that we must not make the King a Doge of *Venice*, (though no body thought of any such extrem) nor make the Crown uneasy for him to wear, &c. The truth is, that many of the Leaders of the *Whig* Party run into the Court for Preferments, and were very well content to sit down with a mixture of *Tories* to teach them their business, and that leaven soon prov'd strong enough to leaven the whole Lump.

At the beginning of this Government the *Whigs* had the Ascendant, but in a little time the *Tories* got strength, and the King was perswaded to change the Militia and the Justices in their favour; however the former prevailing in the House of Commons, work'd out the later again, and (with a few of the complying *Tories*) kept in the Administration till the later end of this Reign; but we were soon convinc'd by woful experience that, like the *Round-heads* in the *Oliverian* time, they were no sooner got into Power, but their former zeal for the publick turn'd all into words and professions, when in deeds they greedily pursu'd their own private Interests, and fell on the readiest ways to enrich themselves at the Nation's cost, prostituting their Principle to their profit: 'Tis true indeed (what they said for themselves) that *Whigism* do's not oblige us to stand always in opposition to the Court when they manage every thing well; but these Men were so tender of displeasing, and so devoted to ingratiate themselves with the Court for Places and Advancement, that they came into all the wrong measures that were taken in that Reign.

It has been found by experience that the most natural way of exerting the Power of this Island in time of War has been by our Naval Expeditions, wherein we are certainly capable of being Superiour to any of our Neighbours; (but unhappy for us) King *William's* Genius inclining more to Land Armies, we were drawn in by degrees, from the moderate Quota which was agreed to at the beginning of the War, to maintain so great an Army beyond Sea, that the Nation was drain'd of not less than two Millions of its Treasure for several successive Years, whilst in the mean time we fell into so Scandalous a management of our Sea Affairs, that our Coasts

were insulted, our Fleet beaten, and our Merchants ruin'd by the depredations of the Enemies Privateers. We did indeed at length gain a considerable Advantage over the *French* Fleet, and burn'd several of their best Ships at *La Hogue*, and, if that Victory had been closely pursu'd, there appear'd the utmost probability of destroying the rest; but it seem'd as if some People had no mind to break the Naval Power of *France* at once; for the Admiral return'd immediately into Port, and tho' he was forthwith ordered out again to attempt those Ships that had sav'd themselves at *St. Malo*, he made so many frivolous delays that the Enemy gain'd time to fortify themselves so well that nothing could then be done; and being accus'd in Parliament for his Mismanagement in that whole Affair, his Friends the *Whigs* were strong enough to bring him off, with a Vote of Thanks from the House of Commons into the bargain: But any one that will be at the pains to examine the Minuits of the House of Lords upon that Accusation, will find great Reason to suspect, that there was either Treachery in the Case, or at least so apparent a deficiency in Conduct, that such a Person ought never more to have been entrusted with the Command of the Royal Navy; and yet even after this, he had the good Fortune to continue in that weighty Employment 'till he gain'd a vast Estate; and had Interest enough to obtain a Privy Seal for the passing his Accounts, after he had been accus'd by an honest Commissioner of the Victualing for having defrauded the Publick of great Sums. But to return to the *Whig* Administration.

The War created a vast Receipt in the Treasury, and we have seen what Mighty Estates have been since rais'd by many of those through whose hands the publick Money has pass'd; never was the Nation engag'd in so great an Expence, never so loose a Management; the Publick run into debt, and the People that trusted it paid with distant Tallies, which crept up from 10 to 20, 30, 40, 50 *per Cent.* discount, for which, to be sure, the Government must pay in proportion for what they bought; great præmios given for the borrowing of ready Money; the Coyn of the Kingdom spoil'd through the supine neglect (if not connivance in some) of those who had the
Direction

Direction of the publick Receipts ; private Advantages made of the publick Money ; Accountants suffered to lye behind in their Accounts to the loss and defrauding of the Publick ; Misapplication of Taxes, and no care taken for the discovery or prevention of these Abuses.

It had been the part of a provident and careful Ministry, when they had found by two or three Years progress of the War, at what expence it might be supported, to have sought out effectual means to raise annual Supplies sufficient to carry on the War without involving the Nation in Debt ; but these took up with mean Projects for raising Money, and gave divers insufficient Funds, 'twas enough with them to give in name the Sum required, and they had no more to care for, than to add in the Deficiency to the next Year's Sum total, and then as deficiently to supply it ; from which improvidence (if not artifice) arise so many distant Tallies, and, the depreciating of the publick Credit, whereby the Nation lost some Millions, which the Tally-Jobbers and Money-mongers (not excluding the skilful Ministers and their Friends) got among them ; and they had so little regard to provide for the future, that the annual Revenues of the Excises, Customs, &c. were made Funds of Appropriation to pay high Interest for Millions taken up every Year for the Service of the War, 'till, by a continuando after this evil precedent, the Kingdom is become plung'd into an immense Debt, to be work'd off by a prolongation of heavy Taxes on us and our Posterity for a long tract of Years to come ; and we are at length so far exhausted that it will be impossible for us to sustain the War much longer in this way ; when yet we have the mortification to reflect, that all this Mischief might have been prevented by an honest and prudent Management at first ; for 'tis plain that five Millions *per Ann.* would have defray'd the whole Expence of the Government from the beginning, and kept us clear of Debt, and tho' we have been brought by degrees to raise a fix'd annual Reveaue, which (with the Land and Malt-Tax) amounts to more than that Sum, yet the better half thereof must now be apply'd to pay Taxes to our fellow Subjects for Interest-Money and Annuities

Annunities, and we are to seek for above two Millions *per Ann.* more to support the War.

But the worst is yet to come ; that detestable Art of poysoning our Constitution by corrupting the Members of the House of Commons with Gifts, Places and Preferments, was practis'd by them with as much application, and as successfully as it had ever been in the *Tory* times ; what Sums of Money have been employ'd in that way is hard to discover, but the turning out and bringing into Places, according as Members behav'd themselves in their Votes, was notorious to all the World, and twenty Expectants were kept in awe for one vacant Place, those that miss'd it at last, being still kept in hopes that their turn would come next ; from whence it came to pass that for several Years together, a great Majority of the House of Commons were led and governed at the pleasure of the Ministry, and voted unanimously in whatever they directed ; the Miscarriages of Men in great Trusts ; the wrong Methods of managing the War, the misapplying the publick Money, exorbitant Grants to Favourites ; and that scandalous Squandering away of the *Irish* Forfeitures to the value of near a Million, which was afterwards recovered by an Act of Resumption ; all these destructive Enormities, which it was the Business of Parliaments to inquire into and see redress'd, were suffered to go on without Controul.

But what will fix a perpetual mark of Infamy on the Heads of that *Whig* Ministry is, that (being under Apprehensions that they should be laid by after the Peace) they were the Men who enter'd into a Compact with King *William*, that if he would keep them and their Friends in his Ministry, they would use their Interest in the House of Commons to procure him a standing Army of Twenty Thousand Men ; and tho' in this worse than *Tory* attempt, the wise and honest Men of their Party deserted them, and they could not carry their Point, yet they struggled hard to keep up as many of the Army as possible, and dispers'd Pamphlets to periwade the silly People among their own Party, that Forces kept up from Year to Year by Consent of Parliament, were not to be accounted a standing Army, and that the great number
of

of Forces continued by the *French* King, and I know not what other circumstances, made it absolutely necessary for a time; nay they have insulted since the short duration of the Peace, and would have it thought they were in the right, and that none but King *William's* Enemies were for disbanding the Army; but all this is odious Language from the Mouth of a *Whig*, with whom it should be a Maxim never to be departed from, not to trust the Crown with any such over-balance of Power as can enable it to endanger the Liberties of the Nation; the narrow escape we had so lately made, might have been a sufficient Argument against ever suffering a standing Army for the future; and is it not evident to a Demonstration, that when the Crown is in the possession of a more immediate Power over the Militia than ever our ancient Constitution admitted, and shall withal have a regular Army at it's Command, that then the People will have nothing at all left for their defence, but must intirely depend upon the meer goodness of the Prince, and the honesty of his Ministers for the enjoyment of their Rights? And tho' it be acknowledg'd that we had nothing to fear from King *William*, yet 'tis never good Policy to create such Precedents, and what after King will think himself kindly us'd if a Parliament should refuse to trust him with the same Confidence? If then, to allow them their most plausible Argument, it had been judg'd requisite to have kept up an Army for some time, I am sure that when I was first a *Whig*, we shou'd have accounted it abominable *Torism*, to have entrusted the entire disposal of them to any King whatsoever, and that at least the Money rais'd to maintain them, should have been put under the Direction of Parliamentary Commissioners.

But our Court *Whigs* were by this time grown so very tender of the Prerogative, that they shew'd little regard for securing the Properties of the People: Many Millions have been advanc'd upon the Funds of the appropriated Revenues, but still the Receipts and Payments are to pass through the old Course of the Exchequer; what if ever hereafter a King should arise that would not think himself safe without a standing Army? we don't say that our

Kings may not by their own Authority raise as many Forces as they can maintain, but the Ballance against that Power is, that they can't support them without Parliamentary Aids; but what if such a King should (according to a former Precedent) stop the Payments of the Exchequer? He would certainly find means enough to maintain a good Army, but the Subjects would find themselves in a poor Condition to dispute with him for their Rights and Properties: Could any Courtier have maintain'd an Argument against the reasonableness of constituting Trustees by Authority of Parliament for the receiving in, and Distribution of these Revenues, which were now become the purchas'd Property of the People? Or can we imagin that the King would have scrupled the gratifying the Publick with such a Security at that time of day? What then can we say or think of the Wisdom or Honesty of those *Whig* Ministers, who to render themselves grateful to the Court, and that they might make their own Fortunes, betray'd the Nation into so loose and precarious a Condition, as well in regard to their Liberties as to their Estates?

But we have yet another Piece of cunning to remark in this Ministry: The House of Commons began to fall into the consideration that 'twas fit for them to appoint Inspectors into the publick Managements, and accordingly they proceeded to constitute Commissioners for examining the publick Accounts; for stating the Accounts of the Army; for inquiring into the *Irish* Forfeitures, &c. But these crafty Ministers started a Notion that 'twou'd be dishonourable and unbecoming Parliament Men to erect new Places of Profit for themselves, and so after a while they perswaded the House to exclude their own Members from being nominated to those Employments, well foreseeing that this would be the likeliest way to bring them into a neglect of those Scrutinies, when they were like to get nothing for themselves; but the Mystery was, that if the Parliament should come into this right way of husbanding the National Business, it might not only discover and destroy the profitable juggling of the Court Managers, but if a competent Number of good Employments should once come into the annual disposal of the
House

House of Commons to reward their most useful and deserving Members, many would come to be drawn off from their dependence upon the Court; when they might expect a quicker Advancement by exerting their fidelity to the National Interest in the House: But if this provident care had been exercis'd so far by the Parliament, as that they had from the beginning appointed Commissioners of their own to inspect the true Musters of the Army, and to have overseen the Payment of the Armies, Fleet, and all other Disbursements relating to the War, I leave it to any thinking Man to consider whether the Nation might not have sav'd many Millions in the Expence, and have made much greater Efforts in the prosecution of the War? I know well that the prerogative *Whigs* have been ready to object against such an Interposition of the Parliament in the executive part of the Government, as an entrenchment upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and tho' I am as far as themselves from desiring to alter the true Methods of the Administration, yet as the raising of such vast Taxes yearly upon the People, and such a way of managing War, were things wholly unknown and unprovided for by our Ancestors; I can see no just Reason, since now the People bear the whole Expence, why their Representatives should not think it their duty to constitute Stewards of their own, to see their Money well husbanded; nor yet are we without former Precedents of our Parliaments having nam'd Commissioners to manage the Taxes they have given.

The Project of Exchequer Bills was serviceable to the Government at that time, tho' the Circulation was contriv'd in such a way that the Nation paid dear for it, all which might have been sav'd by raising one half Million in ready Money at first, which might have maintain'd the circulating Cash from time to time, but then themselves and their Friends, who had always the preference of subscribing what they pleas'd (and 'tis believ'd that much of it was supply'd with the publick Money) would have lost the opportunity of getting many Thousand Pounds. The keeping up the Fees of the Exchequer when the multiply'd Taxes created so vast a Receipt, nay the taking Fees for that very Money that was brought in

to be recoin'd, was an unreasonable Improvidence to the Publick, however very gainful to the Officers. Moreover, their selling of Places, neglecting many deserving Men of their own Party (and even the extraordinary Mr. *Johnson*) that had been sufferers in the late Reigns, never offering to take off the Sacramental Test when 'twas in their Power, *cum multis aliis*, were Peccadilios in comparison with their greater Faults. After all, it must be said in their Commendation, that they were always hearty in the supporting King *William's* Government, but withal they were ever for doing it in such ways as they might be sure to get most by it.

Thus these Ministers and their Mercenary or Misguided Party in the House of Commons, became as intirely devoted to the Court as the *Tories* formerly had been, (with this laudable distinction however, that the later sacrific'd our Liberties and all, but the former only our Purse) and were in their Actions realy turn'd *Tories*, tho' they still affected to be accounted as good *Whigs* as ever, and generally the well-meaning People of that side through the Nation, not seeing into their misdeeds, nor distinguishing between the name and the thing, continued their good Opinion of them, and 'twas nauseous to see how their Creatures and Emissaries labour'd in *Coffee-houses* and publick Conversation to give favourable turns to every thing they did, hide their Faults, and keep up their Reputation with the Party; and tho' this has been the common Artifice of both sides to delude their Followers and engage them heartily to espouse their Interests, yet things will always speak themselves, and we have seen and felt the many Mischiefs that have been brought upon the Nation, and know under whose conduct Affairs have been managed when we have been made to suffer by either Faction in their turns; both have taken care to provide well for themselves, but the *Tories* better for their Friends than the *Whigs*.

The *Tories* had lain under a long mortification to see their Adversaries rule the roast and themselves kept out, and this, as 'tis natural for Men in Affliction, gave them occasion to consider the Misfortune of a Nation when the publick Affairs are unfaithfully manag'd, many of them,

who

who in their younger years had been seduc'd by the Leaders of that Faction in the House of Commons, to engage in their wrong Measures, were grown older and wiser, and like those we call'd enlighten'd Cavaliers, saw their former mistakes, and espous'd the Country-Interest, if some did it in Policy to make themselves popular, I will not doubt but others did it upon Principle, however, the Nation was serv'd by both, and we have cause to rejoice in it, as the Apostle did when Christ was preach'd out of contention ; and thus the *Tories* themselves became *Whigs* in practice, may they never repent the change : Divers also of the old stanch *Whigs* kept steady to their Principle, and form'd what we call'd the *Flying Squadron*, dividing from the Courtiers on such Occasions when they saw the publick Good neglected, and 'tis we'l known how industrious the Party were to calumniate, vilify and render odious the *Harlys*, the *Foleys*, &c. Who were accounted the Principals in this (as they reckon'd it) defection, of whom it may be truly said, they have born the reproach of many ; however, they may be worthily esteem'd the Instruments of much good to the Nation in their joining with (those that were still call'd) the *Tory* Party, to stop the career of those corrupted *Whigs*, whereby many a Hundred Thousand Pound came to be sav'd to the publick, the forfeited Estates of *Ireland* were reclaim'd, and this destructive Ministry with much ado work'd out at last.

By this time both the Factions had taken their successive turns of humiliation, and their heats were pretty well allay'd, while in the mean time, the People had found by experience that (speaking of the Leaders) neither Barrel had prov'd the better Herring, so that they were grown more calm and indifferent in their affections for Parties than they had been for several Years past, and most Men seem'd rather to desire that the publick Affairs should be put into the hands of the honest and most moderate Persons of both sorts, than that it should fall into either extrem, and the King himself, who had been too much inclin'd to make his Advantage of Party, (tho' I believe without ever having had any design to invade our Liberties) came into this disposition towards the latter end of his Reign.

After

After Her present Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, this moderate temper continued for some time, 'till through the Competition of some great Men, the Animosities of the People were again stir'd up and made use of as an Engine to work about their own ambitious Designs. The Queen had made choice of certain extraordinary Persons (whose number did not amount to that of the plural according to the Greek usage) of whose Wisdom and Abilities she had had many Years experience, to whom she resolv'd to commit the prime Conduct of her Government ; these therefore may be distinguish'd by the name of the Ministers. There were others (and among them a Chief whose pretensions and capacity render'd him second to none had he but been qualify'd with more temper and less zeal for a Party) who thought themselves worthy to be admitted into an equal share of the Queen's Confidence, but not succeeding therein, we may remark them by the Appellation of the disappointed Lords: Both the one and the other had been always of the *Tory* Party, but the Ministers foreseeing that the others would have a great influence upon the *Tories*, soon enter'd into a secret Correspondence with the *Whigs*, resolving to secure that Interest for their Support against all Events; they did indeed carry it fairly with the *Tories* for a time, bringing several of them into the Ministry and into Places, and join'd with them in the procuring the Election of many Members for the first Parliament, which by that means came to be compos'd of a great majority of that Side.

The Ministers had acted wisely, they had restor'd the Credit of the Nation, manag'd the Affairs of the War well, and manifested so careful a Conduct in every thing, that hitherto they had given no occasion to those that watch'd for their halting: But the disappointed Lords found out another way to work, they were become very careful for Religion, and a Bill is brought into the House of Commons to prevent Occasional Conformity, where it pass'd in two successive Sessions, but was lost by the Lords; and 'twas remarkable that though the Ministers openly concur'd and voted for the Bill, yet they declar'd their Opinion of it as unseasonable, secretly discourag'd

it, and artfully contriv'd to drop it. The Mystery of this Project was to raise the Spirits of the *Tory* Party, to create in the Queen an Opinion of their formidable Strength, and by degrees to model the Corporations, weed out the Dissenters, and at length to disable them in their electing Members of Parliament; and their Design was still more evident, when in the third Session they attempted to tack it to the Land-Tax Bill, that if by that compulsion they should get it pass'd, or if the Lords (as they had formerly declar'd) would rather reject a Money Bill than admit of any Tack, the Queen might be overaw'd by their Power and necessitated to take them into her Ministry: But here they quite lost themselves and broke their Reputation for ever since, and the bigotted Party-men had herein a convincing Instance how much their Leaders use them as Tools to work their own Ends, for several of the most considerable Men of that side having been taken off by the Ministers, and gratify'd with good Places, they left their Party in the Lurch, and voted against the Tack. And thus this Noisy, Mischief-making, Party-driving, Good-for-nothing Bill came to be utterly lost.

Now again the Factions are blown up into a flame; the Danger of the Church cry'd out on one Side, the Danger of High Church Persecution on the other; *Rebearfals*, *Reviews*, *Observers*, Pamphlets on both sides, all stuff'd with fit matter to keep up the ferment, and no care taken to suppress them; cunning Ministers know how to find their account in Party contentions, 'tis but to join their Power to make one side much the strongest, and then they will be likely to support each other against all opposition. Our Ministers declar'd openly for the *Whigs*, and this created a new thing call'd a *Junto*, a Ministry within a Ministry: Some of this *Junto* had formerly been eminent Leaders of the unanimous *Whigs* in the House of Commons; but they made their bargain before they would engage in the work, if the Ministers would turn out and take in as they pleas'd, then their Party in the Parliament should stand by the Ministers on all Occasions; however, 'twas some Years before they could work it up to an intire confidence in each other, sometimes the

Ministers

Ministers promis'd to gratify them with such Changes of hands as they requir'd; and, after the Parliament was up, neglected the Performance: The next Sessions the *Junto* would be sure to thwart them by their Friends in the House of Commons, then all was made up again by a new Bargain, which yet was perhaps but half perform'd; then the *Junto* quarrel'd again, upbraided them with Breach of Promise, sought out for Faults to tax them with, and now and then gave them a pinch in the House of Commons, till they promis'd a full Compliance, and thus it pass'd through several Sessions, sometimes in League, sometimes at Daggers drawing, till at last an Occurrence happen'd that gave the *Junto* such an Advantage over the Ministers. that they have since led them as in a cleft Stick; and 'twill be no unprofitable Digression to look backwards to the Original Causes that brought it about, since a great deal of the ill Usage of the Ministers will thereby appear.

The Brave Earl of *Peterborough* had gone on with a Course of surprizing Successes in *Spain*, Cities and Kingdoms were reduc'd to the Obedience of King *Charles* even faster than the Couriers could bring us the Intelligence, and his Competitor must have been quite driven out in the second Campaign, had not that King been unhappily diverted from pursuing the right Measures that had been concerted; and another General neglected both the securing of *Madrid*, and the getting in Provisions to support the Army for a few Weeks: After this Miscarriage the Earl went to *Genoa*, and pawn'd his own Credit to take up Money to preserve the Army from starving; from thence he proceeded to *Turin*, and form'd such a Scheme for the taking of *Tboulon*, that (morally speaking) it could not have miscarried, if the principal part of the Project, (which was to begin the Campaign early by entring into *Rouffion* in order to invade *France* on that side, with an Army to be compos'd of a Detachment from *Savoy*, another of but 5000 from our Forces in *Spain*, the rest to be made up of Miquelets; and when the *French* should have drawn their principal Forces that way, then the Duke of *Savoy* was to have march'd to *Tboulon*) had not been disappointed by the Earl of *Galloway's*

way's utterly refusing to spare 5000 Men from that Army, on pretence that he had positive Orders from *England* not to divide his Forces; whether he had any such Orders or not, or whether his Orders were to cross all the Earl of *Peterborough's* Designs (which he effectually did) is not yet plainly discovered, but worth the Enquiry of a Parliament in fit time; this is certain, that when all the World applauded that Earl's Conduct, and whilst the whole Nation were extremely pleas'd and gratify'd with his unparallel'd Achievements, the Ministers thought fit to turn him out of all Command, and that they might affront him beyond Example, they even writ to Foreign Princes to discountenance him; whether they were afraid that he should eclipse the Glory of another, or that too quick a period would be put to the War, or that the *French King* was so alarm'd at the Progress of our Arms in those parts that he began to make Overtures of Peace (as the Earl had more honestly than warily let them know) and might probably give us the Advantage of treating the Peace on that side, to the disappointment of those who never intended it should be negociated in any other place but *Holland*; or whatever it were, they stop'd the Progress of our Arms in those parts, lost two Kingdoms to the Enemy, depriv'd their Country of the Services of one who had in so short a time given such a Specimen of an enterprizing Genius, such Proofs of his superior Abilities, such Demonstrations of a Conduct always successful, and never subject to Mistakes or Disappointments, and had made so many and so great Conquests with a handful of Men, that he has rarely been equal'd, never exceeded by any General of the present or former times; his Enemies had no better Foundation for their proceedings against him than false Reports, Aspersions and Calumny; and tho' after his coming home, a Minister of State sent him five Articles of pretended Accusations, yet one of them was grounded on a meer Mistake of their own, and the Earl justify'd himself in the other four, by producing their own Directions and Orders for what he had done, so far had these Ministers forgotten their own Acts and Deeds; and 'tis since evident to the whole Kingdom that they had

had nothing at all to lay to his Charge, for when in the next Sessions he desired to be heard in his own Vindication, his Adversaries had no other shift than to order Multitudes of Papers to be brought in, tiring the House with reading them, still avoiding to enter upon any Matter of Fact, and adjourning it from time to time, till they had spun out the Sessions.

I am now led to the Matter of which I was speaking. The Mismanagement of our Affairs in *Spain* came to be enquir'd into in the House of Commons, and it was found, that tho' the Parliament had voted and provided for the maintaining of 28000 Men for the second Year's Operations in *Spain*, there were not actually 9000 of that Quota employ'd in that Country; this Business was brought on by the *Tory* Party, who press'd hard that the House should prepare an Address to the Queen, roundly to represent this fatal Miscarriage, and to pray Her Majesty to lay before them the Occasion of it; the Court *Whigs* knew then no better but that 'twas their Business to stand by the Ministers in every thing, and therefore they labour'd to mitigate the matter, and that the Address might only be to pray that due Care might be taken to prevent the like Faults for the future, they speech'd it out till late, and struggled hard to get the Debate adjourn'd for some further time, which at last they carry'd but by Nine Votes (for it must be noted, that there have always been some of the true Old *Whigs* that will not baulk their Principle to Vote through thick and thin, like the Moderns in such notorious Cases) but after all it appear'd, that the Mercenaries had fought this Battel on the wrong side for want of their Orders; the *Junto* wanted at this time so fair an Opportunity to bite the Ministers, and force them into a Compliance with what they had been long bargaining for, and therefore directed their Creatures by all means to let the Address pass as smart as the *Tories* wou'd have it; so when this Debate came on again, the Warriours were grown as tame as Lambs, and the Address went without any more than a little faint shewish Opposition: The Ministers were frighten'd out of their Wits, here was a Gap open'd that led into a Discovery of all the foul play
that

that had been acted in the *Spanish* Affairs, they fly to the *Junto*, sue to 'em for Peace, promise every thing if they will but help them out of this Plunge; an Answer to the Address is trim'd up (in the Queen's Name) to palliate as much as possible, but too narrow to hide the Miscarriage from any one that was not willing to be blind to it, and the Nation is told plainly that one third of our Army has always been allow'd for Officers Servants; (a fine Cheat for *Whigs* to countenance or acquiesce in) however the *Junto* had gain'd their point, and now the Party in the House were to let this pass for Satisfaction, and so the Ministers were brought off from this difficulty. Thus the same Men who at first set themselves with all their might to defend the Ministers in a Matter wherein the Nation had been notoriously abus'd, presently, when they are bid, leap over the Stick 'other way, and join in a Complaint against the same Ministers for the same Fault, and then at the Word of Command leap back again, as you were; all's well done, No-body to be blam'd. How mean an Opinion would the honest *Whigs* through the Nation have of the Men they put their Confidence in, if they saw how little regard they had to the true Interests of their Country, and how easy they are to betray it to serve a turn?

