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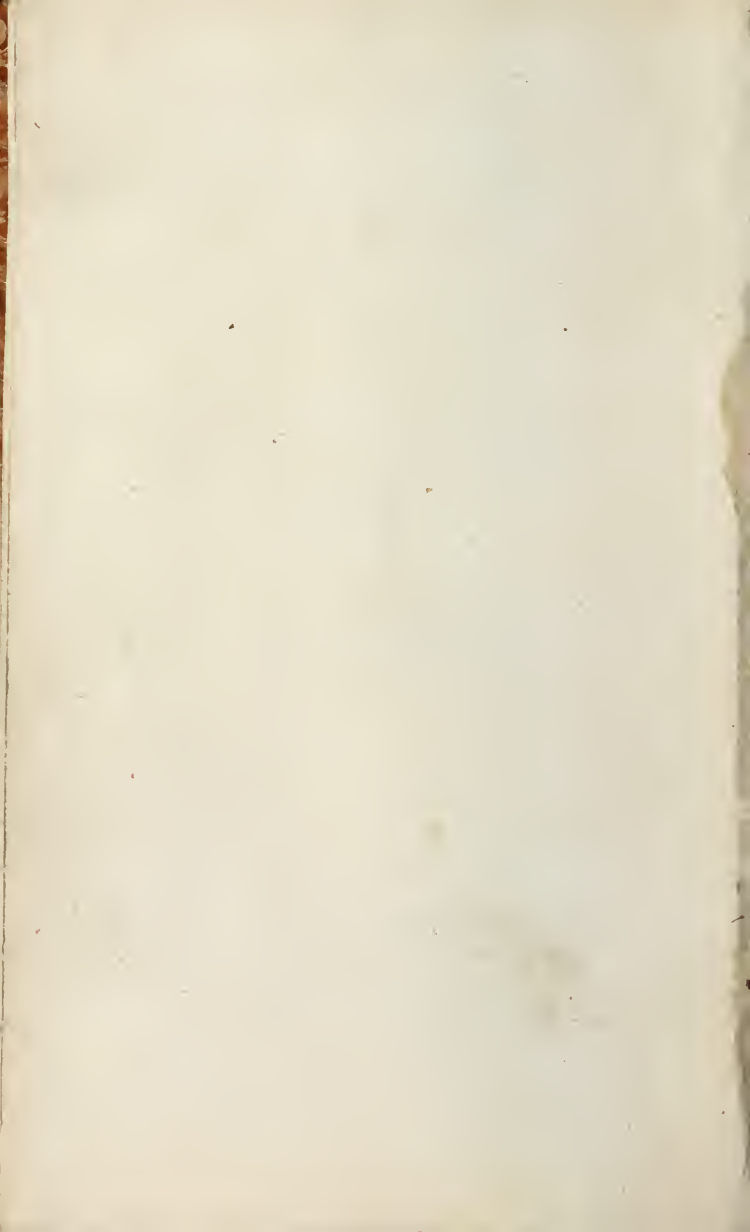
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DOUGLAS
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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
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Concordia Discors :

Or, an

ARGUMENT

To Prove,

That the Possession of **DUNKIRK**,
Port Mabon, Gibraltar, and other Places
by the *English*, may be of worse Conse-
quence to these Nations, than if they had
still continued in the Hands of the *French*,
or *Spaniards*. To which is added the Hi-
story of Standing Armies; from their first
being set on Foot, to this Time; with the
Dismal Consequences that have always
flow'd from them.

*Aut Hac in nostros fabricata est Machina muros,
Inspectura Domos, venturaq; desuper Urbi,
Aut aliquis latet Error, Equo ne credite Teucris:
Quicquid id est timeo Danaos & Dona ferentes,*
Virg. Æn. 2.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *S. Popping* at the *Raven* in *Pater-
Noster-Row*, 1712. Price Six Pence

Concordia Discors, &c.

THE Title I have made choice of, may seem Paradoxical to such as give into the Receiv'd Opinion, that while we are Masters of *Dunkirk*, we cannot but be in Safety from all Insults both at Home, and in the Channel; and while we are in Possession of *Port Mahon*, and *Gibraltar*, nothing can obstruct our Navigation in the *Mediterranean*; as if *England* can be in danger from none but Foreign Enemies; and its sole Preservation entirely consisted in the Security of its Commerce. But I must take the Liberty to affirm, that tho' we had actually brought *France* and *Spain* to the lowest Terms and Conditions, and held the Ballance of Power we have been so long contending for, tho' we had humbled the *Dutch*, and brought the Emperor to Reason; In a word, tho' all the Princes of the Earth did Fealty to us, and the whole Universe was under our Subjection, we should be so much the more in a worse Condition than ever, by how much the more our Liberties might be endanger'd thereby; and our Rights and Immunities, which are the very Essence of our Constitution, lessen'd and impair'd. For, in what Particular can the Fruits of Peace more appear, than in our being freed from the apprehensions of an implacable Enemy? Or how can we be said to enjoy Peace, when all the devastations of War are out of our view, but those that caus'd them still in our sight? Have we no Enemies but what are of *French* and *Spanish* Extraction, and no ill-wishers to stand in fear of, but such as are not born amongst us? We are not arriv'd to

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such a pitch of Happiness, even in this Fortunate Reign, to answer this Question in the Negative, neither have all our Conquests and Victories Abroad, put an end to our Civil Dissentions at Home. While *England*, is *England*, Hostilities will be committed within her own Bowels, and this Land of our Nativity, breed Party-strifes amongst its own Natives; so that we ought always to be upon our Guard against Encroachments upon our Constitution, and be very Circumspect and intent upon Ways and Means to keep a due Poise between the Prince, and the People; and not suffer it to be in the Power of the one or the other to be imposthumated with more Authority, than in Justice belongs to them.

I am neither one of our Modern Indefeasible Men, who stand strictly by the Letter of that Old musty Maxim which says, *The King can do no wrong*; neither am I of Republican Antimonarchical Principles, as that profound Loyalist Mr. *Abel Roper* calls them; but I must hold my self a Zealous Assertor of the Just Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Properties of the Subject. This being premis'd, I must add, I have too great a veneration for the Privileges that are granted to us by the Law that is stiled *Magna Charta*, to see Invasions made upon it, and the Fences of our Liberties broke in upon, and keep Silence. Now that this and other Acts of Parliament set forth expressly, that there shall be no Standing Forces kept on Foot in times of Peace, except under such and such Restrictions, is most certain. Therefore to do contrary to the Tenor of these Laws, is to act in defiance of the Legislature; and we must either Garrison *Dunkirk*, and the other Towns to be given into our Hands, by the Forces that are upon the Old Establishment, and so leave *Great Britain* and *Ireland* naked, or else set aside the intent of that Establishment, by keeping more Forces on Foot for that purpose; which is a Mischiefe a Free People are seldom fond of; For tho' Her Majesty now Reiging, is a Princess
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of that Goodness and Condescension, rather to dispense with the Exercise of Her own just prerogatives, than to lessen or diminish our Rights and Privileges; yet this Affectionate, this Gracious Queen must die and leave us under the Government of a Successor that may have quite different Sentiments. Self denial is not the Attribute of all Crown'd Heads, and we may chance to have a King, especially since the Succession is determin'd to be supplied from Abroad, who may make another use of the Forces he shall find in these Garrisons, than barely to keep them there, for the defence of those Towns from Hostile Attempts.

I speak not this in derogation of that Respect which is due to the Settlement in the Protestant Line, firmly trusting that none of those Illustrious Branches will ever give occasion for a Surmize of this Nature; but I hold my self under a necessity of declaring, that *what has been, may be*; and we have been too lately rescued out of the Jaws of Destruction by a Standing Army, not to make it our endeavour to prevent our falling into the like Circumstances for the time to come. When a Peace is made, and the World is to enjoy its long-wish'd for Tranquility, our Spears should be turn'd into Pruning-hooks, and our Swords into Plough-shares, and the Soldiers dismiss'd to the Exercise of their respective Employments, there to be at rest from their Martial Labours; but unless an Army is disbanded, there is no other difference between *Peace* and *War*, than that the first brings the last nearer Home, which makes us in a much worse Condition than we were before its Conclusion; because that Burthen which was at a remote distance before, will then press heavier and more immediately upon our very Loyns.

