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John Adams

MEMOIRS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND.

FROM THE

Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II.
until the Sea-Battle off LA HOGUE.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Consisting chiefly of

LETTERS from the French Ambassadors in England, to their
Court; and from Charles II. James II. King William and
Queen Mary, and the Ministers and Generals of those Princes.

Taken from the

Depôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM'S
private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interspersed with Historical Relations, necessary to connect
the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

DUBLIN:

Printed by the Executors of DAVID HAY, Assignee
of the late BOULTER GRIERSON, at the King's
Arms in Parliament-Street. 1773.

M E M O R I A L

STATE OF TEXAS

WITNESSETH

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T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT - BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PART THE FIRST.

VOL. III.

A

A P P E N D I X.

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that Argyle's ships have escaped.

May 12, 1685.

ON Saturday last I had yours of the 15th, by which I see the orders were given for sending those fugitives out of your country, and I make no doubt but that you will do your part to have it well put in execution, you seeing how necessary it is it should be done. I see, by the same letters, how vexed you are, that the three ships, laden with arms and ammunition, from Amsterdam, got out to sea, notwithstanding the orders you had given to stop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains still in Holland, as it is reported. I have sent all the necessary orders both into Scotland and Ireland, in case they land there, and for England, I suppose, they will hardly think of doing it. As for other matters, all things continue very quiet here; and the parliament being so near, I have so much business upon my hands, that I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as you can desire.

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, May 19, 1685.

IHAVE now two of yours to answer, the one of the 22d, the other of the 25th, and do easily believe if you had been at the Hague, the Lord Argyle,

with his three ships, had not got out; and see, by the same letter, that what I had desired of the States, concerning my fugitive subjects was ordered, which I take as kindly as can be desired, and as you say, I am sure you will look to its being well executed. Lord Treasurer shewed me the paper you mentioned in yours of the 25th: I believe the intelligence is true, and the rather, because yesterday I had letters from Scotland that gave me an account of Lord Argyle's having been at the Isle of Orkney, in his way towards the west of Scotland, or north of Ireland: he sailed from those isles the 8th, old stile, so that I expect every day to hear of his being landed. I have reason to believe the phanatick party have a design to rise if they can in some part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here; I am taking the best care I can to prevent it; and now you see how little trust is to be given to what the Duke of Monmouth says. The parliament meet this day, the Lords were all sworn, the Commons chose their Speaker, I approved him, but it will be Friday before they can enter upon any business, for till then they will hardly have made an end of swearing and taking the test. I have not time to say more, but to assure you, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

James II to the Prince of Orange.—Desires three Scotch regiments to be sent to Scotland.

Whitehall, May 22, 1685.

YOU will hear from others how well the parliament have behaved themselves this day, after I spoke to them, so that I need not repeat it. This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunstaffnage, in the shire of Lorne, in the west Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the interest he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe

I believe he will get a good number of disaffected men together; and though I make no doubt, by God's help, that the rebels will soon be mastered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worst, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propose to you, the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your service, to be sent over into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the sooner it is done, the more reason I shall have to take it very kindly of you. What else I have to say I must refer to him, not having time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

James III to the Prince of Orange.—Refuses to accept the Prince's offer to go to Scotland with the Scotch regiments.

Whitehall, June 2, 1685.

LAST night I had yours of the 5th, by which I see you had received mine, in which I desired you to lend me the three Scotch regiments to be sent to Scotland, and was the next day to propose it to the States, which, I hope, by the next, to hear that they agreed to; for though I have reason to believe, that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet such a body of good men as those three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take very kindly of you what you offer concerning yourself; but besides that you cannot be spared from where you are, this rebellion of Argyle is not considerable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you, as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourself. The last letters I had from Scotland were of the 28th, which gave me an account that Argyle was in Kintire, and had summoned all his men to come thither to him on the 26th; so that I am apt to believe, that if some of the frigates I sent for that coast have not got thither by that time, that he is by this landed in Ayre or Gallo-

way, or some of the western shires, which is the only thing he has to do; but the parliament having done so well, and all things being so quiet here, will discourage all the rebels wheresoever they are. My daughter, the Princess of Denmark, was this day brought to bed of a girl. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange. — Account of Argyle's motions.

Whitehall, June 5, 1685.

ON Wednesday night I received yours of the 9th, by which I see how much I am obliged to you and the States, for lending me the three Scotch regiments, which I always acknowledge to be a very great obligation. I ordered immediately a man of war from the Downs to make the best of her way to see if she could get time enough to the mouth of the Maese to convoy them to Leith. As for the rebels in Scotland, by letters I had from thence yesterday morning, of 31st, from Edinburgh, and the 30th from Aire, from Lord Dumbarton, I heard that Argyle was making a shew to land at Largs in Cunningham, which is about twenty miles from Glasgow, and that Lord Dumbarton was marching thither with the troops he had with him; but I am apt to believe it is but a feint, and that Argyle only does it to draw Lord Dumbarton as far as he can from Gallo-way, and then go with all the men he has thither in his ships and boats, by which means he may get thither four or five days at least before Dumbarton can be with him, and increase his numbers with the common people of that country, which are most of them of his mind; and this sure is the best party he can take, if some of my frigates be not there time enough to hinder him. I expect this night, or to-morrow, to hear more from thence, and very soon what is become of the Duke of Monmouth, and the ship he bought at Amsterdam.

All

All things are, God be thanked, very quiet here, and the several countries seem very ready to draw together and oppose him wheresoever he land. Yesterday, a letter from Poole in Dorsetshire, for an officer of the customhouse, informed, that a frigate of mine on that coast had taken a vessel with four or five thousand arms in it; but hearing nothing more of it this day, I doubt of the truth of it. My daughter, the Princess of Denmark, was taken ill this morning, having had vapours, and other accidents which sometimes trouble women in her condition, which frightened us at first; but now, God be thanked, our fears are over: she took some ordinary remedies, and has slept after them most of this afternoon and evening, and is in a very good way; which is all I shall say to you now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

*James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—Account of
Argyle and Monmouth.*

Whitehall, June 12, 1685.

I Have received your's of the 15th, in which you give me an account of your having seen the Scotch regiments. I thank you for the care you took of appointing a convoy for them, though I believe the frigate I sent for the same purpose, got to the mouth of the Maese before they were ready to sail. I do not hear any thing of the Duke of Monmouth since he sailed from the Texel; if he be gone through the channel for Scotland, some of my frigates, that I have sent that way, may chance to light on him; if he had designed to have landed any where in the west of England, as some thought he intended, as the winds have been since he sailed, I must have heard of it; so that I think he must be gone for Scotland, through St. George's Channel, or intends to land somewhere in Cheshire, or Lancashire, where I have taken the best care I can to hinder his doing much harm. From Scotland I had news, that

Argyle, instead of landing at Largs on the main, was gone to the Isle of Bute, and that three of my frigates were come to the road before Aire on the 5th; and that within two or three days they designed to attack Argyle's ships, of which I expect very soon an account, and believe, he, Lord Argyle, will be in an ill condition before Monmouth get up to join him. All things, God be thanked, continue very quiet here. I thought to have said more, but have not now time to do it, and assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke of Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 15, 1685.

THOUGH the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on Thursday evening, I got not notice of it till Saturday morning; he found nobody in the town, I mean of the militia, and so possessed himself of it: besides the ship he was in himself, there came with him two other ships of about one hundred ton each; and by what I have been yet informed of, I do not hear he brought on shore with him above two hundred men, since which several of the common sort of people have flocked in to him, who he has armed, having brought with him great store, and by a spy I had lately amongst them, they give out they are three thousand, but he tells me they are not half so strong, and that then there was never a gentleman came in to him, but one Trenchard that I had sent to seize some days before Monmouth's landing, and had got away, and was one of the late conspiracy with him, and had got out upon the Habeas Corpus act. The militia of the neighbouring countries are by this got together, and marching to him, and I have sent down nine companies of foot, four troops of horse, two of dragoons, which are all to be at Salisbury by to-morrow night, with
seven

seven small field-pieces, to march forward if occasion be. There has been some little fighting already between the rebels and some of the Dorsetshire militia, at a place called Bridport, some three miles from Lyme, into which quarter, some two hundred foot, and one hundred horse of the rebels fell, and at first killed one Mr. Strangavais, and another gentleman, and took two or three more; but more help coming to the militia, they beat back the rebels, killed some, and took five, with several arms they flung away in their hasty retreat. This happened on Saturday, and every moment I expect to hear of some more action, and in a few days I hope to send you a good account of this affair. He now takes upon him to be King, as you will see by the declaration he has put out, which by order of the Lords was burnt by the hands of the hangman. Sure there was never a more lying, malicious paper than that. I was this day at the parliament in my robes, to pass two money bills, two private ones, and another for attainting of the Duke of Monmouth, and I hope, in a few days, he will not be in a very good condition. I have not time to say any more, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire. I had forgot to tell you I had received yours of the 19th."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desires the three English regiments to be sent over, because Monmouth is advancing.

Whitehall, June 17, 1685.

“**W**HEN I wrote to you yesterday, I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth shut up within Lyme, but by the fault of those of Devonshire or Somersetsshire, he has opened his way towards Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increase his numbers; and though with those troops I have raised, and am raising, I make no doubt of mastering him in some small time, yet

yet to make all sure, I desire you to lend me the three English regiments that are in your service, and they may be sent over with all possible speed. I have charged Mr. Skelton to speak to you at large upon this affair, and so shall say no more but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 19, 1685.

"**T**HE rebels, by the fault of the country militia, have opened their way to Taunton, where their numbers will no doubt increase. It was last night, as I am informed, before the Duke of Monmouth got thither. The Lord Churchill with some of my horse and dragoons, with the militia of Dorsetshire, were to join the Duke of Albemarle with his Devonshire men to follow the rebels to-morrow. I intend to send Lord Feverham with three battalions of the foot guards, one hundred and fifty of the horse guards, sixty grenadiers on horseback, two troops of horse, and two of dragoons, to march towards the rebels. I am raising store of horse and foot, and men come in very fast, and the nobility and gentry are very zealous for my service; and offer me to raise me men enough, they being very sensible, that they design nothing less than their destruction, as well as that of the monarchy; but by God's assistance, I make no doubt in some time to put an end to this rebellion. I have not time to say more at present, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, June 23, 1685.

“**T**HE Holland letters are not yet come, but the wind being now good, expect them every hour. As for news, the Gazette will tell you all that was here till it came out, concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who was then at Taunton; but by letters I had this morning from the Duke of Albemarle from Wellington, I hear, that he, the Duke of Monmouth, was marched from Taunton to Bridgewater, and so intended to continue his march towards Bristol, where, I believe, he will find good resistance, for, by this, Lord Feversham, with the horse and dragoons with him, may be either at Bristol or the Bath, as he pleases, and will have with him several of the militia troops, who when alone do not do well, but will make a good show and fight, when they have old troops to shew them the way. Lord Churchill will be up with Lord Feversham within a day or two, and then there will be likelihood of some action, which I make no doubt, by God’s blessing, will be for my advantage. In the mean time I am getting what troops I can together here, to be in a good posture. The Duke of Monmouth now has taken upon him the title of King, and signs as I do, and wrote the other day to the Duke of Albemarle to persuade him to lay down his arms and submit to him; which not being done, the Duke of Monmouth caused him to be proclaimed a traitor to him. As to the particulars of Argyle’s being taken, you can see it in this printed paper, sent from hence, by which the rebellion in that country will soon have an end. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you, I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.”

James

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Declines accepting the Prince's offer to come over to England.

London, June 30, 1685.

“ **T**WO days since I had yours by Monsieur Bentinke, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with, and I take very kindly from you all the offers you made me by him, and I make no doubt, but by God's help, your sending me the three regiments I desired of you (the three Scotch being arrived this day at Gravesend) to put a speedy end to this rebellion. As to your coming over, which he told me you were ready to do, if there were any necessity of it, I do not at all think it proper at this time for our common interest, it being as necessary for you to stay in Holland at this conjuncture, to keep all things well there, as it is for me to stay here in London. I have discoursed at large with M. Bentink upon this subject, who will also give you an account of it. However, I take it as kindly from you as if you had come, and am as sensible as you can desire, of what you have already done. As for news, Lord Feversham followed the rebels the day after they marched from before Bath, and being advanced with some command of foot, and some of his horse and dragoons, found the rebels at a place called Phillippsorton. He sent his foot on to see how they were posted, and what could be done upon them; who found the rebels very well posted in a very strong ground, not to be forced, with so few men; and so drew up before them, and hindered their march, and when the rest of his men came up to him, thought it not fit to engage, and went to Bradford, which was not far off, to refresh his men, who were very much harrassed, having marched nine days without any rest. In this small occasion, the Duke of Grafton, who went on with, and commanded the detachment of foot, had like to have been cut off by a party of the rebels' horse, who came out to fall into his flank,

flank, but were charged and beaten by the grenadiers on horseback, and Mathews, that commanded the rebels' horse, killed by Lieutenant Vaughan. Of my men only seven or eight were killed, and some twenty wounded; not one officer had any harm, and but one volunteer killed. I have not time to say more, but assure you, shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Much pleased with the regiments sent by the prince.—Monmouth retreats.

Whitehall, July 3, 1685.

"I Received on Wednesday your's of the 6th, by which I see the English regiments were to be embarked by the beginning of this week, and must again thank you for them, and if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I saw this morning, I shall be doubly pleased; for as to these I have seen, there cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleased with them than I am, and must again thank you for them. They quarter this night in Southwark, and are to march to-morrow for Hounslow, and so forwards, as I shall have news of the rebels' motion. I heard yesterday they had been at Wells, which they had sufficiently plundered, church and all, and were marching to Gasenberry, I believe in their way to Bridgewater, to get near the sea-side there, having a mind as I believe to speak with his ship somewhere thereabouts; but it will be ill fortune if some of my ships do not light upon her, for I have two, I caused fit out at Bristol, going to look out for her that way, and others which are going about the Land's end after her. I have not heard from Lord Feversham this day, but believe he marched yesterday from Frome after the rebels; he did not march after them the day before to be sure which way they bent, he being to cover Bristol, and

and to see they give him not the slip this way; if they go west, he will press them hard. They, the rebels, desert apace; which is all I shall say now but to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth defeated.

Whitehall, July 7, 1685.

"**I** Am sure it will please you very well to hear that it has pleased God, to give my troops good success against the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had summoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feversham marched on Sunday last from Sommer-ton to a village called Weston, which is within some two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troops, which consisted of about two thousand foot, in six battalions, and some seven hundred horse and dragoons, and eighteen small field pieces: the Earl of Pembroke with some horse and foot, of the militia, were quartered in a village behind him, having not tents, to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himself at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horse, and came on with that great order and silence, that our parties which were out to see if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced straight on to our camp, hoping to surprize them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within pistol shot of our foot. Our horse in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being so covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebels horse, which
consisted

consisted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the first charge, but did not pursue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great resistance, but at last were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken. How many were slain of them was not then known, nor how many prisoners; just now I have heard again from Lord Feversham, of last night ten o'clock, in which he gives me an account that he was master of Bridgwater, that what horse of the rebels which escaped, had taken their way towards Bristol, that he had sent two parties of horse, the one to Canham and the other to Bradford, to see to intercept them; that as to the Duke of Monmouth, he believed he got off only with forty horse. I have reason to believe now that the countries will rise upon them, so that he will have difficulty enough to get away. Lord Feversham has left some men in Bridgwater, and is marched to Wells, where he is to be this night: 'tis so late that I can say no more, but to assure you you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James the IIId to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth taken.

Whitehall, July 10, 1685.

"**I**N my last I told you how Lord Feversham had totally defeated the Duke of Monmouth. Now I can tell you that it hath pleased God to let the Duke be taken; he and Lord Grey, so soon as their horse were beaten, went away and left their foot; and some hours after, with two others, put themselves in disguise, and went as far as their horses would carry them towards Poole; when they were tired, they quitted them, and endeavoured to get on foot to the seaside; but Lord Lumley, with some of the Suffex militia, had the good fortune to take them both, the Lord Grey on the 7th, and the Duke of Monmouth on the 8th,

8th, with a Brandenburgher, that was with them, whose name I do not yet know. I have ordered them to be brought up hither under a strong guard; which is all I have time to say to you now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—His interviews with Monmouth and Lord Grey.

Whitehall, July 14, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 17th, and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two first desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectation, in what they said to me: the Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected, from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have signed the warrant for his execution to-morrow. For Lord Grey, he appeared more resolute and ingenious, and never so much as once asked for his life; his execution cannot be so soon, by reason of some forms which are requisite to be complied with. 'Tis so late that I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's execution.

Whitehall, July 17, 1685.

“ **I** Find by yours of the 21st, that you heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very solicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wednesday on the Tower-hill. He died resolutely, and a downright enthusiast. Mr. Bentick will soon be with you, who will be able to inform you of all the particulars, which are too long for a letter; Richard Goodenough is taken in Devonshire, they are in hopes to have Farguson also, so that few of the chief rebels are escaped: I have not time to say more, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices that the rebellion is ended.

Whitehall, July 19, 1685.

“ **T**HE kind message you sent to the king by Mr. Bentinck, and your good wishes, I believe brought us good luck, for God be thanked here is an end of all troubles, and in such a manner as that we hope never to see the like again as long as we live. I have desired this bearer to give you a thousand thanks for all the marks you give me of your friendship, both by him, and in your letter. I am extremely pleased with it, and desire nothing more than the continuance of it, of which I will not doubt, being resolved to shew myself upon all occasions, truly and sincerely yours.”

M. R.

For my son, the Prince of Orange.

James the 2^d to the Prince of Orange.—Lords Brandon and Stamford seized.

Whitehall, July 24, 1685.

“ I Had this evening yours of the 27th, and certainly you are very much in the right, in what you say concerning the late Duke of Monmouth. I have now made further discovery, and have sent this evening lord Stamford to the Tower, and have ordered lord Brandon to be taken up and sent thither also. I was yesterday at Hounslow to see some six thousand men were there. It is so late that I have not time to say more, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.”

In the Depot.

Notwithstanding these smooth letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, Barillon writes to his court 21st of May, 1685, that the King complained to him that the Prince of Orange had permitted lord Argyle to sail. On the 7th of May he writes, that the King said he was to keep on fair terms with the Prince only till the session of parliament should be over; and at an after period near the time of the revolution he writes, that King told him, it was very lucky there had been no occasion for trying the fidelity of the regiments which the Prince of Orange had sent over in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; for that most of the officers were disaffected.

Lord Dartmouth's manuscript-note on page 631, Vol. 1, of Bishop Burnet's history, is in these words: “ Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect, that the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition with design to ruin the Duke of Monmouth.” The authority is high. Fletcher was in a situation to know, and he was incapable of lying.

The effect of the King's suspicion soon appeared in his insisting to appoint the commander of the six British regiments

regiments in the Dutch service, in the place of Mr. Sidney, whom he had recalled. At first he proposed that lord Pembroke should have the command. The prince consented; but the appointment did not take place. Afterwards the King recommended lord Carlingford, a Roman catholic. But the Prince positively refused his consent, and the King yielded in his turn.

The correspondence on this subject is in King William's box, as follows.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Proposes Lord Pembroke to command the British troops in the Dutch service.

Whitehall, July 29, 1685.

“ I Have spoken my mind so freely to this bearer Mr. Bentick, and so freely instructed him of all things here, that I need say little to you by him. Richard Goodenough is brought hither, and confirms very exactly what the late Duke of Momouth and Lord Gray have said: I have not spoken to him yet, but I am to examine him myself to-morrow. I need not say more to you now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

I have charged this bearer to make a proposal to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, who considering all things I think very fit for the command I propose to you.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Presses for Lord Pembroke's command.—Is to make a camp at Hounslow.

Whitehall, August 10, 1685.

“ I Had not time the last post to let you know that I had received yours of the 6th from Dieren, by which I am glad to see you were so satisfied with what

Mr. Bentick had said to you from me, and shall not alter from it. As to what you desire to have concerning some authentick proofs against some in Amsterdam, at present I can say no more than the note I gave Mr. Bentick has informed you, but now when the trials come on of several of the rebels, shall see what further light can be got. As to what concerns lord Pembroke's affairs which I recommended to you so earnestly, I hope that if you press the States to it, they will agree to it, especially when you may tell them no pension will be desired, now in time of peace; and for a regiment, that as I keep Canon here, he lord Pembroke may have it. 'Tis true he has seen no service, he is a stout, ingenious, and industrious man, and one on whom I can entirely rely, and so will be sure to propose none, nor recommend any to you, but such as are truly loyal, which is of great consequence to me; for as they are yet composed, there are some officers, and many soldiers, were better out than in those regiments; and besides that, he has really served me eminently well in this last affair, against the Duke of Monmouth; all which considerations will I hope prevail with you, to do your part to get it done, and then sure the States will not be against it. As for news, all things continue very quiet here, and are like to continue so, though the republican and presbyterian party are as willing as ever to rebel, only want an opportunity. I shall have most of my new foot at Hounslow by the next week, where I intend they shall all camp, for some time; which is all I have to say, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange—Thanks for Lord Pembroke's affair.—Commends the appearance of the troops encamped at Hounslow.

Windsor, August 25, 1685.

" I HAVE received yours of the 27th, by which I am very glad to find you do agree to what I proposed

posed to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, and thank you very kindly for doing it, and shall send to advertise him of it, that he may make what haste he can over to you, to thank you for your kindneses to him. As for the names of any of the magistrates of Amsterdam, when I can get any authentic proofs against them, I I shall let you have it, which, I fear, will be hard to be got, though 'tis certain some of them knew of the Duke of Monmouth's design. On Saturday last I saw some of my troops at Hounslow, they consisted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other seven new raised regiments; of horse there were twenty squadrons, and one of grenadiers on horseback, and really the new troops of both sorts were in very good order, and the horses very well mounted: I was glad that the Mareschal d'Humieres saw them, for several reasons. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

For my sonnè the Prince of Orange.

Prince of Orange to Mons. Bentinck.

“ **J**E suis en un extreme embarras de ce que le Roy à trouvé bon de me nommer le Comte de Carlingford pour commander les six regimens de ses sujets qui sont en ce service icy, puis qu'il n'y a rien au monde que je desire plus que de satisfaire sa Majesté en tout ce qui pouroit dependre de moy. Mais comme le dit Comte est Catholique, et que cela me feroit un tort extreme en ce pais-ci si je donnois commandement de ces six regimens à une personne de cette religion; et que vous vous souviendrez sans doute que je fus obligé de faire la même representation au feu Roy a l'égard du Comte de Dunbarton; et que sa Majesté eut la bonté de n'y plus insister, je me trouve forcé de vous prier de représenter cecy au Roy, esperant que sa Majesté aura la même bonté, et qu'elle ne voudra pas que

In King William's box.

je me fasse un si grand tort en ce pais, dont elle ne peut tirer aucune service. J'aurois fait directement cette representation au Roy, si je n'avois cru qu'il estoit plus respectueux de le faire par votre moien; dont je vous prie de prendre la peine, et cela de la maniere que vous jugerez le plus convenable; et vous obligerez extremement celui qui sera toujours entierement à vous."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Mons. Bentinck.—Refuses to give the command of the English regiments in the Dutch service to Lord Carlingford, recommended by the King.

"**I** AM under an extreme embarrassment from the King's thinking proper to name the Earl of Carlingford to me for the command of the six regiments of his subjects who are in this service, because there is nothing in the world I desire more than to give satisfaction to his Majesty in every thing that depends upon me. But as the Earl is a Catholick, and it would hurt me extremely in this country if I gave the command of these six regiments to a person of that religion; and as I was obliged, which no doubt you will remember, to represent the same thing to the deceased King with regard to the Earl of Dunbarton; and as his Majesty had the goodness upon that not to insist upon it any longer, I find myself forced to represent all this to the King, in hopes that his Majesty will have the same goodness, and that he will not wish to do me so great an injury to myself in this country, without bringing any advantage to him. I would have made this representation directly to the King, if I had not thought that it was more respectful to do it by your means. I intreat you to take the trouble of it, and that in whatever manner you think proper, and you will oblige extremely him who will be always entirely yours."

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Presses him, from the King, to give the command of the British troops in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford, a Papist.