They had been long listing at a Secretary of State, and now the Ministers durst not deny them any thing, and out he must, though to the great Regret of the Good Queen, who had had manifest Proofs of his great Ability and Fidelity, yet they had the Hardiness to exact a Promise from Her Majesty that she would not see him; and because he had faithfully discover'd to the Queen some Mismanagements of the Ministers that would be of ill Consequence if not redress'd in time, the Party gave out that he had been working underhand to throw out the very Ministers themselves, whenas the utmost of his Aim could be but to reform or ballance; for to think of displacing and disgracing them at that time of day, was fit for no Man in his Wits: But this was a trifling Slander in comparison, to what they made it the Business of their Emissaries to load him with. He had himself entertain'd a Suspicion that one of the Clerks
of

of his Office held a Treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy, and in order to discover it, he writ to the Post-master on the other side to send him back a certain Packet of Letters, wherein he found a Letter of this Clerk's written to a Minister of State in *France*; he first acquainted Her Majesty alone with it, and then appointed a Committee of Council to meet at his Office, sent for the Clerk, and then surpriz'd him at once by producing and reading the Letter before his Face; the Clerk was Committed, Arraign'd, pleaded Guilty, and was Executed for the Treason: The Party us'd all their Endeavours, and had their Creatures in publick Conversation to make the World believe that the Secretary himself was privy to this Trayterous Correspondence; seven Lords were deputed from that House to examine the Clerk in Prison, and 'tis remarkable that they were all of one side: Surely they that knew the manner in which the Secretary surpriz'd him, must believe in their Consciences that no Man durst treat a Person with such a Severity if he knew it to be in the Criminal's power to accuse himself; but the Secretary's Innocence was amply vindicated, when the Clerk at his Execution deliver'd a Paper to the Ordinary of *Newgate*, declaring, That his Master was wholly ignorant of this Treasonable Correspondence till he made the Discovery himself, and thank'd God that he gave him the Grace not to do so vile an Action for the saving his own Life, as some would have put him upon; but the Ordinary was not permitted to publish this Paper (as is usual) and so it was suppress'd for a time, till care was taken to print it from a Copy that had been given to another hand, and then *Paul Lorrain* got Leave to publish it also. I have been the larger in this Narrative, that all well-meaning *Whigs* may be truly inform'd, that tho' themselves and their Principles abhor such Practices, yet there are great Men among their Leaders that stick at nothing that they think will serve their own Interests, and destroy those they hate, and the same Men that could so lately both accuse and acquit the faulty in one Breath, were now as ready to attempt the Ruin of their Enemy by Subornation, and to stifle and suppress so clear a Vindication

of his Innocence. Nor is it less worthy the notice of the *Whigs*; that this very Gentleman who has been rendred so odious in their esteem, if his Conduct shall be impartially considered, it will be found that his Actions have shewn him much more a Patriot and a true *Whig* than his Adversaries; 'twas their deserting the true Interest of their Country and running into and supporting all the Mismanagements of the late Reign, that made him join with those that were call'd *Tories* (tho' I am sure they deserv'd the good opinion of all true *Englishmen* in those occasions) to rescue the Nation from the rapine of that corrupt Ministry; and, as St. *Paul* became all unto all that he might gain some, if this Gentleman has employ'd the Dexterity of which he is so great a Master, to draw off the best Men of that Party from the extrem which they had formerly fallen into, and to win them into the true Interest of the Nation, his Voting with them, pleasing them, and gaining their good opinion in order to good Ends, are so far from faults, that they deserve the highest applause, and both Parties ought to look upon him as the happy Instrument that is content to Sacrifice his own ease, to pass through good Report and bad Report, and to labour constantly to destroy Faction, and to reconcile the honest Men of all sorts who really design the good of their Country: I am sure his bringing of so many of the High Party upon the last struggle for the Occasional Conformity Bill, and the losing it by the Tack, ought to be look'd upon by the Dissenters, as such a convincing Proof of his Inclination to keep them easy, that they should never suffer themselves to be deceiv'd by the Impositions of those, who, to serve their own turn, would perswade them to think him their Enemy.

It will also be needful to say something of another Person, whom, together with the former, they have been pleas'd to make the Objects of their Slander and Calumny: This is a certain Lady related to, and introduc'd into her Majesty's Service some Years since by a very great Lady who had long engross'd the Bounty and Beneficence of her Sovereign; but when the young Lady had by her vertuous Qualities and prudent Behaviour gain'd also some share in her Royal Mistress's Favour and

Esteem; the Patroness began to look upon her as a Competitor, but by how much the more the jealousies of the later increas'd, by so much the more did the former labour to extinguish them by a submissive demeanour and avoiding all possible occasions of Offence, otherwise than what would always be so taken as long as she should continue to receive any marks of the Queen's Favour, and even in these she besought her Majesty to be more sparing towards her, rather than thereby to increase the other's uncalinefs; but the great Lady was of a temper not to be mollify'd, the thoughts of any Competition in the Queen's Favour, though in a degree much inferior to what herself continu'd to enjoy, could not be born, no real Fault could be found, therefore something must be invented to raise her powerful Enemies, the *Junto* were told that she did them ill Offices to the Queen, was the intire Confident of the late Secretary (she is indeed his near Relation) and abetted him in his (no body knows what) Intrigues against them; they list hard to get her out, but the Queen had too great a confidence in her Innocence and Integrity to be prevail'd upon to part with her, however the great Lady presum'd to turn her out of her lodgings at *Kensington*, with less decency than became the regard due to her Royal Mistress, and the Mouths of the Party were open'd to traduce and render her odious among the *Whigs*; who are perswaded to believe her to be the worst of *Tories*, tho' at the same time she's married to the Son of one of the best *Whigs* in the Nation, and hath never engag'd herself in either Faction: Thus from the private animosity of a Ministerial Lady, a modest, discreet, inoffensive, virtuous Gentlewoman, is set up for the very mark of Reproach and Indignation of the *Junto* and their Friends, and the Queen herself to be disrespectfully treated through her sides.

By this time the Ministers and the *Junto* were grown into the highest degree of mutual Confidence, and, what with the intire command which the former had over the Members who enjoy'd Civil and Military Offices, and the strong influence which the later had over the misled unanimous *Whigs*; they had so large a Majority in the House of Commons, that they had great assurance of carrying every

every thing there according to their own minds : The Lord High Admiral (who had manag'd that high Trust with unexceptionable Conduct) must be laid by, and the Nation burthen'd with a Pension of 3000 *l per Ann.* for no other Reason but that one of the Principals of the *Junto* might be plac'd at the Head of the Admiralty ; surely Men will think themselves Great, Strong, and Powerful, when the Parliament, Army, Navy, and Treasury of a Kingdom are at their Devotion ; and we had reason to think so, when a certain very great Man, whose general Behaviour had always been remarkably soft, easy, courteous and cool to all, could now presume to dispute the disposal of a single Regiment in the Army with his Sovereign, and to such a degree of animosity, as to depart from her presence in disgust, without returning till the good Queen (may I say) submitted and yielded the Point to him. But this was soon exceeded by a higher Step of Insolence ; I have noted before that the Queen would not be perswaded to give up the persecuted Lady, so now they meditate on a way to force her from her Arms, and, depending upon their Strength in the House of Commons, resolve to procure an Address to Her Majesty from that House to pray Her to remove this harmless Lady from Her Presence, which had certainly been carry'd on if the Queen had not concern'd herself to stop it, by letting some honest Gentlemen of the House know, that if she knew the Lady to be guilty of any Crime, she should be as ready to part with her as they to desire it, but she hop'd that those who had any regard for herself, would never use her so hardly, as to consent to an Address to pull from her a Servant whom she esteem'd, without convicting her of the least Crime ; this indeed prevail'd at last to break this audacious Attempt. I must yet tell you of another Step larger than this, and even so high that it wanted, but one of the top ; in a word, they had projected to get the great Man created General for Life.

'Twas time now for our good Queen to look about her, and having lost the Support of her dear Consort, the anxiety of her mind was become so great that she was even overwhelm'd with grief, 'till she had found some faithful

Advisers to open her mind to, and surely they had been much to blame if they had not sedulously apply'd themselves to consult such measures as might render their Sovereign safe and easy, and restrain the Power and Ambition of some Men that were grown too great. It falls out indeed at an unhappy Conjunction with respect to our Affairs both at home and abroad, that there should be any Occasion for an alteration of the Ministry, but as I have shewn you, from Facts that are well known, the real Cause and Foundation from whence all arises, you must needs be convinc'd, that what has already, or may further be done therein, proceeds not from Caprice, or from a greater Inclination to the *Tories* than to the *Whigs*, or from a meer affected novelty to change hands when all's well already; (as the Party vainly noise it through the Nation) but from an inevitable necessity of giving some speedy cheque to the formidable Power of a few Men, who have given Indications too evident to be slighted, that they have entered into Confederacies, and taken Resolutions to govern both Queen and Nation according to their own pleasure: And because the great Men of the *Whig* side have so deeply engag'd themselves with the Ministers in these dangerous Intrigues, and divers of them have rendred themselves too obnoxious to be longer confided in; it therefore became unavoidable to have recourse to such who have indeed rang'd themselves on the other side, but have seen the Error of extremes, and are willing to enter into healing and moderate measures; nor is there the least Reason to doubt, but that all those of the *Whig* Party who shall abandon the ill Designs of the *Junto*, and heartily concur (according to their own Principle) in the Promotion of the publick Good, will be as freely admitted to Employments, and as well regarded as ever; nothing being more desired than a coalition of the honestest Men of both sides to balance the over-grown Power of the Ministers, and to manage the Affairs of the Government in such ways as may most conduce to the ease and satisfaction of Her Majesty, and to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation.

The Ministers and the *Junto* soon discern'd the Cloud that was gathering over their Heads, and as quickly be-

stir'd

stir'd themselves to provide for shelter against the Storm. 'Tis easy to imagine at whose Instances our good Allies the States of *Holland* order'd their Envoy here to desire Her Majesty not to change her Ministers; 'tis true that this Message was delivered with as much modesty as the subject matter would bear, but perhaps Monsieur *Vryberg* may be noted for the first Foreign Minister that ever was charg'd with such an Affair, and it would have look'd with something a better Grace, if he had been instructed to have made this sort of Intercession by way of Conference with some of the Queen's Ministers, who probably might have been ordered to give him such an Answer as would have satisfy'd his Masters, without his applying directly to Herself in a Business which could not possibly be void of some Offence, tho' Her Majesty would take every thing as well intended that came from a State for whom She has ever had so sincere a regard, and who have so signally exerted themselves for the good of the common Cause.

Their next Attempt was to play the Bank upon Her Majesty; this was contriv'd by procuring the Governour with some of the Directors (and we may guess who sent them and gave them their Errand) to request certain great Lords to represent to Her Majesty, that the Apprehensions of a change in the Ministry had mightily disturb'd the Trading People in the City, Shock'd Credit, and they fear'd if a stop were not put to it, would cause a run upon the Bank, and disable them from serving the Government; the Message was delivered, and it was desired that Her Majesty would be pleas'd to permit them to receive her Answer from her own Mouth, accordingly they were appointed to attend the next Morning (and this they have since been pleas'd to call a being sent for) and had a most gracious Answer from Her Majesty. I am unwilling to reflect so hardly as the thing deserves upon Men whom I esteem so considerable in themselves and so useful to the Publick, but yet 'tis fit their Principals should know that they have not well deserv'd of them by their meddling in this Affair, which (as I shall shew anon) did not at all concern them, if they manage their Bank (as I really believe they do) prudently and honestly, and
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ginary, not real worth. If there be a certain knowledge that the principal Stock is improv'd by management, just so much is the intrinsic Value rais'd, if it be as certainly known that the principal is lessened by losses, the intrinsic Value is fallen in the same proportion; but as long as this profit or loss shall remain doubtful or uncertain, the principal Stock must always be accounted the intrinsic Value, because the expectancy is precarious and may prove better or worse than the expectation, and consequently any variation from this way of valuing will always be but imaginary, never the real Value of any thing; it is indeed a common Saying, *Valet quantum vendi potest,*

Just as much Money as 't will bring,

Is the true Worth of every thing;

but these are Maxims invented by Knaves to cheat fools. To consider then the true worth of *India* and Bank-Stock; as these Companies do make a Yearly dividend of Profit, the real Value of these Stocks can be accounted for no otherwife than by the principal Money paid in, with an Addition of so much of the Annual Dividend as has accrued since the last Payment: I will not pretend to be so perfect in the Mystery of Stock-Jobbers as to know exactly how much *per Cent.* has been actually paid in by the Subscribers, but I take it from the general Voice, that those Stocks continue still to be sold considerably above the intrinsic Value, so that the great noise that is made about the falling of Stock has been a meer Imposition, and a palpable untruth; for though we daily see that these Stocks are run up and down by the new Science of Stock-Jobbing, yet this can never be truly said to operate any thing upon the real intrinsic Value, which can never be mov'd otherwise than by the known Profit or Loss upon it: We know that the management of the Bank is profitable, and that the Funds settled for the Payment of their Interest are competent, and as secure as any other Possessions in the Kingdom, for whatsoever overturns one must overturn all; but if some People will be frighten'd at Shadows, or in disgust, should sell their Stocks for less than the real Value, what Reason is there for a
Govern-

Government to be mov'd at this, more than at such angry Children who throw away their Bread and Butter ?

Well, but Foreigners will withdraw all the Money they have put into our Stocks and publick Funds : I say they can't, for the Money must lie where it is ; O ! but they'll sell it all off ; with all my heart, then *Englishmen* must buy it, and the Sums that they Yearly carry out of the Nation for their Interest or Annuities will remain here and circulate among ourselves. This, weak though it be, they may think sufficient to puzzle the ignorant and serve their turn well enough, if it do's but set the People a grumbling.

Now for our publick and private Credit, a new Ministry, say they, will certainly destroy both, bring all things into Confusion, and disable us from carrying on the War. I hope not ; but, in the mean time, what do we owe to those Ministers that have brought the Nation into such a condition, that, as they think, she cannot subsist without a dependance upon them and their Creatures ? However, if our future Parliaments will give as good Funds, and as good Bargains as they have done, how can they tell but that the People (and the Foreigners among the rest) will throng as hard to get in their Money as they us'd to do ? But they tell us the money'd Men are on their side, and they'll Lend no more ; no, not when they don't know how to employ their Money so well in any other way ? I believe yet, if there should be some froward Children (as I noted before) that would throw away their Bread and Butter, we shall find more hungry ones that would catch it up and eat it. But what if our new Ministry should do better for us than they have done, and find ways and means to raise the needful Supplies within the Year ? This surely would heighen our publick Credit, and put us into a Condition to live of ourselves, without having so much occasion to borrow, and to Mortgage the Nation to future Generations ; a moderate general Excise added to a just Land-Tax would do all, and there is a necessity for us to come to it at last, or ruin ourselves if we go on in the borrowing way. What do they mean by destroying private Credit ? Shan't we be able to find trust for our daily Bread ? Or will the Merchants

chants or Wholesale-Traders refuse their best Chapmen unless they come with ready Money in their hand? Wo be to bad Pay-masters then, yet the Nation may be comforted in this, that then we shall have fewer Bankrupts; be it as it will, I am of the opinion that let whos' will be in the Ministry, Men of substance and probity will never want as much credit as they desire, and they that have neither, if they should ever get it, will never be able to keep it: A certain Writer (just as if he were an humble Servant of the Party on all occasions) is reading us a large Lecture on this Topic-Credit, he trims her up like a gay Lady, and tells us she can do Miracles and cac Wonders; he had better a liken'd her to a loving *Spaniel-Bitch* that will never leave a Master who uses her well, but if he gets up to ride her, she sinks under him, she can do no more than she can do. But what if under this Title of private Credit they mean also the Paper Credit, and would have us think that Trade could not subsist without it for want of a sufficient quantity of Specie-Money to circulate Payments? But this, like the rest, is all falacy, for neither Bank nor Bankers give out their Bills till the Money is actually lodg'd in their hands, and tho' these Bills may pass through twenty hands before one comes to fetch the Money, yet there's not one Penny more or less employ'd in Trade than would have been if this Money had been paid from hand to hand; the whole Business is simply no more than this, Men in Commerce must always owe Money to some, and have it to receive from others, and if they make a Bank their common Cashier, their mutual occasions of receiving and paying meet there as in a Center, and they are enabled by means of the Bank-Bills to make their Payments to each other by Assignment, without the trouble of telling the Money, and the Bank's Security for the Payment creates a more general Acceptance and Currency than the Bills of private Men, because Banks always pay at the first call, when a good Man may make you come two or three times for the Money; and thus Banks, and Paper-Credit, are a good Ease and Conveniency to Tradefmen, but add nothing to the encrease or diminishing of Trade or Money. After all, when the Citizens shall have any Reason to doubt

doubt the infallible Punctuality of the Bank or Bankers, they may blame themselves for any Inconvenience they may suffer, because they might have prevented it by taking the pains to keep their own Cash as their Grand-fathers did; 'tis true, such a turn of Caution and good Husbandry might have hindered the Profit of the Bankers, but it concerns not at all the Government, who have no reason to trouble themselves whether the trading Citizens manage their Business wisely or otherwise. Our Party-Politicians also had better let the World rub on in its own way, than make a noise about things which they don't well understand; and 'tis because the Clamour about them has been very great, that I have thought it worth while to say so much as might undeceive such as have entertain'd wrong Notions thereof, and convince them from the Nature and true Reason of the things, that Court-Changes can no more lessen their real Value, than they can that of our other Substance, and when these groundless Fears are abated, People will resume their former good Opinion of them, at least, those that continue their Interests and don't mind Stock-Jobbing, will find their Stocks in these Companies to be employ'd to as much Advantages as ever.

But these are not all the false and malicious Suggestions that the *Junto*-Party have invented to inflame the minds of their credulous Admirers; they tell them nothing less is intended than a total Change of hands, all *Whigs* to be turn'd out of the Ministry, and the *Tories* to rule all; then the Dissenters must expect another Occasional Conformity Bill, nay even their precious Liberty of Conscience will be taken away: We shall soon see whether they have any ground for such Reports, or whether they are altogether fictitious and false; let honest Men but take notice of, and remember the Persons who make it their Business to talk up these Stories in Conversation, that, when they shall see the Event to be otherwise, they may know who are the Tools of the Party, and never more suffer them to impose upon their Credulity; in the mean time I dare assure them that they have none of these things to fear, and that Her Majesty is as firmly resolv'd against all Extreams as they can wish, that She
will

will bear equal regard to Men that behave themselves well of either side, and desires that the Names of Parties and Factions may be buried in Oblivion, and that we may have no other Mark of Distinction among us than that of Knaves from honest Men; that they will find such of the *Tories* (as People still call them) as shall be admitted into the Ministry, will come into moderate measures, and when any of them act otherwise they will be laid by; and that the Queen has declar'd, as a Principle she will always stand by, that she will never suffer Herself to be prevail'd upon to make the Dissenters uneasy by an Occasional Conformity Bill, or any thing like it; and that She will inviolably maintain the Toleration they now enjoy.

Nor will the Party stop here, but to shew that they have no Limits to their Scandal, they give out, that nothing less is design'd by these Changes, but that such Men may be put into Power as will work about another Revolution, and bring the Pretender in upon us; they tell us too of a Spunge that shall wipe out all the publick Debts, and cancel the appropriated Funds. *Fortiter calumniare, aliquod adhaereat*, is an Old Maxim which they practise as freely as any People ever did before them, they know that nothing can more expose Men to the Odium of the Nation than such Imputations, and therefore they labour to fix them on their Enemies without the least regard to Truth: But such things can't be brought about without some previous Indications, 'twill be then time enough to suspect such villainous designs when any thing like them appears, and, God be thank'd, there is so general a Disposition in the People of this Kingdom (notwithstanding their Party-Feuds and Divisions) to support Her Majesty's Title to the Crown, the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and their own Rights and Properties, that we have no reason to disturb our selves with such Apprehensions, or think it in the power of a few Ministers if they had the Will to attempt them; and I am in no doubt but that we shall see such Men in the New Ministry as will soon convince the Nation, by their Actions, that they will shew as much Zeal for the present Government, more Duty to

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Her Majesty, and less regard to their own private Interest, than their Predecessors; in the mean time, we need take no more pains to answer these Calumnies, than the Parson did to confute the Cardinal, and that was to tell him in short, *Bellarmin* thou lyeest. They have told us that these Changes would shock our Allies, and force us into a dishonourable Peace, but we have seen the quite contrary; and then we are to be persuaded that these Clashings among our selves have encourag'd our Enemies to break off the Treaty; I hope for the better still, and that in the next, more regard will be had to the Trading Interest of *Great Britain* than these Ministers had shewn in the former Preliminaries.

The last of their Clamours which I shall here take notice of, is that against dissolving the Parliament. A Parliament, say they, that have given such vast and effectual Supplies to support the War, and done every thing that could be expected from them to shew their steady Zeal to the Queen and Government; in all this they did but their Duty, and why should we fear that the next will not do it as well? But it must be said withal, that the *Junto* had wrought up so great a majority into Engagements to stand by them on all Occasions, by Voting unanimously in every thing that concern'd the Ministry, that 'twas from thence they took the Confidence to make those large Steps I have formerly mention'd; and therefore 'tis no wonder that they are so extremely fond of this Parliament, and so much afraid of its Dissolution; take away this, and we know their Strength is departed from them; if they can but get this Parliament to sit, they have hope, and 'tis the only hope they have left, that their Party will still stick together and be strong enough to retard the Supplies till they have forc'd a kind of necessity upon the Queen to undo all that has been done, and submit Herself to their Dominion again; and perhaps Her Majesty may think that a sufficient Reason utterly to deprive them of that Hope; of what Use is that Right of the Prerogative to dissolve Parliaments, if it may not be exercis'd on such Occasions? No Wrong can be done to the Subjects by it, for their Right of Election remains free to them,
and

and they may chuse as many of the same Members again as they think fit. After all, I must own that I should be glad that the chusing a New Parliament could be avoided at a time when the People on both sides are in so high a Ferment, I know also that a great many good Men equally zealous for their Queen and Country, would be extremely gratify'd if it could be forborn; and I can't doubt, but that such a Number of the true old-principled *Whigs* (such as Voted for the Bill against Officers sitting in the House) would come over into Her Majesty's Just Measures, that they would leave the *Junto-Party* very thin and impotent; but I freely submit to the Wisdom of my Superiours.

I will, Sir, own to you, That I have always espous'd the true *Whig* Principle; that is, to be heartily affected to the Court and Ministry when they act uprightly for the publick Good, and as heartily to oppose them when they do otherwise, and you'll see that I regard the thing it self so much more than the bare Name of it, which some Men have assum'd only to work their own ends, that I have as freely animadverted on the late Proceedings of some of my own Party as you have done upon yours; but still I desire you'll take notice, that as the Number of the *Whigs* is made up for the most part of Men of Thought and Industry, who understand their Principle and are careful to preserve Liberty and Property, I esteem them to be generally honest well-meaning People, and to intend the publick Good; but then when their Leaders have proved otherwise, they have been too apt to be deceiv'd and misled by them through the Confidence and good Opinion they have of them, being blind to their Faults, and constantly standing by them in Opposition to those they account *Tories* even tho' the former should pursue wrong measures, and the later be in the right.

On the other side, I take the Generality of the *Tories* to consist mostly of a looser and less thoughtful sort of People, who look no further than the Outside of things, and take up with Notions they don't understand, condemning the very same things in others which they have practis'd themselves; they are mightily influenc'd
by

by the High-flying Clergy, and dance after their Pipe in every thing, and we see what a Madness they are run into for the silencing an Incendiary; What a Noise do they make with their Nonsensical Addresses and Furious Insolent Sermons? We know that the Queen has both an Hereditary and Parliamentary Title, but without the later She had not now so happily fill'd the Throne: What do they mean then by crying up the Hereditary, and slighting the Parliamentary Title? And what Nonsense is it in them to lay so great Stress on the former, and yet at the same time to profess their Adherence to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, which can pretend to no Claim but by Act of Parliament? But, if their own ignorant Partizans don't see, we know what the Contrivers intend by it; for one of their own Writers has told us plainly, that *Hereditary Right, and the Natural Allegiance due to it, is a stubborn thing, and will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, nor to a thousand Usurpations.* This is plain enough without a Comment. Why do they make such an Out-cry against Rebellion and Rebellious Principles, when, (except the notorious *Jacobites* who herd with them, and what has lately appear'd on their own side) the whole Nation is full of Duty, Loyalty, and Hearty Affection to Her Majesty? To what end do they cry out against Republicans, when at this day there is not the least Appearance of any Party that affect any Change of the Establish'd Government? For my own part, I am suspicious that the Non-jurors and the High-Church Clergy, who think their Ecclesiastical Domination too much clip'd by our present Constitution, are at the bottom of all these Out-cries, that if possible they might stir up their giddy Devotoes to bring in the Pretender, with whom they may imagine that they could make their own Terms. Such false and malicious Suggestions as the above-mentioned, do indeed shew the true Spirit of *Torism*; but then we must do so much Right to others who are reckon'd of that Party, as to acknowledge that there are many Gentlemen among them, who tho' they may have a more than needful Concern for the Monarchy and the Establish'd Church, are yet zealous for the supporting Her Majesty's Title and the *Hanover* Succession,

cession, and do sincerely approve the Revolution-Principles, and abhor the Slavish Doctrine of Unlimited Passive Obedience: And these do, in respect to Civil Government so nearly mean the same thing with the honest, well meaning, disinterested *Whigs*, that if these two sorts would but let fall their mutual Jealousies, and unite themselves in all those things that apparently concern the publick Good, the Nation might be so happy as to see a speedy end put to our Factious Divisions, and the designing Grandees on both Sides would find themselves left without Followers to shift for themselves.