That this is the Case in those Countries where Standing-Armies are kept up, our Neighbours the *French* sufficiently declare; and that this may be ours in the Reign of an Enterprizing Prince, is most certain; Therefore *Dunkirk* demolished, would be

of greater Safety to us, than in the State it now is, and *Port Mahon*, and *Gibraltar* of greater Use in the Hand of the *Spaniard*, or any other Allie than our own. For the *first* cannot be compleatly rendred Teneable under Ten Thousand Men, nor the *second* and *third* under Fifteen Thousand between them. A Force sufficient of it self to make any Prince Absolute, that shall be inclinable to give way to a passion for unlimited Authority, and *England* has had such Princes, and may have again in process of time, which requires due Circumspection. But this is not all the Force neither, tho' this would be more than enough to accomplish Arbitrary Designs; for if we reckon the Troops that are to be continued on Foot by the settled Appointment of Parliament, we shall find Seven Thousand upon the *English*, Four Thousand upon the *Scotch*, and Twelve upon the *Irish* Establishment, so that the whole will amount to Forty Eight Thousand Men; which is more than three times the Number that was of strength sufficient to bring about the late Revolution. How the benefit of one Branch of our preservation in our Commerce will make amends to Posterity for their Fears and Expences on this Head, I must freely declare I am at a loss to imagine; for however some may object their distance from us, as being employ'd in the Conquer'd and Surrender'd Places, and that it is improper to call those Forces a Standing Army, that are not upon our own Continent; yet I shall not stick to aver they will not be at such a distance, but it may be in their power to enslave their Country; and tho' we are liable to no fears of their doing this under the present Administration, another may come in play that may recall them, to carry on Designs which I cannot think of without Horror. For the grant of such a Standing Force as this to one Prince how good and gracious He or She may be, will of Consequence devolve upon succeeding Princes, who if they find an Army, will keep it, and will not trouble themselves whether it be Temporary, or Perpetual.

petual. A plain Instance we have of this in the Customs; for tho' Tonnage and Poundage, and the other Impositions are a Subsidy, and Free Gift, and the King's Answer to the Bill, thanks the Subjects for their good wills. And tho' Parliaments have always used such Cautions and Limitations in those Grants, as might prevent any Claim, and heretofore limited them to a short time, for a Year or two; and if they were continued longer, they have directed a certain space of Cessation, or Intermiſſion, that so the Right of the Subject may be more evident. At other times they have been Granted upon occasion of War, for a certain Number of Years, with *Proviso*, that if the War were ended in the mean time, then the Grant should cease, and of Course they have been Sequestred into the Hands of some Subjects for the Guarding of the Seas.

Notwithstanding all this, tho' the Parliament so carefully guarded their Grants, yet King *Charles* the First took this Subsidy without any Grant at all, for sixteen Years together, tho' several Parliaments in the mean time forbad the Payment of it, and Voted all those to be publick Enemies that did not refuse it. The like did his Son the late K. *James*, till his Parliament gave it him; and in his First Speech to them, he demanded it as his own, by the Name of *My Revenue*. And why then shall not another Prince come and say the same, *Give me my Army*, - if he ever have a Parliament to ask? To limit a Prince with Laws where there is an Army, is to bind Sampson with his *Ticks on*. So that if the Parliament give the *Best* King a Standing Army, the *Worst* King shall hereafter Claim and have it.

Without dear bought Experience, which the Sequel of this little Tract shall furnish the Reader with frequent Examples of, any body may know beforehand what the Consequences of a Standing Army will be. From the Day you set them up, you set up your Masters; you put your selves wholly into their Hands, and are at their Discretion.

It is the Conquest of the Nation in the Silentest, Shortest, and Surest way. They are able to dispose of your Lives and Estates at Will and Pleasure, and what can a Conqueror do more? If after this we Live and Possess any thing, tis because they let us; and how long that shall be, neither we nor they themselves know.

Nay in many Respects, an Authoriz'd Army is far worse than a Foreign Invasion, and a Conquest from Abroad; for there we have a Chance for it, but this is a Conquest in Cold Blood, &c. and must not be resisted. And we lose the inseparable Rights of the Conquer'd, which is to Rescue and Deliver themselves, and to throw off the Yoak as soon as they can. It is likewise a great aggravation of our Misery, to be Enslav'd at our own Cost and Charges. Besides, the bitter Resentments of Unkindness and Breach of Trust, if it be done by those who ought to protect us, and provide better for us, at least should not leave us in a worse Condition than they found us. But above all, if we contribute to our own Thraidom by our Folly, Flattery, and Self-seeking, if the Destruction of us and our Posterity be of our selves, that Reflection hereafter will have a Sting in it, and it will not be enough to say, *who would have thought it?*

Now in being Overpower'd and Conquer'd by a Foreign Enemy, we contract none of this Guilt, and suffer it as a bare Calamity. But there is no great fear of that, for the Duke *de Rohan* is our *Guarantee* that we cannot be Conquer'd from Abroad; who in a spiteful Description of *England* says, *It is a Great Animal that can be destroy'd by nothing but it self.* Every body must Die when their Time is come, and Empires as well as private Men must submit to Time and Fate; Governments have their Infancy, their Meridian, and their Decay, and the Prelude to their Destruction, are generally Luxury, Pride, Sloth, Prodigality, Cowardise, Irreligion, Self-interest, and an universal neglect of the Publick; God grant this be not the

Condition of a Nation I know. Tho' some will tell us (and they are not without Reason on their side too) that our Army, by being kept on Foot during this War, have abated the Pride and reduced the Luxury of the Kingdom; and the Soldiery have been the Physicians and Divines of the Commonalty, by purging it of that Dross and Dung which corrupts the Minds and destroys the Souls of Men: But I should be sorry to be told, that *by these Kings ought to reign, and Princes decree Justice*; that these should be our Magistrates, who will not bear the Sword in vain; that these, like the Sons of *Aaron*, will wear their *Urim* and *Thummim* on their Backs and Breasts, and should be our Priests to hew Sinners to pieces, as *Samuel* did *Agag* before the Lord in *Gilgal*; or, that by these, some Men will be able to teach us the Doctrines of Indefeasible Hereditary-Right and Passive Obedience, *as Men having Authority, and not as the Scribes*, since the Reasons will be then in their Hands against resisting the higher Powers, and they will be able to prove their *Jus Divinum*, *by the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon*.

Thus far, by way of Argument; proceed we in the next to make good our Promise in the Title Page, and give the History of Standing Armies, as is therein premis'd.

The History of Standing Armies.

IF any Man doubts whether a Standing Army is Slavery, Popery, Mahometism, Paganism, Atheism, or any thing else which they please to give him the Name of, let him Read,

First, The Story of *Matho*, and *Spendius* at *Carthage*, and the *Mamelukes* of *Egypt*.

Secondly, The History of *Spada*, and *Bentivolio*, where he will find what work 9000 *Spaniards* made in the 17 Provinces, tho' the Country was full of Fortified

Fortified Towns, possess'd by the Low Country Lords, and they had Assistance from *Germany, England, and France.*

Thirdly, The History of *Philip de Commines*, where he will find that *Lewis XIth* enslaved the vast Country of *France* with 25000 Men, and that the raising of 500 Horse by *Philip of Burgundy*, Sirnamed the Good, was the Ruine of those Provinces.

Fourthly, To come nearer Home, *Ludlow's Memoirs*; where we will find that an Army raised to defend our Liberties, made Foot balls of that Parliament, at whose Actions all *Europe* stood amaz'd, and in a few Years set up Ten several sorts of Governments, contrary to the Genius of the whole Nation, and the Opinion of half of their own Body; such is the Influence of a General over an Army, that he can make them act like a Piece of Mechanism, whatever their private Opinions are.

To Instance in other Examples of People that lost their Liberty by the means of an Armed Force kept up among themselves in time of Peace; *Pisistratus* having prevail'd with the *Athenians*, to allow him 30 Guards for Defence of his Person, he so improv'd that Number, that he Seized upon the Castle and Government, destroy'd the Commonwealth, and made himself Tyrant of *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* being in apprehension of their Enemies, made a Decree for 400 Men to be kept to defend their City, and gave *Timophanes* the Command of them, who overturn'd their Government, cut off the Principal Citizens, and Proclaim'd himself King of *Corinth*.

Agathocles being Captain General of the *Syracuzians*, got such an Interest in the Army, that he cut all the Senators to Pieces, and the Richest of the People, and made himself their King.

The *Romans* for fear of the *Teutones*, and *Cimbri*, who like vast Inundations threatned their Empire, chose *Marius* their General, and contrary to the Constitution of their Government, continued him five Years in his Command; which gave him such

an Opportunity to insinuate and gain an Interest in their Army, that he oppressed their Liberty: And to this were owing all the Miseries, Massacres and Ruins which that City suffer'd under him, and *Sylla*, who made the best Blood in the World run like Water down the Streets of *Rome*; and turn'd the whole City into a Shambles, of the Nobility, Gentry, and People.

The same thing enabled *Cæsar* to overthrow that Famous Commonwealth; for the Prolongation of his Commission in *Gaul*, gave him an opportunity to Debauch his Army, and then upon a pretended disgust, he marched to *Rome*, drove out the Senators, seized the Treasury, fought their Forces, and made himself perpetual Dictator.