“ **I**N obedience to your Highness’s commands, which I received by your letter of the 19th of this month, I have represented to the King what you directed me concerning my Lord Carlingford, and the prejudice it would be to your Highness if he commanded the King’s subjects in Holland ; upon which his Majesty has ordered me to assure your Highness that he will never desire any thing of you that can possibly be disadvantageous to you ; and if my Lord Carlingford’s being at the head of those troops could be so, he would never have writ to you about it, nor would continue to press it as he does. His Majesty not thinking it unreasonable for him to recommend a man of quality and honour such a one as he likes to be over his subjects, and that his being a Catholick is no argument against it, since men of that religion have been so often employed in all places and at all times. That when my Lord Dunbarton was proposed by the late King, the noise of the plot and the clamour of the faction were at the height, which was the reason his late Majesty pressed it no further ; but all that being over long ago, and his present Majesty employing Catholicks where he finds they are fit, he cannot but desire that my Lord Carlingford may command those regiments, and thinks the alteration of times and persons ought to be considered. This his Majesty has directed me to write to your Highness, to which I have nothing to add, but that I am sure the King would be very well pleased if this might be done, and that he will take it extremely well of your Highness if

you could comply with him in it. For my particular, I am very sorry that you should desire any service of me out of my power, being, with the greatest respect and submission possible,

Your Highness's

Windsor, Most faithful, most humble
 Aug. 24, 1686. And most obedient servant.

SUNDERLAND. P.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.

A Dieren, ce 12 de Sept. 1686.

“ J'AI reçu, la jour avant mon depart de la Haye, celle que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire du ^{24 Aoust,} _{4 Sept.} par ordre du Roy sur l'affaire de milord Carlingford. Il ne seroit pas bienséant, et j'ay trop de respect pour sa Majesté, d'entrer plus avant en raisonnement sur cette matiere; ainsi je n'ai qu'à vous prier de vouloir de ma part supplier sa Majesté tres humblement d'avoir la bonté de ne plus insister sur cette affaire, et je le prendrai comme une grande grace. Je suis bien marri d'être obligé de vous donner tant de peine; je vous prie de ne le pas trouver mauvais, et de me croire toujours, &c.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.—Refuses positively to give the command of the British troops, in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford.

Dieren, September 12, 1686.

“ THE day before I left the Hague I received the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on ^{24 Aug.} _{4 Sept.} upon my Lord Carlingford's affair. It would not be decent, and I have too much respect for his Majesty to enter further into reasonings on that mat-

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ter ; and therefore I have only to beg you will humbly intreat his Majesty, on my part, to have the goodneſs not to inſiſt upon this affair, and I will take it as a great favour. I am ſorry to give you ſo much trouble, and I crave you not to take it amiſs, and to believe me always, &c.

In the mean time, Lord Churchill not having ſucceeded at Paris in getting money for his maſter from the French court, King James and his Miniſters renewed their attempts with Barillon. The following diſpatch relates the particulars. I print the whole of it, though long, becauſe, I preſume, the effect of it will be, to make every Britiſh reader, even at this day, ſhudder, when he reflects what an eſcape from arbitrary power our anceſtors made at the Revolution.

*Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685,
Mars 26.*

“ J’A I eu pluſieurs conferences depuis quelques jours avec le Roy d’Angleterre, et avec ſes miniſtres, dans les quelles j’ai été fort preſſé de repreſenter à votre Majeſté l’état au quel ſont les affaires de ce pays cy, et de lui demander en même tems un ſecours qui puiſſe mettre ſa Majeſté Britannique en état de ſe ſoutenir, et de ne pas ſuccomber ſous les efforts qu’on doit s’attendre que feront ſes ennemis des que l’occaſion ſ’en preſentera : milord Rocheſter, milord Sonderland, et milord Godolphin me ſont venu trouver enſemble, et m’ont expliqué les beſoins qu’avoit le Roy d’Angleterre d’un ſecours preſent ; c’eſt à dire d’une ſomme conſiderable d’argent pour pouvoir ſe conduire avec la fermeté neceſſaire envers le parlement, et ne lui accorder aucune des conditions prejudiciables à ſon autorité, qui lui ſeront indubitablement propoſées en lui accordant le revenu dont le feu Roy d’Angleterre jouiſſoit. Ils me dirent
que

que la resolution étoit prise de ne point accepter ce que le parlement voudroit accorder pour un tems limité, parceque ce seroit établir une necessité d'assembler le parlement, qui changeroit la forme du gouvernement, et qui rendroit le Roy leur maitre entierement dépendant de cette assemblée ; que plustot que de tomber dans cet inconvenient, il en faudra venir d'abord aux remedes extrêmes, casser le parlement, et se maintenir à force ouverte dans la jouissance des revenus accordés au feu Roy d'Angletere pour sa vie seulement ; qu'on ne doit pas présumer que cela puisse être fait sans opposition ; et qu'il faut être en état de reprimer d'abord les premiers troubles qui seront excités ; qu'on ne peut les prevenir en levant de nouvelles troupes avant la seance du parlement, ni en faissant venir des forces etrangers qui, dans le commencement que le parlement sera cassé, causeroient plutôt une révolte generale en Angleterre, qu'elles ne serviroient à réduire les rebelles ; qu'ainsi le seul remède est que sa Majesté Britannique soit en état de faire un grand effort, et de se soutenir avec une somme d'argent qui facilitera tous ses desseins, au lieu que s'il faut attendre le secours dont ou aura besoin, le tems se passera avant qu'on en puisse tirer les avantages qui seront indubitables d'abord.

Les trois ministres s'etendirent sur la gloire qu'auroit votre Majesté de conserver la couronne peu affermie encore sur la tête du Roy leur maitre, et n'obmirent aucune des raisons qui doivent porter votre Majesté à le mettre en état de lui devoir la conservation et le bonheur de son regne. La conclusion fût qu'ils ne doutoient pas que votre Majesté ne voulut bien dans la suite accorder le même subside au Roi leur maitre qu'elle avoit accordé au feu Roy, et même ne rien diminuer sur les deux dernieres années des trois comme on avoit fait ; c'est à dire un subside de deux millions par chaque année pendant trois ans ; qu'outre ce subside, il étoit d'une absolue necessité que votre Majesté voulut envoyer icy avant l'assemblée du parlement un fonds de deux millions, qui seroient avec ce qui reste dû de l'ancien subside une somme

me de trois millions ; que l'état des affaires du Roi ne demandoit pas un moindre secours ; et que votre Majesté, voulant lui témoigner une amitié sincere et effective, feroit plus par ce secours present que par tout ce qu'elle pourroit faire dans la suite.

Je temoignai être surpris d'entendre la proposition d'une somme si considerable, et en même tems celle d'un subside réglé ; je leur dis qu'une demande plus moderée seroit plus convenable dans les commencemens, puisque l'on pouvoit être assuré que le secours de votre Majesté ne manqueroit pas au besoin, et qu'on avoit vu que votre Majesté avoit prevenu même la demande qu'on lui pouvoit faire, des qu'elle avoit pu croire que sa Majesté Britannique pouvoit en avoir besoin : que je trouvois aussi qu'il n'étoit pas nécessaire de régler des à présent un subside, avant que de voir ce qu'il arriveroit de l'assemblée du parlement, et sans savoir si il ne se porteroit pas à donner au Roy d'Angleterre la jouissance de tous les revenus pendant sa vie, au quel cas il se trouveroit en état de se soutenir plus aisement et de maintenir son autorité. La replique à cela fût, quoiqu'il arrivat du parlement on ne devoit pas s'attendre, que le Roy leur maitre fût en etat de pouvoir subsister par lui même en l'état où il devoit être pour sa sûreté ; qu'il auroit besoin de faire encore une augmentation dans ses troupes, et de remettre ses vaisseaux en bon état ; que sa resolution étoit prise de demeurer toujours attaché à votre Majesté, et ainsi qu'il ne craignoit pas de s'engager à demander un subside pendant plusieurs années, sachant bien que votre Majesté seroit contente de sa conduite en tous les tems, et ne se repentiroit pas de le mettre en pouvoir de lui temoigner sa reconnoissance. Le même jour que j'eus cette conference, le Roy d'Angleterre me mena dans son cabinet ; il me repeta ce que ses ministres m'avoient dit, et y ajouta tout ce qui peut persuader un attachement inviolable de sa part aux interets de votre Majesté. Je lui dis que je ne pouvois pas lui parler de la part de votre Majesté sur ce que ses ministres m'avoient dit, ne l'ayant pas prévu ; que je le priois
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de mon chef de considerer ce que votre Majesté avoit fait d'abord pour prevenir ses besoins ; que je croiois que cette épreuve le devoit porter plutôt à laisser à votre Majeste le choix de ce qu'elle desiroit faire, que de lui demander avec empressement une somme considerable comme une chose d'une absolue necessité ; que la fixation d'une subside me paroissoit aussi être prematurée ; et qu'une entiere confiance en votre Majesté ne l'engageroit pas moins qu'une demande precise et formelle ; que je croiois que la maniere d'agir de votre Majesté à son egard, doit aussi attirer de lui une maniere differente de ce qui se pratique ordinairement ; et que si j'osois le conseiller, je croiois qu'il ne seroit pas nécessaire dans ce commencement de faire autre chose que d'établir une confiance reciproque, et une entiere intelligence sur tout ce qui peut arriver.

La réponse du Roi d'Angleterre a été, qu'il penseroit à ce que je lui disois ; qu'il me parleroit encore à fond ; et que je visse milord Rochester, pour pouvoir convenir avec lui de ce qu'il seroit plus à propos de faire presentement. Je vis milord Rochester, et j'essayai de lui persuader que la demande d'une somme si considerable, jointe à celle d'un subside, ne seroit pas un si bon effet auprès de votre Majesté, que si on se contentoit de représenter l'état des affaires, qu'ensuite on remit à ce que votre Majesté jugeroit plus convenable à faire de sa part ; qu'il importoit dans le commencement de son ministère d'établir une confiance entiere entre votre Majesté et le Roi son maitre, et que rien ne fût refusé de ce qui seroit demandé ; que si je ne connoissois ses bonnes intentions par une longue experience, je croiois qu'il auroit inspiré le conseil d'une demande si forte, pour jetter votre Majesté dans l'inconvenient de refuser la premiere chose qui lui est demandée par sa Majesté Britannique ; qu'il devoit croire que je parlois de mon chef et sans ordre, n'ayant pu prévoir que l'affaire dont il est question dut être agitée ; que j'aimois mieux prevenir des difficultés qui pourroient survenir que de faire esperer icy plus qu'on ne doit attendre.

Milord Rochester me dit qu'il croioit inutile de me parler de sa conduite passée, puisque nous avons, lui et moi, pendant quatre ans managé seuls et sans la participation d'autres personnes, des interets assez difficiles a concilier ; que j'étois temoin de son procedé tant qu'il avoit eu la confiance du feu Roy d'Angleterre ; qu'il esperoit que je lui rendrois cette justice de n'avoir rien vu en lui de l'incertitude et des changemens si frequens en ceux qui l'avoient precedé dans les affaires ; qu'il ne pretendoit pas tirer vanité de ce qui s'est passé pendant les quatre dereres années ; qu'il croioit que le feu Roy d'Angleterre avoit fait fortagement et fort utilement pour ses interets de s'unir étroitement avec votre Majesté ; que votre Majesté de son côté avoit trouvé de la facilité a l'execution de tous ses desseins, pour ne rien dire de plus avantageux de sa liaison avec le feu Roy d'Angleterre ; que tant que les finances ont été entre ses mains, il a laissé aller les payemens des subsides en la maniere que je l'ai voulu, et que par ce moyen, il s'est passé une année entiere sans qu'il ait été question de la continuation de ce subside, quoique dans cette derniere année Luxembourg ait été pris, et la paix faite en la maniere que votre Majesté la voulû prescrire à ses ennemis : qu'en tout cela il croit avoir bien servi son maitre, sans avoir rien fait de contraire aux interets de votre Majesté ; qu'ainsi il merite qu'on prenne à present confiance en lui, et que ce qu'il peut conseiller soit bien interpreté ; que son dessein n'est pas de diminuer l'opinion que je puis avoir de son credit, mais que je connois le Roy son maitre, et que je vois clairement qu'il agit en tout par lui même, et que personne ne scait mieux que lui l'état de ses affaires ; que sa resolution est prise de demeurer inviolablement attaché à votre Majesté ; qu'il n'y aura ni changement ni variation dans sa conduite, et que votre Majesté peut faire un fond assuré sur lui à l'avenir ; qu'avec le secours present, et la promesse du subside, le Roi son maitre sera en état de réprimer les premiers efforts qui se feroient contre lui, et qu'après s'être bien établi, il dirigera toute sa conduite au dehors,

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pour se conserver une amitié et une protection à laquelle il devra sa conservation et la prospérité de ses affaires ; qu'à son égard de lui, je le connoissois assez pour savoir qu'il ne croioit pas de la dignité et des vrais intérêts de son maître de marchander avec votre Majesté, ni de lui demander trois millions pour en obtenir deux ; que le besoin étoit pressant, et qu'il n'étoit arrivé de longtems une conjoncture pareille à celle-ci ; que votre Majesté jouissoit d'une paix glorieuse après avoir donné le repos à l'Europe par une sagesse plus digne d'admiration encore que ses conquêtes : qu'il avoüoit de bonne foi, que la conduite de votre Majesté en tout, attire une profonde veneration, que personne n'en est plus rempli que lui ; qu'il espere que votre Majesté ne voudras pas diminuer quelque chose de ce qui lui est demandé en une occasion où il s'agit de tout pour le Roy son maître.

J'ai eu depuis cela une longue conférence avec le Roy d'Angleterre dans laquelle il m'expliqua à fond ses desseins et l'état de ses affaires ; il me dit, qu'il connoissoit l'aversion que le peuple d'Angleterre avoit pour la religion catholique, mais qu'avec le secours de votre Majesté il esperoit surmonter cet obstacle ; que son unique but étoit d'y travailler ; et qu'il savoit assez que jamais il ne seroit en une entiere sûreté que la religion catholique ne fût établie en Angleterre de façon à ne pouvoir être ruinée ni détruite ; que cela ne se pouvoit faire qu'avec le tems, et en prenant de grandes precautions pour l'avenir ; qu'il avoit beaucoup de vues sur cela, dont je serois informé quand il en seroit tems ; que presentment il s'agissoit de jeter les fondemens de son regne et de s'établir ; que le secours dont il avoit besoin m'avoit été expliqué ; que son humeur étoit fort opposée à faire des demandes excessives, mais qu'il n'hésitoit pas aussi à exposer ses besoins à votre Majesté, ayant bien resolu d'être tout sa vie attaché à ses intérêts : que quand il saura sur quoi il peut faire un fondement assuré, il entreprendra des choses à quoi il n'oseroit songer, s'il n'est pas en état de les soutenir. Que tout ce que votre Majesté a fait de glorieux pour sa personne, et d'avantageux
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pour son état, ne l'est pas d'avantage que le feront les suites de ce que votre Majesté fera presentement en sa faveur, parcequ'un secours present, et l'opinion qu'on a déjà de l'appui de votre Majesté pour lui, le mettront en état de venir à bout de tous ses bons desseins ; qu'il les conduira avec la participation de votre Majesté, et conformement à ses intentions ; que le rétablissement de la religion catholique en Angleterre ne peut réussir que sous la protection et par les secours de votre Majesté ; que Dieu la mise en un état de grandeur et de puissance, où aucune Roy de France n'a été depuis plusieurs siècles, pour être le restaurateur de la religion en Angleterre.

Je dis à ce Prince que je représenterois à votre Majesté ce qu'il me disoit ; que je le priois cependant de se remettre à ce que votre Majesté resoudra, et de ne se pas tellement renfermer à aucune demande précise, que votre Majesté ne connoisse qu'il soumet à son jugement et à sa décision la conduite d'une affaire de si grand poids, et qui demande tant de precaution et de si puissans secours ; que je suis assez informé que votre Majesté ne desire rien d'avantage que le rétablissement de la religion en Angleterre, mais que cette entreprise est remplie de difficultés, et sera traversée fortement si elle n'est conduite avec tout la prudence possible ; que c'est ce qui se doit concerter avec votre Majesté, et prendre des mesures solides qui ne puissent manquer ; qu'ainsi il est juste de s'en rapporter à votre Majesté. Je vis encore hier au soir le Roy d'Angleterre, il me pressa de rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit connoître qu'il attendra avec impatience ce que votre Majesté aura déterminé, parceque toute sa conduite doit être dirigée sur la resolution que votre Majesté voudra prendre.

J'ai eu une longue conference en particulier avec milord Sonderland ; il me paroît informé à fond des intentions et des desseins du Roy son maître ; il le croit entièrement resolu de s'attacher à votre Majesté, et de ne menager M. le Prince d'Orange qu'autant qu'il est nécessaire

cessaire presentement, pour ne lui pas fournir des occasions de faire eclater sa mauvaïse volenté ; il m'a dit, que ceux qui voudroient réunir le Roy d'Angleterre et M. le Prince d'Orange seroient fort aisé que votre Majesté ne fit pas presentement pour le Roi d'Angleterre tout ce qu'il peut desirer, pour pouvoir dans la suite trouver quelque moyen de la faire pancher du côté du Prince d'Orange, ce qui deviendra entierement impossible, si votre Majesté repond à ce que sa Majesté Britannique attende presentement de son amitié."

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James asks a supply and subsidy from France.—His views.—Conferences with Godolphin, Rochester, and Sunderland, and their views.

March 26, 1685.

“ WITHIN these few days, I have had many conferences with the King of England, and his ministers, in which I have been much pressed to represent to your Majesty the state of affairs in this country, and at the same time to ask such a supply of money as may put the King of England in a condition to support himself, and not sink under the efforts which it is expected his enemies will make, as soon as an occasion offers. Lord Rochester, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, came to me together, and explained the need the King of England had of a present supply, that is to say, of a considerable sum of money, in order to enable him to conduct himself with a necessary firmness towards his parliament, and not to grant any of those conditions prejudicial to his authority, which undoubtedly will be proposed to him at granting the revenue which the deceased King enjoyed. They told me the resolution was taken not to accept what the parliament would grant for a limited time, because it would establish a necessity of assembling the parliament, which would

would change the form of government, and render the King, their master, entirely dependent on that assembly. That rather than fall into this inconvenience, it would be better to have recourse directly to violent remedies; dissolve the parliament; and maintain himself by open force in the enjoyment of the revenues granted for life to the deceased King of England; that it ought not to be presumed this can be done without opposition, and they ought to be in a condition of opposing instantly the first disturbances which shall be raised: That they cannot prevent them by levying fresh troops before the sitting of parliament, nor by bringing in a foreign force, which on the first dissolution of the parliament would rather cause a general revolt in England, than serve to reduce the rebels; that thus the only remedy is, that his Britannic Majesty be in a condition of making one grand effort, and of supporting himself with a sum of money which would facilitate all his designs: on the contrary, if he must wait for the supply he stands in need of, the time will be gone before any advantages can be drawn from it, but which are undoubted, if the supply be immediate.

The three ministers enlarged upon the glory your Majesty would acquire by preserving the crown as yet but tottering on their master's head; and omitted no reasons which could induce your Majesty to put him on a foot of owing the preservation and happiness of his reign to you. The conclusion was, they did not doubt but your Majesty would henceforth grant the same subsidy to the King their master, which you had given to the deceased King, and even not lessen the two last years of the three, as had been done; that is to say, a subsidy of two millions per annum, for three years: That besides this subsidy, it is absolutely necessary that your Majesty send here before the meeting of parliament a fund of two millions, which will make, with what remains of the old subsidy, a sum of three millions: That the state of the King's affairs required no less a supply; and that your Majesty, by shewing him a sincere and effectual

friendship, would do more by this present supply, than by all that could be done hereafter.

I shewed my surprize at hearing the propofal of fo considerable a fum, and of a regular fubfidy besides. I told them a leffer demand would have been more proper in the beginning, fince they might be affured that your Majesty's affiftance would not be wanting in time of need; and they had already feen, that your Majesty had even prevented the demand that might have been made, as foon as you believed his Britannic Majesty was in need: That, moreover, I did not think it neceffary to regulate at present a fubfidy before it was feen what would happen on the parliament's meeting, and without knowing if they were inclined to give the King of England the enjoyment of all the revenues during his life, in which cafe he would be in a condition to fupport himfelf more eafily, and maintain his authority. The reply to this was, that whatever might arife from parliament, it was not to be expected that the King, their mafter, would be able to fubfift by himfelf in the manner he ought for his fafety; that it would be neceffary to make an augmentation of his troops, and put his fhips in a good condition; that his refolution was taken to remain always attached to your Majesty, and therefore he was not afraid to afk a fubfidy for fome years, well knowing that your Majesty would, at all times, be contented with his conduct, and not repent putting it in his power to fhew his gratitude.

The fame day I had this conference, the King of England took me into his clofet, and repeated to me what his minifters had faid, adding every thing that could perfuade me of the moft inviolable attachment to your Majesty's interefts. I told him, I could not fpeak to him, on the part of your Majesty, upon what his minifters had faid to me, not having forefeen it; that I begged of him, in my own particular, to confider what your Majesty had already done to prevent his wants; that I thought this proof fhould rather lead him to leave your Majesty the choice of what you inclined to do, than to importune you for a large fum as a thing of abfolute

lute necessity; that the fixing of a subsidy appeared to me to be premature; and that an entire confidence in your Majesty would not less engage you than a precise and formal demand; that I thought the manner in which your Majesty had acted towards him, ought also to induce him to take different methods than are ordinarily practised; and if I dared to advise him, I believed it would not be necessary, in the beginning, to do any thing more than to establish a reciprocal confidence, and an entire correspondence upon future emergencies.

The answer the King of England made, was, that he would think upon what I had said; that he would speak to me again fully, and that I should see Lord Rochester to agree with him on what would be most proper at present. I saw Lord Rochester, and endeavoured to persuade him, that the demand of so considerable sum, joined to that of a subsidy, would not have so good an effect with your Majesty, as being contented with representing the state of affairs, and then referring to what your Majesty may judge most fit to be done on your part; that it behoved him, in the beginning of his ministry, to establish an entire confidence between your Majesty and the King, his master, and that nothing which could be refused, should be asked; that if I did not know his good intentions from a long experience, I should have believed that he had advised so great a demand with a view to throw your Majesty into the inconvenience of refusing the first thing his Britannick Majesty had asked of you; that he ought to believe I spoke from myself and without orders, not having been able to foresee the affair in question would be agitated; that I loved more to prevent difficulties which might arise, than to give greater hopes here than they ought to expect.

Lord Rochester said, he believed it unnecessary to speak to me of his past conduct, since he and I had for four years managed alone, and without the participation of any other person, interests sufficiently difficult to be reconciled; that I was a witness of his conduct as long

as he had the confidence of the deceased King of England; that he hoped I would do him the justice to think I had never seen in him that incertainty and those changes so frequent in the persons who had preceded him in the management of affairs: that he did not pretend to be vain upon what had passed during the last four years; he believed the deceased King of England had acted very wisely and very advantageously for his interests by uniting himself strictly with your Majesty; that your Majesty on your side had found a facility in the execution of all your designs, to say no more of the advantages of your alliance with the deceased King; that whilst the finances were in his hands he let the payments of the subsidies be just as I pleased, and by this means a whole year had passed over without any mention being made of the continuation of this subsidy, although in this last year Luxembourg was taken, and the peace made in such a manner as your Majesty prescribed to your enemies: that in all this he believed he had served his master well, without having done any thing contrary to the interests of your Majesty; that he therefore deserved to have confidence placed in him at present, and what he advises should not be mis-interpreted: that he does not mean to lessen the opinion I may have of his own credit, but that I knew the King his master, and clearly saw he acted in every thing of himself, and nobody knows better than he does the state of his own affairs; that his resolution was taken to live inviolably attached to your Majesty; that there will be neither change, nor wavering in his conduct, and that your Majesty might have a positive dependence upon him for the time to come; that with a present supply, and the promise of a subsidy, the King his master would be in a condition to repel the first efforts that can be made against him, and after being well established at home, all his conduct will be directed abroad to preserve a friendship and protection to which he will owe the preservation and prosperity of his affairs; that as for himself I was well enough acquainted with him to know what he did not believe

believe it was for his master's dignity or true interests to haggle with your Majesty, nor to ask of you three millions to obtain two; that the necessity was pressing, and for a long time there had not happened a conjuncture parallel to this; that your Majesty enjoyed a glorious peace after having given repose to Europe by a wisdom more worthy of admiration than your conquests; that he sincerely declared your Majesty's conduct in every thing deserved a profound veneration, and that nobody was more filled with it than himself; that he hoped your Majesty would not diminish any thing of what was asked of you on an occasion where the King his master's all was at stake.