'Tis most certain that all good Men mean well, and that their Animosities against each other on account of their differing Sentiments, arise more from the prejudices of Education and Conversation, than from a through Examination and well-grounded Knowledge of the Points in Controversy, and the Strife between them seems indeed to be more about words than the things themselves, so that the admitting but a few modest and easy Distinctions would go a great way towards reconciling their various Opinions: To instance in some Particulars; the *Tories* value themselves highly upon their Principles of Loyalty to Princes, and say they are not to be resisted, but must be obey'd Actively or Passively; thus far the *Whigs* agree with them, and allow that Lawful Authority is not to be resisted; that Civil Government is the Ordinance of God for the procuring and conserving the Peace and Quiet of human Societies; that 'tis the indispensable Duty of all Christians to live peaceably and quietly under their Princes and Magistrates, to reverence their Persons and esteem them Sacred, and if in any case they cannot obey them Actively, yet they are bound to obey them Passively in every thing relating to their just Power; this, and nothing less, is what they think sufficient to answer the End of Humane Government: But then the *Laudean* Church-men have, from these true Principles, taught by the Scriptures, and believ'd by every good Christian, extorted extravagant Consequences no-where warranted by the Sacred Writings, and utterly destructive of the Rights of Mankind, and contrary to the common Dictates of Reason and the
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Laws of Nature; they would persuade us that all Kings are *Jure Divino* plac'd above the Laws, and accountable to no Power on Earth for their Misgovernment, that we are bound to submit our selves to them with an Unlimited Passive Obedience, and if they should violate all the Laws of Liberty and Property, and should attempt to take from us our Estates, Wives, Children, nay our Lives merely to gratify their own Will and Pleasure, we are not to make the least Resistance on pain of Eternal Damnation. This now is such a Doctrine of Slavery that it perverts the very end for which God Almighty instituted Government, and is so contrary to his Divine Attributes of Wisdom, Justice and Goodness, that, tho' it may pass for good *Mahometanism*. I am sure there's no Christianity in it: The Scriptures indeed give us a Description of what wicked Kings would do, such as God gave to his People in his Anger and took away in his Wrath, and their Tyranny is denounc'd as a Curse upon the *Israelites* for rejecting their God, but is no-where approv'd, nor were the People bound to submit to it; the one Instance (besides many others) of the Ten Tribes rejecting *Rehoboam*, and making *Jeroboam* their King, and that this is said to be from the Lord, is sufficient to confute Gain-sayers: All History is full of Examples of the People's rescuing themselves from the Tyranny and Oppression of their bad Princes whenever they were able; the *Hugonots* in *France*, the *Dutch* and the *Scots*, have in these later times taken up Arms against their Lawful Princes when they oppress'd them in their Civil and Religious Rights, and yet they have been approv'd therein by all good Protestants. The *Whigs* therefore say, that the Precepts of the Apostle enjoin such an Obedience as is due to all Lawful Government, and claim not the least Pretence to Resistance, but in such extream Cases when the Prince breaks through the Fundamental Laws of his Country, and sets himself to destroy Liberty, Property, Religion, and all that is near and dear to the People, then they believe that Christianity does not require Free-born Subjects to submit themselves to become Slaves, but that they may use such Power as God has given them, to defend and preserve themselves, and to restore the Laws and Liberties of their Country; this must be admitted by all who approve of the late Happy Revolution, wherein there seems a Design of Providence to expose the great Sticklers for Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, who, when they began to feel the Rod of Persecution upon their own Backs, soon forgot their own Doctrines, were the first that invited the then Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army, and join'd heartily with the *Whigs* to resist the late King *James*, and rescue the Nation from the impending Ruine; and thus we have seen that how much soever these Parties have differ'd in words, they both agree in the necessity of the thing; and for those that have since strain'd their Inventions to persuade the World that marching with an Army against the late King *James*, firing upon his Forces at *Reading*, and driving him out of the Kingdom was no Resistance, but still good Passive Obedience, their ridiculous Sophistry deserves no other Answer but Contempt. But the *Tories* think this Notion of Resistance encourages Treasons and Rebellions, for every one may think himself a competent Judge when the King misgoverns, and consequently may oppose him; We say no, 'tis not Acts of private Injustice or meer Errors in Government that can warrant a People to resist the Authority that God has plac'd over them, here we own Passive Obedience to be a Christian's Duty, and con-

tend for it is as much as themselves; But when a Prince shall exercise repeated Acts of Violence and Oppression upon his People, shall dispense with the known Laws, and set himself to overturn the Constitution, and to make his own Will and Pleasure the only Rule of his Government, and all this is as visible to the whole Nation as the Sun that shines at Noon, then, and never till then is the time (if no other means be left) for the People to have recourse to the last Remedy; and herein I believe all considerate unprejudic'd Men of the *Tory* Party agree with us; nor is there any *Whig*, (that I know of) who will not heartily submit to the Christian Doctrine of Obedience, as clear'd up by the present Pious and Learned Archbishop of *York* in his Excellent Sermon preach'd before the House of Lords on the 30th of *January*, 1688. wherein he asserts that, *The standing Laws of every Country are the Rule of the Subject: Obedience and not merely the Will of the Prince.*

Again, the *Tories* commend themselves for steady Supporters of Monarchy, and upbraid the *Whigs* for Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles. These Terms indeed render them as directly opposite in their Opinions as Liberty is to Slavery, and yet, when what each of them mean by these Terms is fairly explain'd, I believe it will appear that the honest and judicious Men on both Sides are equally inclin'd to support and oppose the same kinds both of Monarchical and Commonwealth Governments. Politicians have distinguished Monarchy into Absolute and Limited; Absolute Monarchy is where the Prince in his own Person is above all the Laws, and governs alone by his own Will and Pleasure, the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all his Subjects (or rather Slaves) being intirely at his own Disposal, and he gives Laws and takes them away at his Pleasure, his single Will being the only Law, and his People must submit to whatsoever Taxes he requires: The Emperor of the *Turks*, the King of *Persia*, and other Eastern Princes govern after this manner, and the *French* King, with some other *European* Princes, who have suppress'd the Authority of their Parliaments, come little short of it. What they call a Limited Monarchy is, where the King bears a Royal Grandeur, Dignity, and Majesty equal with the other, and enjoys the supream Administration of the Government, but has not in himself Authority to make, abrogate, or dispense with the standing Laws of the Kingdom, or to raise Taxes upon the People, but the Parliament or States of the Kingdom participate with him in the Power of Legislation, and they have a Right to enquire into any Mismanagement of the Government, and to punish such Ministers or Officers as have acted contrary to the Laws, or done any thing to the Detriment of the publick Weal, in which Cases the King may not interpose or pardon the Delinquents; and thus the Liberties and Properties of the People are defended and secured to them by the Laws. This Form of Government, with small Alteration, was introduc'd into most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* by the *Gothic* People, in some the King was Elective, in others Hereditary, but not always confin'd to the immediate Succession of Birth-Right. A Republick or Commonwealth is where the Power of both Legislation and Administration is plac'd in many, chosen among the Subjects for their Wisdom or Merit, without any single Person or King to be Supream or Head of the Government. Now our Modern Flatterers of Royal Power, because our Constitution is call'd a Monarchy, have taken the Advantage of the word to attribute to our Kings the same Powers that are taken by an Absolute Monarch, and have magni-
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fy'd his Authority above the Laws, which is a palpable Absurdity, for then there can be no Limitation; but we know that ours is (and has been so accounted from time immemorial) a limited Monarchy, and they that argue against it, do evert the very foundation of the Nation's Rights, and deserve not to live in the Kingdom. A limited Monarchy then and a Commonwealth do both aim at the preservation of the Liberty of the Subject, and if the Ancients could have foreseen how much the word Monarchy would have perverted it's Companion, perhaps they might have thought it as fit to have call'd this kind of Government a regal Commonwealth, and we see at this day the *Polanders* stile themselves a Commonwealth, though they put a King at the Head on't; this then is the only Republick we love, and the Absolute is the only Monarchy we hate, and in this, (as I said at first) I believe all the honest and judicious among both *Whigs* and *Tories*, mean the same thing: 'Tis true our Fathers try'd the Experiment of a Commonwealth without a King, but 't was found so disagreeable to the Genius of this Nation, that the People rather chose to set up a Broomstick and submit to it, than to be without a single Head or Supreme in the Government, and it appear'd plainly in the Convention-Parliament, that the number of those was very inconsiderable who shew'd any Inclination to change our limited Monarchy into a direct Commonwealth, so that the Reflection upon the *Whigs* at this day is wholly malicious and groundless on that Account.

In like manner our religious Contests are more about Ceremonies and Church Discipline than the Worship of God, which consists in Spirit and Truth, and therein I am afraid all Parties will be found too much wanting. God created Man in a State of Innocence, Uprightness and Spiritual Union with his Maker, but through the Disobedience of our first Parents this Heavenly Condition was lost, and the Curse of Sin, Death and Hell entail'd upon all their Posterity; hence it is that every Man, who seriously examines his own Heart, finds by experience that his Will and Affections are deprav'd, so that his chiefest Love and Desire are turn'd away from the Supreme Good and plac'd upon the Creatures and worldly enjoyments; the sole End of Religion then is to reform and correct our evil Natures and corrupt Inclinations; in order to which, God in his infinite Mercy hath given us Divine Helps and Means sufficient

cient to recover us out of this undone State and Condition; and to conduct us to his Heavenly Kingdom; the first and Foundation of all was his promise to send his only Son, who in the fulness of time came into the World, took upon him our Nature, became acquainted with our Infirmities, and was made like unto us in all things, Sin excepted; having perform'd the Will of his Father upon Earth, he gave himself up unto Death as a Sacrifice to appease the Wrath of God for the Sins of Mankind; after his Resurrection from the Dead he sent forth the Holy Spirit, and shed abroad the Love of God in the hearts of the Faithful, and gave them his Grace to enable them to live Righteously and Godly in this present evil World, then he ascended into Heaven, where he sits at the Right Hand of God the Father making Intercession for us, till he shall come again at the last Day to judge both the Quick and the Dead according to their deeds done in the Body; and as God has thus given us his Son, he hath truly with him given us all things, all secondary Helps and Means for our encouragement to persevere in the way of spiritual Religion; such as the Holy Scriptures, the Ordinances, Church Fellowships, and Communion of Saints, Pastors and Teachers, with all other heavenly Gifts and Graces, for the edifying the Body in Love, and building up in the most holy Faith. This then is such a System of Religion, as I think all Christians do agree in; and tho' all reasonable Men hold for a Maxim that the End is always more worthy than the Means necessary to the attaining it, yet such is the miserable Apostacy of profess'd Christians, that both Clergy and Layety of all sorts have manifested a much greater Zeal for the Means or outward form of Religion, than for the End, which is the changing our deprav'd Nature and sanctifying the Soul; they have wrangled, fought, and contended so long and so bitterly about the shadow, that they seem to have lost the Virtue, Power and Substance of it; nay to such a degree of Profaneness are Men grown, that 'tis too frequent to hear some Swear and execrate for their Church; but we seldom see the fiercest Contenders for Religion shew any in their Lives and Conversation; whilst the sober practical Christian finds he has enough to do to watch against the infirmities of his own Nature, to Master his own Will, and to mortify his carnal Affections and sinful Inclinations, and is so sensible of his own Unworthiness, that he's much readier to judge and condemn himself than others; he

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falls not out with his Brethren by the way, but is full of Meekness, Tenderness, Love and Compassion, and bears good will and universal Charity to all Christians, without regard to their differing Forms of Worship: How little of this Temper do we see in the conduct of many who pretend to be Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, and yet fill their Sermons with Reviling, Slander and Invektive, to stir up Men's minds to Wrath and Discord? May we not then from their works conclude that these have no favour of the things of God, but are of the same Spirit with such whom our Saviour denominated Wolves in Sheep's clothing, and that they are of their Father the Devil, whose Works they do? 'Tis hightime for the Multitude to open their Eyes and look about them to see whether these Guides are leading them, and for the Government to awake, and provide such Laws as may stop all Mouths and Pens from weakening our Constitution, betraying our Liberties, exposing the Revolution, and undermining the Queen's Parliamentary Title and the Protestant Succession. But these High-flying Clergy-men would place themselves in a Station above the reach of Human Laws, they tell us they are *Jure Divino*, God's Heritage, a Royal Priesthood, touch not mine Anointed, &c. We see they would be flying as high as Popery itself if we would let 'em: But though these glorious Titles are predicated of the Divine Spiritual Gospel-Church and Ministry, let not these Men be too forward to attribute them to themselves, till they first convince us that they have no ambition to exceed the bounds of the Gospel dispensation; 'tis not enough for them to tell us that they are the Successors of the Apostles, unless withal they shew us that they are acted and guided by the same Spirit that dwelt in the Primitive Christians. We freely yield to them that the Office of Christian Bishops, Pastors, &c. are of Divine Institution, but then let them distinguish with us between what is Divine, and what is but Human in the Exercise and Appendices of those Offices; many Powers and Emoluments have been added to them which were not known or thought on in the Days of the Apostles, such as Lordly Titles, Temporal Possessions, Jurisdictions and Immunities, with the divers Forms, Powers, Liturgies and Ceremonies of National Churches, and the Dominion of the Clergy over the Laity; these things may be useful to Religious Societies so far as they conduce to their Support, Decency and good Order, but are not indeed any part of true Spiritual

ritual Religion, no more than the Garment is a part of the Body, and may be enlarged or diminished, put on, or put off, as the differing circumstances of time and place, and the Inclinations of the Prince and People may require : In short, we ought to distinguish between the Political Churches of Nations, which are subject to be set up and pull'd down, limited and reform'd by the Authority of the Christian Magistrate ; and the invisible Church of Christ, which consists of all such of the whole Body of Christians, who Worship God in Spirit and Truth, whose Powers and Privileges are not Carnal, but Spiritual, and can never be alter'd or taken away ; God grant that all Men of good-will of whatsoever persuasion may be found of this number, without which all our Zeal for the outward Forms of Religious Worship will stand us in no stead, in this I am sure all sincere Virtuous and Pious Christians agree with each other, and for the rest, they do but prophane the venerable Name of God by their pretences to Religion ; and if such should come to be made Legal Bishops and Pastors of Political Churches, they might yet have no part or portion in the Royal Priesthood or in God's Heritage.

I am very sensible that my Argument has led me to speak of things which may touch some great Men whom I yet honour in my heart, but all the respect I was able to shew on such an occasion, was to forbear their Names ; the Facts I have mentioned are known to be true, 'tis therefore their own Actions that reflect the Censure, not the Relation ; I have the utmost aversion to detract from the merit of such who have deserv'd well of their Country, but when any Man has done the most glorious Actions, has deservedly gain'd an universal Esteem both at home and abroad ; and has obtain'd both the greatest Riches and the highest Honours that his Country is capable to confer, he ought still to consider on his part, that he has done but his Duty, that he has been bountifully rewarded, and to remember that he is still but a subject, and the greatest of subjects owe the same regard to the good Pleasure and just Commands of his Sovereign as the meanest Peasant in the Kingdom ; we know that the greatest and wisest of Men are still subject to human Infirmities, and may have stronger Temptations to ambitious Excesses than such as move in lower Spheres ; in such a Case, the best of our wishes in his behalf should be, that he may be reform'd by some seasonable reproof, and be preserv'd from
falling

falling into any such extrem as might cancel the merit of his past Services, and in the mean time, tho' we are willing to bear a large measure of Respect and Good-will for him; yet our indispensable Duty and Love to our most Excellent Queen and our Country ought always to engage our chiefest regard to them.

Thus, Sir, I have taken the Occasion of your Letter, to convince the honest Men on both Sides, that they have been all along deceiv'd and cheated through the Opinion and Confidence they have had of their respective Parties, who have prov'd to us like a Whip-saw, which soever Extream is pull'd, the Nation is still miserably fawn between them. 'Tis time for us then to grow wiser, and for all such as sincerely desire the publick Good and Welfare of their Country, to bury their Animosities, and labour to reconcile their imaginary Differences, that they may no longer suffer themselves to be made use of as Tools, and to be play'd against one another by crafty and designing Men, who regard them no further than as they can make them subservient to their own purposes. It would be a great Happiness to the Nation, if in Cities and Corporations, both Sides would meet together in a friendly manner to consult of their Elections for Representatives in Parliament, and unite in making choice of Men of the greatest Integrity and Probity, without any consideration of their Party; a Man that is Wise, Honest and Independent, will never be led by any Party to a compliance in such matters as he thinks detrimental to his Country; they know the temper and qualifications of Gentlemen who live in their Neighbourhood, but such as are wholly Strangers to them, and live at a distance, they will have reason to suspect as set up to serve, not their Country, but themselves or their Patrons: Pity it is to see, that People who have so noble a Privilege as that of using their own Freedom and Judgment in chusing the Makers and Conservators of their Laws and Liberties, should throw it away and Sacrifice it to the Solicitations and Recommendations of Men in Power, or, which is worse, sell it to those that bid most; would the free People of *Great-Britain* but once exert their own Power to reform the House of Commons by electing a Majority of Virtuous and Desintereffed Members, we might soon expect to see the publick Managements reform'd, and such an improvement might be made of the invaluable Blessing we enjoy in Her present Majesty, as would

root out our Factions, heal our Breaches, and so equally settle the Bounds of Prerogative and Liberty, that no room should be left for clashing about them for the future; our late Kings have had so strong Inclinations to extend their Power to gain all the Advantages they could upon the People, that those Courts have always had separate and distinct Interests of their own to carry on, which, (as I have before shewn) was the first cause of all our Discords; but our present Queen has never manifested the least regard to any Interest divided from that of her People, and has indeed no other thing so much at heart as the ease and tranquility of her Subjects; this then is the happy Conjunction, wherein nothing but our own Divisions and Folly can hinder us from making our Queen safe and easy, and our valuable Rights as secure as our hearts can desire, and leaving them so to our Posterity; and 'tis for that end only, that I have taken this pains to stir up my Country-men to be wise for themselves, and to beware of the Impositions and specious Pretences of their guilty Managers.

For your self, Sir, though we are equally Strangers, and like so to remain, yet your happier Style shews me your Superior Capacity, and my own Inability to contract, like you, my Matter into a narrow compass, but if I have been able to expose the Faults of such who have been the unhappy Occasion of the present Distempers of the Nation, and to vindicate the Proceedings of those who are endeavouring to reform what has been amiss, and to put the publick Affairs into a better way, I hope the sincerity of my Intentions will atone for my prolixity and the weakness of my performance. I conclude then with a Precept of the Ancients fit to be observ'd in these times, and with assuring you that I am,

SIR,

Publica privatis Secernite, Sacra Profanis.

Yours and my Country's

very humble Servant, &c.

A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
Faults on Both Sides :

Containing the

COMPLEAT HISTORY

OF THE

Proceedings of a PARTY ever
since the REVOLUTION :
In a Familiar DIALOGUE be-
tween STEDDY and TURN-
ROUND, Two Displac'd Officers
of STATE.

Which may serve to Explain

Sir THOMAS DOUBLE ;

And to show

How far the Late Parliament were Right
in Proceeding against Dr. SACHEVERELL,
by way of IMPEACHMENT.

LONDON: Printed for J. Baker, at the Black-
Boy in Pater-noster-Row, 1710. (Price 1s.)

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

Faiths on Both Sides

Containing the

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between STEPHEN and JOHN

ROBERTS, Two Dignitaries

of STATE

which may serve to explain

THOMAS DOUGLAS

And to show

how far the Late Parliament were Right

in Proceeding against the AMERICAN

by way of PRESENTMENT.

LONDON: Printed for J. DODD, at the ...

THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

AS the Faults on both sides have given a general Satisfaction to Impartial Men, and such as wish well to their Native Country; so I doubt not but the Method which is taken in this Treatise, will be as Acceptable: The Author has no Design but to lay the Faults were they ought to be, and Honestly to show which of the Contending Parties are the best Friends to our Constitution, and are like to prove the best Subjects

to Her Majesty. The Reader will here find a True and Compleat HISTORY of the Proceedings of a Party ever since the Revolution; and may see how far the late *House of Commons* were in the Right, in their Proceedings against Dr. *Sacheverell* I shall not spend much time in Prefacing, but rather refer the Reader to the Book it self, which I doubt not, if he be an Impartial One, will give him Satisfaction; by showing him what Methods have been taken by a Party of Men amongst us, to Ruine our Constitution; and how far it may be Convenient to Trust them again.

THE

T H E

States-Man out of Place, &c.

TH E World has been told, That the *Whiggs* are very much Baulk'd, handsomely Banter'd, and wittily Expos'd, in a late Book, Entituled, *Sir Thomas Double at Court, &c.* The first Jest in the Account is, *That Nobody ever told them so but the Author*; and most Men that have Charity for the Author, say, *When he told us so, he did not believe it himself.*

Two Gentlemen meeting over a Bottle, and reading this Book, found the Malice run so high, and the Wit run so low, that it mov'd them to enter a little into Discourse upon the same Subjects. The Amusement and Suggestions, which, tho' unprov'd in the least, the Author would have call'd Satyr, were so gross, that at first they began to be Surfeited with the Thoughts of running through the whole Rapsody; but recollecting themselves, they concluded that they would enter by way of Conference upon the subject of the late management and turns in the State, and perhaps, by Discoursing these things freely, in which they were both thoroughly vers'd by their long experience, they might better clear up to one another the true state of our Case in this

A 2

Nation.

Nation, and expose the Malitious Suggestions of the pretended Dialogues, than by entring into part, or by taking any of the Rediculous Schemes, mention'd therein, to picces by themselves.

We shall bring our Two Gentlemen to speak directly to Things, without spending Eleven or Twelve Pages about Introductions to Discourse, and saying something or other, which signifies nothing, of their Grand-Fathers, their Great Estates, &c.

Steddy. Cousin *Turn-Round*, How do you do? I am very Glad to see you: I find you are a Brother of Affliction, I hear you are out too.

Turn-Round. It's very true, I had my dismifs this Morning.

Steddy. It's the more Surprizing to the Town, because we all knew you were come in to the New Court Measures: Indeed it is not strange to me; for I always believed you had Turn'd against your sedatest Thoughts, and that, when your Judgment return'd upon you, it would bring you round again to your old Honest Party who you were at first so Zealous for.

Turn-Round. Indeed I did at first go in with them; they made their pretences so specious, and talk'd so seemingly sincerely, that I really thought they would Act like Men of Temper and Moderation, and that they only sought to rectifie some Exorbitances, which, indeed, I was as uneasie at as other People: But now I think I find what they drive at; That the Old Game is to be Reviv'd; that the Q——n is but to Change her Rulers, as they call 'em, not at all to be more at Liberty; and I doubt that in the end, she will be either Abandon'd
or

or given Up: And these things have opened my Eyes.

Steddy. I am glad your Eyes are open; and I doubt not but in time, the Eyes of all the People in England, a few who are Willfully blind only excepted, will be opened, and when this Illumination happens, these People will have Reason to look about them.

Turn-Round. Well, I hope you will use me Gently, I have been a Tory but a little while, I may live to atone for the Excursion, by exposing the Villainous part I see they are acting, for a fair warning to others, that they be not deluded or seduced; Penitents are always an Advantage to the Church, and should be received kindly, you know there is more joy in Heaven, &c.

Steddy. You are to be the more valued, because you come off from them upon meer Conviction, when you might have made your Fortune with them; you can have no motives to come Round to us, just now we have no Places to give, no Honours to confer, no Encouragements for a False Brother among them to betray them to us; yours must be the meer strength of Reason and Conviction.

Turn-Round. Why truly I am not studying my Interests in it, that's Confest; but to tell you the truth, I see so much Mischief in their Design, so much Tricking, Sharping, and Cheating in their Methods, and such sharing the Spoil before they have gotten the Victory; that it filled me with an Aversion to the baseness of the whole.

Steddy. I do not doubt you might have had your share among them too.

Turn-Round. They have not been wanting to make me very good Offers, besides what I enjoy'd among

them before ; but it would not do : I must own I look'd upon my self as a Traytor to my Country, all that little while I was among them, that was selling Her to the Enemy, only to get a little share in the Purchase Money.

Steddy. I make no question they have made you good Offers, and are doubtless at a great loss for want of you : I know they valued themselves mightily upon you when they began to make their new appearance ; They knew the Interest you have in the Country was Great, and however, perhaps, they might let you into as few of their Secrets as they cou'd, being willing not to shock that Principle they knew well enough you acted from, yet they knew how fatal it wou'd one time or other be to have you against them ; therefore I do not Wonder, that they endeavour'd all they could to engage you to them.

Turn-Round. Truly they took some low steps that way, and such as I thought they would hardly have sloop'd too.

Steddy. I cannot conceive what they could offer you ; for as you possess already one of the best Posts in the Kingdom, it was not in their Power to do much more for you.

Turn-Round. You are greatly Mistaken, there are new Methods of making a Man's Fortune besides Places ; but I am not about to turn Evidence against them, let them alone, they will entangle themselves when they get a little further.

Steddy. I ask your Pardon, I was not sitting, nor am I curious to look into the Secret part of this New Management ; I have seen so much of the Introduction, that I need not look into the Rest of the Book : But one thing you may give me leave to ask of you, Pray, How did you come

to

to shew your Alienation to them, tho' if there be any secret in it, pray Pardon the Question; and leave me without an Answer.

Turn-Round. No Secret in it at all, I'll be as plain in my Answer to you, as I was in the Thing it self to them, when first they propos'd to me the changing Hands; I confess the Pretences are Plausible, and I readily enough came in to them; I had seen some People Uneasie, the Ministry, we thought, engross'd the Management too much; treated all that attempted to act upon the least differing Point from them, with too much severity; shar'd with too much eagerness and appetite, the Profits of Places, and Preferments of the Nation. I had been formerly concern'd, when those we call'd the Juncto, or *Whigg* Lords, were of the same Opinion, and found the Ministry were satisfy'd the Pretence was so Just, that they opened to them and took them in; but I found still this Opening took in but a few, who being, as it were, satisfy'd for themselves, abandoned the Popular Part of their Pretensions, and left their Friends to shift: These and some other Considerations, which I shall hint at by and by, made me think a Change was not in the least Inconvenient, and far from being Dangerous; and this enelyn'd me to Joyn: *But then*, you are to take it with you as we go, this Inclination was always encourag'd and supported by their constant Declarations of setting up a Moderate Management, a middle way, by which the fears and apprehensions of the Nation should be Removed; That they would single out the Men of Temper and Judgment, without Distinction of Parties; That the best Men of every Party should be employ'd; That the Hot Ungovern'd Spirits
that

that had so near ruin'd us before should not appear again, or meet with the least Countenance ; That the Queen being left Perfectly free and unbesieg'd by Parties, would extend Her Favours were Merits recommended, without Respect to the Byass of this or that Interest ; That none should be brought in but what would give Assurances of acting with a perfect indifferency to all Parties, and pursue the Publick Service with all possible Moderation.

These were the Amusements by which I was drawn in to joyn with the Party, and particularly in the first Removes that were made ; and I cannot deny but my acquiescing might encourage them to think their Game sure, and from that Confidence to throw off the Mask sooner than they otherwise would have done ; for the Integrity of Mens Designs is always discover'd when they fancy themselves past Danger of a Disaster in the making them Publick.

Steddy. Your account of these things is surprising, and that more so, when you acknowledge you believ'd them : Did ever One Man but you believe they could act Moderately in any thing ? It may be in their Politicks to contrive a Moderate Management, and I believe — who governs them in the Schemes of these things might propose it ; for he knows no other Method can draw in the Nation : But it is no more in their Power than it is to pull the Stars out of Heaven ! A *Tory* can no more be a Moderate Manager, than the Elements can cease to put forth their Compleat Vigour when left to Nature and freed from Constraint. Every thing in Nature acts its utmost Power : Fire cannot Burn moderately, or Water Flow moderately, neither can a

Tory

Tory Govern moderately; he may pretend to what he will, but it is not in his Nature: His Blood Boils too Hot; his Circulations are too Rapid; in Religion he must Persecute, in Government he must Oppress; in Office he must Insult; in Power he must Plunder and Destroy; 'tis the Nature of a High *Tory*, and it cannot be otherwise.

Turn-Round. It is true, I was formerly of that Opinion, and begin to be so again; but the Protestations of this Party were such as would have Deceived *the very Elect*, and I was the easier brought to be Credulous in this Case, because some of them were the very Men, that to my Knowledge, were formerly the Instruments to Depose the Rash Party we now call *High-Men*, when they had the Publick Affairs in their Hands, and turn'd them out with all imaginable Contempt, as Men that were pushing us upon Rocks and Precipices, and that by the Fire of their Party would Destroy us.

Steddy. Well, and when did you come to eclaircissement in this Affair? for I find you discover'd them very early, considering you as one that did not suspect them; for me, indeed I always believ'd them what we all find them to be, and therefore it is no wonder to find me, and such as I am, before you in our Measures: But for you that were perswaded of their Sincerity, it is very strange, and no less happy, that you should see into them so soon.

Turn-Round. Why, they had no sooner struck the Blow, but like *Cæsar* when he past the *Rubicon*, they threw off the Mask, and as he discover'd plainly that he aim'd at the Empire, so I thought they discover'd themselves

to be inclining for a High Management, AS SUCH, that they were already link'd in with the whole Party, that *One* and *All* wasthe Word among them, and they had resolv'd to borrow an Old Party Motto in their Dealings with the *Whiggs*; (*viz.*) *Root and Branch*: In pursuance of this their Genuine Design, the void Places were immediately fill'd, as fast as they could clear the way, with the very Men they had protested against by Name, such as *B-- S.* and *R-- S. S. F.* and the like.