Olivaretto di Fermo desired leave of his Fellow Citizens, that he might be admitted into their Town with a Hundred Horse of his Companions, which being granted, he put to the Sword all the Principal Citizens; and Proclaimed himself their Prince.

Francis Sforza being General of the *Milaneze*, Usurp'd upon them, and made himself Duke of *Milan*.

After *Christiern* the Second, King of *Denmark*, had Conquer'd *Sweden*, he Invited all the Senators and Nobility to a Magnificent Entertainment, where after he had Treated them highly for two Days, he most barbarously Butcher'd them. None escaped this Massacre but the Brave *Gustavus Ericson*, who was then a Prisoner, but he afterwards got off through a thousand difficulties; by his good Fortune, Courage, and Conduct, drove the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, and restored the *Swedes* to their Ancient Kingdom. Nothing, then, was thought too great for their Generous Deliverer, every Mouth was full of his Praises, and by the Universal Voice of the People, he was chosen their King; and to consummate the last Testimony of their Gratitude, they trusted him with an Army; but they soon found their Mistake, for it cost them their Liberty, and having granted that *Unum Magnum*, it was too

late to dispute any thing else; his Successors having been pleased to take the rest; and now they remain the miserable Examples of a too Credulous Generosity.

The Story of *Denmark* is so generally known, and so well related by a late Excellent Author, *Mr. Moleworth*, that it would be Impertinence in me to repeat it; only this I will observe, that if the King had not an Army at his Command, the Nobles had never deliver'd up their Government.

The last Foreign Instance I shall give, is that of a *French* Colony as I remember, in the *West-Indies*, who having War with the Neighbouring *Indians*; and being tired in their March, with the Extremity of Heat, made their Slaves carry their Arms, who taking that Opportunity, fell upon them, and cut them to pieces; a just Punishment of their Folly. And this will always be the Fate of those that trust their Arms out of their own Hands; for it is a ridiculous Imagination to conceive Men will be Servants, when they can be Masters. And as *Mr. Harington* Judiciously observes, whatever Nation suffers their Servants to carry their Arms, their Servants will make them hold their Trenchers.

The first Footsteps I find of a Standing Army in *England*, since the *Romans* left the Island, were in *Richard* the Second's time, who rais'd 4000 Archers in *Cheeshire*, and suffer'd them to plunder, and Live upon free Quarter; Beat, Wound, Ravish and Kill, wherever they went; and afterwards he called a Parliament, encompassed them with his Archers, forced them to give up the whole Power of Parliaments, and make it Treason to endeavour to Repeal any of the Arbitrary Constitutions that were then made: But being afterwards obliged to go to *Ireland*, to suppress a Rebellion there, the People took advantage of it, and dethron'd him.

The Nation had such a Specimen in this Reign of a Standing Army, that I don't find any King from Him, to King *Charles* the First, that attempted keeping up any Forces in Times of Peace, except

cept the Yeomen of the Guard, who were Constituted by *Henry* the Seventh; and tho' there were several Armies raised in that time, for *French*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, and other Foreign and Domestick Wars, yet they were constantly Disbanded, as soon as the Occasion was over. And in all the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, whatsoever Party prevail'd, we don't find they ever attempted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the Virtue of those Times, that they would rather run the Hazard of Forfeiting their Heads and Effects to the Rage of the opposite Party, than certainly to enslave their Country, tho' they themselves were to be the Tyrants.

Nor would they suffer our Kings to keep up an Army in *Ireland*, tho' there were frequent Rebellions there, and by that Means their Subjection very precarious, as well knowing they would be in *England*, when called for. In the first 300 Years that *England* had possession of that Country, there were no Armies there, but in Time of War. The first Force that was established, was in the 14th of *Edward* IV. when 120 Archers on Horseback, 40 Horse-men and 40 Pages, were established by Parliament there; which, 6 Years after, were reduced to 80 Archers, and 20 Spear-men on Horseback. Afterwards, in *Henry* VIIIth's Time, in 1535, the Army in *Ireland* was 300, and in 1543, they were increas'd to 380 Horse, and 160 Foot, which was the Establishment then. I speak this of times of Peace; for when the *Irish* were in Rebellion, which was very frequent, the Armies were much more considerable. In Queen *Mary*'s Time the standing Forces were above 1200. In most of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign the *Irish* were in open Rebellion; but when they were all suppress'd, the Army established was between 1500 and 2000, about which Number they continued, till the Army rais'd by the E. of *Strafford* in the 15th. of *Charles* I.

In the Year 1602 died Queen *Elizabeth*, and with her all the Virtues of the *Plantagenets* and

the *Tudors* ; She made the *English Glory* sound thro' the whole Earth ; She first taught her Country the Advantages of Trade, set Bounds to the Ambition of *France* and *Spain*, assisted the *Dutch* ; but would neither permit them, nor *France* to build any great Ships, kept the Keys of the Rivers *Maes* and *Scheld* in her own Hands, and died with an uncontroled Dominion of the Seas, and Arbitress of Christendom. All this She did with a Revenue not exceeding 300000*l.* per *Annum*, and had but inconsiderable Taxes from her People.

No sooner was King *James* come to the Crown, but all the Reputation we had acquired in her Glorious Reign, was eclipsed, and we came to be the Scorn of all Nations about us ; contemned even by that State we had created, who insulted us at Sea, seized *Amboyna*, *Poleeroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the *East-Indies*, by which they ingrossed that most profitable Trade of Spices ; Fished upon our Coasts without paying the Customary Tribute, and at the same time, prevailed with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*, *Ramekins* and *Flushing*, for a very small Consideration, tho' there were near Six Millions Arrears : He squandered the publick Treasure, discountenanced all the Great Men who were rais'd in the Glorious Reign of his Predecessor, cut off Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Head, advanced Favourites of his own, Men of no Merit, to the highest Preferment ; and to maintain their Profuseness, he granted them Monopolies, infinite Projects, prostituted Honours for Money, raised Benevolences and Loans without Authority of Parliament ; and when these Grievances were complained off there, he committed many of the principal Members, without Bail or Mainprize, as he did afterwards for presuming to Address him against the *Spanish Match*. He pardoned the Earl of *Somerfet* and his Wife, for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Murther, after he had imprecated all the Curses of Heaven upon himself and his Posterity ; and it was generally thought, because
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the Earl was necessary to the poisoning Prince *Henry*, he permitted his Son-in law to be ejected out of his Principalities, and the Protestant Interest to be run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he was bubbled Nine Years together with the Hopes of the *Spanish Match*, and a great Fortune. Afterwards, he made a dishonourable Treaty of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papists Liberty of Conscience; and, indeed, as he often declared, he was no otherwise an Enemy to Popery, than for their deposing of Kings, and King-killing Doctrines. In *Ireland* he gave them all the Encouragement he durst, which Policy has been followed by all his Successors since to this and the last Reign, and has served them to two Purposes. One is, they had a pretence to keep up standing Armies there, to awe the Natives; and the other, that they might make use of the Natives against their *English* Subjects. In this Reign, that ridiculous Doctrine of Kings being *Jure Divino* was coined, never before heard of, even in the Eastern Tyrannies. The other parts of his Government had such a Mixture of *Scaramouch* and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be spoken of seriously; as Proclamations upon every Trifle; some against talking of News, Letters to the Parliament, telling them, he was an old and wise King, that State Affairs were above their Reach, and therefore they must not meddle with them, and such like Trumpery. But our Happiness was, that this Prince was a great Coward, and hated the Sight of a Soldier; so that he could not do much against us by open Force. At last he died (as many have believed) by Poison, to make room for his Son *Charles I.*

This King was a great Biggot, which made him the Darling of the Clergy; but having no great Reach of his own, and governed by the Priests (who have been always unfortunate, when they have meddled with Politicks) with a true Ecclesiastick Fury, he drove on, to the Destruction of all the Liberties of *England*. This King's whole Reign was one continued Act against the Laws; he