Since that, I have had a long conference with the king of England, in which he explained to the bottom his designs, and the state of his affairs; he told me that he knew the aversion the people of England had to the catholic religion, but with support from your Majesty he hoped to surmount this difficulty; that his sole aim was to bring it about, and that he sufficiently knew he could never be in entire safety till the catholic religion was established in England in such a manner as not to be ruined or destroyed; that this could not be done but with time, and by taking great precautions for the future; that he had many views upon it, of which I should be informed when it was time; that at present the business was to lay the foundations of his reign and to establish himself; that the assistance he stood in need of had been explained to me; that it was very opposite to his inclination to make excessive demands, but he also did not hesitate to expose his necessities to your Majesty, having firmly resolved to be all his life attached to your interests. That when he knew what he might certainly trust to, he would undertake things which he would not dare to think of, unless he be in a capacity to support them. That all your Majesty had done glorious for your person, and advantageous to your state, will not be more so, than the consequences of what your Majesty shall at present do in his favour, because

a present supply, and the opinion already conceived of your Majesty's supporting him, will put him in a condition to bring all his designs to succeed. That he will conduct them with your Majesty's participation, and conformable to your intentions; that the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England cannot succeed but under your protection, and by the help of your Majesty's supplies; that God has put you in a state of greatness and power, to which no King of France for many ages arrived, in order to your being the restorer of religion in England.

I told this Prince, that I would represent to your Majesty what he had said; in the mean while I begged of him to refer himself to what your Majesty might resolve, and not attach himself so much to any precise demand, as to hinder your Majesty from seeing that he submits to your judgment and decision the conduct of an affair of such weight, and which requires so much precaution, and so powerful an assistance; that I am sufficiently informed your Majesty desires nothing more than the re-establishment of religion in England; but that this undertaking is full of difficulties, and will be strongly opposed, if not conducted with all possible prudence; that as this is what ought to be concerted with your Majesty, and such solid measures taken as cannot fail, it is but just to refer himself to your Majesty.

Yesterday evening I again saw the King of England; he had pressed me to give your Majesty an account of what he said to me, and told me that he should wait with impatience for your Majesty's determination, because all his conduct will be directed by the resolution which your Majesty will take.

I have had a long conference in private with Lord Sunderland; he appeared to me to be informed to the bottom of the intentions and designs of the King his Master. He believes him entirely resolved to attach himself to your Majesty, and to keep measures with the Prince of Orange only as far as it is at present necessary not to furnish him with occasions for making his ill will break forth.

forth. He told me, that those who were for reuniting the King of England and the Prince of Orange would be very glad that your Majesty should not do at present what the King of England desires of you, in order to be able hereafter to find some means of making him lean to the Prince of Orange's side, which will become entirely impossible if your Majesty yields to what his Britannick Majesty at present expects from your friendship.

Several of Barillon's dispatches besides this one prove that James had formed a determined resolution to levy the late King's revenue, whether parliament should grant it or not. Barillon writes thus to his court, March 1, 1686. "Cependant la possession fait une

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espece de droit, et sa Majesté Britannique paroît fort resolu de s'y maintenir à quelque prix que ce soit." "Possession, however, gives a sort of right, and his Britannick Majesty appears very resolved to maintain it, be the consequence what it will." On the 9th April, he writes thus to his court. "Le Roy continue à agir avec beaucoup de fermeté et d'hauteur, il ne me paroît point même avoir d'inquietude de l'avenir, quand le parlement ne lui accorderoit les revenus dont le feu Roy son frere jouissoit, et sa resolution semble prise de s'y maintenir et d'en continuer la jouissance."

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"The King continues to act with much firmness and haughtiness, he does not even appear uneasy for the future, even though parliament should not grant him the revenues which the King his brother enjoyed, and his resolution seems determined, to maintain and continue the possession of them."

Even when James submitted to act by a parliament, he scorned to court the members. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 30th of April, 1685. "Ce n'est pas le chemin que ce Prince pretend tenir; et rien n'est plus opposé à ce qu'il a dessein de faire. Il aura une conduite ferme et resoluë. L'introductiion faite par le Comte de Danby d'acheter les voix du parlement a si mal reussi, qu'on ne songe plus à s'en servir; et à dire

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la verité, si on recommençoit à le mettre en pratique on tomberoit dans les memes inconveniens. Le Roy d' Angleterre veut que ses affaires se fassent, par la necessité ou le parlement se trouvera de lui accorder ce qu'il est resolué de prendre, si on ne lui l' accorde pas; c'est à dire les revenus dont le feu Roy jouissoit." " This is not the road which this Prince intends to follow; and nothing is more opposite to what he designs to do. He will keep a firm and resolute conduct. The method introduced by the Earl of Danby of buying votes in parliament succeeded so ill, that it is no longer thought of, and to speak the truth, if it should again be attempted to be put in practice, the same inconveniences would attend it. The King of England wants to do his business by putting the parliament under a necessity of granting him what he is resolved to take, if they do not; that is, the deceased King's revenues." And on the 13th of December 1685, he writes thus: " Le grand tresorier vaudroit aussi qu' on employat de l' argent à gagner des voix dans le parlement. Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne a de la repugnance à prendre ce chemin, ayant connu quels inconveniens il en est arrivé par le passé, parceque tous ceux qui vouloient avoir de l' argent ou des charges se signaloient contre la cour pour y parvenir." The Treasurer was also for employing money to gain the votes in parliament. The King of Great Britain was against taking this step, having formerly known the inconveniences which happened from it; because all those who wanted money or posts distinguished themselves against the court to obtain them."

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In the Depot.

Barillon's dispatch of the 30th of May 1685, mentions that he had some time before received a remittance of one million 500,000 livres, and that he had told King James it was to be employed in his service if needed. But Barillon's private instructions were not to give it unless in the event of the King's dissolving his

his parliament, and being obliged to use force against his subjects. For on the 17th of May 1685, Barillon writes thus: “ *Votre Majesté me permet, par sa dernière dépêche, de donner toute la somme que je pourray avoir entre les mains, si je vois le parlement cassé, et que le Roy d’ Angleterre soit réduit à contraindre ses sujets par la force à se soumettre.*” “ *Your Majesty permits me, by your last dispatch, to give all the sum that I may have in my hands, if I see the parliament dissolved, and the King of England reduced to make his subjects submit by force.*”

It appears from Barillon’s dispatch of the 16th of April 1685, that his objects were to get the King to act without parliaments, and to separate himself from Holland, and that the lures he threw out were the assistance of France to establish the King’s authority and the Roman catholic religion; that James and lord Rochester converted these lures into reasons for France’s giving an immediate supply of money; but that Sunderland (who probably saw better where France pointed) went farther, and directly proposed an alliance with France, and a total separation from the Prince of Orange and the house of Austria; and that Lord Godolphin in all these matters steered a moderate course. In this dispatch he says he had told James, that the intentions of France were “ *de l’ ayder à maintenir son autorité, et à établir la religion catholique; que ces choses paroissent unies, et ne se pouvoient separer;*”——“ to assist him to support his authority, and establish the catholic religion; that these things appeared united and unseparable:” That James pressed for money from France saying he could not observe “ *une conduite ferme et haute, si on n’ est bien assuré d’ un secours qui ne puisse manquer;*”——“ a firm and high conduct if he was not secured of a supply which could not fail:” And that lord Rochester in asking money also from France for his master, used these words: “ *Qu’il estoit question presentement d’ établir son autorité, et de donner une forme assuré au*
gouvernement ;

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gouvernement ; que je connoiffois assez combien il importe d' être en état icy, de donner la loy et non pas de la recevoir." " That the question at present was, to establish his (*i. e.* the King's) authority, and give a firm form to government ; that I sufficiently knew of what importance it was to be in a condition here of giving the law and not receiving it."

The dispatch then relates the sentiments of lord Sunderland and lord Godolphin, as follows :

Extrait d' une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Avril 16, 1685.

" **M**ilord Sonderland à compris d'abord qu'il étoit bien plus à propos de prendre des engagemens formels et reciproques ; que le Roy son maitre doit rechercher tout ce qui lui peut assurer l' amitié de votre Majesté. Il pose pour un fondement assuré, que le parlement, le Prince d' Orange, et la maison d' Autriche doivent être considérés comme ayant des interets inseparables, et qu'il est impossible de desunir ; qu' ainsi pour être bien avec votre Majesté, il faut non seulement s'abstenir de toute liaison avec eux, mais meme s'en separer avec éclat, et lever le masque quand il en sera tems ; c'est à dire, après que le parlement aura accordé les revenus. Je suis demeuré dans une grande retenue sur les nouveaux engagemens qu' on pourroit prendre ; je me suis contenté d' insinuer la proposition que votre Majesté m'a ordonné de faire à cet égard, et j'ai cru devoir la faire naître plus comme une suite naturelle de ce qui se traitoit, que comme une ouverture de la part de votre Majesté. Milord Godolphin m'a parlé dans le même sens que milord Rochester ; quoiqu'il soit du secret, il n'a pas grand credit, et songe seulement à se conserver par une conduite sage et modérée. Je ne pense pas que s'il en étoit cru, on prit des liaisons avec votre
Majesté,

Majesté, qui pussent aller à se passer entierement de parlement, et à rompre nettement avec le Prince d' Orange.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mons. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth. — Different counsels of Sunderland and Godolphin.

April 16, 1685.

“**L**ORD Sunderland was directly of opinion, that it was much more proper to take formal and reciprocal engagements; that the King, his master, ought to court every thing which could ensure him of your Majesty's friendship, he fixes it for a fundamental principle, that the parliament, the Prince of Orange, and the House of Austria ought to be considered as having inseparable interests, and that it is impossible to disunite them; and that therefore to be well with your Majesty, it is necessary not only to refrain from all alliance with them, but even to separate from them with éclat, and take off the mask when it shall be time, that is to say, when the parliament shall have granted the revenues. I kept upon the reserve concerning the new engagements which might be taken; I contented myself with insinuating the proposition which your Majesty ordered me to make on that head, and thought it was better to let it arise as a natural consequence of what was treating, than as an overture on the part of your Majesty. Lord Godolphin talked to me in the same stile with Lord Rochester; though he be in the secret, he has no great credit, and thinks only to keep himself in by a wise and moderate conduct. I do not think that if his opinion was trusted, that they would enter into engagements with your Majesty to go on entirely without a parliament, and to break totally with the Prince of Orange.”

After

After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had settled a vast revenue upon James, he still continued, as Barillon relates, to beg a subsidy from France. A dispute between him and France, at this time, shews the minute attention of his genius to money. It was mentioned in chapter 3d of the Appendix to the Review, that James, when Duke of York, had offered to lend his own money in France, as a mark of his confidence in Louis, and to facilitate a money treaty with his brother, which was then in prospect. Barillon now writes, on the 13th of September, 1685, that the Duke's money had been lent out, in Courtin's name, to the Hotel de Ville at Paris, that James was demanding it from Courtin, that Courtin in accompting for the money, deducted ten or twelve thousand livres because the fund was fallen, but that James insisted the sum lent should be remitted without any deduction. Barillon adds, " Il s'agit des dix ou douze milles francs de plus ou de moins. Cette perte quoique modique seroit regardé ici avec chagrin, et comme un manque de consideration pour sa Majesté Britannique." " The dispute is about ten or twelve thousand livres, more or less. This loss, although moderate, would be looked upon here with chagrine, and as a want of consideration for his Britannick Majesty." About the same time Barillon received orders from his court, to let James know, that they would give no subsidy at present, because they thought he stood in no need of it. And Barillon writes, on the 25th October, 1685, that he had paid in all to James only 800,000 livres.

The remittances from France above-mentioned, did not escape the vigilance of Lord Preston, the King's ambassador at Paris, who had been kept ignorant of them by both courts. Among Lord Preston's letters there is the following one.

Lord

Lord Preston to King James.—Advises him of remittances of money from France to England.—Speaks of French parliamentary pensioners in the late reign.

A private advice to the King.

Paris, April 28, S. N. 1685.

“YOUR Majesty may be pleased to remember, that some weeks since I acquainted you with an advice which I had received, that a considerable sum of money was returned from hence into England immediately after the death of the late King; I am now, Sir, assured of the truth of it, and that it was remitted by the court banquier, *Monf. Grusse*. I cannot possibly assign the sum to your Majesty, but by conjectures, which are something probable, it should have been about a million of this money, which is about 83 or 84000 pounds of ours. I know also that one of *Monf. Grusse's* servants went about that time into England, he being not willing, as is likely, to have trusted such an affair to the ordinary post. That I might have better grounds for what I inform your Majesty of, I have privately informed myself by some banquiers how the exchange went about that time betwixt London and this place, and they all agree, that some weeks after the King's death, the exchange fell considerably, because that the great need which they who remitted the money had of bills, obliged them to take them at any rate. But the remitting was quickly at a stop, and in eight or ten days the exchange mounted to its ordinary train. I will not presume to write my conjectures to your Majesty for what use this money may be designed, and I wish and hope, with all my heart, that my jealousies may be vain. But, perhaps, your Majesty will think fit to have an eye that no practices may be set on foot with our new members of parliament. I hope, however, no great ill of that kind can be done, since,

In *Mr. Graham's* possession.

by

by good fortune, we shall have very few of their old pensioners amongst us.”

In the *Depot*.

Soon after this, James renewed the defensive treaty with the Dutch, and Barillon, in his letters of 26th November, and 13th December, 1685, imputes it to France's having refused him the subsidy he asked. In the last of these letters he represents James as extremely out of humour with France on this account, and that he talked of holding the balance of power in his hands.

These things created a coldness for some time between France and James. During this interval James applied to the court of France in defence of the principality of Orange; but Louis and his ministers treated his application with a haughty disregard.

There are the following letters on this subject in King William's box.

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—The King interposes about the principality of Orange.

“ I Have received the honour of your Highness's letter of the 30th of January, upon which the King commanded me to write to Sir William Trumball, and I did so, in the following words. “ His Majesty would have you let Monsieur de Croissy know, that he cannot think that the answers you have received upon your memorials and instances concerning the proceedings at Orange, are such as he ought to be satisfied with; and that therefore his Majesty hopes the most Christian King will, upon further consideration, have more regard to the instances his Majesty has made in behalf of the Prince of Orange's just pretensions.” This the King

King commanded me to write as being fit, though he does not expect much from it. The greatest happiness I can ever propose to myself, is to be able to serve your Highness on this or any other occasion, by which you might see with how much zeal and respect, I am

Your Highness's

Whitehall, Most faithful, most humble,
Jan. 26, 1685-6. And most obedient servant,
SUNDERLAND P."

Extract of several letters from Sir William Trumball at Paris.—Concerning his application in favour of the principality of Orange.

December 5, 1685.

“ I HAVE communicated the affair of the principality of Orange to the Dutch Ambassador, and received an account from him of the several instances he has made from time to time to this court, but without any effect. The same day I entered into that matter with Mons. de Croissy, who told me, that the Most Christian King had sent orders to Monsieur Barillon to speak with his Majesty about it: that he could give me no other answer than what he had often given to the Dutch ambassador and others, which was, that the King acknowledged no sovereignty there; that although he had left the Prince of Orange for some time in quiet, so long as his conduct might deserve it, yet now having opposed his Most Christian Majesty so openly, he did not think fit to keep any longer the same measures, and that all was now done there, his troops being come away. When I urged the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the Prince of Orange was restored to his said principality, with all the rights, &c. in the same condition and the same manner that he had enjoyed before; and that I desired the Most Christian King to consider further, the near alliance between his Majesty and the Prince of Orange, obliged his Majesty to interpose in a matter of such

such consequence; he replied, that he would speak to the King of it, and represent what I had said."

December 12

"As to the affair of Orange, he said, this King could give me no other answer, than to the same purpose he himself had given me before, that all was now done there, and the troops come away; that this King resolving to have but one religion in his country, thought himself obliged, in conscience and justice, to take order for their conversions in that place as he had done in others; which being done, the temporal jurisdiction was left in the same condition that it was before. That he hoped the King, my master, would be satisfied with this answer, and not interpose in a thing wherein he had no interest, but leave this King free to do as he thought fit in his own dominions.

This was the substance of his answer; adding, that the right of sovereignty did not belong to the Prince of Orange, but to the house of Longueville, which the King had taken care to put into a course of trial before a competent judicature, and would be determined in due time."

January 2.

"I gave in yesterday several memorials: That concerning the Prince of Orange, Mons. de Croissy seemed extremely to resent, that his Majesty should again interpose in a matter, which, he said, did not at all concern him."

January 9.

"The answer I received yesterday about the principality of Orange, is, in all respects, the same I had before, whereof having given your Lordship an account at large, I need not repeat any part of it. The King's troops are come again into that town (as your Lordship will find by the extract I sent the last post) and the ministers still detained in prison, which proceeding is more rigorous than the others received here, all the ministers being ordered to go out of the kingdom, which is what those of Orange desire."

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 12th, 1685-6.

“ I Have acquainted the King with what your Highness was pleased to write me in your letter of the 12th: upon which his Majesty commanded me to send your Highness a copy of Sir William Trumball's last memorial; and to assure your Highness, that his Majesty has done what he could possibly think fit to do in this affair of Orange, towards your satisfaction, having spoke to the ambassador of the French King here, as warmly as his envoy had order to speak there; and he does now desire to know what your Highness would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can.

It is a great mortification to me, that a business which passes through my hands, and that is of so great concern to your Highness, should have such ill success. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribute to your service, I should think them well employed, wishing for nothing so much in the world as to be able to let your Highness see how zealously and how truly I am, Sir,

Your Highness's

Most faithful, most humble,

And obedient servant,

SUNDERLAND, P.”

Extract of a letter from Sir William Trumbull to Lord President Sunderland.—On the same subject.—France refuses satisfaction.

Paris, Feb. 17-27, 1685-6.

“**M**onsieur de Croissy continues still indisposed with the gout, and yesterday gave audience in his bed concerning the memorial I had presented about Orange. He told me he had represented it to the King, who continued still in his former resolution, that he acknowledged no sovereignty of Orange to belong to the Prince, and that although, for some reasons, he did forbear to have that right adjudged, yet that it was his incontestibly, and that he had no other answer to give me; adding this late occasion of displeasure, by reason of the Prince’s refusal to deliver the children of one *Monf. Bose* (a counsellor of the parliament of *Tholouse*, and formerly of the protestant religion, but lately changed). *Monf. Bose* had sent his children thither, intending afterwards to escape himself: But since he made instances by *Monf. d’Avaux* to have them sent back, which, he said, the Prince denied, and insisted further to keep what money they had brought with them, as a provision and subsistence for them. He told me the King had given orders to stop the Prince’s receiving any part of his revenues of Orange, till he had given satisfaction in this matter.”

James, however, being bent upon the establishment of popery and of his own power at home, resisted, during his whole reign, the endeavours of the Prince of Orange to engage him in measures or alliances hostile to France. The following, among other letters from him to the Prince of Orange, in King William’s box, shew how determined he was upon peace with France; and

and that the only war he approved of was against the Turks.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desirous of peace in Europe.

Windſor, September 1, 1685.

“ **O**N Saturday laſt I had yours of the 30th of Auguſt and the 3d of September both together; by the firſt of which, I find, you then had received an account of the good news from Hungary, which was as welcome to me as any body; and I make no doubt will contribute as much to the peace and quiet of Europe, as the good condition it has pleaſed God to put my affairs in; and I am ſure I will ſtill do my part, that the peace Chriſtendom now enjoys may be continued. I have not time to ſay more now, but that I ſhall ſtill be as kind to you as you can deſire.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desirous of peace in Europe, and of friendship with the States.

Whitehall, November 6, 1685.

“ **I** HAVE had yours of the 9th from Loo, and I am glad to find you ſo well ſatisfied with the account you had from the ambaffadors, and I ſhall ſtill do my part to preſerve peace in Chriſtendom, and the good underſtanding which is between the States and me. As for news, there is little ſtirring here. On Monday the parliament is to ſit. I have ſo much buſineſs now upon my hands, that you muſt not wonder if my letters be not longer; and you may be aſſured you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange.”

James the III^d to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious to preserve peace.

Whitehall, February 2, 1685-6.

“ I HAVE had yours of the 5th, in which you say, some, where you are, begin to be alarmed at a voyage the King of France is to make this spring. All that I can say upon it is, that I do not think he will do any thing to disturb the peace of Christendom for several reasons, and his ministers here say it also; and I do what I can to let them see the inconveniencies that may happen to their master, should he begin a war, and will still do what is in my power to prevent it. As for news, the Duke of Grafton had this morning the misfortune to kill Jack Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury’s brother; it was Talbot gave the first offence, and sent the challenge, as I am told. The Duke of Grafton is withdrawn, and I have not heard what the Coroner’s inquest have found it. It is late, and I have not time to say more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 16, 1686.

“ I HAD yours of the 19th by the letters which came on Friday last, but so late that I had not then time to answer it. I see by it, you have still some apprehensions, as if France intended, by themselves, or some of their allies, to interrupt the peace of Christendom; I confess I hardly believe it, I am sure I hope they will not, and they endeavour to persuade me they have peaceable intentions. As for news, there is little stirring here, and besides I am called away to go to the play,

play, so have not time to say more, but that you shall ever find me very kind to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is not moved by French encroachments.—Desires only war against the Turks.

Whitehall, October 19, 1686.

"**I** Have now two of yours to answer; the first of the 14th, which I had by Mr. Skelton, and the other of the 17th, which I had not time to answer by the last post; since when I have got a blow with a twig in my left eye, as I was a-hunting on Saturday last, which made my eye a little sore, and though it be now, God be thanked, pretty well, yet I dare not write much; so that all I shall say upon what you say, as to the affair of Namur and Hunninguen, is, that as to the first, the Spaniards have had a very civil and satisfactory answer to it; so that that is at an end. For the other, I do not think it of such consequence, as to the Germans, as to set all Christendom in a flame, except that they have a mind to fall upon France; and I am still of the same mind I was to do my part, that there may be no war but against the Turk. You shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

*King James to the Prince of Orange.-----To the same
pu pose.*

Whitehall, March 8, 1687.

"**I** Have now received yours of the 11th from Di-
ren, and by it find you expected my daughter
there with you that night. I suppose you have by this
seen the answer the emperor's envoy in France had to
the memorial he gave in to that King, by which you

will see the truce is not like to be broken, so that the war against the Turk may be still carried on. I shall still do my part to preserve the peace of Christendom. It is late, so that I have not time to say any more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is desirous to guarantee the twenty years truce.

Whitehall, May 10, 1687.

"**I** Have had yours of the 13th, by which I find; that you in Holland are not alarmed at the King of France's journey to Luxembourg. Those who are jealous of it, will, I am confident, be soon out of their pain. I suppose Mr. Dyckvelt will give you an account of two memorials have been given me, the one by the Count Caunitz, and the other by the Spanish ambassador, both of them to desire me to endeavour to persuade the King of France to let me be guarantee of the truce. You may be sure I will do my part to persuade the King to it, since nothing can contribute more than that to continue the peace in Christendom. I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices at success against the Turks.—Intent on the peace of Christendom.

Windfor, September 19, 1687.

"**I** Received yours of the 15th just before I left the Bath, but coming then away for this place, I could not let you know it sooner. I have had a full account of what has passed in Hungary, and hope by the next letters from thence to hear what advantage the Germans have made of their victory, and that at least they

they will get good winter quarters by it. The good success the Venetians have had in the Morea, will, I hope, also have a good effect as to the peace of Christendom, which is what I always so much desire should be continual. I came to this place on Saturday, and hunted in my way to Winchester hither, had a very good chase, and got to my journey's end before night. The Queen is yet at Bath, and will come from thence so soon as she has used the remedies there as long as usually they do. This place affords no news, and so have no more to say, but that you shall still find me kind to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the prosecution of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.