Then it was I took the freedom to expostulate with them in plain Terms, and told them, This was not agreeable to the Schemes propos'd; That they were not going the way to a Moderate Management; That this was putting all things into the Hands of the High Party; That this Party were the declared Enemies of the Settlement, and had openly *wash'd their Hands of the Revolution*: I told them plainly I must leave them, and every Man that wish'd well to the Nation must leave them; That this was to bring the profest Enemies of the Revolution upon us, and on pretence of delivering us from the Influence of one Party, this was delivering us up to another Party, of whose Temper and Prudence the Nation had already had too much Experience.

Steady. This was very Plain and Honest; Pray, How did they bear it?

Turn-Round. They bore it Calmly; for I express'd my self with Respect: But they told me for Answer, That these Men had born their share in the Opposition of the Ministry, and had stood fast to them in bringing the New Change to pass; that they could not Abandon them entirely,

firely, but would bring as few of them in as possible; and those that were brought in had given their Words to Act with a differing Spirit, and to put on all the Temper and Calmness imaginable, especially while the other Party carry'd it with any Common Respect. I told them, I was sorry to see they should go from their most solemn and early Engagements, and that for the Paroll those People had given, I had a very mean Opinion of it, from experience I had of their antient Conduct; and that I expected nothing could Succeed in their Hands after such a step as this.

Steddy. In this you acted with a great deal of Candour and Honesty, and I make no doubt, but this plainness rendred you uneasy to them.

Turn-Round. I never spar'd them upon all occasions, and being so constant in these Expostulations, I found they quickly grew Uneasie; I shewed always as much Uneasiness as they, and told them often, I should be Thankful to them, if they wou'd please to give me the *Coup de Grace* and let me go; which at last they have done, and now I come among my Friends again. The little time I have been absent, has let me into the Secrets of the Society, and I regret the Time I have lost among them very much.

Steddy. You are very well come to your self again I doubt not, and I am sure you are so to your Friends; for I know no Man among them, we regretted the loss of so much as of your self.

Turn-Round. But methinks I look like a Turn-Coat, like a Renegado, my Cloaths smells of the Sulphur, and the Language sounds still in my Ears.

Steddy. I confess I have an Aversion to Turn-
ing of all kinds ; but of all those that Turn,
they only are Happy who Turn *Quite Round* ; for,
tho' at first they may be a little deluded, when
they come to be Illuminated, and to see the
Mistake, they Turn on, and come about where
they began : Such always embrace the Truth
with more Constancy and Steddyness than other
People, and I doubt not you will do so too ;
and therefore I Congratulate our Interest upon
your Return.

Turn-Round. There are many more will take
the same Measures, or I am very much Mistak-
en ; for I am very well satisfy'd, they are at
this time made up of such a Mixture, that
they cannot go on far together : Nay, I am ve-
rily perswaded, that even Mr. _____ himself,
cannot go the Length that these People expect
from him, but that in a little while you will see,
that either they will break off from Him, or He
from Them.

Steddy. I find you have a good Opinion of
Mr. _____

Turn-Round. I have not a good Opinion in the
least of the Measures he is now taking, but I
own I have not such Thoughts of him in the
main as others have ; I am very desirous to be-
lieve, that however he may act in Dark the at
present, he has not the Pretender in his View,
he cannot have the Subversion of the Constitu-
tion in his Design : I think so, you will excuse my
Charity.

Steddy. For my part I differ from you extreme-
ly ; I neither like the Measures he is now taking,
or the Measures he ever took : *He is no Kin to me :*
I thank God, I am of the Family of the *Steddy's*,
and

and I think he is not the least Related to us.

Turn-Round. I know not whether he may be of your Branch, but I think he is *Steady* too, and that in particular to his own Interest; I am perswaded this is what he is chiefly pursuing: He would have pursu'd his Interest and our Cause together, but you threw him off, and he went away to those People; and I am perswaded he is only serving his Interest of them, and they understand him so, for they are serving their Interest of him: You will see this in the Consequence; as soon as ever these Interests are served either on one Hand or other, you will find they'll break, and then we shall have him again.

Steady. Not I! Never have him again! No, we have done with him; we took a fair leave of him, he may even stay where he is with his new Friends, *Steady* is the Word, we'll never have more to do with him.

Turn-Round. Nay, there you must Pardon me for saying you are in the Wrong; I wish he were as heartily with us again, as he was once, I should think it a good Step to thro' out all this *Tory* Management again, and restore us all to our Primitive State.

Steady. I never believed he was hearty with us, or that he ever will; and should he come over with never so much Sincerity, I doubt I should never believe him.

Turn-Round. In this you shock my Opinion of your own Sincerity to me, for by the same Rule you may not believe me Honest, who am return'd to you, since I have confest to you that I have been in the Interest of the same Party.

Steady. You

Steddy. You have not given so many Proofs of Unsteadiness, as I think he has done, nor can you have the same Prospects; Do you remember when he was with us, how near he was to have supplanted the Ministry, and delivered us to the same Party he has now brought in?

Turn Round. Why truly, as to the Design then, I have heard a great deal of it, tho' I never was convinc'd that he had design'd half that was suggested. But suppose it all true, I cannot but think they treat him Impolitickly; for had they used him Tenderly, removed him Decently, and acted calmly, he might ha'been fix'd in Circumstances, which would have been his Interest to have sat down with; but they cast him off with all the Ignominy and Contempt possible, as you dash a piece of Cheiny against a Hearth, never to be set together again. This was declaring War with him, and setting him at open Defiance; and I could not blame him so much for attempting to restore himself at the Expence of those that had ruin'd him; all I reflect upon him for, is, in going over to a Party which, I believe, he is not very well satisfied with: This, however politick it may seem, is like *Acheronta Movebo*, that he resolv'd to carry on his Resentment, tho' he call'd in such Auxilliaries as he did not approve of.

Steddy. I think they could do no otherwise than they did, and that he had treated them in a manner which forced them to the utmost Resentment; but we will not Dispute that Part. You see the Measures taken now, and what a Party is brought in upon us, What can we expect from them? It cannot but fill you with Indignation and Regret, to see a Party let in, who
have

have more than once told us what we are to expect from them. I cannot but wonder what, the Gentlemen who are now shaking Hands with *High-Flyers* and *Jacobites*, who they have so many years appeared against, can think of themselves. O *Steady!* *Steady!* If my Grandfather Sir *Anthony Steady*, and his Hundred Sons were alive now, these People durst not act so; but our Family is very much declined, and a great many of my Great Relations are dead, King *James* cut off some of them, as *WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL-STEDDY*, *ARTHUR EARL OF ESSEX STEDDY*, *ALGERNON SIDNEY-STEDDY*, and the like; these were Relations of mine, which if they had been alive now, these People could never have come in thus upon us; but they are gone, and there are very few of the Name now in being.

Turn-Round. I kno' yours has been a flourishing Family, and I am of Opinion you will rise again, for there are several of your Relations that are at present deluded and deceiv'd, and are turn'd to these People; but when they come to see what they are all going to do, they'll turn quite round, come over again to the *Steady's*, and offer themselves to match into your Family, and you will presently grow formidable again; for they will be all *Steadys* when they come again.

Steady. I am of Opinion it must be so again.

Turn-Round. I kno' it will be so, and I would have you receive them all with open Arms, tho' Mr. ——— himself were among them.

Steady. No: Any Body but him.

Turn-Round. You are very implacable sure; why that is the true way to prevent the thing it self, which, I believe, every Honest Man desires: What can be your Reasons for being so stiff?

Steady. If

Steady. If you had been Master of the Mystery of Iniquity, which has been carried, on by a wicked Party of Men for these Twenty years last past, you would be as positive as I ; and I think it might not be amiss, in order to understand this Party perfectly, to go back into the Secret History of the Parties which have struggled so long, and with such Animosity in these Kingdoms, and which have brought Matters between them to such a height, that the Breach seems impracticable to be healed and made up.

Turn-Round. I should be very glad to enter into the whole Story with you ; I believe it is the only way to come to true Notions of these things, and may serve as the best Answer to all the Cavils and Objections that are made against us ; for the Judgment is nothing so much impos'd upon as in these State Matters, when they are set in a wrong Light.

Steady. We must go back for this purpose to the Revolution ; but need make but light touches at things in the Beginning of *K. William's* Reign.

It was a natural Consequence, that a Revolution of such a magnitude, so wonderful in its Beginning, so surprizing in its Success, and so effectual in all its Parts, should leave a Party that would stand out and oppose the Settlement of things on the new foot.

King James was not so ill beloved but he left some behind that adhered to his Interest ; to these, as to *David* at *Hackelab*, all that were discontent or uneasy at any thing, joyn'd themselves. The making the Prince of *Orange* King disgusted many ; the entire Suppression of Tyranny disabled others ; and the several Parties applied themselves to their respective Methods to shew their dislike of things. To

To suppress these growing Parties, several Parliamentary Methods were taken, such as double Taxes, Oaths, Abjurations, Associations, Recognitions, and the like.

Some took the Oaths, others refused them, and paid whatever was assessed upon them for that Deficiency; *but it is observed*, those that took the Oaths, were the most troublesome Enemies the Government had, and the fastest Friends to the Pretender.

On all Occasions these People have perplex'd and harrast the Government ever since, and that several ways: Nothing has at any time offer'd to the Advantage of the establish'd Government, whether in Parliament or out, but these have been the Opposers of it; no Management has ever pleased them, *or ever will*, except such as will please no Man else, *I mean their own*; they have appear'd on every Occasion against every thing that has tended to our former Establishment; and have espoused every thing that has in the least perplex'd us.

The Protestant Succession has been push'd in their very Teeth, and the Union was carried over the Belly's of their Mob; when they were in, they brought things to the utmost Disorder; and now they have been out, they choose rather to hazard the whole Cause than not put us all in Confusion: They have visibly all along push'd on the Interest of the Pretender, tho' they have abjur'd him; they have discovered by Innumerable Circumstances what they aim at, and that they will stick at nothing to bring it to pass.

Turn-Round. Do you think they really aim at the Restoration, as it's call'd?

Steddy. I do not think they do; but its evident they have all along been joyn'd by the Party which are apparently in that Interest; in which they Discover, that if they cannot bring about their Designs without it, *as some say,* they would not stick to come into it; tho' I rather believe that they are as much Enemies to a Restoration, as the Party that espouse 'em are Friends to it.

Turn-Round. Pray go on with your History.

Steddy. As soon as King *William* was Establish'd on the Throne, this Party set themselves with all their might to Counter-act him in every thing: The Brigues with which they continually Embarrass his Affairs, made every thing heavy to him, and made his Difficulties double upon him. They had with their utmost Skill oppos'd his being plac'd on the Throne, and their Friends were the first that Protested against it on one hand, and Voted against it on the other, whenever they had opportunity; but the Kings Merit, and the nearness of the Danger, were too New to be Resisted; the Torrent of the Peoples Inclination was not to be Resisted; and here began our Protestant Settlement.

Turn-Round. Yet you see He immediately took into His Service those very Men.

Steddy. That was the Mildness of His Temper, willing to win and engage them, and was the only inconvenience we found in his not being a Native of *England*: He thought they might have been won by a Gentle and obliging Treatment; and above all, he thought that to put himself upon them, was such a Confidence, as must have engaged them in Honour, and have made them his own: But he did not know them.

Turn-

Turn-Round. Indeed they are a Party never to be obliged by Kindnesses ; and I wonder no body had Fidelity enough to tell the King plainly what kind of Men they were.

Steddy. I never fail'd to do it as opportunity offer'd, but the King could not be brought for a long time to suspect them ; and after he did suspect them, He was loth to Use them as they Deserved : He thought it was not a time for it.

Turn-Round. But its evident they made their advantages of his lenity.

Steddy. They did so ; and by that one advantage, they laid the Foundation of all the Mischiefs that have since agitated this Nation, and of all the perplexities which follow'd his Affairs, inso-much as He was heard often to regret the Treatment he met with from them, even sometimes to wishing he had never concern'd himself with them.

Turn-Round. But still he had many of them always near him, which gave the other Faithful part of his People great Uneasiness.

Steddy. They were the Cannanites in the Land, and were left for a Correction upon us, for the neglect of doing Justice upon them at the Revolution, when their own Guilt had laid them so low, that Banishment and a Retreat to some Island or Castle on the Coast, was the least they had in their Thoughts ; and was a Favour they would have Capitulated for ; and some were so possess'd with the fears of the Gallows that they lay ready for flight, offer'd a Thousand Pounds to obtain a Pardon, and would have Commuted their Crimes for much more ; not expecting to come into Cabinets and Councils again without the least Reprehension for past Conduct : By this

step they began, not to look up only, but to think themselves mistaken about themselves, and fancy they were not so great Villains as they than knew themselves to be, and that the same Things might be carried on in that Reign, as they had carried on before.

Turn-Round. These are sad Truths ; I wish they were buried in Forgetfulness.

Steady. They had been so, had not the same Party forced us to Revive them, to shew which were the Real Authors of all our Mischiefs, and where the source of them began, by their new attempts to lay the weight of all our Miscarriages upon the *Whigg* Administration.

Turn-Round. I am sensible they have made it necessary to rip up these things ; I wonder they should be so foolish, since they cannot but know, it would return upon them to their manifest disadvantage.

Steady. *Qui Jupiter vult perdere hos Dementat ;* they are bereav'd of their foresight by the Fate of their Party ; and they will be shewing their own Nakedness in spite of any ones willingness to cover it.

Turn Round. Pray go on with your History then ; for I am satisfied it is very useful that these things should be made known, that the People who they boast of having deluded, may see into the Party, and know a little what they are a doing.

Steady. Having gotten into the Management, they put a Face of Zeal on the out-side of their Actions, but secretly they kept every thing backward ; Disappointed every good Design ; Betray'd every Secret ; and employ'd Engines about, to Counterminae the very Projects of their own Contriving.

Had

Had Dr. *Double* known any thing of the History of that time, he would have known that these were the Men who delayed the Treaty with *Tyrconnell* in *Ireland*, when he had made a kind of proposal to come in ; and got a Traytor to be sent over to him, on pretence of making the Treaty ; who first encouraged him to go back from his Designs, adhere to Arms, and begin the War ; and then went over to him himself. The Assurance of the Party is very great, that in Print lays this to the *Whiggs*. *vide* Sir *Tho. Double*.

Then they prepare an Army to go for *Ireland*, and put on a mighty face of Zeal for the Relief of *London Derry* ; but with Industrious Delays, they kept every thing back so long, that if possible, that little handful of Valiant Protestants might be devoured, and *Ireland* be wholly restored to King *James* : And 'tis known who Curs'd the Cowardly Behaviour of the *Irish* Generals, that could not take that Paltry Town in so long Time. At last they were forc'd to let it be Reliev'd to pacify the King who was so warm upon it, That he said he could not bear to see his Subjects Sacrificed in that Manner ; and, *if no Body could be found would do him such a Service, he would go and Relieve them himself*.

The next thing was sending over the Army with Duke *Schomberg* : Were the black Councils of that matter Ravell'd into, doubt the *Tory* Party would find more Reason to Blush, than would consist with the Zeal they pretend for the general Interest of the Nation ; the Troops were ordered to encamp at *West-chester*, whither the Foot came very slowly, the Horse not at all : The Duke earnest to be in Action came thither himself to hasten the Embarkation, but was oblig'd

blig'd to wait; the *Dutch* Guards, Six *French* Battalions, one *Prussian* Battalion, and Two *English* made up the Camp: But with long waiting Four *English* Regiments Arrived, Two more at *Leverpool*; and the Duke Resolved to Embark, depending upon the Horse and Dragoons following; He Landed at *Carrickfergus*, took the Place; March'd on, took the Pass of the *Newry*, and encamp'd in the view of the Enemy at *Dund'alk*; and during that whole Time, but Two Regiments of Horse, and Three of Dragoons, of the Troops promis'd, were sent after him; here for want of Troops, but especially Horse, that Gallant Army was entirely wasted and lost, and the very People that retarded the Supplies, were the forwardest to Reproach that General for not Fighting; when it's known he had no Troops to justify his Advancing, and it was rather a Miracle of his Conduct, that his little Army was not entirely Cut in Pieces.

His Majesty was so sensible of this, and so Incensed at it, That resolving to go in Person the next year, he would not trust any Body with the Preparations, any more than he would with the Expedition; but caused the accounts of every thing to be laid before him, and order'd the quantity of Stores, the Train, and the Necessaries himself; and, as a Man may say, saw them dispatch'd before he went away.

This to the Great Mortification of the Party, put a short end to that work; yet the Tory Party took a great many steps to retrieve Matters there, and to spin out the War to that length, as might prevent the Kings applying himself to the Work in *Flanders*, which his Eye was principally intent upon; in Order to this, the first
Siege

Siege of *Limeric* was directly delay'd, till it was too late to expect the Reduction of a place so strong; and that Siege effectually broke, by betraying the supply of Cannon and Ammunition which was coming to them, to *Sarsfield* the *Irish* General.

At last the Earl of *Arblore* was drawn in to fight the Battle of *Aghrim* at such Disadvantages, and with such Superior Forces, that in all Probability our Army had been Defeated, and the War in *Ireland* to do all over again; But Heaven Interpos'd, the *French* and *Irish* Troops were put into Confusion by the Death of Monsieur *St. Ruth*, who was taken off by a Cannon Ball, just as he was giving Orders for Pouring in between our Right Wing and Main Battle, by which our Foot had been all cut off, and so we gain'd a Victory, which the best Officers we had, thought Impracticable, and the General had Dispair'd of.

Turn-Round. These are Melancholly things indeed, and serve to let us see how this Nation has been often saved by the immediate Hand of Providence, contrary to probable Means and second Causes; and how there has been always a Party of Men among us, willing to Deliver us up.

Steddy. I shall pass over for the present the *Affair of Scotland*, tho' it affords plenty of observations of this kind; but I am not willing to make my account, which I design but for an Abridgment of the Villany of the Party, swell too big.

Turn-Round. I know pretty much of the *Affair of Scotland*, and shall be very willing to talk with you of it by it self, when you Please; for the Party have acted a Hellish part upon that poor People from the beginning; first, they were Bully'd by *Claver-House*, after *Viscount Dundee*, and a War begun by down-right *Jacobitism*, in which God
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himself interpos'd also, just as you say he did at Aghrim in Ireland; for Dundee had the Victory at Gillicranky, but was himself shot by a Dying Soldier, just when all the Game was his own; by which Heaven saved Scotland his own way: For the Highlanders having no Leaders, Disperst, instead of Marching directly to *Edinburgh*, which they had done if Dundee had lived. Next they were buded by a knot of Projectors with that Honest Man *Paterfon* at the head of them, into a known cheat, and the whole Nation set Mad upon Golden Mountains in the Barren Wilderness of *Darien*, in which, tho' it was an Original fraud, and only contriv'd by that *P — k P — t* to enrich himself at the expence of his Country, for which Meritorious Act, he solicits a Reward of 5000 *l.* yet our Party made this a handle to abuse the Scots, and if possible, to push them upon doing something that might give us a pretence to fall upon them. Nature upon this Notorious Usage, put the Scots upon Reprials, which was so improved here, that all tended to a Breach with *Scotland*: We demanded they should settle the Succession absolutely with us; they said this was a Breach of equality, asserted their Independency, and refused to settle the Succession but upon Conditions. Our Party Industriously enflam'd things, Pamphlets were written here by known hands, all of the Party, to irritate and enflame them, asserting the Debt of Homage due to *England* from *Scotland*; and all possible Methods were used to Provoke the Scots. They again resolv'd to assert their Independency, a Right which *England* does not at all dispute; made their act of Security; and Voted to put their Kingdom in a Posture of Defence: Now the Party

Party thought they had gain'd their point, and had made a War inevitable; upon which, they voted and carry'd an Act to prevent Dangers arising from the Act of Security: An Act so Unjust in its Nature; so Dishonourable to *Scotland*; and so fatal in its Consequences; that the Wisersort of People discovered the real design of embroiling us in it, and the next Parliament Repeal'd it.

By this Act we were oblig'd, before the 25th of *December* following, to fit out a Squadron of Men of War, to interrupt the Commerce of *Scotland*, which was indeed a War.

But when this Party overthrew themselves in their *Tacking Adventure*, all that Scheme of Blood and Confusion dy'd with them: The *Scots* came into a Treaty, after having receiv'd Satisfaction, in Repealing that aforesaid Act; and in that Treaty they made it plain, they had no Aversion to the Protestant Succession; no design by their Act of Security to do any thing, but defend themselves: And thus that Treaty ended in a UNION, to the infinite Regret of the Party, who, for the most part, have left their Protefts against it upon Record.

Steddy. Your account of this is short, but very full; and I crave leave to add, That in this is to be seen the Injustice of those who blame our Ministry, for advising the Queen to Sign or Pass the Act of Security in *Scotland*, as if it were a piece of Treachery to *England*; whereas, first, it was so just an Act to *Scotland*, and at that time so necessary, that as Queen of *Scotland* it could not well be denied; and next, if I am not misinform'd, they had Power by some of their Laws to pass it, without Her Majesty's Assent,

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if the Council there had Consented to it. *Turn-Round.* This is manifest, the Union was the Happy effect of this Act of Security ; it Defeated the end of those People who design'd a Breach between the Nations, and it settled the Protestant Succession by Treaty, which can never be broken : And it's no wonder the Means should be so Abhorr'd, when the End is so Mortifying to them.

Steddy. It is very certain the Union with *Scotland* is the Aversion of this Party ; but it is too hot a thing for them to meddle with, and I believe will at last be found one of our best Bulwarks against all the Restoration Schemes, of which we have been told so much.

Turn-Round. Well, Pray will you return to the Historical part you were upon ? I will give you as few Diversions as I can.

Steddy. I left you at the end of the *Irish War* : That Affair being over, the King push'd the War on in *Flanders*, and that with more Vigour than our Party here wish'd him to go on with ; and therefore to make every thing as difficult as possible, they took off his Chariot Wheels at Home ; in every House they Embarrass his Affairs ; the Taxes were given late ; and Bills for Money hung long in Hand : So that tho' the Nation paid the Money, the late ling'ring Grants came so, that the Campaigns were render'd fruitless. The Enemies were always in the Field before us ; when we came there, we came Uncloath'd, Unpaid, with empty Magazines, and sometimes without our Train ; and thus the King, besides the Enemy, had the Insuperable Difficulties of want of Necessaries to struggle with ; which Defeated his Designs, Perplex'd his Mind,
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and expos'd him to be frequently Insulted by the Enemy.

Turn-Round. The King did as good as tell them this in his several Speeches to the Parliament; tho' to no purpose.

Steddy. All this while their Party fill'd the Town with Reproaches of the King, of the Expence of the War, of Carrying the Money out of the Nation; The Pasquinades, the Lampoons, the Libells, against his Management and Conduct, were infinite, in order to render his Person Odi-ous, and the War a Burthen; and when at last, none of these would serve their purpose, to Conquer the Invincible Spirit of this Great Prince, they enter'd into the abhorr'd Project of Mur-ther and Assassination: When this Plot first came to light, and the Persons Concern'd appear'd to the World, our High Church Men were exceed-ing busie to throw it off from themselves; they were loath to bring the *French* King in, because he was their Friend; they would have hook'd the *Papist* in, but they, however averse to the Course of that Prince's Conquests, had preserv'd so much regard to his Person, that they could not, as a Body, be brought into so Bloody and Dishonour-able a Practice; so the Scandal of it lay wholly upon the *Tories*, even those that call themselves Churchmen, and speak loud for the Church of *England*: And when the Criminals, tho' owning the Fact, came to Die, they were Absolv'd by Church of *England* Clergy-men, without owning it to be a Crime; and those Clergy-men- Receiv'd no Censure for it from the Rest.

Turn-Round. This is a Truth so well known, that they have never attempted to wash the Guilt of it off; and indeed it is impossible to do it.

Steddy. These things brought that King's Affairs to very great extremities; however, he surmounted every thing with an Invincible Patience, and tho' he had many Disasters Abroad, and Embarrassments at Home, yet he brought the King of *France* to seek the Peace; and accordingly, tho' not so much to our Advantage as he could have wish'd, he put an end to the War by the Treaty of *Reswick*,

Turn-Round. And now they are the Men that find fault with that Treaty, as being made upon ill Terms, abandoning Trade, Religion, and the Interest of *England*.

Steddy. Supposing all they complain of were true, the King is justifiable before God and Man; He that cannot make War, must make Peace; He had been 13 Years Working in the Fire, fighting without an Army, and his Armies fighting without Pay; and had he made Peace Seven year before, and let you stay for the Reduction of *France* till you could find a General that could both Conquer *France* Abroad, and the Obstruction of Parties at Home, both together: you could not have blam'd him.

Turn-Round. But I am of Opinion, those Complaints of Peace it self are also Groundless, and will not bear the Reflections which are made upon them.

Steddy. The Objections are trifles, That of Trade only concerns us, in which these People Quarrel that a Tarriff of Trade was not settled in the Treaty, but do not consider that it was our Interest to have no settlement of that Trade made at all; they would have had way made for our Woollen Manufactures into *France*, not considering, for, alas! they knew nothing of the matter,

ter, that then we must have opened the door to the Imports of Wine and Brandy, and Wrought Silks, by taking off the high Duties from one, and the Prohibition from the other; which any Man, that knows any thing of Trade, in *England*, must know would be our Ruine. I have heard a Great Man say, when the Question was before the House, Whether the Trade with *France* should be open'd during the War, upon the Petition of the *Virginia* Merchants? That there was Danger, it might be Voted purely for the sake of having Good Claret to Drink. That there are some Men who would not scruple Wounding the General to save the Particular, is too manifest, but particularly in this Party; their other Objections against the Peace are needless to mention, and are in themselves worth no Notice.

It is evident they acted basely, let it be which way it will; for if it was a Safe and Good Peace, Why do they Reproach the King with it? *If, as they say* it was, an Unsettled, Unsafe Peace, and not likely to continue, Why then did they force the King to break the Army and Disband? But this they push'd so fast, and so warmly, as if they were afraid the Necessity of a New War should appear to the Nation, before the Forces were Disbanded.

No sooner was this done, but they fell upon the Treaty of Partition; With what Virulence they fell upon the King, how they call'd it a Felonious Treaty, and how they push'd at the Person of him who had Sign'd it, tho' by his Master's express Command, need not be look'd back upon: But this is worth Remark, That after Seven Years War, and a Series of Victory, we were willing enough to make Peace upon the Foot of a Partition,

tion, and these Men blame us because we did not do it.

Turn-Round. It is true, as I have heard, we were content to give *Sicily, Sardinia*, and some other small things to the Duke of *Anjou*, provided he had voluntarily evacuated *Spain New and Old*, and these People say we ought to have done it; nay, they Charge the Duke of *Marlborough* with a design to carry on the War, and prolong the Miseries for his own Gain, because he was not for concluding the Peace; forgetting, *first*, that the Terms of this Peace were partly the same for which they themselves Quarrell'd the last Treaty; and not considering, *Secondly*, that the Securities for the Evacuating *Spain*, were found by all the Confederates, to be such, as could not be Depended upon.