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dissolved his first Parliament for presuming to enquire into his Father's Death, tho' he lost a great Sum of Money by it, which they had voted him. He entered at the same time into a War with *France* and *Spain*, upon the private Piques of *Buckingham*, who managed them to the eternal Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Nation, witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon *Cadiz*, and the Isle of *Rhee*. He delivered *Pennington's* Fleet into the *French* Hands, betray'd the poor *Rochellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in *France* to be quite extirpated. He rais'd Loans, Excises, Coal and Conduct Money, Tonnage and Poundage, Knight-hood and Ship money, without Authority of Parliament; he impos'd new Oaths on the Subject to discover the Value of their Estates; imprison'd great Numbers of the most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes. Some he sent beyond Sea, and the poor he preis'd for Soldiers. He kept Soldiers upon free Quarter, and executed martial Law upon them. He granted Monopolies without Number, and broke the Bounds of the Forests. He erected Arbitrary Courts, and enlarged others, as the High-Commission Court, the Star-Chamber, Court of Honour, Court of Requests, &c. and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in them, even to Men of the first Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol* and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to come to Parliament, committed and prosecuted a great many of the most eminent Members of the House of Commons, for what they did there; some for no Cause at all, and would not let them have the Benefit of *Habeas Corpus*; suspended and confined Archbishop *Abbot*, because he would not License a Sermon, that asserted Despotick Power, whatever other Cause was pretended. He suspended the Bishop of *Gloucester*, for refusing to swear never to consent to alter the Government of the Church, supported all his Arbitrary Ministers against the Parliament, telling them, he wondred at the foolish Impudence of any
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one, to think he would part with the meanest of his Servants upon their account; and, indeed, in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he treated them like his Footmen, calling them undutiful, seditious, and Vipers. He brought unheard of Innovations into the Church, preferr'd Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Inclinations to Popery, especially those Firebrands, *Land*, *Montague* and *Marwaring*, one of whom had been complained of in Parliament, another impeached for advancing Popery, and the third condemned in the House of Lords. He dispenc'd with the Laws against Papists, and both encourag'd and prefer'd them. He called no Parliament for 12 Years together, and in that time governed as Arbitrary as the Grand *Seignior*. He abetted the *Irish* Massacre, as appears by their producing a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, by the Letter of *Charles II.* in favour of the Marquis of *Antrim*; by his stopping the Succours that the Parliament sent to reduce *Ireland*, six Months under the Walls of *Chester*; by his entering into a Treaty with the Rebels, after he had engag'd his Faith to the Parliament to the contrary; and bringing over many thousands of them to fight against his People. It is endless to enumerate all the Oppressions of his Reign, but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious; and at last his Ruin. Though he extorted great Sums from his People, yet it was with so much Difficulty, that it did him little Good; besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always Behind-hand; yet he often attempted to raise an Army.

Upon Pretence of the *Spanish* and *French* Wars, he raised many Thousand Men, who liv'd upon Free Quarter, and Rob'd and Destroy'd wherever they came; but being unsuccessful in his Wars Abroad, and press'd by the Clamours of the People at Home, he was forced to Disband them, in 1672, he sent over 30000 *l.* to *Holland*, to raise 3000 *German* Horse, to force his Arbitrary Taxes; but

this Matter taking wind, and being Examined by the Parliament, Orders were sent to Countermand them. In the 15th Year of his Reign, he gave a Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish*, to be brought into *England*; but before they could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*; which forcing him to call a Parliament, prevented that Design, and so that Army was disbanded: Soon after he raised an Army in *England*, to oppose the *Scots*, and tampered with them to march to *London*, and dissolve the Parliament; but this Army being composed for the most part of the Militia, and the Matter being communicated to the House, who immediately fell on the Officers that were Members; as *Ashburnham*, *Willmot*, *Pollard*, &c. the Design came to nothing. After this, there was a Pacification between the King and the *Scots*, and in pursuance of it, both Armies were disbanded: Then he went to *Scotland*, and endeavoured to prevail with them; but that not doing, he sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring their Concurrence to the raising 3000 *Irish*, to be sent to the King of *Spain*; to which the Parliament refused to consent, believing he would make another Use of them. When he came back to *London*, he picked out 3 or 400 dissolute Fellows out of Taverns, Gaming and Brothel-Houses, kept a Table for them, and with this goodly Guard all armed, he entred the House of Commons, sat down in the Speaker's Chair, demanding the Delivery of 5 Members; but the Citizens coming down by Land and Water with Muskets upon their Shoulders, to defend the Parliament, he attempted no farther. This so enraged the House, that they chose a Guard to defend themselves against future Insults, and the King soon after left *London*. Some time before this began the *Irish* Rebellion, where the *Irish* pretended the King's Authority, and shew'd the Great Seal to justify themselves; which, whether true or false, raised such a Jealousy in the People, that he was forced to con-

sent to leave the Management of that War to the Parliament, yet he afterwards sent a Message to them, telling them, He would go to *Ireland* in Person, and acquainted them that he had issued out Commissions for raising 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse in *Cheshire* for his Guard, which they Protested against, and prevented. By this we may see what Force was thought sufficient in his Reign to Enslave the Nation, and the frequent Attempts to get it.

Then the Civil Wars broke out between him, and his People, in which many Bloody Battels were fought; two of the most formidable were those of *Newbery*, and *Naseby*, both won by New Soldiers; the first by the *London Militia*, and the latter by an Unexperienced Army, which the King used to call in derision, the *New Model*. And some Years after, the Battle of *Worcester* was in a great measure won by the Country Militia, for which, *Cromwell* discharg'd them with Infamy and Contempt, as knowing them to be Instruments unfit to promote his Tyrannical Designs. At last, by the Fate of the War, the King became a Prisoner, and the Parliament Treated with him, while in that Condition; and at the same time Voted, that some part of the Army should be disbanded, and others sent to *Ireland*, to Reduce that Kingdom. Upon which, the Army chose Agitators among themselves, who presented a Petition to both Houses, That they would proceed to Settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that no part of the Army should be disbanded till that was done. But finding their Petition resented, they sent and seiz'd the King's Person from the Parliament's Commissioners, drew up a Charge of High Treson against Eleven of the Principal Members, for Endeavouring to disband the Army, entred into a private Treaty with the King. But he not complying with their Demands, they seiz'd *London*; and notwithstanding they had Voted the King's Concessions a Ground for a future Settlement, they re-

solved to put him to Death; and in Order thereto, Purged the House, as they call'd it; that is, placed Guards upon them, and Excluded all Members, that were for the King, and then they Cut off his Head.

After this, they let the Parliament Govern for 5 Years, who made their Names Famous thro' the whole Earth, Conquer'd their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, reduced the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms, recover'd our Reputation at Sea, overcame the *Dutch* in several Famous Battles, secured our Trade, and managed the publick Expences with so much Frugality, that no Estates were gain'd by private Men upon the publick Miseries; and at last were passing an Act for their own Dissolution, and Settling the Nation in a free and Impartial Commonwealth, of which the Army being afraid, thought it necessary to Dissolve them; and accordingly, *Cromwell* the next Day called two Files of Musketeers into the House, and pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, behaving himself like a Madman, and calling one a Whoremaster, another a Drunkard, bidding the Soldiers take away that Fools Bauble the Mace, and so good Night to the Parliament. When they had done this Act of Violence, the Council of Officers set up a New Form of Government, and Chose a certain Number of Persons out of every County, and City of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and these they Invested with the Supreme Power, but soon after Expelled them, and then *Cromwell* set up himself, and framed a New Instrument of Government by a Protector, and a House of Commons, in pursuance of which, he called a Parliament; but they not answering his Expectations, he Excluded all that would not Subscribe his Instrument, and those that remained, not proving for his purpose neither, he Dissolv'd them with a great deal of Opprobrious Language. He then divided *England* into several Districts, or Divisions, and then placed Major Generals, or Intendants over them, who

who Govern'd like so many *Bashaws*, Decimating the Cavaliers, and raising Taxes at their pleasure; then forsooth he had a mind to make himself King, and called another Parliament to that purpose, after his usual manner, Secluding such Members as he did not like. To this Assembly he offer'd another Instrument of Government, which was by a Representative of the People; a Second House, Composed of Seventy Members, in the Nature of an House of Lords, and a Single Person, and left a Blank for what Name he should be call'd; which this Worthy Assembly filled up with that of King, and Addressed to *Cromwell*, that he would be pleas'd to Accept it, and gave him Power to Nominate the Members of the other House. This the Great Officers of the Army resented, for it destroy'd all their hopes of being Tyrants in their turn; and therefore Address'd the Parliament against the Power and Government of a King, which made *Cromwell* decline that Title, and content himself with a Greater Power under the Name of Protector.

Afterwards he Named the other House, as it was called, for the most part out of the Officers of the Army; but even this Parliament not pleasing him, he dissolved them in a fury, and Govern'd the Nation without any Parliament, till he died.

After his Death, the Army set up his Son *Richard*, who called a New Parliament; but their Proceedings being not agreeable to the Humour of the Soldiery, they forced the Protector to Dissolve them, then they deposed him, and took the Power into their own Hands; but being unable to wield it, they restor'd the Commonwealth, and soon after Expelled them again, because they would not settle the Military Sword independent of the Civil; then they Govern'd the Nation by a Council of War, at *Wallingford-House*, and Chose a Committee of Safety, for the Executive part of the Government. But that Whim lasted but a little time, before they Chose Conservators of Liberty; and

that not doing neither, they agreed that every Regiment should choose two Representatives, and this Worthy Council should Settle the Nation. When they met, sometimes they were for Calling a New Parliament, sometimes for Restoring the Old, which was at last done by this Means. All things fell into Confusion, which gave *Monk* an Opportunity of Marching into *England*, where he Acted his Part so dextrously, that he Restor'd the King with part of that Army, which had cut off his Father's Head.