James the III to the Prince of Orange. — Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.

Windsor, September 10, 1685.

"**I** Received yours of the 13th so late on Tuesday last, that I had not then time to let you know I had it, by which, I find, you were well satisfied with the review you had made of your troops. I have now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at present here, though the presbyterian and republican party are still very busy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord Chief Justice is making his campaign in the west, and when the parliament meets, some of the peers which are in custody will be tried. I intend to go to Winchester on Monday next, and from thence to Portsmouth, and to be back here the Saturday following, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me to be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.—Enumerates the detail of severities.

Windsor, September 24, 1685.

“ **S**INCE I came back from Winchester I received yours of the 21st from Loo, by Mr. Sidney, and having been a fox-hunting on Tuesday last, had not then time to let you know it: I was this day again at the same sport, the weather being now very proper for it, having ended stag-hunting the day I returned hither. As for news there is little stirring, but that Lord Chief Justice has almost done his campaign; he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations; which is all I have now time to tell you, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Interests himself for Orange.—Intends to get Saxston pilloried by one trial and hanged by another.

Whitehall, January 15, 1686.

“ **I** Charged my daughter by the last post, to let you know, how I came not to write to you then, in answer to yours of the 11th, since when I have had yours of the 18th, and you may easily believe I am sorry Sir William Trumbul has had no better an answer to the memorial he gave in concerning the affair of Orange; I shall still continue doing my part in pressing it. Lord Delamer was tried yesterday, and quitted by his peers, he had good luck, as well as just judges, that the only positive witness which came in against him, was proven to have sworn falsely, for though the rest of the evidence against him was only hear-says, yet all the world was satisfied, he did design to have risen with

Lord

Lord Macklesfield and Lord Brandon. As for Saxston, which was the perjured witness against Lord Delamer, I have ordered he shall be first prosecuted for perjury, that he may keep company with Oates, and then after he has stood in the pillory, to be tried for being with the Duke of Monmouth in arms."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the Prince for giving refuge to the rebels in Holland.

Whitehall, March 7, 1686.

"**I** Would not let this bearer return into Holland without writing to you by him, and must need tell you that it does really seem strange to me that so many of the rebels should be connived at Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, and other of the provinces, and permitted to live so publicly as they do: I have charged the bearer to speak to you more at large upon this affair, which is of great concern to me; for so long as those rebellious people are permitted to stay there, they will still have the opportunities of corresponding with the disaffected here and stirring them up to sedition, whereas if they were driven out of the seven provinces, they could not be so dangerous. Pray consider of this, and how important it is to me, to have those people destroyed: but of this and what else I have to say must refer it to this bearer, and to assure you, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the rebels are to be expelled from Holland.—Is to make an encampment at Hounslow.

Whitehall, May 7, 1686.

"**W**HEN I came from Newhall on Tuesday night, where I had been a-stag-hunting and had very good sport, I found both yours of the 7th and
10th

10th here, by the last of which I find the States of Holland had agreed to comply with the treaties in banishing out of their provinces those of my rebellious subjects, which have sheltered themselves so long there; and by what you say make no doubt but that the States General will do the like, and I am sure you will do your part to have it effectually put in execution, it being a thing of the last consequence for the peace and quiet of my kingdoms to have those turbulent men driven out of the seven provinces, for when once removed from thence, they can do no mischief, tho' the republican spirit increases every day amongst us here; but should they be but conived there, they would still be contriving new designs to disturb me, for that restless and rebellious party will never be quiet. I am now preparing to go to Windsor next week, for most of the Summer, and on the 20th of this month I am to have twelve battalions of foot encamped on Houndslow-heath, as for the horse and dragoons I do not intend to have them there till the middle of next month; as for the news you had out of Spain as if the French squadron was arrived in the bay of Cadiz, it was a mistake, for I have a frigate, newly come from thence, in a fortnight's time, that saw none of them there when he sailed thence. By the last letters from Paris I hope that affair will be accommodated, which is all I shall say now, but that you shall ever find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.-----To the same purpose.

Windsor, May 18, 1686.

"SINCE I wrote to you by the last post I have had three, the one by the post of the 21st, by which I find the States General had resolved to banish my rebellious subjects out of the seven provinces, and I
make

make no doubt of your doing your part to have it put in execution, since you know of how great concern it is to me, to have those seditious people sent away from thence. I have another letter from you from captain Steuart of an older date, and one from you also by M. General Mackay, with whom I have spoken fully with, upon all the several heads you charged him to speak with me of, and to assure you that I easily believe all he has said to me from you, and you need not fear that it is in any body's power to do you ill offices with me. As for what concerns the brigade of my subjects which are with you, he will give you a particular account, of what past between us upon that subject. Having not time now to do it myself, nor to say any more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

Barillon in his dispatch of the 26th of July 1685, says that he saw the Duke of Monmouth pass through the apartments of the palace to his interview with the King; that his arms were tied behind, but his hands free; that none but the two secretaries of state were present at the interview; and in his letter of the 30th of July, that the Duke gave no information against the Prince of Orange.

In the Depos.

Barillon says, that the Duke in the Tower desired to see his Dutchess, that she refused unless Lord Clarendon should be present, and that when she went, the conversation was "aigre de part et d' autre." "Sharp both on the one side and the other."

In the Memoirs to which the present papers are an appendix, there is an anecdote related upon tradition of King James's having paid a visit to the Dutchess of Monmouth on the morning of her husband's execution, and left with her a grant of his forfeiture. Barillon's dispatch of the 17th of June 1686, confirms one part

In the Depos.

of

of the story. It contains these words, "Touts les biens de M. le Duc de Monmouth en Ecoffe et en Angleterre lui (*i. e.* the Dutcheſs) ont eté rendu." "All the Duke of Monmouth's eſtate in Scotland and England has been reſtored to his Dutcheſs."

BOOKS

B O O K S III. and IV.

UPON the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, King James became intoxicated with his prosperity. Instead of disbanding his army he encamped it on Hounslow-Heath, and resolved to make it the great instrument of his power.

Barillon's dispatches are strewn thick with the expressions of an arbitrary disposition, which flew from James when he felt himself no longer under any controul.

The rebellion was no sooner begun than Barillon in his letter of the 25th of June 1685, informed his court of the use which James was to make of it. The words of the dispatch are: "Il me paroît que le Roy d'Angleterre, a été fort aisé d' avoir une pretexte de lever des troupes, et qu'il croit que l'entreprise de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne servira qu' à le rendre plus maître de son pays." "It seems to me that the King of England is very glad to have a pretence for raising troops, and he believes that the Duke of Monmouth's enterprize will serve only to make him still more master of his country."

In the *Depot.*

On the 30th of July 1685, Barillon writes thus to his court: "Le projet du Roy d'Angleterre est d'abolir entièrement les milices, dont il a reconnu l'inutilité et le danger en cette dernière occasion, et de faire s'il est possible, que le parlement établisse le fond destiné pour les milices à l'entretien des troupes réglées. Tout cela change entièrement l'état de ce pays ici, et met les Anglois dans une condition bien différente de celle ou ils ont été jusques à présent. Ils le connoissent, et voyent bien qu'un Roy de différente religion que celle du pays, et qui se trouve armé, ne renoncera pas aisément aux avantages que lui donne la défaite des rebelles, et les troupes

In the *Depot.*

troupes qu'il a sur pied." "The King of England's scheme is to abolish the militia entirely, the uselessness and danger of which he found on this last occasion, and if possible to make the parliament apply the fund intended for the militia, to maintain the regular troops. All this entirely changes the state of this country, and puts the English in a different condition from what they have been in till now. They know it, and perceive very well that a King of a different religion from that of the country, and who is armed, will not easily renounce those advantages which the defeat of the rebels, and the troops he has on foot, give him."

In the Depot.

On the 6th of August 1685, Barillon writes to his court thus: "Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que quoi qu'il arrive, il conservera les troupes sur pied, quand meme le parlement ne lui donneroit rien pour les entretenir. Il connoit bien, que le parlement verra mal volontiers cet etablissement, mais il veut être assuré du dedans de son pays, et il croit ne le pouvoir être sans cela." "The King of England told me, that let what would happen he would keep the troops on foot, even though the parliament should not give him any thing towards their maintenance. He knows very well the parliament will very unwillingly see this establishment; but he wants to be sure of himself at home, and believes he cannot be so without it."

In the Depot.

On the 8th of July 1686, Barillon writes, "Il caresse beaucoup les officiers de ses troupes, et s'explique assez ouvertement, qu'il n'en conservera point dont il ne se croit entierement assuré." "He caresses the officers much, and explains himself openly enough, that he will keep none but those on whom he may entirely depend."

King James could not conceal even from the Prince of Orange the pleasure which he felt from the encampment of his army at Hounslow.

King James to the Prince of Orange.

Windſor, June 29, 1689.

“ **I** Was ſorry to find by yours of the 2d of July, that you had had ſore eyes, but am very glad to find it now over, and had laſted but ſo ſhort a time; I believe it was the extreme heats which cauſed it. All the troops I intended to have at Hounſlow are now camped there, in the new camp I deſigned they ſhould be; they continue very healthy there, having been but four buried ſince the firſt camping of the foot upon that heath. I was there yeſterday and ſaw them for the firſt time in battalle altogether; they are all good men, and the horſe and dragoons well mounted, and very orderly. To-morrow the Queen’s and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp. I have not time to ſay more, the poſt being ready to go, but aſſure you of my being as kind to you as you can deſire.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange.”

On the 29th of October 1685, Barillon writes to his court. “ Il (James) ajouta, que ſon deſſein étoit de faire revoquer par le parlement l’ Acte du Teſte, et l’ Acte de Habeas Corpus; dont l’un eſt la deſtruction la religion catholique, et l’autre del’ autorité royale.” “ He (James) added, that his deſign was to make the parliament revoke the Teſt Act, and the Habeas Corpus act; one of which was the deſtruction of the catholic religion, and the other of the royal authority.”

In the Depot.

On the 10th of December 1685, Barillon repreſents the ſentiments both of Charles and James upon the habeas corpus act, that great charter of Engliſh liberty: “ Le feu Roy d’ Angleterre, et celui cy, m’ ont ſouvent dit, qu’ un gouvernement ne peut ſubſiſter avec une telle loy.” “ The deceased King of England, and the preſent one, have often ſaid to me, that a government could not ſubſiſt with ſuch a law.”

In the Depot.

James

In the *Depot.*

James had the idea of converting even his fleet into an instrument of his power at home. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 19th December, 1686. “ Le Roy d’Angleterre continue à faire travailler avec soin au re-établissement de ses vaisseaux. Il n’y a nulle apparence que ce soit dans le dessein de faire une guerre au dehors ; mais ce Prince est persuadé, qu’il est fort convenable à ses intérêts de remettre la marine de l’Angleterre en meilleur état qu’elle n’etoit, et qu’il viendra bien plutot à bout des choses qu’il desire de ses peuples, quand ils le verront avoir une armée et une flotte prête pour se faire obeir au dedans, et pour empecher que les factieux ne puissent recevoir des secours considerables du dehors, si les affaires venoient au point d’une rupture ouverte dans le dedans de l’Angleterre.” “ The King of England continues to carry on the refitting of his ships with diligence. There is no appearance that this is designed for a foreign war ; but he is persuaded, that it is very necessary for his interests to put the marine of England in a better state than it was, and that he shall much sooner gain what he desires from his people, when they see he has an army and fleet ready to make himself obeyed at home, and to prevent the factious from receiving any considerable assistance from abroad, if affairs should come to the point of an open rupture in England.

In the *Depot.*

On the 29th of July 1686, Barillon writes to his court, “ Le Roy d’Angleterre temoigne ouvertement sa joye de se trouver en état de faire des coups hardis et d’autorité. Il recoit avec plaisir les complimens qu’on lui fait sur cela. Il m’en a fort parlé, et m’a fait entendre qu’il ne se relachera point.” The King of England openly shews his joy at finding himself in a condition to strike bold and authoritative strokes. He receives with pleasure the compliments which are made him upon it. He has spoken much to me about it, and given me to understand that he will not relax.”

Lord

Lord Rochester saw too late the consequences of the doctrine of the King's independence upon parliament, with which he had flattered him in the first months of his reign; and wished, but in vain, to repair the mischief. Barillon, on the 11th March 1686, relates a conversation between the King and Lord Rochester on this head: "Que son sentiment étoit toujours, qu'on Roy d'Angleterre étoit bien plus considerable, et bien plus heureux, quand il étoit d'accord avec son parlement, et qu'il pouvoit en tirer les secours dont il a besoin." Sa Majesté Britannique a répondu, "Que son sentiment étoit, que le parlement d'Angleterre seroit plus soumis, et plus disposé a se bien conduire quand il verroit que sans son secours on seroit venu à bout de tant des choses importantes; et que sa resolution étoit de ne pas regner precieusement." "That he (i. e. Rochester) always thought a King of England was much more considerable, and much more happy, when he was upon a good footing with his parliament, and that he could draw from them what supplies he stood in need of." His Britannick Majesty answered, "That he was of opinion, the parliament of England would be more submissive, and more disposed to behave well, when they saw that without their assistance, so many matters of importance could be effectuated; and that his resolution was, not to reign precariously."

In the *Depos.*

Barillon, in the 29th of November 1685, to his court, describes thus the external manner of James, when he prorogued his parliament. "Le prince répondit aussi avec des marques de fierté et de colere sur le visage, que faisoit assez connoître ses sentimens." "This Prince gave his answer likewise with marks of haughtiness and anger upon his face, which made his sentiments sufficiently be known."

In the *Depos.*

There is in King William's box, the following letter from the King to the Prince of Orange upon this prorogation.

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of parliament.

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1685.

“ I Have had yours of the 4th, in which you write to me about your concerns of Orange. I had this day an account from Sir William Trumbull, that he had spoken to Monsieur de Croissy about it, according to his orders, and I shall by the next order him to insist, and press it still, and will also speak this night to Mr. Barillon about it, and will continue doing my part that you may have satisfaction. I am as sorry as you can be, that I was obliged to prorogue the parliament; I hope when they meet next, they will be in better temper, and consider the true interest of the nation, and not be deceived by some ill men who fill their ears with fears and jealousies. As for news, Lord Brandon received his sentence on Saturday last, and was to have been executed on Friday, but I have reprieved him, upon his having petitioned me for my mercy, and acknowledged his crimes, which is all I shall say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

There is also in the box the following letter from the King to the Prince concerning Lord Halifax, whom the King had dismissed from his service, because he would not give his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

James

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Has removed Lord Halifax.

Whitehall, Oct. 20, 1685.

“SINCE the last post went hence, I have had yours of the 22^d and 25th from Dieren; and if you have had as good weather where you are as we have had here, you will have had good hunting weather. As for news I have found it necessary for my service to lay aside Lord Halifax, now that the parliament is so near, for reasons best known to myself. Lord Chamberlain is fallen very sick at his house in the country, and I am told is in great danger. It is so late I have not time to say more to you, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you as you can desire.”

The King's zeal for popery kept peace with his attempts to arbitrary power. Barillon writes to his court on the 30th April, 1685, that James had desired the Lords Sunderland, Godolphin and Rochester to attend him to the door of the chapel, where he was to go with his guards and officers to his court; that the two first consented, but the last refused.

In the Depot.

It is probable that Lord Sunderland, even from the beginning, adopted his master's sentiments in favour of popery. There is in the Depot the following dispatch on this subject, so early as the month of July, 1685.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

“MILORD Sonderland est entré fort avant avec moi, et m'a paru informé à fond de ce qui s'est passé entre le Roy d'Angleterre et moi sur le sujet de la religion catholique. Ce ministre m'a dit, je ne sçais pas si on voit en France les choses comme elles sont icy,

In the Depot.

icy, mais je défie ceux qui les voyent de près de ne pas connoître que le Roi mon maître n'a rien dans le cœur si avant que d'établir la religion catholique ; qu'il ne peut même selon le bon sens et la droit raison avoir d'autre but ; que sans cela il ne fera jamais en sûreté, et sera toujours exposé au zèle indiscret de ceux qui échaufferont les peuples contre la catholicité, tant qu'elle ne sera pas pleinement établie. Il y a une autre chose certaine, c'est que ce plan là ne peut réussir que par un concert et une liaison étroite avec le Roy votre maître ; c'est un projet qui ne peut convenir qu'à lui, ni réussir que par lui ; toutes les autres puissances s'y opposeront ouvertement, ou le traverseront sous main. On sçait bien que cela ne convient pas au Prince d'Orange, mais il ne sera pas en état de l'empêcher, si on veut en France se conduire comme il est nécessaire, c'est à dire, ménager l'amitié du Roy d'Angleterre et le soutenir dans son projet.

Je vois clairement l'apprehension qu'ont beaucoup de gens d'une liaison avec la France, et les efforts qu'on fait pour l'affoiblir ; mais cela ne sera au pouvoir de personne si on n'en a pas envie en France ; c'est sur quoi il faut que vous vous expliquiez nettement, et que vous fassiez connoître que le Roy votre maître veut aider de bonne foi le Roy d'Angleterre à établir fermement icy la religion catholique."

Translation.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland engaged thoroughly in the interests of popery.

July 16, 1685.

“**L**ORD Sunderland has entered very far with me, and appears to be informed to the bottom of what has passed between the King of England and myself upon the subject of the catholic religion. This minister said to me, I do not know if they see things in France as they are here, but I defy those who see them near, not to know that the King, my master, has nothing so much at heart, as to establish the catholic religion; that he cannot, even according to good sense and right reason, have any other end; that without it he will never be in safety, and always exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who will heat the people against the catholic religion as long as it is not fully established. There is another thing certain, which is, that this plan cannot succeed but by a strict concert and union with the King, your master; it is a project which is suitable only to him, and which cannot succeed but through him; all the other powers will openly oppose it, or counteract it under hand. It is well known that it is not suitable to the Prince of Orange, but he will not be in a condition to hinder it, if they conduct themselves in France as is necessary; that is to say, if they manage the King of England's friendship, and support him in his design.

I see clearly the apprehension many people have of an alliance with France, and the efforts they make to weaken it; but that will not be in the power of any one, if France does her part; it is upon this you must explain yourself clearly, and make it known that the King,

your master, will sincerely assist the King of England in establishing the catholic religion firmly here."

In this dispatch Barillon repeats the following expressions of King James to him, "Qu'il avoit été élevé en France, et mangé le pain de votre Majesté, et que son cœur étoit François." "That he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majesty's bread, and that his heart was French."

In the Depot,

On the 26th March, 1686, Barillon gives his court the following account of the council of seven, mentioned in the Memoirs to which the present papers are an Appendix. "Le Comte de Puez à été joint aux autres Seigneurs Catholiques, que le Roy d'Angleterre consulte, et qui s'assemble souvent avec milord Sonderland, pour deliberer sur les affaires qui se presente; c'est un espece de conseil, independent de tout autre, et dans lequel les resolutions les plus importantes se prennent; c'est a dire, celles qui regardent la religion." The Earl of Powis has been joined to the other Catholic Lords, whom the King of England consults, and who often meet at Lord Sunderland's, to deliberate upon matters that offer; it is a sort of council, independent of any other, and in which the most important resolutions are taken; that is to say, those which relate to religion."

In King William's box there are the two following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, which if not contradicted by other evidence, would do honour to his spirit of toleration.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange, Jan. 15th, 1686.
 —Intreats him to give protection to regular Priests
 in Holland.

“ I MUST now write to you about an affair, which, as a Christian, and one who is concerned for you, I could not omit doing; it is to desire you to hinder, by your authority, the banishing out of Rotterdam, and other towns in Holland, the regular priests, I mean the Monks, Friars and Jesuits; since it will not only be a great hardship to the poor Catholics, but will be a real prejudice to your trade and commerce by driving out so many as will leave the country, if they cannot have the regulars with them, and that will certainly be the consequence if the regulars be sent away: and methinks that though in France the Huguenots are so severely dealt with, that should not make you in Holland follow such an example, which must be really prejudicial to the true interest of your government; I could say much more on this subject, but have not time, and so must end with assuring you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the Prince has saved the priests.—The King’s spirit of toleration.

Whitehall, January 26, 1686.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 30th, in answer to one I had written to you concerning the regular priests, and am very glad to find by it that they will not be sent away, and hope you will still continue of the same mind, and do easily believe you are not for prosecuting any merely for their religion: I always was, and will be of that mind; and am of your opinion, that it was the very hard usage the Huguenots had, and have still in

France, which made that affair of the regulars be talked on where you are, and hope, as to that, you will continue of the same mind you are. As for news, Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's sonne, died yesterday of a fever, and Lord Digby of the same distemper a day or two before. We have had pretty hard frosts every morning, and clear weather for some days past, but the ice is not thick enough to be cut to be put into the ice-houses; which is all I have to say now, but to assure you, that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

But men oftimes deceive themselves. While James was boasting of these sentiments of toleration to the Prince of Orange, he was congratulating the French on the want of it, in revoking the edict of Nantes. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 4th of October, 1685. "Sa Majesté Britannique a aussi entendu avec joye, ce que je lui ay dit du progres merveilleux dont Dieu benit les soins de votre Majesté à l'égard des conversions de ses sujets; n'y ayant point d'exemple qu'il soit arrivé une pareille chose en aucun tems, n'y en aucun pays, avec tant de promptitude. Sa Majesté Britannique croit bien, qu'un ouvrage si important ne demeurera pas imparfait, et que Dieu fera la grace à votre Majesté de l'achever entierement." "His Britannic Majesty also heard with pleasure, what I told him of the wonderful progress with which God had blessed your Majesty's cares with regard to the conversion of your subjects; there being no example of a similar thing happening at any time, or in any country, with so much promptitude. His Britannic Majesty believes, that so important a work will not remain imperfect, and that God will grant you the favour to finish it entirely." And on the 18th August, 1686, Barillon writes thus, "Mons. Adda a fait part au Roy d'Angleterre de ce que le Pape a dit dans le consistoire sur le sujet de votre Majesté; et de ce qu'elle a fait pour l'extirpation de l'hérésie en France. Sa Majesté Britan-
nique

nique m'en a parlé comme d'une chose qui lui fait un grand plaisir." "Mr. Adda (that is, the Pope's Nuncio) has communicated to the King of England what the Pope said in the consistory upon the subject of your Majesty; and what you have done to extirpate heresy in France. His Britannic Majesty spoke of it as a thing that gave him great pleasure."

Barillon, in his dispatch of the 1st of July, 1686, represents thus the sentiments of James upon the disappointment which the opposition of the Scotch parliament, in matters of religion, had given. *In the Depot.* "Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que les affaires d'Ecosse n'avoient pas pris le chemin qu'il avoit esperé d'abord, et que la caballe des factieux avoit empeché les gens bien intentionez de faire ce qui étoit raisonnable, et qu'ils avoient resolu; que cependant il tireroit un grand avantage d'avoir connu les veritables desseins des uns et des autres; qu'il pouvoit par l'autorité que les loix lui donnent en Ecosse, etablir en faveur des Catholiques la liberté que le parlement n'avoit pas voulu accorder." "The King of England told me, that the affairs of Scotland had not taken the turn he at first expected, and that the factious cabal had hindered the well intentioned from doing what was reasonable, and what they had resolved upon; that nevertheless he should draw a great advantage from knowing the true designs of both; and by the authority which the laws give him, he could establish in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the parliament refused to grant."

In this dispatch Barillon relates, that the Scotch who opposed in parliament James's schemes about religion, said, "That they must by refusing to sell their God, wipe off the reproach of having sold their King."

In the year 1686, James broke the Duke of Queensberry's protestant ministry in Scotland, and filled that of
Lord

Lord Clarendon in Ireland with papists. In King William's box there is the following imitation of this step by the King to the Prince.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Changes made in Scotland and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 2, 1686.