Steady. We are now brought to the Interval between the Two Wars; I should not name here the Town swarming with Railing Pamphlets, and bitter Invectives, against, not the War only, or the Partition Treaty, but against the Person of the King and the *Dutch Forces*, who having come here to Fight for us, faithfully spent their Blood for us, and been Thirteen years in our Service, were Treated with all the Contempt, Insolence, an Abuse, that it was possible for a Nation to give them, and at last, some of them were sent Home without their Pay, which, no longer since than the last Session of Parliament, was Solicited for in the House: I say, I should not name these, but that the Author of *Sir Tho. Double*, a late *Tory Pamphlet* or *Invective* against the Revolution, is pleas'd to take notice of the *Observer* and *Review* Publishing their Papers of
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Reflections, and that so singularly, as if there were no Injurious Pamphlets spread about the Town, but those Two, whereas the Town then swarm'd with the most Insolent Pamphlets against the very Person of the King, that ever was suffer'd in any Nation in the World.

Turn-Round. I remember one Author did indeed reproach the King in a Villainous Poem, call'd the *Foreigners*; He attack'd his Personal Behaviour, his Morals, his Government, and all the *Dutch Nation*, which Book, they say, gave Rise to *Daniel de Foe's True-Born English-man*, a Poem, for which that Author has been continually Persecuted, and at last effectually Ruin'd by that very Party.

Steddy. It was not long however, before the King deliver'd himself from these Persecutions, and had it in His Turn, if it had not been below him to make use of it, to Reflect upon the Behaviour of these People to him; for the King of *Spain Dying*, and the King of *France Allarming the World with Establishing the Crown of Spain* in the House of *Bourbon*, the breaking out of a New War appear'd Inevitable.

Turn-Round. But I remember very well, that Party being then in Play, made it very doubtful, Whether the War should begin with us, or we begin with it; and the King of *France* play'd his Game so sure Abroad, and so cunningly at Home, that both the *Dutch* and the King too, were driven to the Necessity to pay their Compliment to the *French*, and in a Feint to acknowledge the New King of *Spain*, tho' at the same Time they Resolv'd to pull him down.

Steddy. But to whom was that Necessity owing, was it not to our Party here, who then had the
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Cards in their Hands, and play'd to one anothers Hand? They amus'd the King so long with Delays and Pretences, that his Majesty knew not, either how to keep the Peace with Honour, or how to begin the War with Safety; mean time the King of *France* pres'd the *Dutch*, block'd them up in their Frontier Towns, held their Regiments Prisoners of War, which, by the Treachery of the Duke of *Bavaria*, fell into his Hands, in the several Towns of *Flanders*, which that Duke put into the *French* Power all at once. The *Dutch* sent Express after Express, the King represented their Case to the Parliament, yet nothing moved. The stipulated Aid of Ten Thousand Men, agreed by the Peace of *Namiguen* to be lent to the *Dutch* whenever the *French* should Invade them, was delay'd, till at last an Expostulatory Letter from the States being laid by the King before the House, brought on a kind of Necessity for the sending over that Assistance, and thus we came slowly on.

These things gave the whole Nation so much Uneasiness, that they began to discover it many ways; but one intervening Accident alone effected their Illumination, and effectually unhing'd our Tory Party, and broke all their Schemes. Heaven just at this Juncture Summon'd King *James* out of the World, and the King of *France*, who by the late Treaty at *Reswick*, had been oblig'd to acknowledge King *William*, and thereby reduc'd that Unhappy Prince, King *James*, to be quite hopeless of Restoration to his former Condition; the King of *France* finding by the addition of *Spain*, his Affairs in a new Posture, and his Strength so much Superiour to the Allies, that he seem'd out of the reach of their

their Resentments, he makes no difficulty of acknowledging the Pretender as King of all *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in Breach of his former Concession, and in Direct contravention to the Treaty of *Reswick*.

This, I say, broke all our Tory Measures: They had till now kept the King at *Bay*, and kept off the approaches of a War; they had given the *French* Room and Time to act in settling the Possession of the *Spanish* Monarchy without any Opposition, and rock'd the Nation Asleep as to those things; but the whole Kingdom now took the Alarm; the Affront to the King was so gross, the Indignity was so open, so palpable a Violation of his Faith and Honour, and the Contempt of the whole *English* Nation was so Great, and gave so general a Disgust, that no Tory had the face to open their Mouths against it: The Nation seem'd roused out of the Deep Sleep which these Managers had cast them into, and Addresses came from all parts of the Kingdom to his Majesty, expressing their deep Resentment of the Injury done to his Majesty, and the Affront put upon the Kingdom; Humbly pressing the King to declare War immediately against *France*, and promising with Heart and Hand to Assist him to the Utmost; This brought on the Dissolution of that Parliament, another being call'd in that happy juncture, the War was Declar'd, and thus the Second Scene began.

His Majesty however saw but little of it: He opened the Session with that Honourable Speech which Graces our Houses now, as the best Picture an *English* Heart can look on; and as the Parliament fell in Heartily into the Work, Troops

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were Chearfully rais'd, and an Army appear'd sooner than the Enemy expected; the Troops and Stores was at hand; the King hurt with his fall from his Horse, fell ill, Languish'd a few Days, and to the inexpressible loss of this Nation, Died *March* the 8th, 1701.

Turn-Round. You should have hinted here that the *French*, by the neglect of our Tory Managers, and during their delays aforesaid, had secured *Portugal* against us, or at least to a Profess'd Neutrallity, which prevented all possible Attack on the *Spaniards* on that side, and cost us a great deal of Time and Expence to Retrieve.

Seddy. I thank you for remembering me of that; It is hard to run over this whole Mystery of Darknes and forget nothing.

The Death of the King struck all *Europe* with Astonishment, and this Nation especially: However Her Majesty, at first step, entering into the same Measures, and the War being declar'd, there seem'd no Immediate Loss but of a Head to the Armies, and the King having recommended the Duke of *Marlborough* to the QUEEN, as the most Capable Person for so High a Station; this Recommendation suiting exactly with Her Majesty's Inclination, who had always been a Witness to the Fidelity and Concern the Duke had always shown to Her Interest, there was no difficulty in his Advancement; and Her Majesty forthwith declar'd Him General of the Forces, and soon after dispatch'd him over to *Holland*, to Concert with the States the Operations of the War.

However the War came in with the Death of the King, and the *Tories* reviv'd with the coming
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in of the Queen ; only with this Difference, that as before they hung back from the War, to defeat and disappoint the King whose Glory they Envy'd, because they Hated his Person; so now they flew with the greatest eagerness imaginable upon the War, presuming they had a Queen, a General, and a Ministry, all their own. And the first thing we heard off, was *retrieving England's Honour* ; a Word meant for a Reproach to the Management under the late King : How they brought it to Pass we shall soon Enquire.

Turn-Round. I remember very well, that Phrase was made use of, rather to banter the former Management, than from any real view of doing more than was done before; and they grew ashamed of it Quickly after upon many accounts

Steddy. Upon the Queen's coming to the Crown, they began, just as they do now, to Run into all manner of Exorbitances and High flying Excesses, they insulted the *Whiggs* and Dissenters at such a Rate, that had they gone on, it would not have been safe in a little Time more for any Dissenting Preacher to have appear'd, but in Disguise.

Turn-Round. What could work such a suddain Turn among them ? Could they imagine that the Queen being just come to the Crown would set up for a Persecutor, and pull down one Part of her Subjects to set up another ? Nor could they suppose that the Queen, whose Felicity and Glory consisted in the Safety and Satisfaction of all Her People, should be pleas'd to see them thus cutting one anothers Throats.

Steddy. They were no less foolish than that comes to: Nay, they put it upon that Issue, and began to flatter themselves that the Queen was on their side in all this, and that this kind of behaviour would recommend them to Her Majesty, and therefore it was that they insulted the *Whiggs*; with it, that now the Queen was on their side; now they had got a Queen *entirely English*, a *Nom de Guerre* also, which they used in opposition to a Foreign Birth, and that therefore the *Whiggs* were to expect the worst.

Turn-Round. I Remember this too very exactly, and that upon this very account, several Hundreds, I might, *I believe*, say Thousands, who were Profess Jacobites, came in at that Time and took the Oaths.

Steddy. They did so, not that they were less Jacobites than they were before, but that they should be by this enabled to carry on their Cause with more Success; after which, they tell us they have the Pretenders Dispensation for, and his Approbation of it, in particular, as what is for his Particular Service on many accounts.

Turn-Round. What-ever was the Design, I cannot say, but this I know, That they filled all the Nation with the Noise of their Tryumph; That now they had a Queen of the Right Line; That they were all content the Queen should enjoy the Crown during Her Life, and that they would wait to be next Oars.

Steddy. I shall come to that in its Time; but it must not be omitted to observe the wild excesses of a Tory Management, because we may the better judge what we are now to expect from so much of the same kind as is now before us—
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The Queen Unhappily, *I mean to them*, in Her Majesty's First Speech, promising all Her Subjects Her Royal Protection, yet told them *to this Purpose*, That, *as Her Education and Choice had effectually ty'd her to the Church of ENGLAND*, so those who were *MOST ZEALOUS* for that Church, would be the Persons she should most Regard; and tho' she would give her Protection to all without distinction, yet those should have the greatest share in Her Favour. These Words *MOST ZEALOUS*, being with eagerness snatch'd at by the *High Tories*, They Construe to mean, the utter suppressing and extirpation of the Dissenters; and this set the Warm Men of that Party stark Mad, in so much, that the same Dr. Sacheverell who has now made so much Mischief with the like Mad Expressions, told the People at Oxford, *That he could not be a True Son of the Church of England, who did not lift up a Banner or Flagg of Defiance against the Dissenters*, and other such Unaccountable Expressions. This was that Sermon, which as it is allcdg'd, gave rise, among many other Observations, to that well known Pamphlet, call'd *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*; which, after having amus'd the People a few Days, appear'd to be Written by a *Whigg*, and was a severe Ironnical Satyr upon that Party; for which they treated the Author, *Daniel de Foe*, with all the unjust Severity possible, to his entire Ruine as I have been inform'd.

Turn-Round. That's a known Story too, and the Man is an Eye Sore to them still, and Galls them very often with it in his Weekly Papers.

Steady. Let

Steady. Let them use him as they will, that Book weaken'd and expos'd them, and the Nation began from that Time to see what they drove at.

Turn.Round. That Sermon is well known, the Doctor has Preach'd no New Doctrine in his late Sermon; it is nothing but what he has formerly attempted, tho' it tended before to Allarm and Awaken the Nation, now to Blind and Delude them.

Steady. No Man, however, that Remembers the Two first Years of Her Majesty's Reign; but may remember how high they run Things, and how fair they bid to put us all in Confusion; how, flattering themselves that they should carry all before them, and Presuming upon the Wicked Construction they had put upon Her Majesty's Words *MOST ZEALOUS*, they insulted not the Dissenters only, but every Man, were his Quality ever so Great, or his True Zeal for the Church ever so well known, that did but shew the least True Regard to the Publick Peace, or were for observing any Measures or Rules of Charity or Moderation towards the Dissenters; as if Her Majesty, when she spoke the Words *MOST ZEALOUS for the Church*, could mean nothing less than giving up all Her Dissenting Subjects to Fire and Fagot; That Persecution was the only step to be taken; and that the Queen had abandon'd them to Rapine and Plunder.

They were going on with such Warmth in these Excesses, that the whole Kingdom took the Alarm, and the Enemy, as in all such Cases it is observable they do, made great Advantages of it.

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But their haſt overthrew them ; for Men of Moderate Principles interpoſing, their Aim appear'd wrong taken, their Mine ſprung too ſoon, and blew up, not the Conſtitution as they had Deſigned, but themſelves.

The neceſſary Conſequence of this, was a new Turn in the Miniſtry ; Her Majeſty being mov'd by the Goodneſs of her own Inclination, always deſiring the Good, the Peace, and the Safety of Her People, was oblig'd to let theſe People know, That they had Miſtaken Her, in ſuppoſing, that when ſhe prompted their Zeal for the Church, they ſhould think it conſiſted only in Extirpating the Diſſenters ; That Her Royal Deſign was both more Chriſtian, and more becoming a Chriſtian Queen, and a Nurſing Mother of Her People ; That ſhe look'd upon the Peace and Union of all Her Subjects with, and to one another, the Praſtiſe of Charity, Good Neighbourhood, and forbearance in Matters of Difference, to be the true way to ſupport and maintain the Church ; and that conſequentially, thoſe that were *moſt Zealous* for the Church of *England*, would encourage and promote, to their Utmoſt, a general Charity, and a Spirit of Union among all Her People.

To Undeceive them therefore in this Thing, and further to explain the Meaning of what had been ſaid, Her Majeſty declared upon all Occaſions, That ſhe had at Heart nothing more than the Eaſe and Peace of all Her Subjects ; That ſhe would Protect the Diſſenters in their Peaceable and Quiet Behaviour, and would inviolably Maintain the Tolleration.

This

This indeed blew them all up ; their Rage was equal to the shortness of their Power : Instead of going on with the furious Attacks upon the Dissenters as before, all was turn'd on a sudden against the Queen ; Lampoons upon the Moderate Bishops ; Insolent Invectives against the Moderate Councils, that guided Her Majesty's Affairs ; calling the Bishops Presbyterians ; the Queen a Deserter of the Church ; and all the Moderate Gentlemen of the Church, Betrayers of their Mother, and givers of Her up to be Ravish'd and Butcher'd by Wolves in Sheeps Clothing.

This they carried to such a height of Extravagancy, that Her Majesty could not but Resent it ; and adhering firmly to the Profession she had made of her Concern for the general Peace, and seeing plainly what these People drove at, the Necessity of Divesting them of a Power to put in Practice the Mischief they had apparently Design'd, appear'd inevitable ; Thus they were TURN'D OUT of the Ministry, and the Weapon of Administration taken out of their Hands, as you take the Sword out of the Hand of a Madman, or Knives from your Children, that they may neither do Harm to other People, or to themselves.

Turn-Round. This is a very Distinct recital of the Fact indeed ; but you must give me leave to add something also that came within the Verge of my Knowledge : As first, That there was always a Party among these People, who Visibly, and indeed without any Disguise, aim'd at the Pretender, *viz.* That they should pretend to submit to the Queen Daring her Life, and therefore as before, they came in and took the Oaths ; but
that

that after Her Majesty the Pretender was the unboubted Heir, and this they push'd to that height, That Her Majesty was frequently stil'd Tennant for Life, and that she enjoy'd the Crown by way of Annuity. They had not the Face, as I could ever hear, to propose it in Council; but it is not unknown to many, that they usually said, That to finish our Peace, the Pretender should be declar'd Protestant, and that he should be acknowledg'd Successor.

This frightned many that had a True Zeal for Her Majesty's Person, and Concern for Her Safety, to think, that having reduc'd the Possession of the Crown to be only a Tennant for Life, they had then nothing to do, but to make the Lease as short as they could, and the whole Revolution, with all its Dependences, such as Liberty, Law, Protestant Religion, Property of Estate, Tolleration, and the like, lay at the Mercy of every Assassinator; a sort of People that Party hath never wanted, and which no Loyal Subject to Her Majesty, could think of without Horror.

Steddy. I thank you for your assistance in this Article, which I was not so much as let into the Secret of as yet, tho' I saw the thing in its Consequences plain enough, and had occasion often to argue it, in the Presence of those who were most nearly concern'd in it.

Turn-Round. I remember very well they buoy'd themselves up in the hopes to make it Practicable from Two things; *First*, The Rupture, or at least the probable failing of the Treaty of U-

nion with the *Scots*, which was all this while carry'd on, but without any great Prospect of Success, together with the Aversion the *Scots* had declar'd to settling the Succession with us ; and *Secondly*, From the powerful Influence they thought their Friends had at Home.

Steddy. This is most evident in the Conduct of the Government here, after that Turn was given ; for no sooner was the Administration gotten into Wiser and Honester Hands, but they began with them, in their own way, to Defeat their Hopes from *Scotland*, and effectually settle the Inheritance of the Crown in the Protestant Line : Her Majesty recommended a Hearty and Effectual Treaty of a UNION with *Scotland*, and that not with the Insuperable Difficulties of Uniting or Subjecting Two different Churches, and the Confusion of Reserved Interests ; but a compleat entire Incorporation, and blending the Two Nations in an indissoluble Union, leaving their respective Ecclesiastic Constitutions Entire, Defended, Butted and Bounded, against any possible Invasion of one another ; and secured from any possibility of either side encroaching upon the other ; or of both sides together, tho' by mutual Agreement, being able so separate.

This set about Heartily, and Happily finish'd, Naturally took the Protestant Succession, and has left it out of the reach of any Legal Power of the United Body to Repeal it.

The next step was to find out some Method, that the simple taking the Oaths might not be a
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Screen to those, who went upon the Notion of the Right of Possession and Reversion, which you mention'd just now; and this was to Establish a Recognition of the Settlement of the Crown on the House of *Hannover*, by Abjuring the Pretender.

Turn-Round. These Two things form'd an Essential Security to the Life of the Queen; for now the Union being Settled, the Pretender Abjur'd, and the Method of declaring the Successor also settled by the Act; appointing a Certain number of Lords to Administer the Publick Affairs, in Case of the Queen's Death, till the Successor could come over, which Lords are oblig'd and enjoyn'd on Pain of High Treason, immediately to Proclaim the Successor. These things have made the Pretender's Cause so exactly the same, whether the Queen Lives or Dies, that Her Majesty's Life is secured by this more effectually, than by Ten Thousand Men to Guard Her Person, (*viz.*) That it will not be the least advantage to them to destroy Her, nay, Happy for Her Majesty it is; Their Case would appear the worse, since they would immediately have a Powerful Martial Active Prince, ready to pour in upon them in Prosecution of his just claim, in opposing whom, perhaps, they might not find the same Clemency, Tenderness, and Forbearance, which they have, till now, presum'd upon.

Seddy. That is a good Observation indeed; for I take her Majesty's Security, to lie much more in its not being for their Advantage to

Hurt Her, than in all the eyes of Honour, Humanity, or Oaths in the World.

Turn-Round. And therefore we find, That since this Union and Abjuration, they have left off Talking of the Queen's enjoying the Crown for Life, and the Pretenders coming after Her; and with more Openness, (I might have said Impudence) Assert the Right of the Pretender to be Hereditary and Indefeazable, and the Queen's Possession a meer Robbery and Usurpation. In pursuance of this, we have seen him once at the Head of the *French* Army attempting to Instate Himself, and Invading Her Majesty's Dominions to Dispossess Her by Force; and we are hereby instructed, in what the Queen has to expect from the Party, if Power should be put into their Hands to effect it.

Steddy. It is but too plain that they would do it by Force rather than by any other Method, if it were in their Power; and one Reason is, because if they come in by Force, they have the better pretence to Rule by Arbitrary Power, what they gain against our Consent; and we have the more Reason to be steddy in our Opposition.

Turn-Round. I have made too long a Digression upon this Head, but I have done; I pray, will you go on now with your Historical Account were you left off?

Steddy.

Steddy. I think no Man need go any farther for Reasons, Why Her Majesty should for the Security of Her Subjects, and for the Safety of Her own Life, take down, in its new Elevation, this High Tory Scheme, and Dismiss from Her Person and Councils, those People who had so Eminently discover'd their Heat, in the Prosecution of Principles so Destructive to the Peace of Her Subjects: And no other Answer need be given, to the Memorials and Dialogues which Insult the Party that assisted in Displacing such and such Men as they pretend to give Glorious Characters of.

Turn-Round. I think there was no need of other Reasons indeed: But here remains a Question somewhat Nice. How comes it to pass, that some People, who were then Zealous for the Safety of the Queen, and forward in Dispossessing these Men, are now the Men Zealous for their being brought into Play again?

Steddy. This is a Nice Question I own; but it admits an Answer so Plain, and so much to the Mortification of the High Tory Party themselves, that I shall rather choose to let the Cause of my Relation, take away the Reason for the Question, than to take up your time in a particular Answer.

Turn-Round. I am satisfied: Pray go on then.

Steddy. Upon the Happy Success of these Moderate Councils, Her Majesty having quitted Her Hands of a Tricking Designing Party, their attempt

attempt in Parliament against the Dissenters having Miscarry'd, and the Party expos'd to the highest degree to the whole Nation, in their most Weak, and Impolitick attempt, call'd the TACK, Things began to look with a new Face both at Home and Abroad; Successes one on the Neck of another. Victory Abroad; Rising Credit at Home; the Happy Conclusion of the Union; and the continu'd Declining of the *French* Affairs; took up the Time, of near Four Successive Years: Every Year ended with Thanksgivings, Triumphs, Processions, *Te Deums*, and Rejoycings of every kind: The Duke of MARLBOROUGH has fill'd our Great Halls with Trophies, and our Magazines with the Spoils of the Enemies Armies. The World has been amazed with the Surprizing Accounts; Armies entirely Overthrown; whole Countries Recover'd; Impregnable Cities Taken: He has never Attack'd a Town, but he has Taken it; never Fought a Battle, but he has Won it; Never undertaken any Negotiation, but he has Accomplish'd it: Our Treasurer has produc'd Immense Summs; our Credit risen beyond what the World ever saw, or any other Nation can pretend to; and *France*, Humbled by his many Irrecoverable Losses, has been brought these last Years upon Knees to Sollicite for Peace.

In doing this, He has Submitted to take Law from the Confederates in all Cases; He has sent to the *Hague* to ask Peace of the *Dutch* at their own Doors: When He comes to a Second Treaty, He Submits to send His Plenipotentiaries to a little Obscure Hole in the *Dutch*
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Dominions, where they Treat, inviron'd by a Strong Garrison, are not permitted to come a Foot nearer the *Dutch*; but when they have any thing to say, Messengers of a mean Quality are sent to fetch it like a Message, and carry their Answer, and when this proves not Satisfactory, they are sent Home; as if they had said, *When you are further Humbled, Come again.*

In these Treaties the Concession of *France* are Prodigious, and Greater than is likely to be obtain'd by Force in many Years War; even to the Demolishing of *Dunkirk*, that costly Work; the Quitting his Grandson; and Contributing Money to assist us to Dethrone Him: It were endless to recite all the Countries, Cities, and Strong Towns, he offers to give up in a Peace.

This is the State of the Case upon the Administration of a New Ministry; *who this New Ministry were* need not be Repeated, you know them well enough; and both you and I know, and have spoken it to his Honour, that *Mr. H*—, for whatever Reasons he has since mov'd in another Sphere, was the Happy Instrument that freed the Nation from the *Machiavilian* Projects of that Party; and while he pursued the Measures, so Happily begun in Conjunction with the Treasurer, the General, and others, the Affairs of this Nation were under the best Influence, and went on in the most Flourishing manner imaginable: And it was during this Conjunction, that most of the great Successes which I mention'd just now were obtain'd.

Turn-Round. That is very true; and this is the Reason why I said before, That I cannot believe that Gentleman has in his view the Restoring a High Tory Management; He can never be for building up that Fabrick of Folly and T——y, that he was so Instrumental in pulling down: I am yet in great Hopes that he means Honeestly, and has something still in view, by which he will secure things upon the old Foot of Safety and Peace.

Steddy. I am Steddy still, and have no Opinion of that kind; however, let me go on: The first breach which was made in the Ministry, whether it Sprung from his Ambition to overthrow others, or any ill Usage which is pretended, *is not to the Purpose*; but this is certain, it has been a very unhappy Blow: From that time to this the Unity of Councils, the Peace of Parties, and the general Tranquility of the Nation have declin'd; we have been fill'd with Complaints of Management without Doors, and many busie endeavours to make the People Uneasie; nor has things past without some Reciprocal Resentments and Unkindnesses within, and on both sides: No want of Emisaries and Incendiaries to blow the Coals, to Raise Feuds, keep up Animosities, and Influence Parties; things naturally Tending to a Breach, and to Interrupt the Felicity of this Nation, which had so happily been our lot for the past Years.

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This is grown to such a Height, as we see at this Time, when the Ministry that had managed with so much Success, and had brought us to such happy Circumstances, seem to have lost the Favour of their Mistress; and private Disasters, falling in with Party Interests, have turn'd the Scales, Her Majesty has been prevail'd with to change Hands in the Administration, and we have a New Court-Revolution. There is no doubt but Her Majesty has an unquestion'd Authority to change Hands as often as seems meet to Her Royal Judgment; that Prince has but little Authority left, that cannot bestow Her Personal Esteem, as She herself pleases. Those Pamphlets, who reproach the Queen with Turning out Ministers of State, without just Reason, or without shewing Cause for Her Dislike, are Lampoons upon the Prerogative, Satyrs upon the Constitution, and very Unmannerly upon the Queen, who has so Undoubted a Right to employ who She pleases, that no Loyal Subject will offer to say to Her; in that Case, *What dost thou?* It would be to divest the Queen of Her true *Regalia*, the Scepter; to take from Her the Power of Regulating Her Household, and Putting in, or Putting out Her Servants.

Nor is Her Majesty's Power of Dissolving or Proroguing Parliaments any more to be disputed, than that of Placing and Displacing Officers and Servants; and therefore I am to confess as to a Paper call'd *Queries lately Publish'd*, I think the first Query a most absurd and ridiculous Thing (*viz.*) *Whether ever any Parliament had more deseru'd to sit again than this?* Speaking strictly of the Duty of Parliaments, and the

Reason and End of their Sitting, no Parliament *can deserve of the Queen*; they may deserve the Acknowledgment of the People: But to say a Parliament are to deserve of the Sovereign, would be a keen Satyr upon the House, or upon the Crown, and that for many Reasons not so fit to enlarge upon; all the Zeal, the Vigour, the Fidelity and Application they are capable of, in Defence of the Liberties of the People, which they are entrusted with, is their indispensable Duty, all their Care for the Honour and Support of the Monarchy, and Defence of the Person and Authority of their Sovereign, that is consistent with the Zeal, Vigour and Fidelity aforesaid, is their Duty; in doing this, they discharge their Trust like true Patriots and Loyal Subjects: But to talk of their Deserving by this to fit again, is a Language very Unparliamentary, and may have Constructions very Fatal put upon it; by the same Rule they may deserve to sit for ever and for aye; and the Triennial Act which we justly think a safe Guard to our Liberties, would, *ipso facto*, be repeal'd by the Nature of the Thing.

Turn-Round. All this we own. But why do you premise this with so much Caution just now?

Steddy. Because these Things are thrown in our way as Answers to our Objections, when we really make no such Objections; and therefore it is necessary to state the thing, as we go along, to anticipate the Cavils we meet with of that kind.

Turn-Round. Therefore I suppose it is, that, as I have observ'd, they make use of the Queen's having a Right to do this to another Purpose.

Steddy.