This is a True and Lively Example of a Government with an Army; an Army that was raised in the Cause and for the sake of Liberty; Composed for the most part of Men of Religion, and Sobriety. If this Army could commit such Violences upon a Parliament always Successful, that had acquired so much Reputation both at Home, and Abroad; at a time when the whole People were Trained in Arms, and the Pulse of the Nation beat high for Liberty. What are we to expect, if in a future Age an Ambitious Prince should arise with a Dissolute and Debauch'd Army, a Flattering Clergy, a Prostitute Ministry, a Bankrupt House of Lords, a Pensioner House of Commons, and a Slavish and Corrupt Nation?

By this Means came in *Charles* the Second, a Luxurious Effeminate Prince, a deep Dissembler, and if not a Papist himself, yet a great Favourer of them: But the People had suffer'd so much from the Army, that he was received with the utmost Joy and Transport; the Parliament in the Honey-Moon, passed what Laws he pleased, gave a vast Revenue for Life, being 3 times as much as any of his Predecessors, and several Millions beside, to be spent in his Pleasures. This made him conceive vaster hopes of Arbitrary Power, than any that went before him; and in order to it, He Debauched and Enervated the whole Kingdom, his Court was a Scene of Adulteries, Drunkenness, and Irreligion, appearing more like Stews, or the Feasts

Feasts of *Bacchus*, than the Family of a Chief Magistrate, and in a little time the Contagion spread thro' the Nation, that it was out of the Fashion not to be Lewd, and Scandalous, not to be a publick Enemy; which has been the Occasion of all the Miseries that have since happened, and I am afraid will not be Extinguished but by our Ruine. He was no sooner warm in his Seat, but he rejected an Advantageous Treaty of Commerce which *Oliver* made with *France*, as done by an Usurper, suffer'd the *French* to lay an Imposition upon all our Goods, which amounted to a Prohibition, in-somuch that they got a Million a Year from us in the overballance of Trade: He Sold that Important Fortress of *Dunkirk*, let the *French* seize *St. Christopher's*, and other Places in *North America*.

He began a Foolish and Unjust War with the *Dutch*, and tho' the Parliament gave him vast Sums to Maintain it, yet he spent so much on his Vices, that they got great Advantages of us, and burnt our Fleet at *Chatham*; at last he made a dishonourable Peace with them, as he had done a War, a perpetual Reproach to our Country, that our Reputation at Sea should be sunk to so low an Ebb, as to be baffled by that Nation, who but a few Years before, had sent a Blank Paper to the Parliament, to prescribe to them what Laws they pleased. During this War, the City of *London* was Fired, not without violent Suspicions that the Fire-balls were prepared at *Whitehall*. Soon after this, he entred into the Triple Alliance, to oppose the growing Greatness of *France*, and received a great Summ of Money from the Parliament to maintain it, which he made use of to break the same League; sent *Mr. Coventry* to *Sweden* to Dissolve it, and entered into a Strict Alliance with *France*, which was Sealed with his Sister's Blood. In Conjunction with them, he made a new War upon *Holland*, to Extirpate Liberty, and the Protestant Religion; but knowing the Parliament were averse to the War, and would not Support him in it, he attempted

attempted, before any War was declared, to seize their *Smyrna* Fleet, shut up the Exchequer, and became so mean, as to be a Pensioner to *France*, from whence his Predecessors with Swords in their Hands, had so often Exacted Tribute. - He not only suffer'd, but assisted them to arrive at that pitch of Greatness, which all *Europe* since hath sufficiently felt, and Lamented. He sent over 10000 Men to assist in subduing *Flanders*, and *Germany*, by whose help they did several Considerable Actions: He sent them Seamen, Timber, Ship Carpenters, and Models, contrary to the Policy of all Nations; which raised their Naval Force to a degree almost Equal to our own; and for their Exercise, he suffer'd them to take multitudes of *English* Ships by their Privateers, without so much as demanding Satisfaction.

During this War, he issued out a Declaration, Suspending the Penal Laws, which appears to be designed in favour of the *Papists*, by directing a Bill afterwards to be Stolen away out of the House of Lords, for *Indulging Protestant Dissenters*, whom he persecuted violently most of his Reign; while he both Countenanced and Preferred *Papists*; broke the Acts of Settlement in *Ireland*, restored them to their Estates, Issued forth a Proclamation, giving the *Papists* Liberty to Inhabit in Corporations, and Married the Duke of *York*, not only to a *Papist*, but one in the *French* Interest, notwithstanding the repeated Addresses of the Parliament to the contrary. It was in this Reign that that Cursed and Detestable Policy was much Improved, of Bribing Parliaments; by distributing all the Great Employments in *England* among them, and Supplying the want of Places with Grants of Lands, and Money. No Man could be prefer'd to any Employment in Church or State, till he had declared himself an open Enemy to our Constitution, by asserting Despotick Power, under that Nonsensical Phrase of *Passive Obedience*; which was more preached up than all the Laws of

God and Man, the Hellish *Popish Plot* was stifled, proved since too true by fatal Experience; and in the room of it, *Protestant* ones were forged, and Men Trapan'd into others, as the *Meal Tub*, *Fitz-Harris*, the *Rye House*, *New Market*, and *Black-Heath* Plots, and by these pretences, and the help of packt Judges, and Juries, they Butcher'd one of the best Men in *England*; set Immoderate Fines upon others, gave probable suspicion of Cutting the Lord *Effex's* Throat, and to finish our Destruction, they took away the Charters as fast as they were able, of all the Corporations in *England*, that would not chuse Members prescribed them.

But he durst not have dreamt of all these Violations, if he had not had an Army to justify them. He had thoughts at first of keeping up the Parliament Army, which was several times in Debate; but Chancellor *Hide* prevail'd upon him by this Argument, That they were a Body of Men, that had cut off his Father's Head: That they had set up and pull'd down Ten several sorts of Government, and that it might be his own turn next. So that his Fears prevailing over his Ambition, he consented to disband them; but soon found how vain and abortive a thing Arbitrary Power would prove without an Army. He therefore tried all ways to get one; and first he attempted it in *Scotland*, and by the means of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, got an Act passed there, whereby the Kingdom of *Scotland* was obliged to raise 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse at his Majesty's Call, and to March them into any part of his Dominions, and this Law is in being at this Day. - Much about the same time, he raised Guards in *England* (a thing unheard of before in our Constitution) and by degrees encreased them, till they became a formidable Army, for first they were but very few, but by adding insensibly more Men to a Troop or Company, and then more Troops or Companies to a Regiment, swell'd into an Army. Before the Second *Dutch War*, he had multiplied them to near 5000

Men: He then began that War in Conjunction with *France*, and the Parliament gave him Two Millions and an Half to Maintain it; with part of which Money, he raised about 12000 Men; which were called the *Black-Heath* Army (Appointing Marshal *Schomberg* to be their General, and *Fitz-Gerald* an *Irish* *Papist* to be Lieutenant General) and pretended he raised them to attack *Holland*: But instead of using them to that purpose, he kept them Encamped upon *Black-Heath*, hovering over the City of *London*; which put both Parliament and City into such a Confusion, that the King was forced to Disband them, but there were several Accidents contributed to it. First, the ill Success he had in the War with the *Dutch*, such Gallantries not being to be attempted but in the highest Raptures of Fortune. Next the never-to be forgotten Generosity of that Great Man General *Schomberg*, whose mighty Genius Scorn'd so Ignoble an Action, as to put Chains on a Free People: And last of all the Army themselves Mutinied for want of Pay, which, added to the Ill Humours that were then in the Nation, made the King willing to Disband them. But at the same time, contrary to the Articles of Peace with the *Dutch*, he continued 10000 Men in the *French* Service, for the most part under *Popish* Officers, to be Season'd there in Slavish Principles, that they might be ready to Execute any Commands, when they were sent for over. The Parliament never Met, but they Address'd the King to recall those Forces out of *France*, and Disband them, and several times prepared Bills for that purpose, which the King always prevented by a Prorogation; but at last was prevail'd upon to Issue forth a Proclamation to recall them, yet at the same time Supplied them with Recruits, encouraged some to go voluntarily into that Service, and Press'd, Imprison'd, and Carried over by force others. Besides, he only Disbanded the New rais'd Regiments, and not all them neither, for he kept up in *England*,

5890 private Men, besides Officers; which was his Establishment in 1673.