I Received yours of the 8th, by which I find you were then just going from the Hague, and that you are still apprehensive that there will be something attempted by France to disturb the peace of Christendom, and that you may be attacked. I confess I cannot believe either, especially the last, knowing upon what good terms Holland and this country are together. I had not time to tell you the last post of some alterations I have made in Scotland, having put the Treasury into commission, and made the Duke of Gordon master of the castle of Edinburgh, both of which I thought very necessary for my service; and now that Lord Clarendon is settled in Ireland, am going to make a new Chancellor, and to change some of the Judges in that kingdom. All things continue, God be thanked, very quiet here, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James, at length, in December, 1686, avowed his intention of observing ceremony no longer in favour of his religion, by dismissing Lord Rochester, who had refused to be converted by a conference between popish and protestant divines. Barillon, in his letter of the 12th of December, 1686, describes thus the state of men's minds while the issue of that conference was in suspense. "Cette affaire est si importante, et doit avoir des suites si considerables, qu'elle tient toutes les autres en suspense." "This affair is so important, and ought to have consequences so considerable, that it keeps all others in suspense."

B O O K S V. and VI.

THE papers to which I have had access in King William's cabinet, and at Versailles, enable me to give the public an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about in England with some degree of precision and certainty. The arranging of the papers on this head is the most pleasing part of my task, and, I hope, will be so to others; because there are few great families in this country, who will not find that their ancestors (of whatever party they were) had a hand in it in one way or other.

Two months after the dismissal of Lord Rochester, King James sent the Marquis d'Allbeville ambassador to the States, under pretence of removing some jealousies between him and them, but with private instructions to sound if the Prince of Orange could be brought to consent to the abolition of the tests. The Prince took advantage of this to send Mons. Dyckvelt, ancestor to the Earl of Holderneffe, ambassador into England; a man of extraordinary abilities, and who had been connected with the popular party in England ever since he had been ambassador there in the second Dutch war. The pretence of this embassy was also to remove jealousies between the nations, but his private instructions were to sound the minds of the English, and to assure them of his protection in favour of their religion. The consequence of these embassies was, that the Prince refused to consent to the abolition of the tests, and King James was displeas'd with Dyckvelt for having intrigued in his kingdom.

The correspondence on this subject is in King William's box as follows.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Allbeville sent ambassador to Holland.

Whitehall, December 30, 1686.

“ I HAVE now dispatched this bearer, M. d'Allbeville, my envoy to the States, and would not let him go without writing by him to you, to assure you of the continuance of my kindness to you, and the desire I have to continue in a very good correspondence with the States, of both which I have charged him to speak with you, and of several other things of concern, and desire you will give him entire credit in what he shall say to you from me, so that I need not repeat any of them to you, and assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt comes ambassador to England.

Whitehall, February 18, 1687.

“ LAST night late I had yours of the 21st, by which I find Monf. d'Abbeville was to have his audience of the States as last Monday, so that now M. Dyckvelt may have his audience when he pleases; which when he has, he shall find, notwithstanding so many foolish and malicious reports, that I have not altered my mind, but continue my resolution of living with a perfect good understanding with them. But of this more when I have spoken with him. It is late, and I am to rise early to go a hunting tomorrow morning, and so must end; which I do, with assuring you of being as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Has prorogued parliament, and is to give liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, March 18, 1687.

“ I HAD yours of the 21st from the Hague, so late on Tuesday last, that I could not then let you know I had received it. I see by it that you were satisfied that the peace of Christendom would be preserved at least for this year. I am of your opinion too, and you know was all along of opinion, that France would be quiet, believing it not their interest to be otherwise. I have this day resolved to prorogue the parliament till the 22d of November next; and that all my subjects may be at ease and quiet, and mind their trades and private concerns, have resolved to give liberty of conscience to all dissenters whatsoever, having been ever against persecuting any for conscience sake. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The nation is pleased with the declaration of liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, April 22, 1687.

“ I Had yours of the 25th before the last post went away, but so late, that being to hunt next morning, I could not then let you know it: I find by it you was soon to go to the Hague. I am very glad all things continue so quiet, on your side of the water; they are so here, and I find my declaration contributes much to it, the generality of the nation being satisfied with it and at ease by it. As for news, the Duke of Buckingham is dead; what will become of his encumbered estate nobody as yet can know, and besides, there will be several pretenders to it. I have no more to say, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Windsor, May 20, 1687.

“ I Came to this place last night, and had so much business on Tuesday last, that I could not then let you know that I had received yours of the 20th, by which I am sorry to find you think the Christian army in Hungary is not like to be so strong as to do much this campaign; and if the season be as backward and the drouth as great there, as 'tis here, fORAGE will be very scarce, for here, without it rain within a week or ten days, there will be but little grafs or hay. As for news, all here is very quiet, and my declaration has put people's minds much at ease, and I have great reason to be well pleased with having put it out. On Wednesday morning early there happened a fire near the Tower, which burnt near thirty houses, and amongst the rest part of the victualling office, where I lost about five thousand pounds worth of cask and pipe staves, but by the care of those that were there, and the blowing up of some houses, the rest was saved. I have no more to say, but that I shall be always as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Sent by Mr. Dyckvelt.—A letter of compliments.

Windsor, May 29.

“ THE same reason that kept you so long without writing to me has hindered me all this while from answering your letter; for if you believe that your letters can be troublesome to me, I must needs think that you judge by yourself, in finding mine so, or else you could never wrong me so much as to have that thought of me. I have desired Mr. Dyckvelt, who is the bearer of this, to assure you, that I have all the

the desire in the world to do you service, having as much esteem and friendship for you as I ought to have, and as I shall always endeavour to shew you upon all occasions, being more than I can express, what I hope you will believe me, truly yours.

M. R.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt returns to Holland, and is to let the Prince know what the King expects of him.—N. B. What the King expected was his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

Windsor, May 28, 1687.

“**I** Would not let this bearer Mr. Dyckvelt return without writing to you by him. I have spoken to him of your private concerns, of which he will give you an account, as also of the public affairs here, and have spoken very freely to him of them, and told him (what I think I have reason to expect from you, for the good of the monarchy, as well as our family, which he has promised to tell you, so that I need not write it, but refer you to him, and though, may be, some persons, that are not well affected to me, nor the government, have misrepresented some things to him, and find fault with my proceedings in several things, yet I am satisfied I have not made one step, but what is good for the kingdom in general, as well as for the monarchy, and have more reason every day than other to be pleased with having put out my declaration for liberty of conscience; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

The

The Prince of Orange to King James.—In answer to the foregoing letter.—Au Roy.

Jun 17, 1687.

“ **U**N peu après le depart du dernier courier, Monsieur de Dycvelt est arrivé, qui m’a rendu la lettre que votre Mjesteé m’a fait l’honneur de m’ecrire, et m’a informé de la bonté qu’elle avoit de vouloir prendre soin de mes interests particuliers; dont je lui rends tres humbles graces, et la supplie de s’en souvenir dans les occasions qu’elle jugera convenable; au reste il m’a rendu compte de ce que votre Majesteé lui avoit en chargé de me dire de sa part, sur quoi elle me permettra de repeter ce que cy devant j’ay eu l’honneur de lui ecire, qu’il n’y avoit personne au monde qui pouvoit avoir plus d’aversion que j’avois pour toute sorte de persecution au fait de religion, et qu’assurement je ne voudrois de ma vie y donner les mains; mais aussi je ne pouvois jamais me resoudre à faire quelque chose contraire au bien et à l’interet de la religion que je professe; et qu’ainsi je ne puis concourir en ce que votre Majesteé desire de moy; ce que j’espere elle ne trouvera pas mauvais quand elle considerera sur quel fondement je le fais, et qu’en tout autre chose elle ne pourra trouver personne qui sera plus attaché à ses interets, et qui la servira avec plus de fidelite, souhaitant passionement de trouver des occasions à le temoigner à votre Majesteé par les effects, et que je serai toute ma vie avec un profond respect ce que je dois.”

Translation.

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to King James the II^d. in answer to the foregoing letter.—Refuses to concur in abolishing the Tests.

June 17, 1687.

“ **A** Little after the arrival of the last courier, Mr. Dyckvelt came here, who gave me the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me, and informed me of your goodnes in wishing to take care of my particular interests, for which I give you humble thanks, and entreat you to remember them upon proper occasions. As for the rest, he gave me an account of what your Majesty gave him in charge to say to me on your part. Upon this head your Majesty will give me leave to repeat, what I formerly had the honour to write to you, that there is no person in the world who has more aversion than I have for all sort of persecution on the score of religion, and that certainly I will never in my life put my hand to it; but at the same time that I can never resolve to do any thing contrary to the interest of the religion which I profess; and that therefore I cannot concur in what your Majesty asks of me. This I hope you will not take amiss when you consider upon what foundation I do it, and that in every other thing you will find no body who will be more attached to your interests, and who will serve them with more fidelity, which I wish passionately for occasions of testifying to your Majesty by effects, and that I shall be all my life with a profound respect what I ought.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that the Prince will not consent.—Complains of Dyckvelt.

Windſor, June 16, 1687.

“ I Had yours of the 17th ſo late on Tueſday laſt, that I coul dnot then answer it. Since when, I have had alſo yours of the 20th, and write now becauſe I intend to hunt to-morrow, and am ſorry to find by it, that you ſay you are againſt perfecuting any for conſcience ſake, and yet that you cannot be for taking off all thoſe laws, and the Teſts which are ſo very ſevere and hard upon all Diſſenters from the Church of England; and ſince what Mr. Dyckvelt ſaid to you from me, could not alter your mind as to that, I cannot expect that a letter ſhould prevail with you; ſo that I ſhall ſay no more on that ſubject now, and only tell you that you will find that he Mr. Dyckvelt has not taken right meaſures of affairs here, by giving ſo much credit to ſome that do not wiſh me and the monarchy well, and continue their old methods of creating fears and jealousies. I have not time to ſay more now, and ſhall always be as kind to you as you can expect.”

Before Dyckvelt came to England, the Prince of Orange had privately applied to Lord Halifax to know his ſentiments upon the ſtate of things in England.

In King William's box there are the two following letters from Lord Halifax upon this occaſion.

Lord

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Advises the Prince to remain quiet; and wait for accidents.

December 7, 1689.

“ **A**fter so long respite, your Highness will allow me to make use of the privilege of presenting my duty to you, and to put you in mind that my conjectures concerning the parliament have proved true, and if you will give me leave to make my guesses of what is to come, I am of opinion that the meeting appointed in February, will not hold, there being no steps made to make it more adviseable at that time than it was last month. Besides, the condition the King of France is in, which is looked upon here as desperate, is a circumstance of that weight, that it must probably either produce a new scheme, or make very great alterations in the old one. Your Highness seeth of what use it is to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably. Accidents come that either relieve, or at least help to keep off the things we fear for a longer time; and that is no small matter in the affairs of this world. I must give you my most humble thanks for your Highnesses favours to my son, who is, as becometh him, extremely proud of them, and will I hope make it his ambition, as well as it is his duty, to deserve them; if he should not, he must renounce the rest of his family, and particularly your Highness’s eternally devoted servant.”

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

January 18, 1686-7, S. V.

“ **Y**OUR Highness will give me leave to acknowledge your goodness to my son, in giving him such favourable admittance, which hath made him yet

more ambitious to deserve the countenance you have been pleased to afford him. I hope you will put him in the list of those who are to be disposed of by you, since it is a tenure by which I and mine shall ever hold. He is so full of his veneration for your Highness, that he doth himself a very good office for me, by such an effect of his judgment; yet I will not answer for it so far, but that he may have been guilty in the manner of paying his respects, in which if he hath failed, his youth and his good intentions must be his excuse. He will bring your commands carefully to me, which will be so much the more welcome, by giving me the assurance that I still retain the same place in your Highness's thoughts, though I have not of late had so frequent opportunities of recommending myself to them. In one thing I have had the luck to guess right, and not to mislead you by a wrong conjecture; that is, about the meeting of the parliament, which you see is to be prorogued, notwithstanding the positive discourses to the contrary. The motion of public things, at present, hath not only variety but some kind of contradiction in it. It is very rapid, if looked upon on one side, if on the other, it is as slow; for though there appeareth the utmost vigour to pursue the design which hath been so long laid, there seemeth to be no less firmness in the nation, and aversion to change; so that conversions are so thin, and those which are, so little fit to be examples, that the prevailing party is not a little discountenanced by making no quicker progress; for that reason it is believed they will mend their pace; and if so, every day will give more light to what is intended, though it is already no more a mystery. Whatever happeneth, nothing must ever alter my resolutions of being devoted to your Highness's service."

Soon after Mr. Dyckvelt arrived in England, the Countess of Sunderland sent a messenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the

the affectation and mysteriousness of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own suspicion is, that the letter was her husband's dictation, and the postscript her own. The reader will suspend his judgment of Lord Sunderland till he has seen the subsequent papers relating to him in this Appendix.

Countess of Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—A singular letter.

“ **A**T the distance that Mr. Sidney is I am in a great streight how to let your Highness know a matter which appears to me very necessary you should be acquainted with; and however strange it may seem to you my undertaking to write to you, which is what I never did before, and upon a subject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you; I think it better not to trouble you any farther with apologies, but humbly beg a suspension of your opinion of me till you see Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am sure, to tell you I am not apt to meddle in these affairs; and as I do only trust him, so I think nothing but your service could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may seem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way should be known, ruin to myself. But I shall pass by all that to let you know the business now on foot here. Your Highness is not ignorant I am sure what endeavours have been used here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the Test and penal laws, upon which, as I suppose you know, several have and do quit their places rather than submit to; which makes the Roman catholics see they are not likely to carry it that way; which brings me to that which I think of importance you should know; that the last essay they will put in practice as to the parliament, is to flatter Monsieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there shall be an entire union between England and Holland, nay farther, I am sure they intend to

In King William's box.

make you the finest offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland shall be put into what hands you will; and for all this they ask you to bid Monsieur Dickfield; and Monsieur Citers declare in your name, that you with the parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they fancy they may compass their point, which when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highness is the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed. But with submission to your better judgment in all things, I must beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful servants, that are acquainted with the temper of the nation, at present talk of this matter of the industry that is used to take off these laws, to give you both theirs and my own opinion in this matter; that if there were a possibility for you to be brought to do what they will ask of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealousies of your Highness here, which may be of very ill consequence to you, and even your joining in it would never do their business, I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is possible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the second point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehension enough of your being caught with these fine offers, so have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the ambassadors I did not know, for I am sure there is no offers no nor dangers, that will not be very artificially shewed Monsieur Dickfield. For the last I am sure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as slight: But a negotiation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage; but infinitely the contrary; which is the only inducement I have in sending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been so cautious that the bearer does not know

know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monsieur Bentick a letter about my garden, and inclosed one for the Princess, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I most humbly beg you will ask her pardon, and bestow yours upon the faithfullest and humblest of your servants.

A. SUNDERLAND.

I must beg leave of your Highness to inclose a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very soon, and till he comes I beseech you make no answer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two posts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let pass over. Some Papists the other day that are not satisfied with my Lord, said, that my Lord Sunderland did not dance in a nett: for they very well knew, that however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his business; there was dispensations from Holland as well as from Rome; and that they were sure I held a correspondence with the Princess of Orange. This, Sir, happened the day I first heard of their design to make these propositions which I have writ, which made me defer sending till the King had spoke to me of it, which he has done; and as I could very truly, so I did assure his Majesty, I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princess, but about treacle water or work, or some such slight thing; so I did likewise as truly assure his Majesty, that if there had ever been any commerce, I should never be ashamed, but on the contrary proud to own it, seeing he must be sure that the Princess could never be capable of any thing with any body to his disservice. Now how this fancy came in their heads I cannot imagine; but that they have a mind to do mischief; for as your Highness knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; so the Princess knows I have been so unhappy to have very little acquaintance with her, till of late I have had the obli-

gation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occasion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and esteem for her that I am capable of to my last breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which if your Highness cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is used to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came safe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I shall be very much at ease. If, by the bearer, your Highness will be pleased to let me know my letter came safe to you, I shall think myself very happy."

Monf. Dyckvelt carried over with him among other letters the following from England to the Prince of Orange. It is singular that most of them are from men of the Tory party. The letters are interesting to English readers, because they display the various characters and views of the writers. The letters are all in King William's box.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—Assures him the Princess Anne and himself are to stand firm to their religion.

S I R,

"**T**HE Princess of Denmark having ordered me to discourse with Monf. Dyckvelt, and to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your Highness, and the Princess her sister, know, that she was resolved, by the assistance of God, to suffer all extremities, even to death itself, rather than be brought to change her religion. I thought it my duty to your Highness and the Princess Royal, by this opportunity of Monf. Dyckvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my places and the King's favour I set at nought, in the comparison of the being true to my religion,

gion. In all things but this the King may command me, I call God to witness, that even with joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, Sir, with thus much of myself, I being of so little use to your Highness, is very impertinent, but that I think it may be a great ease to your Highness and the Princess to be satisfied that the Princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting of me; I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to shew the resolution of a martyr. I am, with all respect, Sir,

Your Highness's

May 17, 1687.

Most obedient servant,

CHURCHILL."

Colonel Bellafys to the Prince of Orange.—Boasts of his loyalty, and assures the prince of his service.

May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

"**I** Have presumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highness the assurance of my devotion to your service in particular; the testimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and sufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the same to those who are so nearly related to it as the Princess Royal and your Highness. Though my hand be weak to express it, or enlarge myself upon this subject, my heart shall supply that defect, in the profession I make, with all submission, of being

Your Highness's most obedient,

And most humbly devoted servant,

BELLAFYS."

Lord Sunderland to the prince of Orange.—Refers to what Mons. Dyckvelt has to say from him.

“ I Received the honour your Highness was pleased to do me by Mons. Dickvelt with all the respect I owe, and will ever pay to your commands, which I shall on all occasions, exactly obey. He is too well informed of every thing here, to pretend to give you an account of what has passed since his coming; and if he does me right, as I doubt not but he will, he must assure your highness, that no man in the world is with more respect and submission than I am

Your Highness's

Windfor,

Most faithful, most humble

May 28, 1687.

And most obedient servant.

SUNDERLAND P.

Lord Nottingham to the prince of Orange.—Refers to what Dyckvelt has to say.—The prince has the universal attachment of the protestant interest to him.

May it please your Highness,

“ THE great ambition I ever had of serving your Highness, made me most readily obey the commands I received from you by the Heer Van Dyckvelt, who has encouraged me to the presumption of this humble address to your Highness.

I have taken several opportunities of discoursing with him about those things, which I thought might be of use or satisfaction to you; I shall not trouble your Highness with any account of affairs here at this time, for he has so fully informed himself of them, that he can give you a very exact account of them: and of one thing especially he may assure you, and that is, the universal concurrence of all Protestants in paying the utmost respect and duty to your Highness, for you are the person on whom they found their hopes, as having already

already seen you a refuge to the miserable, and a most eminent defender of their religion.

And among the many votaries your Highness has here for your long life and increase of honour, none can be more zealously so than myself, who am resolved, with the greatest fidelity, to endeavour, by all the actions of my life, to obtain the title of

London, Your Highness's
 May 18, 1687. Most obedient and most humble servant,
 NOTTINGHAM."

Lord Clarendon to the prince of Orange.—A letter of compliment.

S I R,

"**T**HOUGH I have nothing worth giving your Highness the trouble of a letter, yet I must not omit the opportunity of laying myself at your Highness's feet by Monf. Dyckvelt, who, I doubt not, will do me the justice to assure you of my most obedient duty. I should take it for a great honour to have any commands from your Highness, and ambitious of nothing more than a share of your good opinion, as a person perfectly devoted to your service. Monf. Dyckvelt will give your Highness so full an account of all affairs here, that I need add nothing to what he is so well informed of; I shall only take the liberty to say, that as his conduct here has been very grateful, so all good men are troubled he stays no longer with us. That God would prosper your Highness in all your undertakings, and give you all the comforts in this world, suitable to your merits, is the constant prayer of, Sir,

London, Your Highness's most faithful
 May 28, 1687. And most obedient, humble servant,
 CLARENDON."

Lord

Lord Rochester to the prince of Orange.—General assurances of good will, but avoids entering into particulars.

“**N**OW that Monsieur de Dycvelt is returning to your Highness, I presume to present my humble thanks to you for the very gracious and kind letter your Highness was pleased to write to me by him, upon a subject, that unless it had been by a sure hand, it was not safe to say any thing; and by what hand soever, was much beyond what I could expect; but what good opinion I have gained on that occasion, I shall endeavour not to lose upon any other. In the circumstances I am, as to my retirement, both on the public and my particular account, your Highness cannot expect that I should say much to you; and if it were otherwise, Monsieur de Dycvelt hath had so good means of knowing every thing, and hath so very good qualities, that it were very unnecessary to write, where he is going: I am confident that he will do me right, that I have not been reserved towards him, when he hath done me the honour to communicate any thing to me. All that I can say more, is that my wishes are very good, but neither now, nor for some time, before every body else saw it, could they signify much. In what condition soever I am, I beg your Highness to believe, that I shall always continue, with all my duty and submission, to be as I ought to your Highness.”

New Park, May 29, 1687.

Mr.

Mr. Fitzpatrick to the prince of Orange.—Protestants of all parties have opened themselves to Dyckvelt.

S I R,

May 30, 1687.

“**T**HE many obligations I have to your Highness, and the sincere passion I have for your service, emboldens me to acquaint your Highness with the great importance that I think it would be not only to your Highness, but the States, if Monf. Dickvelt might be sent ambassador here in the room of Monf. Van Cifers; his great prudence, and the zeal that he is believed to have for your Highness and the Princess, has got him the universal good opinion of all parties here, tho’ differing never so much in their religions, which your Highness will easily find by the freedom with which they have communicated their innermost thoughts, hopes and fears to him, and I am sure will do still, when there is any occasion for it. The thoughts of which I submit to your Highness’s great wisdom, begging pardon for this liberty, and the continuance of your favour to the person in the world that is most ambitious of an opportunity to express his gratitude, and manifest how much he is, Sir,

Your Highness’s most obliged,

And most faithful servant,

J. FITZPATRICKE.”

Lord Danby to the prince of Orange.—Recounts Dyckvelt’s services to the prince in England.—Proposes a personal interview of some of the English with the prince, that overtures might be made.

London, May 30, 1687.

“**A**T the arrival of Monf. Dyckvelt in this place, I did by him receive the honour of being remembered by your Highness. He also then told me, that

that your Highness had been pleased to name me, amongst some others, with whom it was your pleasure he should confer on such occasions as he should think were for the service of your Highness. I am, therefore, in the first place, obliged to return your Highness my humble thanks for so great an honour, and next to do that justice to Mons. Dyckvelt to assure your Highness, that as you could have employed nobody here who would have been more agreeable to your well-wishers in this country, so I am confident that nobody could have discharged themselves better than he hath done, both in his deportments to the King, and with all the satisfaction that could have been wished to those with whom he has conversed concerning your Highness (of which both the numbers and quality have been very considerable;) his chief business having been to give assurances to your Highness's great firmness in the protestant religion, and to make known not only your wishes, but endeavours, that no alteration may be made amongst us, otherwise than by parliament, and as our law directs. By his prudent management of these discourses, he has done your Highness great service, and in all other things your Highness's worth and merit were so well known before, that there needed nothing to set them forth more than your own actions have already declared them to the world.

I am sorry he is able to bring your Highness no better an account of our services during his stay here, but you know that our present stations do render most of us but little capable of doing any thing which can deserve to be thought considerable. I confess, that could there be a convenient opportunity for some of us to have a personal conference with your Highness, it is not only my opinion, but the opinion of others, who have the honour of corresponding with your Highness, that some overtures might be made which would be of use to your service, and I hope from these hands your Highness is well informed of their thoughts who are devoted to your service. For my own part, I am so tied to
be

he of that number by what I have done already (besides my continued inclinations to be so) that if I were disposed to alter that character, I should not be able to make myself believed, unless your Highness would contribute to it by some proof of your displeasure towards me, which I can never fear, because I am equally assured of your justice, as I am of my own integrity to your service, and of the satisfaction I have received by those happy successes I have had in it, to which I am sure no competitor can pretend an equal share; and therefore, if in this, I presume to say more than I ought, I hope I may be pardoned a little vanity, having been the happy instrument of so great a public good, as, I doubt not, it will at last prove, as well as a particular one to your Highness. I am glad to find that Mons. Dyckvelt, who is so able to serve your Highness, is so well established in your confidence, as I understand by Lord Halifax, to whom you gave him such credentials as made me willing to speak much more freely to him than otherwise I should have done; but yet I must confess to your Highness (which I rely upon your justice to keep to yourself), that finding his Lordship, who received those credentials, not willing to impart some things to him which are not very proper to be written, I thought it less prudent for me to say to him all that I could wish your Highness were truly informed of. I say not this with the least reflection upon my Lord Halifax (who, I am confident, is truly zealous in your service) but to shew our unhappiness, who dare not, by second hands, speak what was necessary for your knowledge. I have only to add, that if I can, in any kind, be serviceable to your Highness, your commands will meet with so great obedience and faithfulness, that I shall not consider myself, if your Highness shall think me worthy of the continuance of that favour I have formerly received, and which, I am sure, I have not justly forfeited. In the mean time, I beg the honour of being presented by your Highness, with all duty, to the Princess's memory, and that I may

may imagine 'tis your Highness's opinion, as I truly am

Your Highness's most obedient,
And devoted servant,
D A N B Y."