Steddy. They do so ; and take upon them to spread about among the People, a Notion that there was an absolute Necessity to make this Change. And could they make this out, the Thing were at an End. We own Her Right to do it , and they insist upon the Necessity.

Turn-Round. This is indeed the Sum of the present Dispute. Indeed I see no Necessity the Queen has been under. I must own, Others may see it, tho' I do not ; and therefore I will not say as some do, that there was no Necessity at all. But I have waited long to hear what this Necessity is, and from whence it proceeds.

Steddy. All that I can see of Necessity, depends upon Her Majesty's being Convinc'd that these new Men are Faithful to Her, and more Devoted to Her true Interest, more Capable to support Her than the other.

Turn-Round. Nay, that does not prove the Necessity, unless it were that They were only Capable of supporting Her, and not the Other.

Steddy. There is another Necessity, which may have something in it (*viz.*) a Necessity on the High *Tory* side (*viz.*) that whereas they had so behav'd and justly expos'd themselves to the Resentment of the Parliament and Ministry, that they must be sure to be ruin'd, if they continu'd, it was absolutely necessary to them to have the one Dissolv'd, and the other Chang'd. But will any Man call it a Necessity upon the Sovereign, that She should Dissolve a Parliament, Faithful and Dutiful Servants, and Change Her whole Ministry to save *Sacheverell* from farther Resentment, or to skreen that Infamous Scribler, *Abel Roper*, from the Pillory, for abusing the House of Commons in Print ; a Fellow,

Illiterate and Ignorant to a Proverb, and whose Pen, grown scandalous to themselves, is only made use of for his daring to say any thing without regard to honour the Reputation of Persons, or the Truth of Fact. Sure this can be no part of the Necessity.

Turn-Round. But they allege, the Heat of Parties was come to that height, and the Animosity was so great, that there was an absolute Necessity to give Things a new Turn, that the Edge might be a little taken off on both Sides, that both Sides might be cool'd, the Fury abated, and Things brought to a Temper.

Steddy. Then you are to suppose this new Measure are to bring Things to Temper. But will you first examine what Men of Temper are among them? Have they not thrown us all upon the *Tories* for Moderation, and upon the Men of Fire to cool our Heats? How can this bring us to Temper?

Turn-Round. Why this is the very Thing I complain of, and for which, as you know I told you, I am come off from them; and yet I am still of Opinion, they will not pretend to the Measures they took in the beginning of the Queen; and that when they come to Act, you will see they will steer quite another Course.

Steddy. I find you are of Opinion of the *Review*, That *tho' they are Tories by Inclination, they must be Whiggs by Office; and that by the Necessity of the Constitution they must act upon Revolution Principles.* I am in part of that mind too; but I cannot but think 'tis dangerous to have a *Whigg* Constitution administred upon *Tory* Principles. There is a certain Necessity, that either the Constitution must restrain the Principle,

Principle, or the Principle will destroy the Constitution. And is it safe to run the Risque? Had the *Review* prov'd the Necessity of making that dangerous Experiment, he had said more to the Purpose.

Turn-Round. I agree with you, and wish the Experiment had not been made; but since it is made, I am of that mind *too*, *let it be whose it will*, that they can act upon no other Foot than that of the Revolution; and therefore I am not so Chagrin at the Change as some People are. I want to see what Measures the New Gentlemen will take.

Steddy. How is it possible they can take good Measures with such Instruments as they have. Now upon their Work to begin where they begun, I mean with Dr. *Sacheverell*. It is below me to give him the Terms he deserves. But as General *Stanhope* observ'd upon his Tryal, *A Contemprible Tool, set up by a Party to insult the Constitution, and fly in the Face of the Administration.* They could not have pick'd out of the whole Nation, a Man, whose Impudence was fitter to be at the Head of a bad Cause, and whose Character is less able to support him; a Man of little Learning, less Modesty, and no Virtue; Scandalous in his Behaviour in every Particular, of a most Infamous Reputation, and of a most Unheard of Degree of Pride, Qualify'd for any thing that was Affronting either to God or Man; who could call God to witness to a Thing at a Bar of Justice, and make a Jest of the same Thing in Conversation in the solemnest manner; and with a whining Accent, to move Compassion upon his Tryal before the Lords, protest his Loyalty to the Person of the Queen,

Queen, and Zeal for Her Interest, and Drink on his Knees to the *Pretender* as his Lawful Sovereign in another Company; a Fellow qualify'd to Bully the Nation, and to make Madmen more Lunatick. Can any Man believe, that a Party, to whom this Creature is a Tool, have any Work to do that is fit for an honest Man, or an honest Party, to embark in?

Turn-Round. This is very True. But if you will give me leave so far to speak in the Persons of a Set of Men; whose Party I have quitted, I shall discharge myself impartially.

Steddy, I could be glad to have room but to think of them with some Charity, and I will be far enough from doing them any Injustice. What can you have to say to this *Bachanalian* Priest, that has thus ruffled the Nation?

Turn-Round. I'll tell you first. I say that you cannot speak more Contemptibly of him than they do themselves; and indeed all his Party, that have any Sense, I have been with them in some of their Closets, Councils, they always condemn'd him, and look'd upon him as a Fire-brand. Nor do I believe they had any hand in his late unfufferable Insolence in his Country Cavalcade. His Sermon they condemn'd as a piece of Pulpit-raving. And had you Voted him to *Bedlam*, he had been carry'd away, *Nemine Contradicente.*

Steddy. But have they Censur'd any of his Abettors, Hang'd any of his Riotors, Punish'd or Discoutenanc'd any of those that have broke the Peace, and insulted their Neighbours on his account.

Turn-Round. I'll tell you what they say: They say the present Humour of the People serves their

their present Designs ; it is not a Time to push Things too far. The Affair of *Sacheverell* broke the Ice for them ; 'tis become Popular ; it has been a mean to run down the other Party ; and thus far they have serv'd themselves of it. That the Impeachment was a wrong Step, and brought the Church into the Quarrel ; that they were oblig'd to take the Occasion, and bring about what they aim'd at before, when they knew nothing of that Accident: But that for the Man they abhor him ; and whereas he is blown up with Pride, upon the Opinion of their Approbation, they have nothing to ridicule him for more that he has no more Countenance from them, he has done their Business, and they have no more to say to him.

Steddy. I make no question, but he will render himself as Contemptible to them in Time, as he is to us ; but in the mean time the Nation is full of intollerable Insolency on his account, and a Spirit of Tumult and Riot runs thro' the Nation, which fits the People for any Violence, the Conniving at which, by these new People, encourages it so much, that it may soon rise to an Height, too great for themselves to quench ; and to prompt a People to Tumult and Rebellion, was never, that I knew of, thought any part of good Politicks, in a Government calculated as ours is, to support Property, and protect Justice. These Things give me a general Suspicion of the Party, that their Design cannot be good, when the Means to bring it to pass is so pernicious to the Nation's Good. As to the *Impeachment*, I am clear, the Necessity of punishing so much Insolence was unavoidable ; if it had any evil Effects, it was from the Conduct
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of that Party, who prevented his being treated more suitable to his Deserts, and who suffer'd our Mobbs unpunish'd, not only to insult Justice in its very Execution, but to ridicule and triumph over that Part of it, which *on all other Occasions would have been call'd Moderation*, as an Effect of Fear, and a Submission to the Clamours of the Street. But I look on this Impeachment as a very small Part of this Affair; the Blood was stagnate before, and the Disease must have broken out somewhere, if not there.

Turn-Round. I know, had the Thing been prosecuted, as I think it should have been, and the Criminal been severely punish'd, the Impeaching him was a Step founded on Wisdom, Prudence and Necessity; *and I think no body can deny it.* But as it was run down by a Party, it has been a Handle to ruin the best Interest, and has been the Foundation of all the Confusion that has follow'd; and on that Score, I wish they had taken other Measures with him.

Steddy. I am never for reproaching the Means if the End was right, tho' perhaps those Means do not succeed; I am satisfy'd the House of Commons could have done no less, except they would sit still and see themselves insulted every Day. But come we next to the Consequences of this Mischief, which is the Remove of the Ministry; and this, they say, there was a Necessity for. I cannot see this Necessity. This Caviling Author, who under the Title of *Double*, is brought in owning more Crimes than the Age has seen committed, lays the Universal Scandal of every thing upon the Ministry, tho' if we

know

know him right, he has been kept from Starving by that very Ministry, which Dr. D-----t can bear Witness of. Nay, he goes back and tells you, it was long of them the Old Coin was Clip'd and Defac'd, tho' all the World knows they had no other Concern in it than to rectify that Evil, which they did to a Prodigy. Here he rummages every Action, not for what is well in it, but for somewhat to find fault with; the Victories gain'd have not been enough improv'd to satisfy him: The Credit has suffer'd, tho' rais'd from Nothing to the highest pitch: The Nation has been impos'd upon: The Generals prolong the War; and a Thousand such Things. But where is the Matter of Fact to appear? The March into *Bavaria* was against the Will of the Party; they Insulted and Threaten'd the Duke of *Marlborough* upon it, and a certain Person of Figure swore by G--d it should cost him his Head. Had he miscarry'd in it, no doubt he would have done his Devoir to have it so. The March itself was the greatest the World ever saw of that kind, and still greater in its wonderful Consequences; *Suabia* was Deliver'd, *Bavaria* Conquer'd, the *Upper Palatinate* Reduc'd, the Invincible *French Army* Victoriously cut in Pieces; the Confederate Army return'd, pursu'd the flying Army over the *Danube*, and over the *Rhine*, took all the Enemy were possess'd of for 180 Miles, Besieg'd *Ulm*, and after that *Landau*, and took them both; and all this in one Campaign; and yet this Victory was not well pursued. The People who will complain of these Things, What can be supposed to please them? What gains the Admiration of the whole World, what is inimitable in its Conduct

beyond the Fears of Enemies and the Hopes of Friends, passes for Mismanagement with this doubling Author, who calls himself *Sir Tho. Double*, or we may call *Dr. Double D—ant*.

But it is necessary to the Cause, to the great Essential Point of bringing in a *High Tory Party* upon us, that every Action of the former People should be expos'd if possible. This is as ridiculous as the fulsom Characters he gives of his Great Men; in this he has the advantage extremely of any Man that can Write now, and therefore I shall not say much to it. The Author seems duller at Panegyrick than at Scandal; his Characters would bear much Addition: One would have suppos'd him labouring hard to Praise this Man for his Glorious Ancestors; that for his great Success in his Projects, with very little of Personal Merit mention'd, tho' there was room enough for it. One would have thought he might to much more Advantage have set forth the *D. of S—* whose Character and Merit would have supply'd him very sufficiently with Subject of Praise, than singly the Merit of his Ancestors, who we know were all Popish. Of another Great Man he speaks so Loosely, that some People suspect him speaking Ironically, and think he had said more in his just Praise if he had only said *He was an Honest Man, and a good Bowler*. I shall not venture at setting out these Gentlemens Characters in a true Light, lest I should not do it to please this Author. Men for true Merit need no Man's Praise, and to Praise Men without it is below my Temper; it is fitter for him, that enjoying a Thousand Pounds a Year from the Bounty of the late Ministry, which he gain'd also by *Doubling* against his

his Principles, can, as Occasion offers, *Double again*, and Flatter that Party who are now in a posture to let him keep it, and this too at the Expence of his Benefactor ; nor can the Men of Quality who he makes his Court to value themselves upon this *Doctor's Opinion*, since he has brought their Characters in among such horrid Company as spoil all the rest of his Compliment: Here he Panegyricks a Duke, then joyns to him *William Paterfon*, one a Noble Person of Birth and Fortune, whose Merit no Man disputes, the other an *Infamous Cheat*, that having led his own Country-men Blind-fold into the ruinous Project of *Darien*, with a manifest View of Enriching himself, and Defrauding the World, this Author Compliments with being the framer of the Union, and pretends the Honour due to him, tho' we all know the Union was a Transaction fram'd and the Model of it fix'd, approv'd, and treated of by both Nations, before this Scandalous Fellow or any of his Cheats were heard of in the World.

Turn-Round. The Gentlemen whose Characters are attempted by this *Doubling Author*, cannot think themselves Oblig'd to him for joyning them in his absurd Passages, with a Man, who when at the close of the Union, he had the Impudence to desire to be recommended from *Scotland* by the Parliament there ; a Gentleman, as I have heard, very suitably mov'd, that with him they would be pleas'd to recommend also *Her Majesty's Hangman of Edinburg*, who had faithfully discharg'd that Great Trust, and merited much more the Favour of his Sovereign.

Steddy. This Pattern of Blustering in the Characters of Great Men I take no Rule from, I leave it wholly to *Dr. Double*: I think, were I to Print any thing in the World, the greatest Panegyrick to the Characters of some People, would be to leave their Characters quite out.

Turn-Round. But now you seem to shoot at Random and run at all the Men now brought in, Do you not think it just to make some Distinction?

Steddy. I am for doing Right to all Men, and therefore you see I have explain'd my self as I go on; and indeed I would not be mis-understood in all I have said: I am to be understood of the *High Tories*; these are the Men that have all along aimed at our Destruction; these are the Men that have brought all our Distractions upon us; these are the Men that have often brought us to the brink of Ruine, and who will again, if ever they are Cloathed with Power: And if any of these Men are put into Office, so far I think we are absolutely Unsafe: This is what renders us Uneasy, and frights us at the Apprehensions of Changes.

Turn-Round. This is just my Sense of the Thing; I am not Chagrin at the Changes made at the Court, if these Mad-men are but kept out; but it was the bringing these People in that made me quit the other Party, as I told you already.

Steddy. Bringing *Tories* in, or pursuing *Tory* Measures is the same Thing; yet I own I should have been less concern'd, had not a Set of Men come in at this second Remove, who we once tried, and found to our Cost, Dangerous to the very Essence of the Revolution: I do allow I ought

ought to make a difference between Men and Men, and that the Chief Managers do give us hopes they will act upon Moderate Principles; but this bringing in a Race of mad *High Tories* is the Thing I fear, and which makes me withdraw from them as from a House sinking.

Turn-Round. I knew you and I should agree at last, I know who you mean, I cannot believe he will ever be so abandon'd, or so weak in his Politicks, as well as so contrary to his General Practice, as to play the *Tory*; the World will allow he is no Fool, and we know he cannot act in his present Station but within the Circle of the Constitution; he has serv'd himself of them, and I do not blame him for that, but he always broke with them in Measures, and must of course do so again.

Steddy. I am of that Opinion too as much as you, but I am *Steddy* to this, that we are brought into new and greater Hazards, both as to *Tory* Management at Home, and Miscarriages Abroad, than we were in before; I am fairly to Distinguish between the New Ministry, and a High-Tory Administration. The New Ministry, as *Daniel De Foe* says in the *Review*, *Whatever they are in Opinion, must be Whiggs in Practice*; for they must support the Alliance, and carry on the War, maintain the Queen, and adhere to the Protestant Succession. But are not this New Ministry more in Danger to deliver us up to a mad *High Tory* Administration than the other were? Are they not bringing *Tories* into Places of Publick Trust and Employment? This will lay us open to the Party that would Ruin us all, and in the End, if let loose, will Ruin them too.

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Turn-Round. We are Joynt Complainers in this Matter, and I must own I expect no Good from any Ministry where the People are admitted whose aim has been the Ruine of the Nation for these Twenty Years past.

Steddy. It is no wrong Step in Politicks sometimes to take our Measures from the Enemy, we have too plainly seen the Encouragement the *French* have taken from this Division, and that it has been the True and perhaps the Only Reason from which they have encourag'd themselves to carry on the War. The World knows it is not in their Power to support themselves by Arms, and that if we continue firm to our Confederates, they must sink : Nor are they so Ignorant of this themselves, but they have promis'd themselves a Deliverance from the secret expectation of our Private Breaches, and that we shall fall to pieces among our selves. This alone has encourag'd them to carry on the War, and to venture all, in which if they are disappointed, as I hope they will, yet we must own they have taken their Measures right, and that from their Measures we may make a Judgment of our selves.

Turn-Round. I cannot think, even in this, that *France* expects to beat us in the Field, for let our Measures be what they will at Home, he finds Abroad he can do nothing with us.

Steddy. The *St. Germains* Letter found at *Doway* States it very plain, they promise themselves nothing by Force ; but two Things they must build upon, both derived from our New Breaches. 1st. The sinking of our Credit. 2^{ly} The Diffidence of our Allies in the Point of our standing by them. I will not say that both these
may

may be suggested from a bare Change, but they rise from a Suggestion of letting in these High-flying People, and bringing us into a Tory Administration; and this is what I point at: The *French* are no otherwise concern'd in it, who are in, or who are out, than as they shall appear for or against their Interest; from the *Tories* he expects all that he wants; he expects falling upon one another at Home, breaking in upon the Toleration, affronting the *Scots*, wholesome Severities, as Dr. *Sacheverell* calls them, *i. e.* Persecution upon the Dissenters; Universal Dissatisfaction, and want of Confidence in one another, and a furious War of Parties; this he expects will open a Door for the *Pretender*, compleatly Embroil us in a Civil War, and by Consequence take us off from the Grand Alliance, and would leave him the rest of the Confederates either to make a separate Peace with, or to ruine gradually by War: Nor do I do the Tory Party any wrong to suggest, that the *French* promise themselves such great Things from their Administration, it was evident even from the Mouths of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Gertruydenburg*, who upon all Occasions spoke with that Contempt of the *English* Affairs as of what bore no weight in the Alliance, and as a Nation that would soon have their Hands full at Home: What could this be but from their hopes of a New High Tory Administration?

Turn-Round. If that be so, the Case is very clear, that the *French* have taken these new Measures from their Prospect of this Tory Administration, as a Thing certain.

Steddy. That makes me say, it is not an ill Aim to take Measures from a View of their Schemes; if they Hope, we have the more reason to be Jealous; if they are Confident, it gives us a proportion'd degree of Fear, and that very justly too. But that is not all, we know these High-fliers, we have experienc'd their Politicks, the precipitant Councils they always run into, the visible aim at our Confusion, and have seen how far they have gone in it, and how near they brought our Ruine to pass; we have reason to keep them out, and to oppose all that would bring them in.

Turn-Round. I cannot but think, and indeed I promise it my self from the New Ministry, that tho' the Door has been set open to some of these People, they will go into none of their Measures.

Steddy. Then it is a Mystery to me, and which I believe I shall never be able to fathom, why they should bring them in at all, People never bring Men into Offices on purpose to turn them out again, and they can never say they brought them in for want of proper Hands to employ, there were a great many Gentlemen in Posts of Trust, and are still, who tho' they were not forward for the Changes, yet were not so Prejudic'd in favour of the Old Ministry that they would have failed in their Duty to the New Men of Honour and Principle, serve their Country, and serve their Queen in the Employments they are Trusted with; they do not serve this or that Minister of State, but they serve the Government; and if the New Ministry pursued the just and proper Measures suited to the Foundation on which
we

we stand, there was no need of putting these out, and consequently no Necessity of bringing in *Tories* for want of Hands.

Turn-Round. Their great Argument in that Case is, that they bring in no more than they can over-rule in matters of Council; and if they will not joyn in pursuing the moderate Steps they resolve to take, they may be turn'd out again.

Steddy. If they, the Ministry, do pursue moderate Measures, the *Tories* will either not joyn with them, or if they do, they must act as never *Tories* acted yet.

Turn-Round. They say the Measures laid are moderate already, and if any other are taken, it is the *Whiggs* that drive them to the Necessity of it, by refusing to joyn in such Measures as are allow'd to be for the Publick Safety, only because they pretend not to like the Persons.

Steddy. Those People who pursue their Personal Piques rather than the Publick Good, may have those narrow Notions; for my part, my Resentment is at no Man's Person, any farther than the Publick Good is concern'd: If these Men would pursue the general Interest of *Britain*, support the Alliance, carry on the War effectually, suppress the violent and insolent Abettors of the *Pretender*, defend the Toleration, the Union, the Succession, and carry on the true *English* Interest; it's all one to me, whether I am Out or In; God forbid I should oppose them; I would lend them all the Assistance I could; for it's the Nation's Good I regard; and tho' I do not think as they think, tho' I lik'd the Old Ministry, and saw no rea-

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son for dismissing them, yet if these Men pursue with an honest Zeal, and by proper Measures, the Publick Good, I can be very good Friends with them too. But how can this be done by *Tories*, and Enemies to the Constitution? Did not the Queen once try these Men? Was She not oblig'd to throw them off? Was not, as you noted just now, this very Gentleman, now at the Head of the Management, the very Man that assisted in Turning them all out, and to his Honour sav'd the Queen and the whole Nation from their unaccountable Projects? It is the strangest Measure, to my Apprehension, that ever a Man could take in the State, to bring in a Party that he had thrown out before, purely upon Principles of Safety. What Credit, what Foundation have they for the Government to rest upon, or by which they can uphold the Nation in this time of Exigence?

Turn-Round. Indeed the Credit of that Party is low enough, and that is, no doubt, the Reason why the Publick Credit has sunk so much upon their being brought in.

Steddy. The Publick Credit has, till now, surmounted all that ever went before it; and by this Thing, call'd *Credit*, we have, for these many Years past, carry'd on the War at an Expence much superior to our Strength, and this Breach upon the Ministry, as in all such Cases, it will be, must be a Shock to it. I will not say, but this Blow might be warded off, had they gone on at first with moderate Steps; but this bringing *Tories* in, Hot, Mad, Raging *Tories*, this will, in my weak Judgment, quite finish the Tragedy, and destroy that Credit, which was wounded before. No Man will ven-
ture

ture his Money in *Tory* Hands ; they have no Honour, no Regard to the Publick Good, or to private Right, otherwise than as it suits with their Party : The Nation expects nothing from them, and therefore will do nothing for them.

Turn-Round. The great Complaint they make runs just the same way, they tell you, that the Management of the Exchequer has been Preposterous, that the Order of Things has been partially Dispos'd, that a great Debt lies on the Navy to support other Avocations ; and they run a mighty Length on the Discount of the Victualling Bills, the Price the Government is oblig'd to give for Provisions, Stores, &c, and they lay this all to the Door of the Old Ministry.

Steddy. All this is begging the Question, because there is a Court where this Cause is to be heard, if there has been any thing of that kind done, which there are not good Reasons to justify, and which the Necessity of the Publick Service did not require ; then indeed the Weight will fall upon Persons ; and we do not see that they make the least Preparation to escape you, or to shun coming to a Hearing : 'Tis time enough to raise an Argument upon this, when it has been try'd on the other hand, if the Exigencies of the Government, unexpected Occasions, unforeseen Service, or justifiable Accidents of the War has call'd for greater Sums than was expected, or has call'd for those Sums faster than they could be gotten in. This is part of the general Calamity of the War, and may be the Fate of the present, as it may have been the Fate of the past Ministry. But leaving these Things to their Examination, this is not the

State of the Case, with all these Disadvantages; the Credit of the Nation was Great to a Degree not to be equalld; and the Value of that Credit to us, in our present Circumstances, is too great to be slighted.

Turn-Round. They pretend this Credit was sinking before, and would have fallen lower than it is now by a great deal, if this Change had not been made, and that the Old Ministry could not have supported it or themselves much longer.

Steady. There has been a Party that has all along said so; and have told us, that we could find no more Funds, that we could not stand another Year, that we must make Peace, and that Ways and Means would fail us. Yet when the Time came, we always found my Lord Treasurer had his Schemes ready, and Money was never wanting to lend, or Funds on which to borrow. But if *Tories* come into play, we shall see where they will produce either as to the Debt upon the Navy, Victualling Stores, &c. It is true, they run to a great Discount; but this was owing only to the Uncertainty of Payment. My Lord T——r had no more to do in the next Parliament, than to bring them upon the Foot of some certain Fund, which should ascertain when they should be paid, and in the mean time should discharge the Interest, and that Clamour would cease, the Discount would not only fall, but the People would be as eager to lay them up, as they are their Annuities, Exchequer Bills, and other certain Credits on the Government. So that all the Noise rais'd about the great Debt of the Navy, turns upon this Hinge only, not whether a Parliament can,
or

or shall make it good, but whether the Treasurer is blameable in letting it run on, as it has done, or not.

Turn-Round. You have stated this very clearly. Credit was at a Pitch it cannot be restor'd to. But those People tell us, as I said before, we were going down the Wind before that Credit began to decline, and could not be supported, nor could the Fall of our Credit be prevented.

Steddy. Had that been true, there was the less need of this Blow to give a Stab into the Vitals upon presumption of Curing it again. I know what a certain Great-man, and now Leader of this Management, has been pleas'd to publish to the World in Print, in his *Essay upon Credit* (viz.) *That Credit depends not on the Ministry, nor on this or that Great Manager, but upon the Parliament, and upon a Just, Honourable and Punctual Discharge of every Trust, and a fair Management.* And this is very true. But then it follows, which I suppose the Right Honourable the Author did not forget, but omitted, for good Reasons, *That this Honourable, Punctual Discharge, &c. must be, and appear to be, Quia Idem est non esse & non apperere,* before the said Credit, which he says depends upon it, can be produc'd. Every Cause is Prior and Antecedent to its Effect; and can't he tell us what we must do in the mean time? An *Interregnum* in the Kingdom of Credit is entirely Destructive of its Constitution; it must require some Time of Probation, it seems, for this Punctual Management to appear. I will not say, that Author, who has so much of it in his Power; cannot bring it to pass. Nor will I suggest, that
he

he will not take all possible Measures to do so. But I may be allow'd to say, it will require some Time to do it; as in a Pleurisie, if the Surgeon be too far to fetch, the Patient may Die, for want of opening a Vein to give a due Circulation; so Credit once lost, for want of the Experiment, may be past fetching to Life, when 'tis done.

The just Reflection of these Things makes them talk of the Landed Men setting up against the Money'd Men, and the Error of borrowing upon Funds, when the Money should have been rais'd Yearly for every Year's Expence; but these that know these Things perfectly, must know that the Annual Sums the War has requir'd, have been too great for this Nation to raise within a Year; and that the borrowing upon Funds has been the happy Expedient, without which, the War could not be carry'd on. That Land is a good Security for the Support of the War, and the Landed Men, who, they say, are on their side, may do much; yet I should begin to pity them, tho' they had all the Land in the Nation on their Hands, if the Money'd Men, by any particular Fate, should be prevented lending their Help, and Credit should sink so low, as that their Funds should meet with no Anticipations.

Turn-Round. They boast mightly of the Power of the Landed Men.

Steddy. I hope for them, and for the sake of the Publick, they will not be put to the Necessity of making that Experiment, lest it should first sink all other Methods, and then fail in the Performance, we must expect the Issue of that in Time.

Turn-Round.

Turn-Round. And what think you of their carrying on the War?

Steddy. I know what to think of it; if the People that we are speaking of may have their Minds, it is easy to know how they would carry it on.

Turn-Round. I find you are of my Mind, for you are for distinguishing between those that *are come in*, and those that *may come in*, and so am I.