The King having two Great Designs to carry on together, *viz.* Popery, and Arbitrary Power, thought this Force not enough to do his Business effectually, and therefore cast about how to get a New Army, and took the most plausible way; which was pretending to enter into a War with *France*. And to that purpose, sent Mr. *Thynne* to *Holland*, who made a Strict League with the States; and immediately upon it, the King called a Parliament, who gave him 1200000*l.* to enter into an Actual War, with which he raised an Army of between 20 and 30000 Men, within less than 40 Days, and sent part of them to *Flanders*. At the same time he continued his Men in *France*, and took a Summ of Money from that Prince, to Assist him to make a Peace with *Holland*. So that instead of a War with *France*, the Parliament had given a great Summ to raise an Army to Enslave themselves. But it happen'd about this time, that the *Popish Plot* broke out, which put the Nation into such a Ferment, that there was no Stemming the Tide; so that he was forced to call a Parliament, which met *Octob. 23d, 1678.* who immediately fell upon the *Popish Plot*, and Land Army: Besides there were discover'd 57 Commissions granted to *Papists* to Raise Men, Counter-sign'd *J. Williamson*; for which, and saying, *That the King might keep Guards, if he could get them,* he was Committed to the *Tower*. This so enraged the Parliament, that they immediately proceeded to the Disbanding of the Army, and pass'd an Act that all Rais'd since the 29th of *September, 1677,* should be Disbanded; and gave the King 693388*l.* to pay their Arrears, which he made use of to keep them up, and dissolved the Parliament. But soon after called another, which pursued the same Councils, and pass'd a 2d Act to Disband the Army, gave a New Summ for doing it, directed it to be paid into the Chamber of *London*, appointed

Commissioners of their own, and passed a Vote; That the Continuance of any Standing Forces in this Nation, otherwise than the Militia, was Illegal, and a great Grievance and Vexation to the People, so that the Army was Disbanded. Besides this, they complain'd of the Forces that were in *France*, and Address'd the King again to recall them; which had some Effect, for he sent over no more Recruits, but suffer'd them to wear out by degrees.

The Establishment upon the Dissolution of this Army, which was in the Year, 1679, 80. were 5656 private Soldiers, besides Officers. From this Time he never agreed with his People, but Dissolved three Parliaments following, for Enquiring into the *Popish Plot*; and in the 4 last Years of his Reign, call'd none at all. And to Crown the Work, *Tangier* was demolished, and the Garrison brought over, and plac'd in the most Considerable Ports in *England*, which made the Establishment in 83, 84, 8482 private Men, besides Officers. It's Observable in this King's Reign, that there was not one Sessions, but his Guards were attacked, and never could get the least Countenance from Parliament; but to be even with them, the Court as much discountenanced the Militia, and never would suffer it to be made useful. Thus we see the King Husbanded a few Guards so well, that in a small number of Years, they grew to a formidable Army, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Parliament to the Contrary; so difficult it is to prevent the growing of an Evil that does not receive a Check in the beginning.

He Encreased the Establishment in *Ireland*, to 7000 Men, Officers included; whereas they never exceeded in any former Reign 2000, when there was more Occasion for them; the *Irish* having not long before been entirely reduced by *Cromwell*, and could never have held up their Heads again without his Countenance. But the Truth of it was, his Army was to support the *Irish*, and the fear of the *Irish* was to support his Army.

Towards the latter end of this King's Reign, the Nation had so entirely lost all Sense of Liberty, that they grew fond of their Chains; and if his Brother would have suffered him to have lived longer, or had followed his Example, by this time we had been as great Slaves as any in *France*: But it was God's great Mercy to us, that he was made of another Mould, imperious, obstinate, and a Biggot, pushed on by the Councils of *France* and *Rome*, and the Violence of his own Nature; so that he quickly run himself out of Breath. As soon as he came to the Crown, he seized the Customs, and Excise, without Authority of Parliament; he pick'd out the Scum and Scandal of the Law, to make Judges on the Bench, and turned out all that would not sacrifice their Oaths to his Ambition; by which he discharged the Lords out of the Tower, inflicted those barbarous Punishments on *Dr. Oates*, *Mr. Johnson*, &c. butchered many Hundreds of Men in the West, after they had been trapped into a Confession, by promise of Pardon; murdered *Cornish*; got the dispensing Power to be declar'd in *Westminster-Hall*, turned the Fellows of *Magdalen* College out of their Freeholds, to make way for a Seminary of Priests, and hanged Soldiers for running away from their Colours. He likewise erected the Ecclesiastical Commission, and suspended the Bishop of *London*, because he would not inflict the same Punishment on *Dr. Sharp*, for preaching against Popery.

He Closeted the Nobility and Gentry, turned all out of Employment that would not promise to repeal the Test, put in Popish Privy-Counsellors, Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace; and to get all this confirmed by the Shew of Parliament, he prosecuted the Work his Brother had begun, in taking away Charters, and new modelled the Corporations by a sort of Vermin called Regulators. He received a Nuntio from *Rome*, and sent an Ambassador thither. He erected a Popish Seminary at the *Savoy*. to pervert Youth, suffered

the Priests to go about in their Habits, made *Tirconnel* Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, turned all the Protestants out of the Army, and most of the Civil Employments there, and made *Fitton* (a Papist, and one convicted of Perjury) Chanceller of that Kingdom. He issued out a Proclamation in *Scotland*, wherein he asserted his Absolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without Reserve. A Prerogative I think never claimed by the Great *Turk* or the *Mogul*. He issued out a Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience, ordered it to be read in all Churches, and imprisoned and tried the Seven Bishops, because they humbly offered their Reasons in a Petition against it; and to compleat all, that we might have no Hopes of retrieving our Misfortunes, he imposed a Counterfeit Prince of *Wales* upon the Nation.

Soon after he came to the Crown, the Duke of *Monmouth* landed, and in a few Weeks got together 6 or 7000 Men; but they having neither Arms nor Provisions, were easily defeated, by not many more then 4000 of the King's Troops, which leaves a sad prospect of the Consequences of a Standing Army. For here was a Prince, the Darling of the Common People, fighting against a biggoted Papist, that was hated and abhorred by them, and yet defeated by so small a Number of Men, and many of them his Friends too, such is the Force of Authority. King *James* took Occasion from hence to increase his Army to between 15 and 16000 Men, and then unmasked himself, called his Parliament, and in a haughty Speech told them, he had encreased his Army, put in Officers not qualified by the Test, and that he would not part with them. He asked a Supply, and let them know he expected a Compliance. This was very unexpected to those Loyal Gentlemen, who had given him so vast a Revenue for Life, who refused to take any Security, but his Majesty's never-failing Word, for the Protestant Religion; and, indeed, had done for him whatever he asked; which, yet, was
not

not very extraordinary, since he had the choosing of most of them himself. But even this Parliament turned short upon the Army, which puts me in Mind of a Saying of *Machiavel*, viz. That it is hard a Matter for a Man to be perfectly bad, as perfectly good; though if he had lived at this time, I believe he had changed his Opinion. The Court labour'd the Matter very much, and to shew that good Wits Jump, they told us that *France* was grown formidable, that the *Dutch* Forces were much increas'd, that we must be strong in proportion, for the Preservation of our selves and *Flanders*, and that there was no Dependance upon the Militia; but this shallow Rhetorick would not pass upon them. They answered, that we had defended our selves for above 1000 Years without an Army, that a King's truest Strength, is the Love of his People, that they would make the Militia Useful, and ordered a Bill to be brought in to that purpose: But all this served only to fulfill their Iniquity, for they had done their own Business before, and now he would keep an Army in spite of them; so he prorogued them, and called no other Parliament during his Reign; but to frighten the City of *London*, kept his Army encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, when the Season would permit; which put not only them, but the whole Nation into the utmost Terror and Confusion. Toward the latter end of his Reign, he had increas'd his Army to above 20000, and in *Ireland* to 8700 and odd.

This King committed two fatal Errors in his Politicks. The first was his falling out with his old Cronies the Priests, who brought him to the Crown in spite of his Religion, and would have supported him in Arbitrary Government to the utmost; nay, Popery (especially the worst part of it, viz. The Domination of the Church) was not so formidable a thing to them; but with a little Cookery, it might have been rendered palatable: But he had Priests of another sort, that were to rise upon their Ruins, and he thought to play an easier Game,

Game, by caressing the Dissenters, employing them, and giving them Liberty of Conscience; which Kindness look'd so preposterous, that the wise and sober Men among them could never heartily believe it; and when the Prince of *Orange* landed, turned against him.