Lord Halifax to the prince of Orange. — There is little fear that popery will prevail.

May 31, 1687.

“ I Deferred my thanks for the honour of your Highness's letter, till I could pay them by the same hand that brought it. Having had the opportunity of discoursing frequently, and at large, with Mons. Dickvelt, it would be less proper now to enter into particulars, or to make repetitions of that, which he will be so much better able to explain. I shall, therefore, only put your Highness in mind, that my conjectures about the meeting of the parliament have not hitherto been disappointed; and if I may be allowed to continue them, I am of opinion there will be none in November, neither this, nor a new one, though that is threatened upon a supposition, that it shall be made up of Dissenters, and that they will comply with whatever shall be expected from them. Neither of these will be found true, in my opinion, if the trial should be made: there are a great many circumstances which make such a scheme impracticable, and the more they consider it, the more they will be discouraged from attempting it; besides, the case, in short, is this; the great design cannot be carried on without numbers; numbers cannot be had without converts, the old stock not being sufficient; converts will not venture till they have such a law to secure them as hath no exception to it; so that the irregularity, or any other violence of the law, would so entirely take away the effect of it, that men would as little run the hazard of changing their religion after the making it, as before; this reason

son also fixeth my opinion; though other arguments are not wanting; and upon this foundation I have no kind of apprehension, that the legislative power can ever be brought to pursue the present designs. But our affairs here depend so much upon what may be done abroad, that our thoughts, though never so reasonable, may be changed by what we may hear by the next post. A war in Germany, and much more if one nearer to us, will have such influence here, that our councils must be fitted to it; and whether or no we shall have an avowed part in it; it is pretty sure we shall have a leaning to one of the parties; and our resolutions at home are to be suited to the interests abroad, which we shall happen to espouse. Mens jealousies here are so raised, that they can hardly believe the King of France's journey to Luxembourg to have no more in it than bare curiosity to see it; but your Highness hath your eyes so open, and your thoughts so intent upon every thing that moveth, that, no doubt; you either see there is no mystery, or, if there is, you have searched to the bottom of it. Mons. Dickvelt will entertain your Highness with all his observations, which he hath made with great diligence, having conversed with men of all complexions, and by that means he knoweth a great deal of the present state of our affairs. The opportunities he hath had, will make him the more welcome here again, whenever there shall be a fair occasion of bringing him. His free way of conversing giveth him an easier admittance than he would have, if he was too reserved; and his being known to be a creature of your Highness, encourageth men to talk with him with less restraint. May your Highness continue well and safe, and may no ill happen to you, till I cease to be the most devoted of your servants."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Mons. Dyckvelt has to say.

S I R,

“ **P**RESUMING that your Highness has heard of an unlucky accident that has happened to me lately, I think myself obliged humbly to beseech your Highness not to believe me capable of intending any rudeness to the King’s palace, having, on the contrary, endeavoured all I could to avoid it, and hope no action of my life can render me suspected of want of respect to his Majesty, or the Royal Family. I could heartily wish, Sir, that affairs in England were according to your Highness’s satisfaction. Mons. Dyckvelt has been pleased to acquaint me with your Highness’s intentions as to many things, and among thousands here that would be glad to receive your orders on any occasion, none can be more cordially, nor with greater respect, Sir,

Your Highness’s most faithful,

May the 31st.

And most humble servant,

DEVONSHIRE.”

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Strong assurances of his services.

S I R,

London, May 30, 1687.

“ **I** Fear you will think this an unpardonable presumption in one that is so inconsiderable, and so much a stranger to your Highness; but I was unwilling to let pass the occasion, without assuring you, that tho’ I hope you have a great many servants and friends in this place, yet there is not one more entirely and faithfully so than myself. It is so much every honest man’s interest, not only to say, but be so, that I hope you will the easier believe what I speak is not a compliment,

ment, but the truth of my heart. The great, and only consolation that we have left is, that you are so generous to countenance us in our misfortunes, Sir, at the same time we here know you approve we are in the right. Your commands is the rule I have set myself to conduct the rest of my life; and whenever I shall be so happy as to receive them, they shall be obeyed with that duty that becomes, Sir,

Your Highness's most humble,
And most obedient servant;
SHREWSBURY."

Sir George Mackenzie to the prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

May it please your Highness,

" I Have adhered to the principles of the Protestant religion, and the interest of the royal family from a due sense of duty and honour, and therefore I neither value popularity nor expect rewards. But, Sir, your great virtue and exemplary firmness obliges me to assure your Highness, that there is none in this Isle of Britain more devoted to your service than,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most humble servant,

And most sincere well-wisher,

Edin. June 9, 1687. GEO. MACKENZIE.

The bishop of London to the prince of Orange.—The king may come to trouble, and the prince will be his only support.

S I R,

June 16.

" I Have presumed to recommend a young French gentleman to you by the hands of Monsieur Bentingk, and beg your pardon for it. I was very glad to receive so good assurance of your welfare as Monsieur

Dickvelt brought over. It is not only for your near relation to the crown, that you are so much prayed for here; but for your usefulness to it. For if the King should have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any sure friend he has to rely upon abroad, besides yourself, whom therefore God long preserve a blessing to the King and kingdom, which shall ever be the prayer of;

Sir,

Your Highness's

Most obliged humble servant,

H. L O N D O N.

The old Earl of Bedford to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his own misfortunes.—Attached with his family to the prince.—Prays for him.

May it please your Highness,

“**G**REAT and surprising honours the more joy they give, the more they disable us to express it, and I am not ashamed to own I cannot find words to represent the deep sense and just gratitude with which my heart abounds, for those assurances Monsieur Dyckvelt has given me of your Highness's compassion for my late calamity, and gracious disposition to comfort an unfortunate family, which I should be less concerned for than I am, if I could doubt any branch of it would ever fail in any point of duty to your Highness's person, which is here universally held in the highest veneration for those Christian and princely virtues that make you worthy of whatever your high birth has given you, or may entitle you to. That it would please God to give you long life, and to continue all his blessings to you, is the hearty prayer of him that has the utmost devotion to your service, and is, with all humility,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most faithful, most obedient,

And most humble servant,

B E D F O R D.

Upon Monsieur Dyckvelt's departure, the Prince of Orange took advantage of the Queen's having notified to him her mother the Dutchess of Modena's death, to send over Count Zuliften (ancestor to the Earl of Rochford) with compliments of condolence; a person the more dangerous, because, under the appearance of a man of pleasure and a soldier, he had great talents for business, and because he was entitled to a degree of confidence from the English malecontents proportioned to his near relation to the Prince. He stayed three weeks in England.

Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuosity which was natural to him, had advised the Prince to an attempt upon England, though with the inconstancy which was also natural to him, he afterwards changed his mind, both of which will appear from his letter below. But the Prince, who was subject to neither weakness, gave it in charge to Zuliften to find out from those whom he consulted, whether there was any probability that the King, who had just dissolved the parliament, would call a new one; knowing well that the legal and constitutional mode of redress was by parliament, and that whilst there were hopes of it, all others were improper.

The letters about Zuliften's coming over from Holland, or which were written in answer to letters or messages which he brought from the Prince, are as follow, in King William's box.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the Dutchess of Modena's death.

Windsor, August 2, 1687.

“ **T**HE friendship you have shewed me on all occasions, and the part that I have always flattered myself, you took in my concerns, makes me hope I may have a great share of your compassion in the great grief I now lie under, for the death of the Dutchess of

Modena my mother ; in which nothing can comfort me, but the hopes I have of her happiness in the other world. Next to this I think it some ease in one's afflictions to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, assuring you that in what condition soever I am, I shall always be with all sincerity truly yours."

M. R.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Count Zulisten is come over with compliments of condolence.

Windsor, Aug. 15, 1687.

"**I** Have received yours by this bearer M. Zulisten, in which you let me know the part you take in the death of the late Dutchess of Modena ; I would not let him return without a letter, and have only time to tell you now, being to set out early to-morrow for Portsmouth and so forward on my journey, and it being late, that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for his condolence by Zulisten who returns.

Bath, August 21, 1687.

"**I** Have so many thanks to return to you for the part which M. Zulisten has assured me you take in my just grief for the loss of my mother, and for sending him to assure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to express to you the sense I have of it : I hope you are so just to me as to believe it much greater then I can make it appear in this paper. I have desired this bearer to help me to persuade you of this, and to assure you, that I do desire above all things the continuance of your friendship, which I cannot but think I do a little deserve by being with all the sincerity and affection imaginable, truly yours,

M. R.

Lord

Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange.—In despondence.—Dissuades him from taking the bold courses he had formerly advis'd him to.

S I R,

“ I F as to that particular affair I had the honour to give your Highness an account of, (and that you were pleas'd frankly to ingage in, my expectations are so far diminished, that I find myself oblig'd to own I am become very doubtful of the success of it, and for that reason must rather dissuade from, than persuade to the expence those for whom I have, and ought to have the last respect, and whose interest I would manage with a tenderness, equal to my desire of serving them, yet I think myself sufficiently recompens'd for any private disappointment by the prospect of public affairs, and the hopes I have your Highness's interest increases every day more and more in strength, and do not doubt will grow stronger even by the endeavours of the court to weaken it, and be past being shaken by their tricks, or by their power. Monsieur Zulisten (perhaps more proper, as not taken for a man of business, but a particular servant of your Highness's for what he was sent about) came in a very lucky time, and it was no little satisfaction to me to find upon the whole, he will very near give your Highness an account of affairs, as I had the honour to represent them to you. Sir, I may easily fall into mistakes, but my unfeign'd wishes for your prosperity, and being entirely convinc'd we ought to serve your Highness to the utmost of our power, if only on the principles of self love, and preservation, but these opinions too agreeing with my inclinations, will make me I am sure never offer to your Highness but the true and sincere thoughts of a heart, that I protest, Sir, is entirely yours. I take the liberty to send a little pamphlet as it came to my hands, though Monsieur Zulisten not going to day as he intended, I believe he will carry some of

them over in print, which may be easier read. Those who sent it me concluded I believe the design would please me, and as I was intimating to your Highness that I thought some of our church would do well to take this subject in hand, I was glad to see it not ill executed. I hope it will both please and satisfy your Highness when you read it. I flatter myself I shall not belong absent from Loo, my old passports stands good still, (my dear Roman catholic friends not being able to quit their greedy hopes, but persisting in their desires to me, and entreating me every hour to proceed in this affair, though I fear, not with good reasons of their side, of which I sent Mr. Sidney at large my thoughts, not changed since, no more than my resolutions of following your Highness's directions in it, which way soever they incline, with all pleasure and readiness.) So, Sir, I do not trouble you with any more of public affairs, but that I find lord Halifax positive in his opinion of no parliament: I presume daily care will be taken, that they may have less reason every moment to hope to succeed in what alone they would have it met for, and so it may become probable that the session may not be long, but it is best erring of the surer side, and conclude that a parliament may sit, that the best means may be taken to prevent its being fatal to us, for blows given by parliament are deadly ones. Your Highness I fear will think you have reason to judge quite differently of me from what other people do, appearing to you thus upon all occasions timorous, and desponding. I own, Sir, where your interest, or the public is concerned, I may be liable to needless fears, out of diffidence that naturally follows a sincere, and real concern; but in the executing part of any commands I shall ever receive from your Highness, you will give me leave to answer for myself, and assure you, your Highness shall never find a fault or hesitation in, Sir, your Highness's most obedient, humble and respectful servant,

MORDAUNT."

September the 4th, our style.

Sir

Sir, you will excuse this postscript; of great consequence I think it is not, but since I writ my letter, I am informed they are sending a privy seal for Sir Rowl. Gwinn. As he loves talking of business I fear he may have been indiscreet, or else it is to endeavour to fright him from coming into England, to stand for parliament man."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's letter.—The Prince has put queries by Count Zuylesteyn whether there was a probability of a parliament, and what would be the success of one.—Thinks there is an intention to call a parliament, but that it will not be ventured.

May it please your Highness,

" I WAS much surpris'd to receive the honour of a letter from your Highness by Mr. Zuylesteyn; your acceptance of my service obliges me to the utmost fidelity, and is an ample reward of it too.

I understand by Mr. Zuylesteyn that your Highness would know what likelihood there is of the calling and meeting of a parliament; and, if there should be one, what probably may be the success of such a meeting.

'Tis very hard to foretell what will be the issue of the present councils; for though the end at which they aim is very plain and visible, yet the methods of arriving at that end have been very variable and uncertain; so that although in other times the best prophecies are the conjectures of wise men, yet now perhaps they are the worst, and to guess right is rather luck than wisdom, which makes me presume to lay before your Highness my apprehensions, and to hope for your pardon if I should be mistaken, since wiser men may be so too.

I think it is very probable that the present resolution is to have a parliament; the sudden and surpris'ing declaration of indulgence to men, who a little before were hated,

hated, and laboured under great severities; the placing them in offices of trust in corporation towns; the encouragement of them to stand for members of the next parliament, and the particular reason that is given them for it, which is to repeal the penal laws, in which the Protestants and Papists seem to have a joint interest; and this, that it may appear the more specious without abrogating the test: all these are evidences of their intention to advise the calling of a parliament, and together with the King's progress into the country, look preparatory to it.

Nevertheless, when I consider what little hopes they can justly have of any fruits of those endeavours when a parliament shall meet, I do conclude that they will change their councils, and that there will be no parliament this winter.

For it is very likely, that if a parliament should be summoned, the members of the church of England, having already given sufficient evidence of their zeal for their religion and laws, will, upon that account, as well as being the major part of the nation, prevail in most elections; so that few Dissenters, upon whom the Papists do now depend, will be chosen; and further, I am apt to think, that few Dissenters will attempt it, as easily foreseeing, that if they do not comply in all things that are expected, or shall be asked of them, they will expose themselves to great displeasure, and so run the hazard of forfeiting that toleration which they are well pleased to enjoy, though they like not the method by which it is given them.

And it may reasonably be expected, that such Dissenters as shall be chosen, will not, in their present circumstances, concur to the repeal of so much as the penal laws: for this has been their opinion in former parliaments, in which they never would give that ease to the Papists, which they desired for themselves, and to do it now, might encourage the Papists to greater attempts; and the Dissenters would never recover the reproach of having been factors for popery; and the unhappy instrument

ment of prejudicing the protestant religion; and consequently will not have such reason to expect a like indulgence in other times, as their prudent behaviour in this conjuncture will justly intitle them to; and which, they hope, will then be established to them by a more firm and lasting security.

But after all, notwithstanding the pretences of some Papists and their agents, yet if the Non-conformists would repeal the penal laws, it is very probable it would not be granted, unless the test were taken away too, which is the great obstruction to the Papists designs; for though many of the nobility and gentry of that party would acquiesce in the enjoyment of their religion and estates; yet if there be reason to think, that the zeal of some men would go much further, especially of the priests, who can have no interest in stopping here, surely they will never contradict their former artifices, and suffer the Dissenters to be freed from the terror of the laws, which is the most probable inducement to them to join with the Papists, and without such an union, the Papists cannot expect to abrogate the test, and complete their designs.

And yet if this repeal of the penal laws would be granted, there are so many other things that will be taken into consideration by a parliament, and of a nature so contrary to the present interest and humour of the Papists, that it will be next to impossible that there should be time to bring such a bill to perfection, how zealously soever it may be prosecuted in the House of Commons, or otherwise encouraged.

All which difficulties the Papists cannot be so blind as not to foresee, or so vain as to contend against them, as yet, in a parliament.

All which I most humbly submit to your Highness, and must intreat your pardon for the trouble, and the many other faults of so long a letter, of which nothing
could

could have made me guilty, but my great zeal, upon all occasions, to shew myself

London, Your Highness's most obedient,

Sept. 2, 1687. And most humble servant,

NOTTINGHAM."2

Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange, in answer to one from the Prince.—Zuylesteyn's services.—Repeats his desire for a personal interview with the Prince.—Refers to Zuylesteyn.

Wimbleton, Sept. 4, 1687.

" I WAS very proud to receive by Monsieur Zuylesteyn the honour of a letter from your Highness, and to find in it so great a condescension as to remember the services of one, who is now so little able to pay any. The character your Highness gives of Monf. Zuylesteyn would give me the confidence to say any thing to him, which I would not venture to say to any body but yourself; nor would I forbear, upon that recommendation, to say to him any thing which were so material to your Highness's service, as might receive any prejudice by the delay; but I can say nothing which is so pressing in point of time, nor would I commit to writing what the thoughts of others are besides my own, without their consent, for which I have had no opportunity since I received your letter, which was but on the 2d instant. I am sure your Highness will receive all necessary accounts of things from hence as the occasions require, and Monf. Zuylesteyn will inform you of the present posture of all things amongst us. I confess I could wish that the understanding, both on your Highness's part and ours, were more perfect, in relation to such future events as may probably happen (and which are too long to be expressed by letters); but I have touched upon some things of that kind to Monf. Zuylesteyn, as questions which I have been asked by others, and he made me such answers as I was glad to hear, and which he said he was instructed to give, in case any such enquiries were made,

made, of which he will give your Highness an account. I made some open attempts the last summer, and some private ones in this, to have seen if I could have gained leave to go into Holland with the same indifferency that it is permitted to many others; but I still found designs were laid to do me more prejudice by that journey, than I could have done service to your Highness: I must, therefore, deny myself the honour of waiting upon your Highness, till my attendance may be as useful, as such an occasion would be agreeable to me; and then nothing shall be an hindrance to

Your Highness's most obedient,
And faithful servant,
D A N B Y."

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Thinks no parliament will be called, and that the nation will not receive popery.—Advises caution.

August 25, 1687.

"**I**T would be unnecessary to give your Highness a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewsbury, who hath already so good a one established and allowed in the world; I shall only say, in short, that he is, without any competition, the most considerable man of quality that is growing up amongst us; that he hath right thoughts for the public; and a most particular veneration for your Highness; he is loose and untied from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the first discourse you shall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reserve. There is so little alteration here since Mons. Dickvelt left us, that I can hardly acquaint you of any thing of moment which would be new to you. I have told my Lord Shrewsbury my thoughts, who is very well able to improve and explain them to your Highness. It is not to be imagined but that a certain design will still go on; all that is to be hoped is, that it will be

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so crippled with the difficulties it every day meeteth with, that it will be disabled from making so swift a progress as is necessary for the end it aimeth at. There are some things that can never prevail upon men's minds, if they have time allowed to consider them; this may be the present case, the whole kingdom being now so well informed, that all men are settled in their dislike of the unwelcome thing that is endeavoured to be imposed on them: this consideration alone freeth me, in a great measure, from the fears I might otherwise have; not that it throweth me into such a security as to make me neglect the means that shall, from time to time, be thought most reasonable for our preservation, towards which your Highness seemeth to us to be in the best method that can be imagined, in being firm to your true interest, immoveable in every thing that is essential, and cautious to give no advantage which might, with any colour of reason, be made use of against you. This conduct being continued, can hardly fail, there being so many things that concur to make it succeed. I find by Mons. Zuleystein, that your Highness is inclined to believe there will be a parliament; upon which, being encouraged in my good luck in guessing right hitherto upon the same subject, I take the liberty to tell you that I do not think any will be called, till, by some accident, it shall become necessary and unavoidable: my reasons for it will be better repeated by my Lord of Shrewsbury, so that I shall not now give your Highness the trouble of them. We are full of the news from Hungary, which is not equally welcome to the several Princes in Christendom. We think it may have a considerable influence upon this part of the world, and if the season was not too far advanced, we are apt to believe France might this very year give some trouble to its neighbours. What part we here might have in it, I cannot tell, but suppose we shall be slow to engage in a war, which, besides the expence, to which we cannot furnish, is liable to so many accidents, that we shall not be easily persuaded to run the

hazard

hazard of it. Your Highness hath your thoughts intent upon every new thing that ariseth in the world, and knoweth better than any body how to improve every conjuncture, and turn it to the advantage of that interest of which you are the chief support; and as your care and skill will never be wanting, so, I hope, they will meet with their just reward of good success, which is the top of my wishes, as it is the utmost of my ambition to be serviceable to a Prince to whom I am eternally devoted.

London, August 25, 1687.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—Zuleystin's services.

September 1, 1687.

“**H**AVING so lately written to your Highness by my Lord of Shrewsbury, who is able to give you a particular account of things here, I have nothing to acquaint you with by Monf. Zuleystein, who seemeth to deserve the good opinion you have of him, his character agreeing so well with his recommendation, that he is extremely welcome to all those he converseth with; neither is he wanting to make such observations as may be useful for your service, by which he layeth a foundation of being so well informed of our matters here, that he may prove to be a very good instrument to be further employed when the occasion shall require it. The King has returned from his progress as far as Oxford, in his way to the Bath; and we do not hear that his observations, or his journey, can give him any great encouragement to build any hopes upon, as to the carrying on some things, which appear every day to be more against the grain. Besides the considerations of conscience and the public interest, it is grown into a point of honour, universally received by the nation, not to change their opinion, which will make all attempts to the contrary very ineffectual. A parliament is still talked of, but I find no cause to alter my judgment in that matter,

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it being still the same I have already told your Highness, and of which I have desired my Lord of Shrewsbury to give you some of the reasons that induce me to it. I have no more to add, but that I am, and ever will be, unalterably devoted to you."

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—The church of England steady.—The Dissenters, he hopes, will open their eyes.

S I R,

September 5.

“**Y**OUR remembrance of me by Mons. Zuilistin, has obliged me to acknowledge that great honour by this means; and though I have nothing of moment proper to communicate by writing, nevertheless it is of moment to me, not to lye under the imputation of ingratitude, lest I should justly lose so great a satisfaction, as sometimes to be owied amongst your most humble servants. If you shall find by the account Mons. Zuilisten gives you, that I have communicated nothing to him worthy that confidence you were pleased to recommend, I beseech you not to believe that it has proceeded from any reservedness, where I had so strong an assurance from yourself, but that I had no more to say; for since my misfortune of lying under his Majesty's displeasure, I frequently retire into the country out of reach of the great news, and when I am in town I meet with little but what is so public, that it would be impertinent for me to repeat it. We have daily complaints how busy the priests are amongst the conventicles, but we hope a few discoveries will make that party wiser. The clergy continue very firm to their principles, very watchful over their flocks, and very dutiful to the King; and, next to my allegiance, I can confidently aver, that there is no duty which I shall

shall not most chearfully pay to your service, and pray
God for your prosperity all the days of my life,

Sir,

Your highness's most faithful,

And obedient servant,

H. L O N D O N.

There is no doubt that the petition and imprisonment of the Bishops were the immediate causes of the dethronement of King James, because they set the spirits of men, which were moving only slowly before, in an instant in a ferment. Between the time of Dyckvelt's return to Holland, and the petition of the Bishops, the Prince received, among other letters, the following from England. They are all in the box.

*The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Com-
plains of his own injuries, the nation's and the Prince's.*

S I R,

“ I With my present circumstances would allow me to be any ways serviceable to your Highness; but as they are, if I did not believe you had much better intelligence from other hands than I am able to give, I should presume now and then to send your Highness an account of affairs according to my weak apprehension of them. And to that end (if your Highness permit) I have thought of a private way of writing, which Mr. Forrester will acquaint you with. I have been hardly enough used in my own particular, but I conceive the whole nation is not much better; and for any thing appears to me, I cannot but think, as things are like to be carried, both here and in Ireland, your Highness's interest is like to suffer. I dare not enlarge upon particulars, but beg of your Highness to believe,

that I wish my liberty for nothing more, than to have some occasion to shew myself, Sir,

Your Highness's most devoted,
 July 10, Old Stile. And most humble Servant,
 DEVONSHIRE."