Steddy. You mistake me again, I am for distinguishing closer than that; I am for distinguishing between those that *are come in*, and those that *are to come in*, that is, between those that were first put in, and those they may be, have been said to bring in after them. I own, I was among them that regretted the first Remove; I thought there was not the least Occasion for it, Things went on well abroad, the Enemy began to submit, and with this Campaign we might have seen *France* humbled. If there were any Uneasinesses, any Errors, any Objection, they were not among the Incurables, they would have easily admitted a Remedy; and all our Party Differences might have been accommodated among us without a Breach that should influence our Allies, touch our National Peace, and put new Hopes into a Desponding Enemy. These were my Thoughts upon the general Article, when I saw the first Removes, tho' I confess I was sorry for it, yet I thought there might still be some room for the Re-establishing Things, and that the Men put in, as they had no Views before them, but what were laid on a moderate Management, would have brought in Men quallify'd for a Concurrence
with

with such a Principle ; but when a second and a third Trust was given, and I saw who followed to the Breach, and who Enter'd Pell-mell with the first, *Then I gave up all, and Despair'd* ; nor have I any thing left to expect, unless One of Two Things fall out, which I wish may appear Practicable.

Turn-Round. Pray may I ask you what they are ?

Steddy. I am a Plain-Dealer, and will tell you freely my Thoughts : Supposing the first of these People are really acting upon Moderate Schemes and Revolution Principles, and this you will allow is a great deal to grant : But suppose it, the *Review* says *they must*, that they cannot stir Hand or Foot but in that strait Line, I am not of his Opinion, there may be middle dark and by Ways that neither he or I know of. But I'll suppose for once, *what I should be glad to see, (viz.)* That the New Managers shall proceed by Moderate Measures and Schemes taken from the Revolution, that they shall carry an even Hand in their Steering between the Parties, and make no Breaches upon our Settlements, either Religious or Civil, these two Things must follow,

- I. That they must Over-rule, and Restrain the *Tories* they have taken in, or,
- II. Turn them out again.

These are the Two Things of which I say I have nothing left to expect, unless one of them shall happen ; and if either of them should fall out, I shall own 'tis more than I look for also.

Turn-Round. These are material Things, and I know they pretend to say, that is their Resolution in their Publick Management.

Steddy.

Steddy. Well, but if they do pretend to it, they would do well to tell us how they are for they shall not let in too many for them to Master, like Men cutting a Bank in a flowing River to Water the Grounds, near it the force of the Stream makes the Breach so wide, that they that made it cannot stop it, and so the Lands instead of being Watered, are Drowned. A Man makes a Fire to warm him, but if he does not keep it under, and within the Bounds of the Fire-place, it takes hold of the House, and he cannot quench it; then he cries out for help, but it's too late, he should have taken care to have made no more Fire than he could keep under. Now, if they pretend to over-rule and restrain the *Tories* they bring in, they had best take heed they do not let in too many. The like is to be said as to the Second, The *Tories* will not be Over-rul'd or Restrain'd, says the Scheme; they may be turn'd out: But remember the Soldier that took a *Tartar*, he would neither come with him, nor let him come without him: If they can say they will not be Restrain'd, they may say they will not Turn Out neither: Aid from this farther; for if Moderate Men cannot get *Tories* turn'd out, the *Tories* will certainly get the Moderate Men turn'd Out: And thus all the Good Designs we pretend to will sink in this, *The Flood is too strong for us*, and we cannot help it. This will all end as Sir *George Jefferyes* his Glory expired, when after all his Elevation, he found himself in a close Prison, all he thought fit to say of it was, *Who would ha' thought it?*

Turn-Round. I should rather have said, Who would not ha' thought it! How could it be otherwise?

Steddy. I think, after all they can say for it, the Hazard of a Miscarriage is too much, the Venture too great, and the Consequences so fatal, that no Wise Man would venture it; the *Rubicon* is past, and they have ventur'd it: I should be less Concern'd if the Consequences were not to the Nation more than to the Ministry, they may Fall, and few would Pity them; but our Liberty, Religion and Constitution must fall with them, and that is the Foundation of my Concern in it.

Turn Round. This brings you back to my Question about the War; I would be glad to have a Word or two about that with you, for I am in no small Pain about it, and really the Difficulties state themselves very formidably to me, I am afraid of the War, afraid of the Peace; I know not what Point to come to in the Case.

Steddy. It is a Point no Man can be Easy in, that has a Just concern for the Event of Things. I make no doubt carrying on the War will be the Pretence, yet they openly charge the Old Management with having a Design to protract the War: They tell us in the Concessions of the *French* in their last Proposal, (*viz.*) Of continuing Money to the War in *Spain*, to Dispossess the Duke of *Anjou*, were sufficient, at least it was all you could have Reason to demand of him; That to bid him surrender *Spain* after you had oblig'd him to withdraw all his Auxiliary Troops from thence, was Ridiculous, and asking him to give what was not in his Possession, that you might have demanded Cautionary Towns for the Security of the Performance: And there was no doubt it would have been granted; and that you had brought the *French* to such low Terms, that if you had been at the Gates of *Paris*, you could

could have asked no more. These are the Arguments they bring to prove that we had no design to make Peace at all; that carrying on the War is rather the View, and that other Ends are reserved by it, and the like.

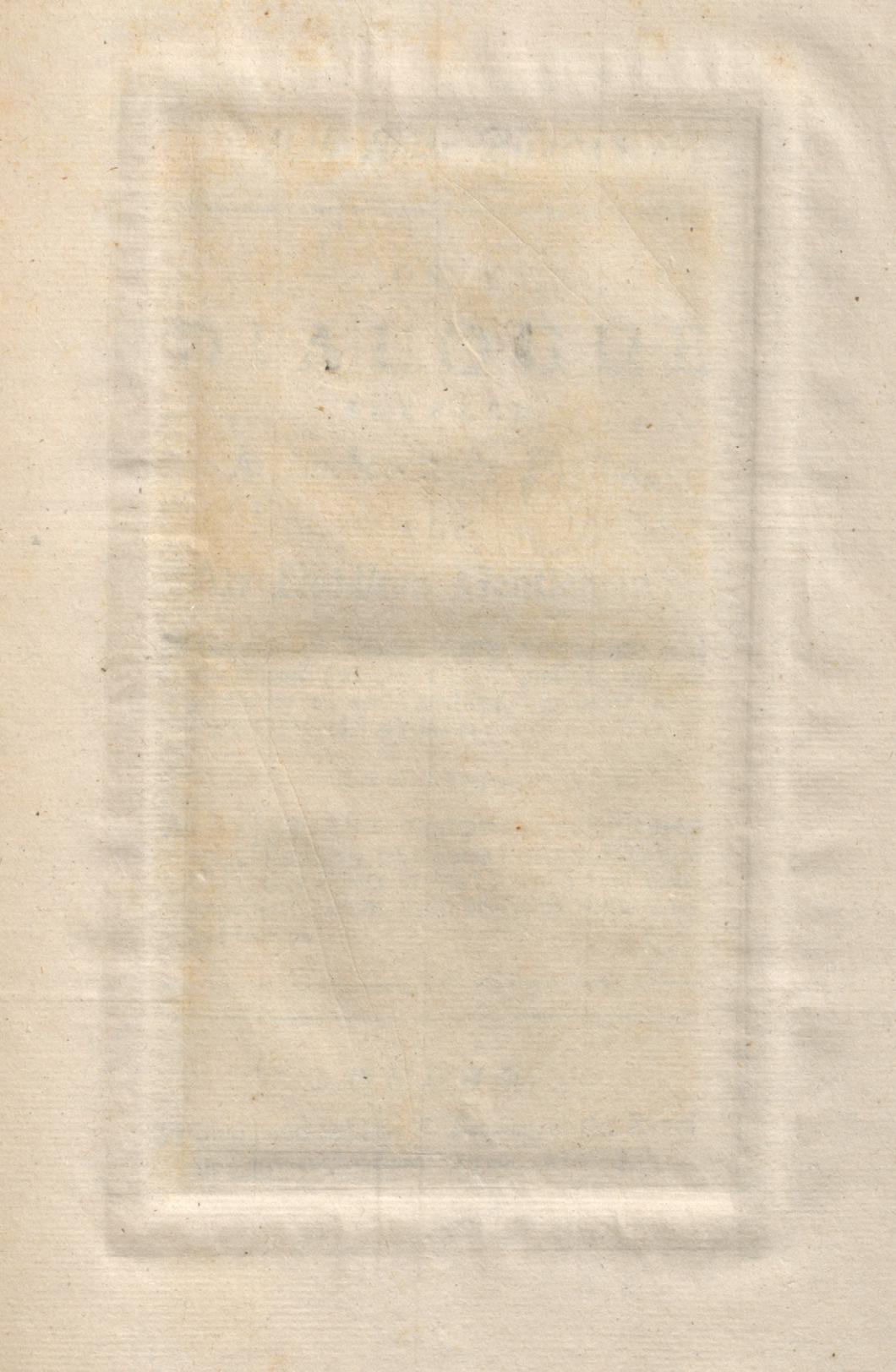
Turn-Round. For my part whatever they may say of managing *the Treaty*, I think 'tis clear *the War* has not been carry'd on as if that were the View; the Duke of *Morlborough* has not fought as if he design'd to carry on the War, unless it be to *the Gates of Paris*, no Prince has ever push'd a War on with more Ardour, and with better Success, and 'tis to this Pushing the *French*, that we owe the Concessions for a Peace which they have made.

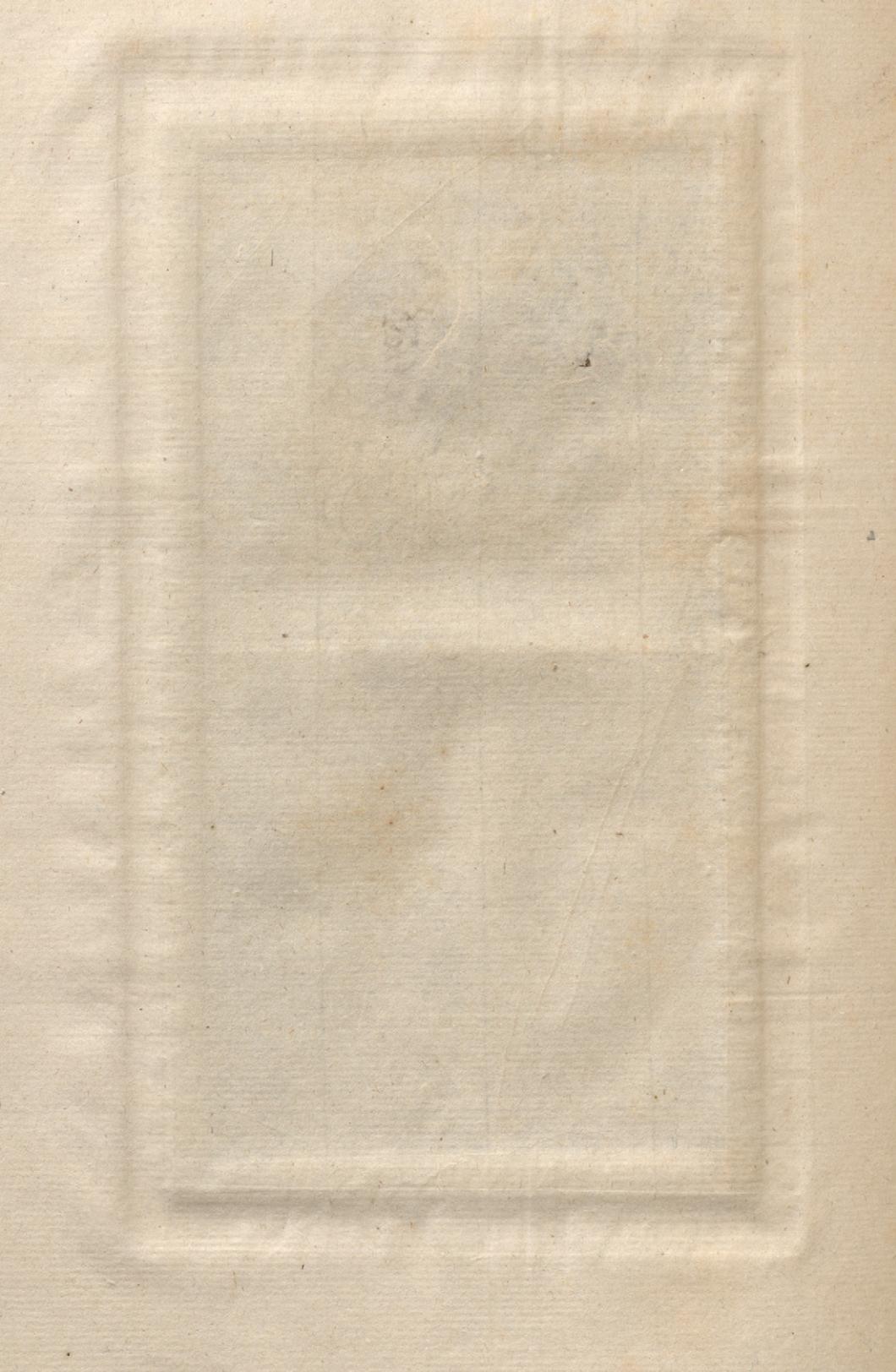
Steddy. It is very clear to me, that the War has been carry'd well on; it is also clear to us all, that the Offers of the King of *France* were far from a Security to us for the surrender of *Spain*; the Insincerity of the *French* in all their Treaties sufficiently Justifies the Allies using the utmost Concern in the point of Security; and by the Consequences it seems clear to me, that the *French* had no Design to act with Candour in this Treaty, since it is apparent to all the World, that at the same time they were Negotiating a Treaty with *Spain* Offensive and Defensive, and the King of *France* had given Assurances to his Grandson that he would never Abandon him. If these Things are true, then from an unanswerable Proof that all that Caution and Backwardness of the Allies in the Treaty were necessary, and justifiable to Reason and the Protestant Interest: And if these Gentlemen think fit to put an end to the

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the War, by making a Peace less safe and upon less severe Conditions than the other, it will not be long I believe before the Nation will be convinc'd who has pursu'd the right Interest of *Europe*, the *Old* Ministry, or the *New*.

F I N I S.





Both Sides Pleas'd :

O R, A

DIALOGUE

B E T W E E N

A *Sacheverelite* Parson,

A N D

An *Hoadlean* Gentleman :

In the *plainest* Terms, many Gentlemen and Tradesmen (of each Party) present; and all at liberty to ask Questions, in order to a RECONCILIATION:

For which Purpose,

An EXPEDIENT is propos'd, to which both Sides submitting, each Party becomes subject to SUCH a Power in the Crown AS to them respectively seems most consistent with Law and Gospel.

L O N D O N :

Printed, and Sold by S. Popping, at the *Raven*
in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1710. Price 3 d.

In the following DIALOGUE,

This is Dr. Sacheverell's Doctrine. **B**Y a *Sacheverelite* is meant one who believes it NOT Lawful to RESIST the Execution of the King's Command, IN ANY CASE WHATSOEVER.

This is Mr. Ben. Hoadley's Doctrine. By an *Hoadlean* is meant one who believes, when, in governing the People, no Religion or Laws are regarded; and upon repeated and the most proper Applications, with all dutiful Respect to the Person of the Sovereign, NO Redress can be had, that THEN it is both lawful, and a DUTY, by FORCE and ARMS, to RESIST that TYRANNY, in order to punish ONLY the INSTRUMENTS thereof, and to Restore a due Execution of the Laws.

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A *Sacheverelite* Parson,

AND

An *Hoadlean* Gentleman, &c.

Hoad. Gent. O H, Doctor, my old School-fellow, and very good Friend, I am heartily glad I have thus happily met you; for, tho' we are of different Principles in relation to Government, yet we have always been, and I hope shall still continue, true Friends to each other.

Sach. Pars. Sir, I desire the same; and if we do not, it shall not be my Fault.

Hoad. Gent. Doctor, I have been inform'd that at this Coffee-house, there are, every Night, very warm Disputes in relation to our unhappy Divisions, and more especially upon that Doctrine of NON RESISTANCE and PASSIVE OBEDIENCE. You know, Doctor, that we two have often discours'd of those Matters without any Heat, or breach of Charity of either side: I hope we may now do the same, before all these Gentlemen, *without giving any Offence to either CHURCH or STATE.*

Sach. Pars. Without doubt, Sir, we may, as long as we do in such our Discourse, observe a proper Decorum; still speaking of Men and Things in such respectful Terms, as shall become us.

Hoad. Gent. That Rule is necessary to be observ'd at all Times, and most of all in publick Places: And seeing our Discourse is thus publick, and, probably, may be of some Advantage to the rest of the Company; and, in some measure, tend to allay that Ferment, to which too many, of both Sides, now seem to be subject, (for there are ignorant Zealots, and, without doubt, in several respects, **FAULTY PERSONS ON BOTH SIDES**;) Let us, therefore, endeavour to express ourselves in the *plainest Terms*; and if at any time either of us use such Words or Phrases as any of this Company do not well understand, upon the Request of any Person present, let those Terms be so *clearly explain'd*, that this Company may perfectly understand what we say.

Sach. Parsf. With all my Heart.

A Sach. Taylor. Herein you will oblige us all; for we Tradesmen, not being bred Scholars, do often, in Conversation and Reading, meet with Words which we do not understand; and so, many times, remain Ignorant, for want of an Interpreter.

Hoad. Gent. I have often, of late, been very Melancholy, when I consider'd those violent and unchristian Passions, with which each Party speak of, and revile the other, too often to the endangering the common Peace. This, at many Elections, hath risen to such a pitch, as gave Hopes to our common Enemy, (whose Instruments, in proper Disguises, blew the Coals) that we would cut each others Throats, as the *Jews at Jerusalem* are recorded to have done, whilst the *Romans* were besieging that City——

An Hoad. Butcher. Master, was that possible?

Hoad. Gent. Yes; not only possible, but true in Fact; and we, by our barberously treating each other, seem to threaten the like Fate.

A Sach. Shoemaker. God forbid!

Hoad. Gent. So we seem all to say, when too many of us give our common Enemy just grounds to hope, that our Destruction will be from ourselves, unless a proper
Remedy

Remedy for those unnatural Heats can be found out —
 Now, as in the curing Distempers in the Natural Body, the first thing to be consider'd, is the Disease; so in the re-establishing the Health of the Body Politick. —

Hoad. Butch. Sir, I beg your Pardon for interrupting you; but both you, Gentlemen, having promis'd to explain such Words as any of us do not understand, I desire to know, what you mean by the *Body Politick*?

Hoad. Gent. All the People of *Great-Britain*, in their Civil Relation, consider'd; that is, consider'd as Subjects to our happy Government: For, the Word *Body* is herein used, not in a literal, but borrow'd Sense, by way of Likeness; for, as an humane Body consists of Head, Hands, Feet, and several other Parts, and the whole together is call'd one Body; so in Kingdoms and Common-wealths, there are several Orders of Men, which compose the whole Body, and with us, the Queen is the Head of this Political Body; and the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, the Representative Body Politick; and all the Subjects, of what Decree soever, the Body Politick represented. — And give me leave now to tell some of you who are the most warm of each Side, That by this plain *Discourse*, you will find, that your Ignorance of the true and proper Meaning of *Words*, hath often been the only Cause of your *Disputes*, for that, in *truth*, you both *meant the same thing*, and both wish'd well to *Great Britain*, differing only in the Men and Means to be used in *serv'ing the Publick*. —

But, as I was saying, in re-establishing the Health of the Political Body, the first thing to be consider'd, is the Disease; and I very much fear, that the People of *Great-Britain*, in their Political or Civil Relation consider'd, are, at present, infected with a complication of Distempers, that is, several Distempers join'd or met together; and our Two principal Distempers in this Complication, I take to be a Disaffection to the
 present

present Government, and a Bitterness of Spirit, or a want of Christian Charity towards each other. Now, as in the distemper'd Natural Body, that Disease is first to be attack'd which doth most endanger the whole; so ought that Infection of our Political Body be first and principally consider'd, which doth most endanger the Nation's Happiness. Were all People possess'd with that *MODERATION*——

Sach. Butcher. Now, Master, I perceive that you are a *Low-Church-Man*, to the last Degree, and the greatest Enemy to the *Church* and *Queen*.——

Hoad. Gent. Pray, Friend, have a more charitable Opinion of a Stranger; and now I desire you to explain that Word, the very Sound whereof seems to have rais'd your Choler.

Sach. Butcher. A moderate Man, I take to be a great Lover of the Dissenters, and of a Common-wealth, and, therefore, an Enemy of both Church and Queen.

Hoad. Gent. Honest Friend, you do entirely mistake the proper Signification of that Word *MODERATION*; for you take it in a quite different Sense from what all Philosophers and Divines have us'd it, or I did intend it; and that you would have soon found, if you had but desir'd me to explain that Word, which I shall now do, and thereby hope to beget in you a better Opinion of me, than you now seem to have. By *Moderation*, I mean that Virtue which doth regulate our Appetites or Passions, and makes us to be concern'd for any Truth, or Fact, in a due Measure, and not either more or less than the *Evidence* for, or *IMPORTANCE* of that Matter doth require. Now, to make this the better understood, I shall apply it to some of your particular Trades. You that are Butchers, should not be so much concern'd for the Loss of the Liver, as if the Thief had stole the whole Ox, to which it belong'd. You that are Taylors, should not be so much troubl'd for cutting a Suit half an Inch too big, as you might, in case you had cut it an Inch too little. You that are Bakers, should not be so
much

much griev'd for the Loss of a Penny Loaf, as for the over or under baking a whole Batch of Bread. And so also in relation to all other Trades. That is, every Man should *Moderate* his Desires, his Hopes, his Fears, his Sorrow, and all his Passions, in such a due Proportion, as the particular Thing, which at any time occasion'd any of these Passions, might reasonably require. And now, to apply it to the Government: People should not be immoderately Sollicitous who did act in such or such particular great Offices, as long as the Duty of each Office was RIGHTLY discharged, and all proper Measures taken which were necessary to defend us against the common Enemy. If all proper METHODS are taken to preserve both Church and State, it matters not much, to the People in general, whom Her Majesty employs as the principal Instruments in such our Preservation. Did we all moderate our Passions as we ought, we should not be violent for what was not of the least Importance, and by such our ignorant Heat, disturb the common Peace of the Nation. And to illustrate this Virtue of *Moderation*, in relation to the Government, and to shew how the want thereof hath been of fatal Consequences, I shall quote a strange, but (in Substance) true Story out of the *Dutch History*, the Moral whereof may very well be apply'd to ourselves. — The Story is thus: ' Many Years since, two Men in *Holland*
' were walking along, and disputing whether the Cod
' took the Hook, or the Hook took the Cod, — and upon that Dispute they laid a Wager, and did agree it
' should be decided by the Majority of the next Company they should meet. Soon after this Agreement,
' they met six Fishermen, to whom they propos'd the
' said Question. These six grave Judges were likewise
' equally divided, and did argue the Matter with a
' great deal of Heat. Such as argued, that the Cod
' took the Hook, said, It was most plain that the
' Hook was purely passive, and that if the Cod did
' not catch at the Bait upon the Hook, he would never
' be

be catch'd. On the other side, it was alledg'd, by
 them who held that the Hook took the Cod, That
 the Cod might bite at the Bait an hundred times
 without being caught, was not the Hook made of
 that Metal, Figure, Strength, and Sharpness, as to
 enter the Mouth of the Cod upon his catching at the
 Bait, and thereby take him; and therefore, 'twas
 the Hook took the Cod, and not the Cod the Hook.
 These six Judges, instead of determining the first Wa-
 ger, laid three more between themselves, and upon
 the same Point; and all these did agree to be de-
 termin'd by the Majority of the next Company they
 should meet. Soon after which, they met a Multi-
 tude, who, upon hearing the Question, became also
 divided in their Opinions relating thereunto, and
 that Division begat a very passionate Debate, and
 therein hard Words were given on both Sides; from
 Words they fell to Blows, and with that mischievous
 Fury, that some receiv'd their mortal Wounds in the
 Scuffle. To be short, in a little time the whole Pro-
 vince was divided into these two Factions; those
 who were of Opinion that the Cod took the Hook,
 were call'd _____; and they of the contrary
 Opinion, were call'd _____. And these ridi-
 culous Factions became universal, and continued ma-
 ny Years, to the frequent Disturbance of the com-
 mon Peace of that Country, and to the Destruction
 of very many particular Persons, in the many Ren-
 counters which were thereby unhappily occasion'd.
 Now, to apply this Story: If those People had been
 possess'd of that Virtue of *MODERATION*; that is,
 had been concern'd for the Truth of that Question ac-
 cording to a due Measure, and not either more or less
 than the small *IMPORTANCE* of it did require,
 there never had been any passionate Disputes, much
 less many thousand Blows, upon so foolish a Contro-
 versy.

A Shoemaker. Sir, I think that all that Country were inhabited by Cods-heads, or there never would have been that general Division among them upon that ridiculous Account.

H. Gen. I wish from their Folly and Misfortune therein, we ourselves may learn to be wiser, in respect of our unhappy Divisions; and if I have another Opportunity to meet you here, I shall demonstrate to you all, that our foolish Distinction of *High Church* and *Low Church*, is (in truth) as ridiculous as that old Distinction amongst the *Dutch*; And I am afraid, unless those at the Helm take timely Care of us, may be attended with more fatal Consequences than from those two *Dutch* Factions in that Country were then occasion'd. But before I proceed any farther, I desire to know of that Person who was, at first, offended at the very Name of *MODERATION*, whether he doth still continue to have so bad an Opinion of that Word, as I have explain'd it, and according to the Sense in which I use it?

Butcher. No, Sir, I do find that I did not rightly understand the Meaning of that Word; and in your Sense thereof, I do heartily wish that all Men, of what Opinion soever, in relation to Church or State, were *Moderate Men*. But pray, Sir, proceed where you left off by my Interruption, which hath occasion'd the *Dutch* Story, whereby we have been diverted, and, at the same time, well inform'd of our Duty, in relation to our present unhappy Divisions.