His second Error, was the disobliging his own Army, by bringing over Regiments from *Ireland*, and ordering every Company to take in so many *Irish* Papists; by which they plainly saw, he was reforming his Army, and would Cashier them all, as fast as he could get Papists to supply their room; that he violated the Rights of the People, fell out with the Church of *England*, made uncertain Friends of the Dissenters, and Enemy's of his own Army; by which Means they all united against him, and invited the Prince of *Orange* to assist them, which Invitation he accepted, and landed at *Torbay*, *November 5, 1688*, publishing a Declaration, which set forth all the Oppressions of the last Reign [but the keeping up a Standing Army] declared for a free Parliament, in which Things were to be so settled, that there should be no Danger of falling again into Slavery, and promised to send back all his Foreign Forces, as soon as this was done. When the News of his landing was spread through *England*, he was welcomed by the universal Acclamations of the People. He had the Hands, the Hearts, and the Prayers of all honest Men in the Nation; every one thought the long wished-for Time of his Deliverance was come. King *James* was deserted by his own Family, his Court, and his Army. The Ground he stood upon, mouldred under him, so that he sent his Queen and Foundling to *France* before him, and himself followed soon after. When the Prince came to *London*, he disbanded most of those Regiments that were raised from the Time he landed, and King *James's* Army that were disbanded by *Feversham*, were ordered again all to repair to their Colours; which was thought by some a false Step, believing it would
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have been more our Interest to have kept those Regiments which came in, upon the Principle on which this Revolution is founded, than Forces which were raised in Violation of the Laws, and to support a Tyrannical Government; besides, the miserable Condition of *Ireland* required our speedy Assistance, and these Men might have been trusted to do that Work.

Within a few Days after he came to Town. He summoned the Lords, and not long after the Members of the 3 last Parliaments of King *Charles II.* and was address'd to by both Houses to take upon him the Administration of the Government, to take into his particular Care the then present Condition of the Land, and to issue forth Circulatory Letters for the choosing a Convention of Estates. All this time *Ireland* lay bleeding, and *Tyrconnel* was raising an Army, disarming the Protestants, and dispossessing them of all the Places they held in *Lemster, Munster* and *Connaught*; which occasioned frequent Application here for Relief, though it was but to send them one or two Regiments; and if that could not be done, to send them Arms and Commissions, which in all Probability would have made the Reduction of that Kingdom very easy; yet, though the Prince's and King *James's* Armies were both in *England*, no Relief was sent; by which means the *Irish* got Possession of the whole Kingdom, but *Londonderry* and *Iniskilling*, the former of which Towns shut up its Gates the 9th of *December*, declaring for the Prince of *Orange*, and address'd for immediate Relief. yet obtained neither Arms nor Ammunition, till the 20th of *March*; and the Forces that were sent with *Cunningham* and *Richards*, arrived not there till the 15th of *April*, and immediately after deserted the Service, and came back again, bringing *Lundy* the Governor, before appointed by his Majesty, with them, and alledg'd for Excuse, that it was impossible to defend the Town: But notwithstanding this Treachery, such was the Resolution of the Besieged, that they

continued to defend themselves with the utmost Bravery, and sent again for Relief, which under *Kirk* came not to them till the 7th of *June*; nor were these poor Creatures actually relieved till the 30th of *July*, though there appears no Reason why he might not have done the same, when he first came into the Harbour, which was more than 7 Weeks before. Thus we see the Resolution of these poor Men wearied out all their Disappointments. When the Convention met, they resolved upon 28 Articles, as Preliminaries, upon which they would dispose of the Crown; but this Design dwindled into a Declaration of our Rights, which was in 13 Articles, the most considerable, *viz.* That the raising and keeping a Standing Army in Times of Peace, is contrary to Law (had tack'd to it these Words) without the Authority of Parliament, as if the Consent of Parliament would not have made it legal without those Words, or that their Consent would make it less dangerous. This made the Jacobites say in those early Days, that some Evil Counsellors designed to play the same Game again of a Standing Army, and attributed unjustly the Neglect of *Ireland* to the same Cause, because by that Omission, it was made necessary to raise a greater Army to reduce it, with which the King acquainted the Parliament, *March* 8th; when, speaking of the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, he declared, he thought it not adviseable to attempt reducing it with less than 20000 Horse and Foot. This was a bitter Pill to the Parliament, who thought they might have managed their Share of the War with *France* at Sea: But there was no Remedy, a greater Army must be raised, or *Ireland* lost; and to guild all, the Courtiers ushered in their Speeches, with this Declaration, That they would be the first for disbanding them, when the War was over; and this Declaration was made as often as an Army was debated after the War was ended; and, I suppose, punctually observed. At last, the Thing was consented to, and

the King issued forth Commissions for raising Horse, Foot, and Dragoons in this Army, very few Gentlemen of Estates in *Ireland* could get Employments, tho' they were in a miserable Condition here, and made their utmost application for them; it being a common Objection by some Colonels, That a Man had an Estate there, which in all likelihood would have made him more vigorous in reducing the Kingdom. It was long after this Army was raised, before they could be ready to be transported; and even then it was commonly said, that *Shombergh* found many things out of order; and when they were at last Transported, which was about the middle of *August*, they were not in a Condition to fight the Enemy, tho' lately baffled before *London-Derry*; especially their Carriages coming not to them till the 24th of *September*, when it was high time to go into Winter-Quarters. By this means the *Irish* got Strength and Courage, and three fourths of our Army perish'd at *Dundalk*. But though our Army could do nothing, yet the Militia of the Country, almost without Arms, or Cloaths, perform'd Miracles; witness that Memorable Siege of *Londonderry*, the defeat of General *Macarty*, who was intrenched in a Bog with 10000 regular Troops, and attacked by 1500 *Iniskillilling-Men*, defeated, himself made Prisoner, and 3000 of his Men killed, and a great many other gallant Actions they perform'd, for which, they were dismiss'd by *Kirk* with Scorn and Ignominy, and most of their Officers left to starve. Thus the War in *Ireland* was Nurs'd up, either thro' Chance, Inadvertency, or the necessity of our Affairs (for I am unwilling to think it was design) 'till at last it was grown so big, that nothing less than his Majesties great Genius, and the usual Success, that has always attended his Conduct, could have overcome it.

When the Parliament met that Winter, they fell upon the Examination of the *Irish* Affairs; and finding Commissary *Shales* was the Cause of a great part of the Miscarriages, they Addressed his Majesty, that he would be pleased to Acquaint the House who it

was that Advis'd the Employing him? which his Majesty did not remember. Then they Address'd, that he would be pleas'd to Order him to be taken into Custody, and it was done accordingly. Upon which, *Shales* sent a Letter to the Speaker, desiring he might be brought over to *England*, where he would Vindicate himself; and justifie what he had done. Then the House Address'd his Majesty again, that he might be brought over with all convenient speed; and the King was pleas'd to Answer, that he had given such Orders already. Then the House refer'd the Matter to a private Committee; but before any Report made, or *Shales* could be brought to *England*, the Parliament was Prorogued, and after Dissolved; and soon after he fell Sick, and Died.

The neglect of *Ireland*, made it necessary this Year to raise more Forces, and encrease our Establishment; which afterwards upon pretence of Invading *France*, was advanced to 87698 Men. At last by our Great Armies, and Fleets, and the constant Expence of maintaining them, we were too hard for the Oeconomy, Skill and Policy of *France*; and notwithstanding all our Difficulties, brought them to Terms, both Safe and Honourable.

It not being to the purpose of this Discourse, I shall omit giving any Account of the Conduct of our Fleet, during the War, how few Advantages we reaped by it, and how many Opportunities we lost of destroying the *French*; only thus much I will Observe, that tho' a great part of it may be attributed to the Negligence, Ignorance or Treachery of inferior Officers, yet it could not so universally happen thro' the whole Course of the War, and unpunished too, notwithstanding the Clamours of Merchants, and repeated Complaints in Parliament, unless the Cause had laid deeper. What that is, I shall not presume to Enquire; but I am sure there hath been a very ill Argument drawn from it, *viz.* That a Fleet is no Security to us.

As soon as the Peace was made, his Majesty Discharged a great part of the Foreign Forces, and an

Advertisement was published in the Gazette, that 10 Regiments should be disbanded forthwith; and we were told as soon as it was done, that more should follow their Example. But these Resolutions it seems were alter'd, and the Modish Language was, that we must keep up a Standing Army; their Arguments were turned Topsy Turvey; for as during the War, the People were prevail'd on to keep up the Army in hopes of a Peace, so now we must keep them up for fear of a War. The Condition of *France*, which they had been decrying for many Years, was now magnified; we were told that it was doubtful whether the *French* King would deliver up any of his Towns; that he was preparing a vast Fleet upon the Lord knows what Design, that it was impossible to make a Militia useful, that the Warlike King *James* had an Army of 18000 *Irish* Heroes in *France*, who would be ready when called for, and that the King of *Spain* was dying. The Members of Parliament were discoursed with as they came to Town; 'twas whisper'd about that the Whigs would all be turn'd out of Employments, a New Plot was said to be Discover'd to Murder the King, and Searches were made at Midnight through the whole City, to the discovery of plenty of Fornication, but no Traytors. The Place-Mongers Consulted among themselves, and found by a wonderful Sympathy they were all of one Opinion, and if by any means they could get a few more to be of the same, the Day was their own; so they were positive of Success, and very sure they should carry it by above 100 Voices.