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—Thanks for his assurances to the church of England.

S I R,

October 27, 1687.

"**T**HE terms by which you were pleased to express yourself in reference to the church of England, were every way so obliging and satisfactory, that I look upon myself as bound in duty to acknowledge the deep sense I and every true member of the same church ought to have of so great a blessing. And though you are at present at a distance from us, and not so well able to partake of the fruits of so good intentions, yet when we shall have served this King with all fidelity, so long as it shall please God to continue him amongst us; as none that know you will question the sincerity of your performance, so, I make no doubt, but you will soon find the benefit of having taken up so wise resolutions. For, Sir, you that see all the great motions of the world, and can so well judge of them, know there is no reliance upon any thing that is not steady to principles, and prefers not the common good before private interest. I pray God continue to be gracious to you, and to direct and prosper all your councils, and to crown the endeavours of your life with the consummation of all happiness; which shall ever be the most hearty prayer of, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,
 And obliged servant,
 H. LONDON."

Lady

Lady Sunderland to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—Assurances of her attachment.

S I R,

“ **W**HEN there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me, of writing by one of your Highness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the honour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my intentions; and I have at present so great a head-ache, that I have writ, if possible, a stranger hand than ordinary; but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty, as well as inclination, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,

Dec. 23, 1687. Humble, and obedient servant,
A. SUNDERLAND.”

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSEIGNEUR,

JE n'ay gardé de laisser passer cette occasion d'assurer votre Altesse de mes très humbles services, et de prendre la liberté de luy temoigner en peu de mots mes pensées sur la lettre qui a paru icy depuis quelques jours sous les nom de Monsieur Fagel. On est ravi d'y trouver les sentiments de votre Altesse et de Madame la Princesse en matiere de religion, non seulement si équitables, mais si conformes à l'interest et au gout de toute la nation, si ce n'est de ceux qui par une pretendue liberté de conscience, cherchent l'occasion de la detruire entierement, comme en effet on le voit en tous les lieux ou ils

ont de pouvoit de la faire. On y remarque une distinction tout à fait judicieuse, des loix appellé Penales, à celles du Test; puisque ces dernieres ne regardent que le maintien de la religion et du gouvernement, qui sans ce boulevard courent grand risque d'être renversés. Ce qui me regarde en particulier, ne vaut pas la peine d'en importuner votre Altesse; cependant je ne souhaite pas qu'elle le fût pas d'autres voyes, avant que je me donnasse l'honneur de lui en toucher quelque chose. Je prens donc la liberté de lui mander, que le mariage de mon fils avec la fille de Madame Ruffel est sur le point d'être conclu; auquel je supplie très humblement l'agreement de votre Altesse, ce que reglera toujours la conduite de Monseigneur,

De votre Altesse le très humble,

Et très obeissant serviteur,

DEVONSHIRE."

Translation.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on his conduct about Fagel and Stuart's letters.

MY LORD,

I Cannot let this occasion pass of assuring your Highness of my most humble services, and to take the liberty of testifying to you, in a few words, my thoughts upon the letter which has appeared here a few days ago under the name of Mr. Fagel. People are in raptures to find the sentiments of your Highness and of the Princess in matters of religion, not only so equitable, but so agreeable to the interest, and to the taste of all the nation, except those who by a pretended liberty of conscience seek the opportunity to destroy it intirely, as in effect is seen in all places where they have the power to do it. People remark in the letter a distinction altogether judicious between the laws which are called Penal, and those of the Test;

Test; seeing these last have no regard but to the maintenance of the religion and government, which without this bulwark run a great risk of being overturned. What regards me in particular, is not worth the while to trouble your Highness with; yet I do not wish that you should know it from others, before I do myself the honour to touch upon it to you. I take then the liberty to inform you, that the marriage of my son with the daughter of lady Ruffel is upon the point of being concluded; to which I beg the approbation of your Highness, which will always regulate the conduct of,

My Lord, your Highness's most
obedient, and most humble servant,
DEVONSHIRE."

The Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—His gratitude for the honour of it.

S I R,

" I Am so sensible of the great honour that your Highness is pleased, by my dear nephew Howe, to express for me, and likewise the great grace and favour he received from your Highness, that I hold myself obliged (with all humble submission for the presumption) to declare my gratitude under my own hand, intreating your Highness to believe, that my prayers and best wishes are and ever shall be for your increase of glory and happiness suitable to your bravery and merit, and that high esteem your Highness has over all this part of the world, which shall always have the first place in the heart of,

Your serene Highness's most dutiful,
Basing, Feb. 20, And obedient, humble servant,
1687-8. WINCHESTER."

H 3

Earl

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Is to be with the Prince in summer. The King makes no progress either in England or Scotland.

London, March 14, 1687-8.

“ I Could not, Sir, let Mr. Howe, who goes away this afternoon, part without making my humble acknowledgements to your Highness for the kind expressions in your letter; if the state of our affairs here will any ways permit, I will not fail this summer to pay them in person, and shall be disappointed of a journey I very earnestly set my heart upon, if things should come to such an extreme as to prevent me. The only considerable news I can learn here is, that there has a disagreement happened between my Lord Sunderland and Fra. Peters; how that may be composed, or what consequences it will have if it continues, I dare not decide. Though we constantly talk of a parliament, yet I imagine our ministers are a little at a stand in their councils, when they consider how unanimous the answers have been through all the counties; neither have they met with much better success, as I am informed, in Scotland. I have this very morning, Sir, met with a report, which though I hope it is not true, yet it has renewed the fears I very often had for you: we are told there is a man seized at the Hague for attempting to poison you. Though I have not this from so sure hands as to give absolute credit to it, yet I cannot help putting your Highness in mind how possible it is, and beg in the behalf of millions that you will take care of yourself; it seems hard that one should be solicitous for others sake, when one is naturally not so for oneself. But the same generosity that in ordinary cases makes one despise a life, in so extraordinary a circumstance as yours obliges you to be careful, since the security and happiness not only of many men but many nations depend upon it; be, Sir, but as zealous to preserve yourself for the common good, as you have been forward to expose it for the same cause,
and

and all your servants will remain satisfied with your care: that it may be effectual, shall be the daily and hearty wishes of,

Sir, Your Highness's most obedient,
And faithful, humble servant,
SHREWSBURY."

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Probably a cant letter assuring the Prince of his services.

" I Received your most serene Highness's letter, and since you are pleased to desire the conclusion of the match proposed, to show your Highness how ready I am on my part in obeying your commands, I have immediately sent over a gentleman to make out what I have promised (which I will perform) by Captain Howe my dear nephew, and I do not doubt but that the Marquis of Montpelier, my ancient friend and acquaintance, will do the same, and then this gentleman I send has power to conclude. I am infinitely obliged to your Highness for your many kind expressions to me, which I will always own by all the duty and service that ever can be paid to your most serene Highness,

Basing, By your most dutiful and obedient,
April 16, 1688. And most obliged humble servant,
WINCHESTER."

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange.—Sends over his two sons to visit the Prince.

Basing, April 23, 1688.

" I Cannot omit any opportunity humbly to present my duty and service to your most serene Highness by a safe hand. This I know to be so, having had great experience of my friend captain Man's fidelity and

H 4 ingenuitie,

ingenuitie, having intrusted him in many matters of great moment, in which I always received full and ample satisfaction; I therefore have humbly recommended him to your Highness's favour, which he is very ambitious to have. I hope this small essay of my service will be agreeable to Your most serene Highness, offered with all duty, by

Your Highness's most dutiful,
Obedient, and most obliged, humble servant,
WINCHESTER."

I humbly desire leave to present my humble duty and service to her royal Highness.

My son Wilts will soon pay his own and my duty to your most serene Highness, going over this week; my son William is impatient to do the same, and though I am loath to part with him before his brother returns, yet I have that desire that all mine should shew their duty to your Highness, that I will deny my own inclination, (as soon as I can overcome it) and send him to lie at your feet, for he is fully devoted to your service and interest. I envy my son's happiness, which nothing but my ill health could hinder me from enjoying, but I freely submit to God's will to be deprived of that great pleasure I desire earnestly."

*Part of a letter from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.
—Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.—The nation wants only an opportunity to shew their zeal for his service.*

London, March 27, 1688.

"**M**ANY of our ladies say, that the Queen's great belly seems to grow faster than they have observed their own to do; and because it is fit her Majesty should always have the greatest persons near her in this condition, I hope the Princess will take care that the Princess Anne may be always within call; and especially to see (when the time is near) that the midwife

wife discharges her duty with that care which ought to be had in a case of so great concern. Our zeal here for the Protestant religion does apparently increase every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made such an union for the defence of it through the Kingdom, that I verily believe they begin to despair of supplanting it by violent means, and it is certain they can do it no other way. The constancy and firmness which both the Princesses have shewed in their religion, and your Highness's mind in relation to things here (which was so prudently made known by Monsieur Fagel's letter) has so contributed also to add courage to that union, that I look upon our security to be much strengthened by it, as well as both your highnesses interests raised here beyond your own expectations, insomuch that I am confident there wants only an opportunity to the greatest part of the nation to shew their zeal for your service. I must beg your Highness's excuse for so tedious a letter, and yet I am desirous to have said much more, but that without some discourse to explain myself, I might be liable either to have my meaning mistaken, or not fully understood, which would only be to give your Highness an useless trouble.

I have one thing only to lament, that although our union in general be very great, yet particular distrusts are so great also, as render many good intentions very ineffectual. I am, with all that duty and respect I ought to be, your Highness's most faithful and obedient servant."

Part of Lord Danby's letter to the Prince of Orange.—The King's suspicions of the Prince.

London, March 29, 1688.

"I Am forced to give your Highness the trouble of this second letter, to inform you, that upon my son's asking the King's leave to go beyond sea, his Majesty

jeſty granted the leave, but ſaid with ſome heat, Provided it be not into Holland, for I will ſuffer nobody to go thither. My ſon anſwering that he had no deſign of any thing but to ſee a country he had not ſeen; the King anſwered, Perhaps ſo, but he had relations who had other deſigns there, and he knew there were thoſe in Holland who gave themſelves hopes of ſeeing ſome Engliſh Lords at the head of ſome of their ſquadrons, but he would take care to prevent it. After this diſcourſe to my ſon, which was in a room next to the bed-chamber, he came out into the bed-chamber, and my Lord Dumbarton and Lord Litchfield being only there, the King ſaid to my Lord Dumbarton, I find they are much ſurpriſed in Holland with my raiſing three new regiments; to which my Lord Dumbarton anſwered, that he wondered why they ſhould be ſo; the King replied, they would be ſurpriſed much more before he had done with them. This was on the 27th at night, and on the 28th my ſon went to court to get his paſs from one of the Secretaries of State, and the King happening to ſee him, called him to one ſide of the room, and ſaid, My lord, I had newly received ſome news laſt night when you ſpoke to me, which had diſturbed me, and made me ſpeak to you in ſome diſorder, therefore I would not have you take notice of any thing I then ſaid to you, for I dare truſt you to go where you will; but ſaid, If you go only for curioſity, you might as well ſatisfy that elſewhere as in Holland.”

Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSIEGNEUR,

26 **J**E n'ay pu trouver une occaſion avant le depart de Monsieur Howe de temoigner ma très humble reconnoiſſance à votre Alteſſe de toutes les bontés qu'elle à pour moy. Les affaires icy ſont à peu pres dans le même état. Le Roy declare toujours ſon intention de convoquer un parlement, quoique les affaires ne ſemblent
guerres

guerres disposées à cela. On croit que ce pourra être environ le tems des couches de la Reyne. Les catholiques Romains voulans absolument que ce soit d'un fils, et d'ailleurs l'armée de Hounslow fera dans le voisinage. Ce ne son que des conjectures, et votre Altesse ne peut pas manquer de lumieres bien plus authentiques que celles que je suis capable de luy donner. Mais il est constant, qu' on s'attend à de grandes extremités. Toutes nos esperances sont fondées sur la seureté de votre personne, et de celle de Madame la Princeesse, lesquelles Dieu preserve de toutes sortes de machinations et d' attentats. Personne le souhaite avec plus d' ardeur et de passion que fait, Monseigneur le plus obsequieux et le plus humble de tous vos serviteurs.

DEVONSHIRE."

Le 13 me de Mars, V. S.

Translation.

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe.—Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.

MY LORD,

I Have not found an occasion before the departure of Mr. Howe to testify my humble gratitude to your Highness for all your goodness to me. Affairs here are almost in the same state. The king declares always his intentions to assemble a parliament, although matters do not seem disposed for it; they believe that it will be about the time of the Queen's being brought to bed. The Roman Catholics incline absolutely that it should be a son; and besides, the army at Hounslow will be in the neighbourhood. These are only conjectures, and your Highness cannot want lights much more authentic, than those which I am capable of giving. But it is certain, that we expect great extremités. All our hopes are founded upon the security of your person, and that of the Princess, both of whom may God preserve from all plots and attacks. Nobody wishes it
with

with more ardour and passion, than does, my Lord, the most obsequious and the most humble of all your servants,

13th March, Old Stile. DEVONSHIRE."

Lord Hallifax to the Prince of Orange.—The King gains nothing on the nation.—Advises to cautious measures.

“ I Avoid giving your Highness unnecessary trouble, and though this hath a good convenience, yet it may, perhaps, be so long in its way to you, that it will not be pertinent to repeat what you will have had from other hands. There hath been little that is new this great while, since either the old methods have continued, or else what appeareth to be new, is at least not strange, being produced by a natural consequence, and therefore to be reasonably expected and foreseen. In some particulars, to men at a distance, the engine seemeth to move fast, but by looking nearer, one may see it doth not stir upon the whole matter, so that here is a rapid motion without advancing a step, which is the only miracle that church hath yet shewed to us. Every attempt turneth back upon them. They change the magistracy in the corporations, and still for the worse, as to their designs. The irregular methods have spent themselves without effect; they have run so fast that they begin to be out of breath, and the exercise of extraordinary powers, both ecclesiastical and civil, is so far from fixing the right of them, that men are more united in objecting to them. The world is still where it was, with this only difference, that it groweth every day more averse to that which is endeavoured to be imposed upon them. The very Papists who have estates, act like pressed men, and have such an eye to what may happen in a revolution, that their present advantages hardly make amends for their fears; upon the whole, they are so divided between the fear
of

of losing their opportunity by delay, or spoiling it with too much haste, that their steps are wavering and uncertain, and distrusting the very instruments they use, they are under great mortifications, notwithstanding the appearance of carrying every thing without opposition. Being thus discouraged by their ill success in their attempts, some say they are altering their scheme, and not finding their expectations answered by the Dissenters, they have thoughts of returning to their old friends, the High Church Men; but the truth is, the Papists have of late been so hard and fierce upon them, that the very species of those formerly mistaken men is destroyed; they have so broken that loom in pieces, that they cannot now set it up again to work upon it: in the mean time the men at the helm are certainly divided amongst themselves, which will produce great effects, if men will let it work, and not prevent the advantages that may be expected, by being too unquiet, or doing things out of season; the great thing to be done now, is to do nothing, but wait for the good consequences of their divisions and mistakes. Unseasonable stirrings, or any thing that looketh like the Protestants being the aggressors, will tend to unite them, and by that means will be a disappointment to those hopes, which otherwise can hardly fail: nothing, therefore, in the present conjuncture can be more dangerous than unskilful agitators, warm men, who would be active at a wrong time, and want patience to keep their zeal from running away with them. It is said by some, that there is an intention of making a new attempt to beget a better understanding with your Highness; that in order to it, the present Envoy, as less acceptable, is to be removed, and another sent, who, if he should be less known, may, perhaps, for that very reason, be the more dangerous: if this should be true, and that softer proposals should be made from hence, it will deserve all your caution to receive them so as neither to give advantage by rejecting them too roughly on one

one side, or on the other, by giving any colour for them to pretend there is a consent given to any thing that may be inconvenient. After the reports raised here, without any manner of ground, first of your Highness being a Papist, then of your being desirous to have the Test repealed, there is nothing of that kind which may not be thought possible; so that if there should now be any nearer treaty, it might, perhaps, be made use of with more advantage by them, to mislead men at a distance into a wrong belief. In lower instances, it hath not been unusual, in such cases, to set proposals on foot, of which no other effect is expected, than to bring men under doubts and suspicions from their own friends. The instruments that shall be made use of, their interests and dependencies being well considered and examined, will give a great deal of light, if any thing of this kind should be attempted; and it happeneth well, that they will have to do with one who knoweth so well how to judge of men and things, as not to be within the danger of being easily surpris'd, neither by any upon this occasion, nor by any other of our countrymen who speak what is dictat'd to them by men of several interests, or endeavour to value themselves upon their correspondencies and influences here, which, I doubt, have seldom foundation enough for your Highness to build upon. There can be nothing better recommended to you, than the continuance of the method which you practise; neither comply in any thing that is unfit, nor to provoke further anger by any act that is unnecessary. This will not, perhaps, be sufficient to prevent ill will, but it will, in a great measure, secure you from the ill effects of it. Your Highness must allow me to applaud my good fortune in not having hitherto made a wrong conjecture about the sitting of the parliament: notwithstanding the discourses that have been made by the great men, with the greatest assurance, that it would meet one time after another, I ever thought it impracticable, considering the measures that are taken, and I

am now as much an unbeliever for October, as I was for April, which was the time prefixed for the meeting ; with all this your Highness must expect, that it will still be given out, there will be one ; it is not, perhaps, thought convenient, neither indeed would it be so, that all foreign Princes and states should conclude, there never will be a parliament in England in this King's reign ; a great deal would depend upon such an opinion received, which would have an influence upon their manner of treating with us ; but according to the most rational conjecture, how extraordinary soever things may appear which have been done, the letting a parliament meet as matters now stand, would so undo them all, that it is hardly to be supposed possible. The other great point which at present maketh the discourse, is, whether England will have a war with the States ; in this, the more thinking sort of men are of opinion there will be none. There is disposition enough for it, for reasons which need not be explained ; but there are so many discouraging circumstances, and the prejudice from ill success would be so much greater than the utmost which can be hoped in case of prospering, that the men in power must go against all the common methods of arguing, if they venture upon an experiment which may be so destructive to them. I have tired your Highness so long, that it is time for me to close with my wishes for your own and the Prince's health, which are of that consequence to the world, that nothing can be desperate whilst you are well and safe. For myself, I must ever be unalterably devoted to you.

London, April 12, 1688.

Some of the preceding letters mention the vain attempts of the King to gain over individuals to agree to the abolition of the Tests. The following papers are authentic evidences of this.

King

King James to the Duke of Hamilton.—Desires a positive answer whether he will agree to the abolition of the Tests.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1688.

In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

“ **B**EFORE this gets to you, you will have had time to discourse with some one of the law, as well as of the gospel, concerning the Test and Penal laws, so that you may as well now, as at any time, give an account if you can comply with what I desire, and join with those of my loyal subjects who are for the repeal of these laws and Test, and for settling an entire liberty of conscience, which you know is what I drive at, and make no doubts of bringing about in all my dominions. You see the condescension I had for you, in not expecting an answer from you before you left this place, and that now I do not let this question be asked you by any but myself; but now I must do it, and expect your positive answer as to these points I have mentioned to you, and of which I discoursed with you before you went, and that by letter to myself. If you come the length of what I desire, of which I can make no doubt, then I leave it to you to let the rest of these, I trust in my affairs there, know it or not, as you think best. But in case you cannot comply, then you are to let nobody know it but myself and Lord Sunderland, who sends this to you: and I expect your positive answer within two or three days after your having received this.

JAMES R.

The Duke of Hamilton to King James, in answer to the foregoing.—Desires time to consider.

SIR,

“ **Y**OUR Majesty's letter did extremely surprize me, to find I had mistaken the time your Majesty had allowed me to consider of the repealing our

In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

our Penal laws and Test. Since I came to this place I have had very ill health, and this being the last week of the session, I have not had the opportunities so to discourse with any one of the law or gospel, as to receive that satisfaction as I can give your Majesty a positive answer how far I may join in the repeal of the Penal laws and Test for settling an entire liberty of conscience. I have been ever and am still of the same opinion, that none should suffer for conscience-sake; and that every peaceable subject should be allowed the exercise of their own religion; but how this is to be done with security to the Protestant religion, our laws, and oaths, is in my humble opinion what will deserve serious consideration, and is above what I can presently determine myself in. Therefore I do most humbly beg of your Majesty to pardon my not being more positive in my answer, and allow me a forbearance till I wait on you, and your Majesty may be assured, as on earth I desire nothing so much as your favour; so it will be no earthly consideration will make me do any thing to lose it, which would be the greatest affliction could come to, Sir,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, most faithful,

And most obedient subject, and servant.^s

In Lord Preston's copy-book of dispatches there is the following order.

“ **T**HAT the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, and Westmoreland do call before him, all the deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, within his lieutenancy, either jointly, or separately, as he shall think best, and ask them, one by one, the following questions.

In Mr. Graham's possession.

1. If in case he shall be chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgesse of a town, when the King shall think fit to call a parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal laws, and the Tests.

2. Whether he will assist, and contribute, to the election of such member, as shall be for taking off the Penal laws, and Tests.

3. Whether he will support the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, by living friendly with those of all persuasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to do.

As he shall ask these questions of all deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace; so he shall particularly write down what every one answers, whether he consents, refuseth, or is doubtful.

That he likewise do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the several corporations within the lieutenancy. What persons, of such as are willing to comply with these measures, have credit enough of their own, to be chosen parliament men, or may be chosen, if assisted by their friends.

And lastly, what Catholicks, and what dissenters are fit to be added, either to the list of the deputy-lieutenants, or to the commission of the peace, throughout the said lieutenancy.

After the petition of the Bishops, the connexion of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty in England was carried on chiefly by Mr. Russel afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sidney afterwards Earl of Romney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, when the careless air of count Zulisten was a second time made use of upon an errand of ceremony, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. But the real intention of his journey was to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England.

From the time of the Bishops presenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of August,

August, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, and count Zuliften returned to it, there are in King William's box the following letters, among others, to the Prince of Orange.

Admiral Herbert to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the prince's invitation communicated by Ruffel, is soon to go to Holland.

S I R,

“ I T is from your Highness's great generosity, that I must hope for pardon for presuming to write in so unpolished a stile, which will not furnish me with words suitable to the sense I have of your Highness's goodness to me in the midst of my misfortunes. Sir, it is from Mr. Ruffel I have understood it to be your pleasure I should come over, where I may be assured of your Highness's protection; it is a favour I mean very soon to embrace, though I can never sufficiently acknowledge it either by expression or action, and therefore can only say, I have a life entirely at your devotion, and that I shall think every hour of it lost that is not employed in your Highness's service, to which if I can any ways contribute I shall no longer think myself unfortunate: this is what I most humbly beg your Highness will believe, and that I am with great sincerity,

Sir,

Your most humble, and most faithful servant,

London, May
the 24th.

AR. HERBERT.”

*Lord Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for
a pretence to go to the Prince.*

London, May 14, 1688.

“**W**E live here, Sir, in a country where one must be of a very temperate constitution, not to meet with vexations that will more than try one’s patience. I confess I had so set my heart upon the hopes of kissing your Highness’s hands this summer, that it is with great regret that I see myself in danger of being disappointed of what I shall always esteem my pleasure as well as my duty: but wiser people assure me, that the jealousies of our superiors augment so fast, that such a journey would be unserviceable to you, as well as unsafe to me. There is not a day that Mr. Sidney and I do not heartily lament this disappointment, and when one considers, that these suspicions are merely grounded upon their own actions, and the resentment they guess we may have of them, but not upon any occasion we have given, it seems a little too severe to be punished and restrained, because one has been already ill used. If I am a little warmer upon this subject than I ought, you would soon pardon me, if you knew how much I abominate all excuses; because commonly they are but shifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highness, who of all men living I honour and esteem the most, is a hardship I cannot easily forgive; but I will not yet absolutely despair, there are many accidents may happen to give me a pretence, and the least plausible one I assure you shall serve my turn; and in what part of the world soever I am, I shall always be, Sir,

Your Highness’s most faithful,

And obedient, humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.”