H. Gen. We should all of us be thus *Moderate* towards one another, if we had that *Christian Charity* amongst ourselves which by the common Principles of our Religion we all of us, who bear the Name of Christians, pretend unto, tho' subdivided into particular Opinions, and are of different Churches or Congregations. Charity, consider'd as a *Christian Grace* or *Virtue*, doth enable us to wish well, and to endeavour to be helpful and serviceable unto all, according to that due Proportion we are oblig'd unto, either by

natural or revealed Religion.—The universal Practice of this one Virtue, would necessarily destroy those unnatural Heats, which in most Parts of this Kingdom, of late, have been ready to break out into open Rebellion; and this too much encourag'd by some, whose Profession it was to preach this Duty, of all others, the most beneficial to Mankind. If any Man was to judge of some Men by their Practices, (and this only is the true Test of our Principles) one would think that the old *Jewish* Tradition, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour, and hate thy Enemy*, had of late been universally preach'd, as it hath been universally practis'd; and that People had been taught to hate all those who did not declare themselves to be, in every respect, of their Opinion, in reference to both Men and Things, relating to both Church and State: For, if a Man was never so zealous for Her Majesty, and never so devout a Member of the Church of *England*, and did only differ in relation to his Opinion, whom he thought fittest to be employ'd in the principal Offices of State, — too many fiery Men (of each Side) from this only Difference, would brand each other with the most odious Terms of Distinction, and too often falsely accuse each other with such Consequences, as the Persons accus'd did never intend, and for the prevention whereof they would chearfully hazard their Lives. — When our blessed Lord comprehended the whole of our practical Religion under those two general Heads, viz. *The Love of God, and our Neighbour*; our Lord was ask'd, *Who* (in this Sense) *was to be esteem'd our Neighbour?* — To which our Saviour gives an Answer, by way of Parable, of a certain *Jew* that fell amongst Thieves, that both robb'd and wounded him, and then left him a most miserable Object of Compassion. The two greatest pretenders to Religion amongst the *Jews*, the *Pharisee* and the *Levite*, passed by this unhappy Man; and tho' they could not but observe him to stand in great need of their Help, yet both these neglected him: But the good *Samaritan* no sooner

ner beheld this miserable Wretch, but he took Compassion on him; and tho' he knew him to be a *Jew*, and that there then were as great, and (if possible) greater Divisions and more violent Animosities between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, than there now are between *Papist* and *Protestant*, *Whig* and *Tory*, *High Church* and *Low Church*, (for the *Jews* and *Samaritans* did not so much as speak to one another) yet that very *Samaritan* took all proper Measures for the Relief of this afflicted *Jew*. — Upon telling this Parable, our Saviour answer'd their Question, by asking another, *viz.* *Who was the Neighbour to that afflicted Jew?* To which it was answer'd, *The Samaritan*. Whereupon, our blessed Lord answer'd their Question, by making this Application, *GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE*. The Doctrine which doth naturally result from that Command, is this, *viz.* That whensoever I see a Person in Distress, be his Principles in Religion and Government never so inconsistent with mine; yet that very Man I am oblig'd (as a Christian) to help. Was this Love universally practis'd by each Party towards the other, Differences in Opinion, whether relating to Religion or Government, would never be attended with any ill Consequences. For, what Prejudice would any particular Man suffer for my not being of his Persuasion, as long as I was (by my Love towards him) restrain'd from doing him the least Injury, either in Soul, Body, or Estate; and upon all Occasions cordially serv'd him in every one of those respects, as far as it was within my Power, and could reasonably be desir'd. — One of the greatest and best of Men which this Age hath produced, above thirty Years since, preaching upon this Subject (in Substance) said, *That was this universal Love practis'd by all who pretend to own it as a Duty, no part of Mankind would long labour under any Misfortune, if it was within the Power of that part of Mankind who knew of the Misfortune, to relieve it.* —

Sach. Parf. I am afraid this universal Love will never be practic'd, as long as Men accuse one another with such Principles as naturally tend to the Subversion of both Church and State.

H. Gent. Name some one of those particular Opinions which, in your Judgment, are so destructive.

S. Parf. We that hold an uncondition'd Obedience to our Sovereign, do accuse Men of your Principles, with holding it to be lawful (upon any Disgust which the People may have against their Prince) to take up Arms, and to dethrone their Sovereign.

H. Gent. In this your Charge is unjust; for I can speak for myself, and for all those whose Principles I do know, that our Principles are herein misrepresented, and, therefore, I desire this common Justice from you, that you would know our Principles before you condemn them; and that you may be sure of mine, I will now, under my Hand, declare my Opinion in relation to the Doctrine of *Resistance*, viz. That whensoever He or They who, in any Kingdom or Common-wealth, are entrusted by the CONSTITUTION ———

S. Shoemaker. Pray, Sir, what do you mean by that Word *Constitution*?

H. Gent. The Laws of the Place: — I say, that Prince, or those Men who by the Laws of the Kingdom or Common-wealth are entrusted with the Execution of their Laws, shall, in the Government of the People, have no regard to those Laws, but make their Will and Pleasure their Rule of Government, to the unjust Destruction of either the Person or Properties of the Subject; and upon this Misgovernment, the Subjects make their most humble Application, in the most proper manner which the Laws of that Place require; and such their Representation, tho' made in the humblest manner, and with all imaginable Respect to the Persons of the Prince or Governors, is falsely call'd a flying in the Face of the Government, and prosecuted as Seditious, as was done by the late King *James*, in the Case of the seven Bishops, ——— Then, in such Cases

Cases of Extremity, the Subjects, by the Laws of God, of Nature, and of Nations, are empower'd to defend themselves against such unjust Violence, and may bring those *Instruments of Tyranny* to their deserved Punishment. —

S. Pars. And in 1648, their Sovereign himself fell a Sacrifice. —

H. Gent. That was carrying the Matter too far; for the Person of the Prince, in such Cases, is not subject to Punishment; but all his *Arbitrary Instruments* do justly deserve it; and if once those mischievous Ministers of Violence, which the Prince shall first use, receive their Deserts, other Men, from their Fate, will take Warning, and be thereby restrain'd from obeying any arbitrary and illegal Command; and we all know, that no Tyrant. —

S. Weaver. Pray, Sir, when doth a Prince become a Tyrant? —

H. Gent. The principal Design of Government, is the good of the People govern'd: Now, when a Prince who hath the Power of making or executing Laws for the good of his People, doth in the general Course of his Actions relating to his Subjects, aim at the satisfaction of his Lusts or Passions, to the wronging the Persons or Properties of his Subjects; when, instead of being the Minister or Steward of God to his Subjects for their good, (which is the Character the Holy Ghost gives of those Governors to whom Subjection is due) he becomes the Steward of the Devil to his People for their Hurt; when instead of being a *Terror to Evil-doers*, and a *Praise to those that do well*, which is the Description the same Apostle gives of a Magistrate whom we ought to obey, he becomes a Terror to Well-doers, and encourages the most profligate Actions, — Then, and in the like Cases, such a King degenerates into a Tyrant, and to him Subjection is no longer due. —

H. Carpenter. Sir, we all thank you; and we desire you to proceed.

H. Gent.

H. Gent. As I was saying, no Tyrant can any more work without making ill Men his Instruments of Tyranny, than a *Carpenter* or other *Mechanick* can work without his Tools. — We have a Maxim in Law, that *The King can do no Wrong*. The reason of which Maxim is this, *viz.* The King's Power being limited by the Law, if therefore the Prince command any thing contrary to that Law, the Command is void, that is, carries no Authority, cannot be pleaded in justification of doing that thing commanded; so that, he who doth obey such an illegal Command, is as much to be punish'd, as if there was no such Command; and he that doth it, is the Criminal, and the Action (in Law) properly his; for every Man is bound, at his Peril, to take knowledge of the Law.

S. Pars. But in these Cases of *Resistance*, you make the Subjects Judges of their Sovereign's Power, and this destroys all Government; and every Prince, then, seems to hold his Crown only during the Pleasure of the People, which is as bad, if not worse, in relation to Kings, as that Power unjustly claim'd by the Pope, *That all Princes of Europe hold their respective Crowns during his Pleasure*: Don't you hold, that the People are, in those Cases of Extremity, Judges of the Prince's Actions?

H. Gent. Yes, for none else are appointed. — Is there ever a sovereign Power upon Earth, that is appointed by the common Consent of Mankind, to whom Appeals shall be made by an *oppress'd People*, against their *tyrannical Sovereign*? Is there any Prince or State upon Earth, by a general Consent of all Nations, that is vested with a Power, upon Application made by such an *oppress'd People*, to call the Tyrant to Account, and to dethrone him?

S. Pars. No; there is not.

H. Gent. Why, then, who must judge, if not the People, in such Cases of Extremity.

S. Pars. The People may then pretend such a Case of Necessity, when, in truth, there is no grounds for it.

H. Gent. There is no great danger of that.

S. Pars. What should hinder them?

H. Gent. Nothing less than Death and Damnation: For, if their Case be not such as, before God, will justify their Resistance, then do those Resisters run the hazard of forfeiting their Lives and Estates, and making their very Children infamous and miserable in this World, and also (without true Repentance) themselves will be damn'd in the next. — And pray, Doctor, do you think those great Dangers no Hindrances, and of no Weight to prevent Resistance in all Cases, but of the greatest Necessity, and when the generality of the People seem to be willing to hazard their Lives to redeem their Liberties; for if the Prince become never so great a Tyrant, and the People miscarry in attempting their own Deliverance, the Tyrant will (tho' in truth unjustly) punish them as Traytors. This is always done by Tyrants, in all Ages and Nations upon Earth; which gave occasion to that old Saying, that

Reason was Treason if it do fail:

For such it would be made in the Punishment, tho' not in the Guilt. —

S. Pars. Suppose the Prince of *Orange's* Forces, and those who join'd him in *England*, had been beaten by King *James's* Troops, what would have become of those *English* Noblemen that King *James* should have taken Prisoners?

H. Gent. Undoubtedly, King *James* would have be-headed most of them.

S. Pars. For what would they have suffer'd?

H. Gent. For that which King *James* and the Lords of his Faction would have call'd Treason. But, Doctor, pray consider, you can't reasonably argue from Punishment to Guilt, for then those which *Oliver* put to Death
for

for conspiring the Restoration of King *Charles*, were Traytors. History affords a multitude of Instances, where an usurp'd Power did punish those as Traytors, which endeavour'd its Subversion. — This ever was, and always will be, practic'd.

S. Pars. I am afraid, that if it was not much more for the Dangers in this World, than the Punishment in the next, we should have more frequent Rebellions. —

H. Gent. Pray explain that Word *Rebellion*, which by the Pulpit, Books and Conversation, seems to be often misunderstood.

S. Pars. Rebellion I take to be a violent resisting the Execution of the Prince's Command, whether signify'd by Proclamation, Privy-Seal under his Hand, nay if only by Word of Mouth commanded.

H. Gent. Then you say, that a violent resisting the Prince's Command, in any case, is a REBELLION?

S. Pars. I do so.

H. Gent. Then the violent resisting the King's own Person, is so in any case whatever.

S. Pars. Most sure, and the most impudent of Treasons. How! resist him in his Royal Person!

H. Gent. And is such your Rebellion and Treason, that Sin which is by the Apostle made damnable, when he saith, *He that resisteth, shall receive to himself Damnation?*

S. Pars. Most assuredly it is.

H. Gent. I can put you a Case wherein, I am afraid, you would become that violent Rebel, and most impudent Traytor.

S. Pars. You can by no Supposition put me under such Circumstances, as should make me violently to oppose the Execution of my Prince's Command, much less by Violence to resist his sacred Person.

H. Gent. I hope, Doctor, you will keep your Temper whilst I put the Case?

S. Pars. That I will.

H. Gent.

H. Gent. You have a beautiful; and, I believe, a very virtuous Lady for your Wife: Now, suppose yourself in *France*, and a *Frenchman*, and your Sovereign should tell you, that such a Night he would lodge at your House——

S. Parf. I should be proud of that Honour, and would entertain my Sovereign with every thing that was good, and within my power to procure——

H. Butcher. Not with your Wife, I hope?

H. Gent. Pray, Gentlemen, have a little Patience—— And when His Majesty came to your House, he should be deeply smitten in Love with your Lady, for you well know, Doctor, that Princes are *Flesh and Blood*, and as much subject to that Passion as the *meanest* of their Subjects——

S. Parf. That I know:—— But what then?

H. Gent. Why then, Doctor, your Sovereign, having been nobly regal'd, and after that diverted with what was proper upon such an Occasion, commands you and your Lady to shew him the Room in which you do intend His Majesty shall lodge——

S. Parf. We would soon wait on His Majesty to the *best* Room we had in the House——

H. Gent. I don't doubt that; but you do interrupt me, in making my Supposition——

S. Parf. I beg your Pardon; and pray go on.

H. Gent.——When your Prince, with you and your Lady, come to that Room, His Majesty commands you to withdraw——

A Jocular Barber. I smell a Rat.

H. Gent. But pray let me go on—— I say, he commands you to withdraw, and to *lock* the Door and take the Key with you, and stand *near* the Door, till His Majesty commands you to open it. You being withdrawn, the King, with such Terms and Adresses as he thinks most proper, *caresses* the Lady, assuring her, that he doth extremely *admire* her Person, and offers to make her a Duchess and yourself a
B——p, and to give her an Estate *sufficient* to sup-
C port

port her Quality, if she will *yield* unto his Desires. — But your Lady's *true* Honour and Religion is such, that she *rejects* these *powerful* Temptations; and in the most respectful manner, with all Arguments *proper* for her to use upon that *unhappy* Occasion, endeavours to prevail with the Prince, to desist from those unlawful Addresses; assuring His Majesty, that could she gain the *whole World* by *Such* a Compliance, she would *not* grant his Request. — The King finding those Arguments not *Effectual*, useth FORCE to accomplish his Desires, and your Lady, with her utmost Strength, WITHSTANDS him —

H. Apothecary. The Doctor's Lady did well in only WITHSTANDING the King's unlawful Designs; for therein she acted pursuant to the great Examples of the most Dignify'd in our Church; for according to the Address of the BISHOP and CLERGY of London and Westminster, those Doctors WITHSTOOD King James's Arbitrary and Popish Designs; whereas, I am sure, several of them daily preach against RESISTING the King UPON ANY ACCOUNT WHATSOEVER —

H. Taylor. In that you have rightly observed; for I am sure none of those *good* and learned Divines would have resisted King James —

S. Shoemaker. No, they would much rather have suffer'd him to have seiz'd all our Estates, and imprison'd our Persons —

An Hoadlean. Magdalen-College, and the seven Bishops, are Proofs of that.

S. Smith. Nay farther, they would rather have suffer'd him, by his *Dragoons*, to have made us all the most miserable of *Slaves*; and by his *Priests*, to have reduced us all to *Popish* Idolatry, and thereby have put the whole Nation under the greatest Danger of *Damnation* in the next *World*, as well as a certain *Defraction* in this; for all those Doctors submit to the Doctrine of one of the *greatest* Men in the last Age, Dr. *Saunderson*, who *positively* saith, That we must NOT RESIST our Sovereign, tho' 'twere possible thereby

thereby to save the whole World from being Eternally DAMNED.

H. Surgeon. You *Sacbeverclite Taylor*, Shoemaker, and *Smith*, herein appear very ridiculous; for the Gentleman who pretended to distinguish between *withstanding* and *resisting*, spoke ironically, that is, in Jest, in *Truth* intending quite contrary to what he did literally speak; for *Resisting* and *withstanding* are only two Words for the same Thing; *Resisting* is borrowed from the *Latin*, and *Withstanding* is an old *English* Word, and the same as *standing against*.

H. Butcher. Then, is that *Resistance* of your Lady damnable?

S. Parf. I do not say it is——

H. Gent. But pray, Gentlemen, let me proceed, for I am not yet come to the Doctor's Case.

S. Butcher. Master, we beg your Pardon, pray then proceed to the Doctor.

H. Gent. I say, your Lady with her utmost Strength *Resists*: But Women being the *weaker* Vessels, your Lady perceives, that without your Assistance she shall fall a *Sacrifice* to her Sovereign's *Lust*—— Whereupon she *crys* out, with a very *loud* and *doleful* Voice,—— *My Dear, for the Lord's sake help me, or I am ruin'd!*

S. Barber. I am afraid all our Wives, when by their King so tempted, would not cry out *very loud*——

H. Gent. But pray let the Doctor answer.

S. Parf. Why then I would *open* the Door, and endeavour, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to *dissuade* my Prince from that unlawful Enterprize.

H. Apothecary. Why, Doctor, even in your opening the Door, you *disobey'd* your King's Command; for he commanded you to *stay* without till His Majesty *call'd*, and not till your Lady *cry'd out*.

H. Gent. That is rightly observ'd; but pray let me in this answer the Doctor—— But those Arguments of yours, Doctor, do *not* prevail with the King from

persisting in his *unlawful* Design; which that he may accomplish, he **COMMANDS** you out of the Room.

S. Pars. But I would stay, and even upon my *Knees*, with *Tears* and the most humble Supplications, beseech my Sovereign to desist——

H. Gent. Therein, Doctor, you would be *guilty* of a second *Disobedience*——

H. Barber. Truly, Doctor, I fancy your Prince would then much rather have you *absent*, than to be disturb'd by those your *Prayers* and *Tears*.

H. Gent. But I desire you that I may proceed with the Doctor, for I am not yet come to the Doctor's main Case——

H. Barber. But I perceive the King is very near coming to the Doctor's Lady's main Case, which the Doctor seems to value.

H. Gent. Once more, I beg you to let me go on——

H. Waterman. Pray, Master, don't be angry with the Company for making some pleasant Remarks upon your more serious Discourse; for this is some Refreshment to us working Men, after twelve hours hard Labour, and with my Head all day in the Rain. But pray, Master, proceed to the Doctor.

H. Gent.——But those your most *humble* Supplications, tho' attended with a thousand Tears, do *not* prevail with the King from persisting in his *unlawful* Design, which that he may accomplish, (seeing his Commands can't send you out of the Room) His Majesty useth Violence, and endeavours to force the Key from you, and to thrust you out of the Room; your distressed Lady all that while, with a Flood of Tears and loud Entreaties, begs you to stay and protect her here: And to come to the main Question in your own Case, Would you, under those Circumstances, by your Prince be pushed out of the Room, and so suffer your Lady to become a Sacrifice? Or would you strive (being Stronger than your Sovereign) and endeavour by main Force to hold your King, and thereby protect your Lady from those violent unlawful Attempts of
your

your Sovereign? Pray answer directly to this Question.

S. Parf. I could not answer the offering Violence to my Prince; for, *Who can lift up his Hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be blameless?*

H. Apothecary. I never till now heard Scripture urg'd to oblige a Man to suffer himself to be made a Cuckold.

Surgeon. And to give the Prince an Opportunity to commit a Rape.

Butcher. Before

S. Parf. Hold, Neighbour, do not swear.

Butcher. 'Twould make a Parson, much more a Butcher to swear, when told, that he must suffer his Wife to be ravish'd before his Face, and Scripture brought to prove it

H. Surgeon. The Doctor may as well pervert one Text in permission of a particular Ravishment, as other Parsons have perverted multitudes of Scripture Authorities, to the Justification of the Prince's ravishing from the People, their Liberties, Properties, and Religion, as too many of those, who are now Non-Juring Parsons, did, in Justification of King *James's* Arbitrary Power, by which we should, long e're this, have been depriv'd of all Liberty, Property, and true Religion, had not the late King, and the Practice of Resistance, prevented it.

H. Shoemaker. Why truly, Doctor, if you would suffer yourself in that Case to be push'd out of the Room, when you could prevent it, and protect your Lady (by holding your Prince) till she made her escape, I think you are, by permission, little better than a Pimp to your own Wife

Glover. It may be the Doctor would suffer his Lady to make him a Bishop and herself a Duchess; and so quickly, without any other Trouble than that of the Conscience, to purchase an Estate sufficient to maintain that Quality,

H. Butcher

H. Butcher. Truly, Doctor, I thought myself as much for *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* as any Man living could be; but under those Circumstances, I should think, that necessary Resistance of holding my Sovereign till my Wife ran away, to be so far from being a Sin, that I should think myself obliged to practise it. For, should I patiently suffer my King in that Case to push me out of the Room, and so permit my Wife to be forc'd, tho' to recompence that Injury, His Majesty gave me treble an Alderman's Estate, and I soon in our City took place of the first Peer of *England*, yet I believe my Wive's old Friends in our Market would call me a pitiful pimping Cuckold, and even our Butchers Boys make Horns at me, as I rid in my Coach of State. —

H. Butcher. I believe, *Jack*, you do prophesy right, — for tho' I should then desire to be your Lordship's Butcher, yet at the same time I should in my Thoughts despise thee.

H. Carpenter. And in case your Wife should become reconcil'd to the Ravisher, — my Wife *Sally* would not envy her Happiness, but think herself a much better Woman.

A Taylor. Tho' I have a very good Opinion of my Wive's Chastity, yet I would not swear that she could resist such a powerful Temptation, nor that I should break my Heart under such Preferment.

H. Gent. Honest Friend, that Honour, by all good and wise Men, is justly esteem'd infamous, which is purchased by base and corrupt Compliances, with unlawful Designs; and tho' there were never so many and large, false and flattering Prefaces in the creation of such Dignities, and the Broad-Seals of all Princes of *Europe* affix'd to such *Patents*, the Possessor of such *Parchment-Honours* would nevertheless still remain truly infamous, and by all good Men be despis'd, tho' according to what is observed in all civiliz'd Nations, and in compliance with Custom, we were obliged to shew

shew external Marks of Respect towards his Lord, when in such a superior Relation to us.

Doctor. But you should not put a Case which can never be suppos'd to happen.

Shoemaker. Nay, *Doctor*, such a Case is very possible, and should such a Prince ascend the Throne as King *Charles II.* whom you in your Pulpit often call of Blessed Memory, such a Case may become practicable.

H. Gent. But to be more general : I will put you another Case, where I believe most, if not all present, will acknowledge Resistance a Duty, if there be any regard to be had to our Civil or Religious Rights.

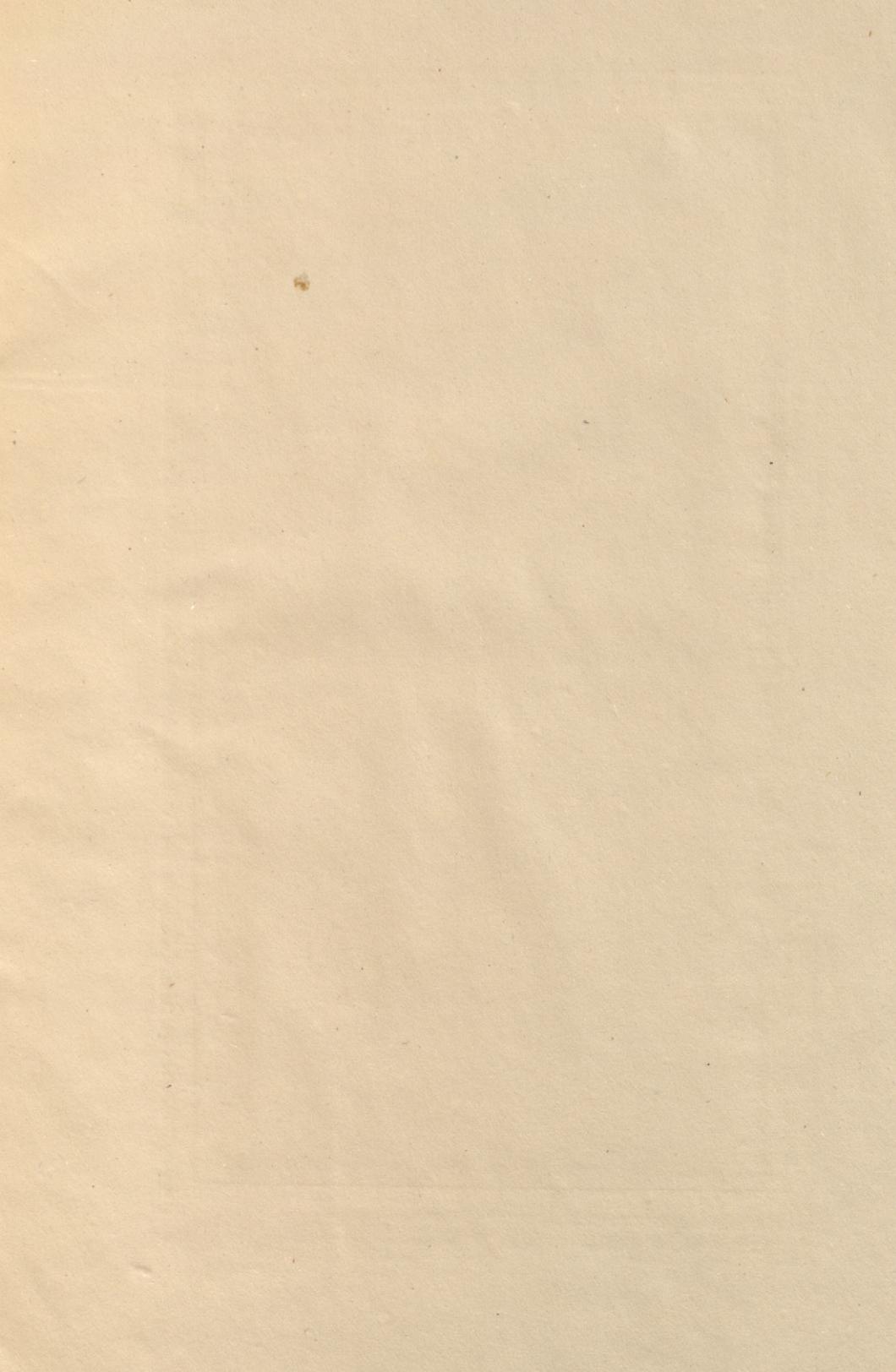
S. Parf. As how ?

H. Gent. To carry on a necessary War, the Parliament grant the Prince four Shillings a Pound upon all Land, Houses, &c. and proper Impositions upon all Imports and Exports of Trade — Upon the rising of that Parliament, the Sovereign issues out a *Proclamation*, pretending unforeseen Exigencies of State, and that those Parliamentary Taxes will scarce answer one half of the publick Wants : And therefore commands all Commissioners, Assessors and Collectors, and all Officers of the Customs and Excise, &c. to levy double to what was before due in all parts of the Revenue of the Crown. — Under colour of this *Proclamation*, a Collector comes to a bold *Britain*, of a great Estate, (such as *Mr. Hambden* in former Times) and demands after the rate of eight Shillings in the Pound for the first Quarter. The Country Gentleman tells the Collector, That the Parliament (of which himself was a Member) had impos'd but four Shillings a Pound upon Land, &c. and that as his Estate was valued at 4000 *l. per Annum*, he would readily pay 200 *l.* which according to that Valuation, was due for the first Quarterly Payment : But as for the *Proclamation-Tax* of double that Sum, he thought it not legal, and therefore refus'd to pay it, telling the Collector, That if by virtue of that *Proclamation* he distrain'd, he would sue him

him for so doing. — The Collector reply'd, That he had very good Assurance given him, that he should be sav'd harmless in obeying the Proclamation, and thereupon makes a Distress accordingly. Hereupon the Country Gentleman sues the Collector; and it being try'd before such Judges as in the Reign of K. Charles I. justify'd Ship-Money; — these Judges justify that Distress, and thereupon Judgment in *Westminster-Hall* is given against the Country Gentleman. — The Country Gentlemen upon this brings a Writ of Error, in order to reverse that Judgment in the House of Lords. — The Prince, being the Fountain of Honour, to secure a Majority in that *House*, creates such and so many new Lords, without having any respect to their Estates, as he could intirely influence to act as they should be directed; and by means of this numerous creation of Lords, that Judgment is affirm'd, altho' nine parts in ten of all the other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, were for reversing that Judgment Would you not join with any foreign Power, in order to bring the chief Advisers and Instruments of that Tyranny to Justice —

Doctor. Not even in that *Case*, which is farther put than was ever practis'd, or ever suppos'd; for the Scripture is plain and positive against resisting the higher Powers.

F I N I S.



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