The House had not sat a Week, but this Matter came to be Debated, and the Question in the Committee was, Whether all Forces raised since the Year 1680, should be Disbanded? This was carried in the Affirmative, the Court not being able to bring it to a Division; and the next Day when it was Reported, they did not attempt to set aside the Vote, but to re-commit it, upon pretence it tied the King to the old Tory Regiments (tho' by the way, none of those Regiments have been since Disbanded) and some said

they thought the Forces in 1680, too many. I can safely say, tho' I had frequent Discourse with many of them, yet I never heard any one of them at that time pretend to be for a greater Force than this Vote left the King. But let what will be their Reasons, it was carried against them by a Majority of 37. the Affirmatives being 185, and the Negatives 148. I will not here take notice of what some People have said, that of the 148 who were for re committing the Vote, 116 had Places, because I doubt the Fact, neither do I believe their Places would byass them.

This was a thorough Victory, and required great Skill and Address to retrieve; the fears of *France* were again multiplied, twas said that there was a private Article, that King *James* was to leave *France*, which the *French* refused to perform; that *Boufflers* and the Earl of *Portland* had given one another the Lye, that some of the later Retinue had been kill'd, that the *French* Ambassador was stopt, the King of *Spain* dead, and abundance more to this purpose: the Club was set up at the R—— great Applications made, the Commission of the Excise was declared to be broke (by which Nine Commissioners Places were to be disposed of, and above 40 Persons named for them) and many of the Country Gentlemen were gone Home. Thus Recruited, they were ready for a new Encounter; and since, by the Rules of the House, they could not set aside the former Vote directly, they would try to do it by a Side Wind; which was by moving, that Directions might be given to the Committee, of Ways and Means to Consider of a Supply for Guards, and Garrisons. But the other side, to obviate this, offer'd these words, as an Amendment, *viz.* According to the Vote of the 11th of *December*. This Matter was much laboured, and the Gentlemen that were aginst the Army, explained themselves, and declared, that they were not for obliging the King to the Regiments in 1680, but that they insisted only on the Number, and he might chuse what Regiments he pleased. By this means they carried it, but not without great Opposition,

sition, (but I presume from none of those Gentlemen who declared in all places they were for re committing the former Vote, only for the Reasons before given) beside, they were forced to Explain themselves out of a considerable part of it; for they allow'd the King the *Dutch* Regiments, and the *Tangerines*, which in my Opinion, could not be well understood by the former Vote; the meaning of which seems to be, that the King should have all the Forces that *Charles* the Second had in 1680 in *England*, and these were not then here; the *Holland* Regiments being paid by the States, and their Soldiers, and the other 500 Leagues off at *Tangier*. But all this Advantage would not satisfy the Army Gentlemen; for in the Committee they again endeavour'd to set aside the Vote, by moving for a Summ of 500000 *l. per Ann.* for Guards, and Garrisons, with without naming any certain Number (which would have maintained above 20000) but this could not be carried; therefore they came to a sort of Composition, to have but 1000, whereof a great Number were to be Horse, and Dragoons, and the Summ given to maintain them, was 350000 *l.* but notwithstanding this, they moved afterwards for 3000 Marines, (alleging that these were not a Land Force, but a Water Force) which was carried.

Here I will beg Leave to observe one thing; that nothing would satisfy the Courtiers at the beginning of the Winter, but to have the Forces Established by the Parliament, and upon other Terms they would not accept them; and in all Companies said, That any Minister that Advised the King to keep them up otherwise, or any Officer that continued his Commission, ought to be Attainted of High Treason. About which, I shall not differ with these Gentlemen, nor do I Arraign them for altering their Opinion; for perhaps they might conceive, that a Vote to give 350000 *l.* for Guards, and Garrisons, was a sufficient Authority against Law, to Quarter Soldiers in all parts of *England*, as well out of Garrisons, as in them, and as well at a distance from the King's Person, as about it. Thus

Thus what our Courts for above 1000 Years together, had never Effrontery enough to ask, what the Pensioner Parliament could not think of without astonishment, what King *James's* Parliament (which was almost chosen by himself,) could not hear Debated with Patience, we had the Honour of Establishing in our own Age, even under a Deliverance.

Now we will Examine how far they have complied with the Resolutions of the House of Commons, having so far gained upon the first Vote, by the means above related, 'twas not easie to be imagined, but they would nicely perform the rest, without any Art or Evasion. But instead of this, they reform'd a Certain Number of Men out of every Troop, and Company, and kept up all the Officers, who are the most Essential and Chargeable part of an Army, the Private Soldiers being to be raised again in a few days, when they pleased. This was such a Disbanding, as every Officer would have made in his Company for his private Advantage, and always did in King *Charles* the Second's time, and even in this Reign, when they were not in Action; so that all the Effect of such a Reform was, to hinder the Officers from false Musters, and save the Pay of a few Common Soldiers.

But this would not satisfy the People, and therefore they Disbanded some Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and thought of that profound Expedient, of sending a great many more to *Ireland*, as if our Grievance was not the fear of being Enslaved by them, but least they should spend their Money among us. I am sorry the Nation was grown so Contemptible in these Gentlemen's Opinions, as to think they could remove our fears of a Standing Army, by sending them Threescore Miles off, from whence they might recall them upon a few days Notice; nay an Army kept in *Ireland*, is more dangerous to us, than at Home; for here by continual Converse with their Relations, and Acquaintance, some few of them perhaps might warp towards their Country; when as in *Ireland*, they were kept as it were in a Garrison, where

where they were shut up from a Communication with their Countrymen, and might be Nurst up in another Interest. This is so True, that 'tis a common Policy among Arbitrary Princes, often to shift their Soldiers Quarters, least they should contract Friendship among the Natives, and by degrees fall into their Interest.

I can't avoid taking Notice here, how different the Modish Sentiments are in *Ireland*, and *England*; for there the Language is, We must comply with the Court in keeping up the Army, or otherwise the Woollen Manufacture is gone: And here, the Men in Fashion tell us, that an Army must be kept in *Ireland* to destroy the Woollen Manufacture, and to Execute the Laws we make against them; and in order to it, the People of *Ireland* are to Pay them.

This Project of sending Men to *Ireland*, was so transparent, that they durst not rely upon it; and therefore they told us, that as fast as Money could be got, they would Disband more Regiments. The People were in great Expectation when it would be done, and several times it was taken notice of in Parliament, and the Courtiers always assured them that nothing hindred it, but want of Money to pay them off.

'Twas confidently said in all Publick Places, that 18 more Regiments would be Disbanded, and the Regiments were named, and I have heard it with great assurance affirmed by the Agents and Officers themselves, that the King had Signed it in Council. Thus the Session was worn out, 'till the House of Commons, tired with Expectation, Addressed his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give Order that a List be laid before the House, of the Army Disbanded, and intended to be Disbanded, and of the Officers Names who were to have Half Pay: And his Majesty was pleased to Answer, That he would comply with the desires of the House as soon as conveniently he could; but the Parliament not Sitting above a Month afterwards, his Majesty sent them no farther Answer.

At last the Parliament rose, and instead of Disbanding, they brought over a great many Foreign Regiments, and sent them to *Ireland*, as well as three more *English* ones; but even all this would not bring their Army in *England* down to 10000 Men; so that they made another Reform, and afterwards Incorporated the Officers of the Disbanded Regiments in *Ireland*, into the Standing Troops; by which means, they got an Army of Officers; whereas if these Gentlemen designed their Army to defend us against a sudden Invasion, or to have been in readiness against the King of *Spain's* Death, in my poor Opinion, they should have kept up the Private Soldiers, and Disbanded all the Officers, but such as were just necessary to Exercise them; for Officers will be always ready to accept good Employments; whereas the Private Soldiers will be very difficultly Listed again in a New War; tho' we all know they are easily to be got together, when they are to Insult their Countrymen.

One Good Effect of that Army soon appear'd, for I presume every body has heard how prevailing an Argument it has been in Elections since, That if we chuse such a Man, we shall be free from Quarters; and I wish this Argument does not every day grow stronger; nay who knows but in another Reign, the Corporations may be told, *That His Majesty Expects, they will Chuse the Officers of the Army,* and the Parliament be told; *That He Expects they will Maintain them.*

F I N I S.