Lord Lumley to the Prince of Orange—With an offer of his services.

May it please your Highness,
 “ **T**HE respect and duty of all that can safely call themselves Englishmen is so much due to your Highness, that to defer any opportunity of shewing it were to neglect that interest which can only make us happy. This, Sir, encouraged me humbly to offer to your Highness the utmost of my services, and to assure you that there is no man in England, on whom your Highness may more certainly depend for whatever service I am capable of doing you. Until such time as I may have the honour of receiving any directions from your Highness, the good of my country shall be by all means endeavoured by me, on whose fate your Highness’s does not a little depend. That happiness may ensue to both, shall be always the endeavour of your Highness’s

Most devoted and humble servant,

May 31st.

L U M L E Y.”

There is in the box the following key to names in the hand-writing of Mr. Sidney, inclosed in one of his letters at this time to the Prince of Orange, without which the cyphers in some of the letters could not be understood.

“ Lord Halifax	-	-	-	21
Lord of Nottingham	-	-	-	23
Lord Devonshire	-	-	-	24
Lord Shrewsbury	-	-	-	25
Lord of Danby	-	-	-	27
Lord Lumley	-	-	-	29
Lord of Bath	-	-	-	30
Bishop of London	-	-	-	31
Mr. Sidney	-	-	-	33
Mr. Ruffel	-	-	-	35

This I desire you to keep by you.”

Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange's desire to go to England, he avoided indulging it until he should receive an invitation from some of the great English families. The following letter written either in a woman's hand, or in a hand feigned like a woman's, relates to such an invitation then in agitation.

To the Prince of Orange.—The invitation he expects not yet ready.—Lord Halifax backward.

June 18, 1688.

“THIS I suppose will be safely delivered, but yet I shall not say much; in a few days you will receive another, wherein you will know the mind of your friends. I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready; this is only in the name of your principal friends, which are Notting Shrewsb. Danby.
B. of London. Sidney. 23. 25. 27.
31. 33. to desire you to defer making your complement till you have the letter I mention; what they are likely to advise in the next, you may easily guess, and prepare yourself accordingly. I shall write by Mr. Foster, who hath a mind to be employed, and will talk to you of things of importance; you know how he is to be managed, therefore I need give no further caution. The Lords I believe will act vigorously in the business of the bishops; they (the bishops) resolve when they come to their trial to deny the jurisdiction of court, which will anger extremely, and draw great punishment upon themselves. Then the Lords will petition in their behalf. Halifax. 21. hath been backward in all this matter. Devonshire. 24. hath been with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend.”

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—He is as much his servant on the 18th, as he was on the 9th of June.

London, June 18, 1688.

“**R**ATHER than disoblige Mr. Foster, I am forced to trouble your Highness. I promised to write by him, and had then a prospect of saying more than I am now able to do, but I hope that will not be deferred many days. I have the honour and happiness to know your humour too well to fill up a letter with compliments, having nothing substantial to say, but that I am this eighteenth of June as I was the ninth,

Your Highness's most devoted,

And obedient, humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.”

The expression in this letter that he was as much the Prince of Orange's at the date of the letter, is singular. It either refers to some meeting of the party which had been on the 9th of June, or it implies that the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was on the 10th of June, had made no alteration in his sentiments.

At length the invitation for the Prince to come over, or rather the association for joining him when he should come, was signed on the 30th of June 1688, by Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Ruffel, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal seven! whose memories Britain can never sufficiently revere. The original is in Sidney's hand in King William's box, as follows.

The association signed only by seven, inviting the prince of Orange over.

June 30, 1688.

“ **W**E have great satisfaction to find by 35, and since by Monf. Zulestein, that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistances as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe, we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance; but although these be our wishes, yet we will, by no means put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give, is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, that there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to
 speak

ſpeak to many of them before hand ; and there is no doubt but that ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them would venture themſelves with your Highneſs at your firſt landing, whoſe intereſts would be able to draw great numbers of them, whenever they could protect them and the raiſing and drawing men together ; and if ſuch a ſtrength could be landed as were able to defend itſelf and them, till they could be got together into ſome order, we make no queſtion but that ſtrength would quickly be increaſed to a number double to the army here, although their army ſhould all remain firm to them ; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themſelves ; many of the officers being ſo diſcontented that they continue in their ſervice only for a ſubſiſtance, (beſides that, ſome of their minds are known already) and very many of the common ſoldiers do daily ſhew ſuch an averſion to the Popiſh religion, that there is the greateſt probability imaginable of great numbers of deſerters which would come from them, ſhould there be ſuch an occaſion ; and amongſt the ſeamen, it is almoſt certain, there is not one in ten who would do them any ſervice in ſuch a war. Beſides all this, we do much doubt, whether this preſent ſtate of things will not yet be much changed to the worſe before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and by ſuch other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of parliament (in our preſent circumſtances) may produce againſt thoſe, who will be looked upon as principal obſtructors of their proceedings there ; it being taken for granted, that if things cannot then be carried to their wiſhes in a parliamentary way, other meaſures will be put in execution by more violent means ; and although ſuch proceedings will then heighten the diſcontents,

tents, yet such courses will probably be taken at that time, as will prevent all possible means of relieving ourselves.

These considerations make us of opinion, that this is a season in which we may more probably contribute to our own safeties than hereafter (although we must own to your Highness there are some judgments differing from ours in this particular) in so much that if the circumstances stand so with your Highness, that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give assistances this year sufficient for a relief under these circumstances which have been now represented, we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of, where there is so much danger in communicating an affair of such a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public. But as we have already told your Highness, we must also lay our difficulties before your Highness, which are chiefly; that we know not what alarm your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be necessary for you to give the States before hand, by either of which means their intelligence or suspicions here, may be such, as may cause us to be secured before your landing; and we must presume to inform your Highness, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you some injury; the false imposing of that upon the Princess and the nation, being not only an infinite exasperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner, must be founded on your part, although many other reasons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due consideration of all these circumstances, your Highness shall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at least to make such preparations for it as are necessary, (which we wish you may)

may) there must be no more time lost, in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as also whether your Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force, and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c. because if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of these kinds, and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H. to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken, till we have heard again from your Highness.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33.
Sh. Dev. Danby. Lumley. London. Ruffel. Sydney.

Mr. Sidney to the Prince of Orange.—Expresses fears of the design.—Advises him to borrow Schomberg.—Nottingham's heart has failed him.

June 30, 1688.

“ **T**HE bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the most prudent and most knowing persons that we have in this nation, and he himself being well instructed in the condition of our affairs, it is a presumption in me to think of adding any thing else; but you having ever given me leave to speak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your interest, your life, and your reputation, to say a word of persuasion to you to undertake this matter; you know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and the army, and whether you can transport men with privacy;

cy; for it is most certain, that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at least make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole design. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss, to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very useful to you; it is the Mareschal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I do not doubt but he will be ready to serve you; he hath the reputation all the world over of being knowing in his profession, and besides he is extremely beloved in this country, so that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair. I give you many thanks for yours by Monsf. Zulestein, and the particular favour in it; I am indeed of opinion, that if you think fit to go on with this business, that after three weeks I shall be more serviceable to you near your person, than I can be here; and if you are of that mind, I desire you will command me to come to you, or else it may be some of my associates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is absolutely necessary. When I know your pleasure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have desired Monsf. Zulestein to stay here till you send an answer to the letter, and to avoid giving suspicion, he is advised to go into the country for some days. This letter being writ in my own known hand, I hope you will burn it as soon as you have read it, and the other being so too, I desire you will have it copied, or else I may suffer for it seven years hence. You will wonder, I believe, not to see the number $\frac{23}{\text{Not.}}$ among the other figures; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further; he saith 'tis scruples of conscience, but we all conclude 'tis another passion; every body else is as well as one can wish, and I pray
God

God they may live to do you the service so much desired by all honest men.”

The two following letters from Lord Latimer and Lord Pembroke, though without dates, were probably written about this time.

Lord Latimer to the prince of Orange, in answer to the prince's.—Assures him of his services.

May it please your Highness,

“ **I** Do with all humility imaginable acknowledge the great honour of your Highness's letter, and do with no less joy receive from your Highness's own hand the assurance of being in your Highness's good opinion. If any occasion could make me so happy as to give your Highness a testimony suitable to my desires, I am sure my actions would afford no cause to lessen your Highness's favour towards me, and I hope, (beside the nearness of relation in blood betwixt my master and your Highness) the warmth of interest will be so great a consideration on both sides, as may give opportunity to such as intend my master's good, to make one of the best steps towards it by promoting your Highness's ; and for what services I may be capable in my own particular, I beg your Highness to believe that nobody shall exceed me, as, in truth, none can now, in the high esteem which all the world must acknowledge to be due to your great merit. I dare trouble your Highness no longer, than to declare the great ambition I have to receive any commands from your Highness, and to assure your Highness they shall be most readily obeyed with all duty and respect, as becomes, may it please your Highness, your Highness's most obedient, and most humble servant,

L A T I M E R.”

Lord

Lord Pembroke to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

“**Y**OUR Highness will not wonder why I give you the trouble of a letter now, but rather if I should not, considering the opportunity that offers itself by one to whom I have been very much obliged, and by one from whom I had the satisfaction of being assured of your Highness’s favourable opinion of me. Though your Highness (for many reasons) can never want so inconsiderable a service as mine, yet you will be pleased to give me leave (till I can testify my service some other way) to subscribe myself, your Highness’s most humble servant,

P E M B R O K E.”

Part of a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange, in answer to a letter from the Princess.—A letter of compliment.

July 7, 1688.

“**H**A V I N G lately had a letter from the Princess with the gracious assurance in it, that your Highness is pleased to approve of my conduct in our late affairs, it is so great a consolation to me, that I hope you will not be offended at this my presumption, in returning your Highness my most humble acknowledgments, and I beseech you to believe, that I am incapable of doing any thing to displease you; no man is free from ill offices being done him, but I am sure your Highness is too just to suffer them to make impression in you to any man’s prejudice, without enquiring into the truth, and when you do that, you will find all misrepresentations of me, to have more of malice in them, than of service to your Highness; so that I take myself to be very secure in your favourable opinion, which I will study

study always to preserve ; and that my brother should not be so, is an unspeakable mortification to me ; but I will not presume to give your Highness any trouble concerning him.

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Makes apologies for his past conduct.

May it please your Highness,

“ **I** Most humbly beg your Highness’s pardon for presuming to write to you, after I know how much I am in your displeasure ; but your Highness being used to receive petitions from those that offend you, may be pleased to look upon this letter in the nature of a very humble one to your Highness, to beseech you that what ground soever you have had for your anger, you will have the goodness to think it hath lasted long enough against a man in my circumstances, which as on one hand they are too low to be long taken notice of by so great a Prince, so on the other, they are such as do now, and will ever make me have as great a duty to your person as any man living can have. I hope your Highness can forgive any faults that are not malicious, and if you will be pleased to reflect what interest I can have contrary to your Highness’s, I am sure you will conclude, whatever my offences are, they must be the effect of folly and indiscretion, rather than of wilfulness to displease you : I say whatever they are, because I find it is for diverse reasons that your Highness is unsatisfied with me. I call God to witness, that except my not paying my duty to your Highness when I was last out of England, I cannot accuse myself of any thing disrespectful or undutiful towards you ; and whatever I may have to say for myself for that very great fault, I do most humbly ask your pardon for it, and will do so for the others too, if your Highness shall condemn me, whenever you have heard me. And I do most humbly beseech you, that since I would every day of my life do any thing to
serve

serve you, I may not have the mortification to see how little you value it. I have written to her Royal Highness the Princess upon this subject; and though I have had occasion to write on one account more particularly to her, than it is possible for me to offer to your Highness, yet I humbly desire you to believe I look upon your interests as one; and your Highness may be confident I will be honest, just and dutiful to you both. I submit myself to your pleasure, and whatever you determine, I will always continue with the humblest duty,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most humble,

New-park,

Most obedient,

July 10, 1688.

And most faithful servant,

R O C H E S T E R.

The Prince of Orange gave orders that Lord Halifax should not be trusted with the secret of the intended expedition. It is not likely that the spirit of dissimulation in the following letter from lord Halifax, was more than in his former letters, very pleasing to a person, who always loved deeds more than words.

Letter from Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Slow counsels.

July 25, 1688.

“ **S**O many things have happened of late, that it is reasonable enough to conclude, upon the first apprehension of them, that they should produce great alterations in reference to the public; and yet with all this, upon a strict observation of all circumstances, I see nothing to raise more hopes on one side, or incline the other to despair. I find that every new attempt bringeth a fresh disadvantage upon the great design, which is exposed and disappointed by so many repeated mistakes; the world is so much confirmed, that there is every day less danger of being over-run; the several parties,

ties, though differing never so much in other things; seem to agree in their resolution of preserving, by all legal means, the security of their religion and their laws. The business concerning the bishops, hath had such an effect, that it is hardly to be imagined; the consequences are not seen to their full extent by the men in power, tho' they are not a little mortified by the ill success of it: I look upon it as that which hath brought all the Protestants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot easily be untied. It is one of those kind of faults that can never be repaired: All that can be done to mend it will probably make it worse, as is seen already by every step that hath been since made to recover the reputation they have lost by it. It is given out, that there will be yet some further proceedings against the bishops; but in that I am an unbeliever, as well as concerning the meeting of parliament; my opinion being still the same as I gave your Highness in my last, the continuance of the discourse of it, and even by those who are presumed to know best, doth not at all make me alter my judgment. A parliament can never be an indifferent thing, and therefore it is a very weak argument to say that it will be tried, and if it doth not comply, it shall be dissolved. Things of this kind are not to be so handled; the consequences may be too great to make the experiment, without better grounds to expect success than at present appear. In short, I still remain persuaded that there is no effectual progress made towards the great design; and even the thing that party relieth upon, is subject to so many accidents and uncertainties, that according to human probability we are secure, notwithstanding the ill appearances which fright most, when they are least examined. I wish your Highness all happiness, and to myself the continuance of your good opinion, which cannot be more valued by any man living, than it is by your most devoted servant."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Insinuates for a delay.—Sorry if he differs from others.

May it please your Highness,
 “ **T**HE honour of being in your Highness’s good opinion, and the continuance of your favour, of which you were pleased to assure me in your letter by Mr. Zulisten, would make me undertake any task to render me worthy of it, if I could hope to perform it to your satisfaction ; but to give your Highness a just account of affairs here not as news, but to judge rightly of them, is so very difficult that I must not pretend to it ; nevertheless, in obedience to your commands, I have acquainted Mr. Zulisten with my apprehensions of some of the latest occurrences here, that he may humbly represent them to your Highness.

The birth of a Prince of Wales, and the designs of a further prosecution of the bishops and of new modelling the army and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot apprehend from them such ill consequences to our religion, or the just interests of your Highness, that a little time will not effectually remedy, nor can I imagine that the Papists are able to make any further considerable progress ; and the reasons of this opinion, I have discoursed with Mr. Zulisten, that I might not trouble your Highness with too long a letter ; but if they should not be satisfactory to your Highness, or should differ from the sentiments of others, I beseech you not to misconstrue my opinion as proceeding from any want of zeal to the service of your Highness, upon whom depends not only the welfare of this nation, but the fate of Europe too ; for I shall always discharge my duty to you with the utmost fidelity, and have no greater ambition than to be your Highness’s

London, July 27,
 1688.

Most obedient,
 and most humble servant,
 N O T T I N G H A M .”

The

The following cant letter to the Prince, appears to me to be Ruffel's hand.

Admiral Ruffel to the Prince of Orange.

S I R,

“ **T**HE honour your Highness was pleased to do me by Monsieur Zulisten, I can never enough acknowledge. I must beg your Highness to believe me a man so sensible of the favours you have been pleased to do me, that my life and fortune is absolutely at your disposal. It shall be my whole business and study, to render you all the service I am capable of; and if my success be not answerable to my intentions, be pleased to believe it proceeds from ill fortune, and not want of inclination. I hope your Highness finds your new visitor (probably Admiral Herbert) answers the character you have had of him; the King is most extremely angry with him, and I have some reason to believe he disappointed the court, they having some thoughts of making offers for him to take employments. Since I came into England, Mr. Roberts is grown so warm, that I can hardly prevail with him to stay for his being turned out. He is now resolved not to talk of the Test, and Penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do; I believe, he is at this time so ill at court, that his reign there will hardly last a month; he has desired me to assure your Highness of his utmost service. When Monsieur Dickfield went away, he writ to you, but you were pleased never to take any notice of it; if you think it convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion, relating to himself, would not be amiss; but I submit to your better judgment. You will hear by the bearer, all the news we have. When your Highness thinks the time proper for Mr. Roberts mistress to know your thoughts, be pleased to let him tell it her, it will be better, in my humble opinion,

than by letter. The number of your friends here daily increase; but some persons on your side the water, take such liberty in writing news, and naming people, that, I fear, it may give the court occasion to be angry with them, much to their prejudice, and not much to your service. I will not trouble you longer on this subject, only beg you will please to believe me your Highness's most faithful, humble servant."

London, July 28, 1688.

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—in answer to a letter from the Prince concerning the seven Bishops.

S I R,

"**T**HE honour your Highness did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Bishops, how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them, for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake, they shall never make an ill use of it, so I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered, and the rest who concurred with them, are so well satisfied of the justness of their cause, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the least depart from it.

I should say something of myself, but I had so lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpose to say more now to you, than that I am under all the obligation in the world of approving myself, Sir, your Highness's most devoted, and faithful servant,

H. L O N D O N."

Lord Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the departure of Zuliften.—The Prince's friends increase.

London, July 28, 1688.

“ **M**onsieur Zuliften, Sir, will go away so well instructed in all particulars relating to our affairs, that it would be but impertinence to add any thing to what he has learned from better hands : I hope he will represent them in such a posture as will not displease your Highness. The papers you mention are preparing with all expedition. If the violence of my wishes do not deceive me, I flatter myself you never had more friends in England than now : may they increase till they are as numerous and as faithful as he wishes, that is, with all sincerity and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

S H R E W S B U R Y.”

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

S I R,

August 4, 1688.

“ **M**R. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myself : I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me, and I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all respect, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's obedient servant,

C H U R C H I L L.”

While these intrigues were carrying on in England, the Prince, who was not daunted either with the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions, or the anxious, though friendly fears of Sidney, or the learned indolence of Hallifax, or the sudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham, kept on straight forward and steady in his course.

The following letters will shew the arts by which the Prince of Orange imposed upon the Pope to advance money for an attack, as he thought, upon France, but which was afterwards turned against England. Copies of the letters were given me by Mr. Lumesden, a gentleman formerly in the service of the Stuart family at Rome, the misfortunes of whose youth have lost one of the most ingenious of his countrymen to Britain. He told me the originals were in the *Depot des Affaires etrangeres* at Paris. I am ashamed to own I forgot to ask for them when I was there.

Extrait de deux lettres ecrites par le Cardinal d'Estrees, Ambassadeur extraordinaire de Louis XIV, à la cour de Rome, touchantes la ligue d'Ausbourg.

A Monsieur de Louvois. Du 18 Decembre, 1687.
 “ **L**E 12 de Decembre, 1687, Le Petit * donna un memoire à la porte de St. Pierre au Gut, †, par laquelle il me donna avis, que celui qui va parler au Comte Cassoni tous les jours déguisé de la maniere que j'écrivis à sa Majesté le 15 de Novembre passé, étoit un Hollandois, mais qu'il ne scavoit pas son nom. Il ne faut pas douter que ce ne soit le Bourgemestre Ouir.
 J'en

* Commis de M. Cassoni, Secetaire du Pape Innocent XI.

† C'étoit un gentilhomme de la chambre de Louis XIV, qui faisoit l'espion à la cour de Rome.

J'en ay avertis le Gut du Roy. Vous apprendrez à la Majesté que desque son Gut fut assuré que Ouir estoit celui qui conferoit avec Cassoni, il prit la resolution, sans me la communiquer, de s'aller flanquer avec ses deux valets † à dix pas de la porte d' Antonio Ferri, ou ce Bourgemestre logeoit, pour voir sortir Ouir. En effet, environ l'heure de minuit il le vit tout à coup à la rue, qui fermoit la porte de Ferri, deguisé en crocheteur qu'on appelle ici *sachino*. Il le suivit jusque à ce qu'il entra dans le Vatican, pour se rendre à l'appartement de Cassoni. Le Gut se mit en sentinelle avec ses deux valets jusqu'à ce qu'Ouir sortit du Vatican. Sur les trois heures apres minuit, le Gut avec le Gascon et le Breton ses valets le suivoit de loin, et des qu'il commença a entrer dans la Longara, le Breton qui s'étoit avancé lui sauta dessus. Le Gut y fut dabord avec le Gascon. Le Gut lui presenta un poignard à la gorge, et lui dit, que s'il faisoit la moindre mouvement il estoit mort, et qu'il le poignarderoit. Pendant que le Gut le regaloit de ce compliment, les deux valets lui fouillerent par tou en peu de tems, et oterent les lettres et les papiers qu'il avoit sur lui. Des que le Gut du Roy eut les écrits en sa puissance il relacha Ouir, et s'en vint chez moi, ouvrit la porte de mon palais avec sa clef, passa par l'escallier derobert, fit avertir mon maistre d'hotel par un des mes valets: l'on me vint eveiller: je me levai en me mettant en robe de chambre. J'entrai dans mon cabinet, où je trouvai notre Gut très content d'avoir fait le coup, que je viens de vous marquer. Je lui fis apporter à manger, car il mourit de faim; et il m'avoua qu'il y avoit 18 heures qu'il n'avoit pas mangé: Des qu'il eut soupé, il me remit les lettres qu'il avoit interceptées à Ouir. Nous ouvrimes le paquet, et nous vimes que les lettres de Cassoni s'adresserent à l'Empereur & à Monsieur le Duc de Lorraine.

Ce secretaire du Pape apprenoit au Duc de Lorraine, que le Pape avoit receu une toute particuliere d'appren-

† L'un de ces valets du Gut s'appelloit le Gascon, l'autre le Breton.

dre que sa Majesté Imperiale avoit porté presque tous les Princes d'Europe à se liguier contre le Roy de France: il lui marquoit, que ce que donnoit assez de peine au Saint Pere, estoit d'avoir appris que les Anglois estoient resolus de detroner leur Roy, s'il ne prenoit une ferme resolution de faire la guerre à la France, et d'abimer entierement la religion catholique, et de se joindre à la ligue d'Aufbourg.

Pendant Cassoni disoit, qu'un de ses desirs de sa Sainteté estoit que l'une des premiers choses que l'Empereur feroit, des que la guerre seroit declarée, ce seroit d'assiéger toutes les places que la France avoit prises à l'Electeur de Cologne pour en faire avoir la jouissance à M. le Cardinal de Furstemberg en cette qualité; quoique sa Sainteté ne l'ait jamais voulu avouer ni reconnoître pour tel, mais encore la postulation: et que le Saint pontife estoit très aise que M. le Prince d'Orange passat en Allemagne pour soutenir à la tête des deux armées les interets de l'Empereur et de sa Sainteté contre le Cardinal de Furstemberg et contre la France en même tems. Pour cette effet, le C. Cassoni promet de la part du Pape d'envoyer à l'Empereur de grosses sommes d'argent, sans en specifier la quantité, pour la donner au Prince d'Orange, à fin que l'un et l'autre puisse continuer la guerre plus aisement, contre le Roy très chrétien.

Des que j'eus lu et relu tout ce beau projet, et dans les lettres de Cassoni et dans les papiers qui furent pris à Ouir, nous y vîmes les instructions que l'Empereur, le Duc de Lorraine, et le Prince d'Orange avoient donné au bon Bourg-maître, les quelles rouloient toutes sur ce que je viens de vous écrire, et que vous verrez dans les lettres du C. Cassoni. Je vous le redis, nous fumes extrêmement surpris de voir que sa Sainteté venoit de conclure un traité avec l'Empereur contre le fils aîné de l'Eglise, qui ne travaille qu'à soutenir ses interets; et que sa Sainteté eut approuvé une ligue que se faisoit par la plus part des Princes de l'Europe contre le Roy de France. Apres avoir un peu revé, je pris la resolution
de

de faire scavoir la substance de ces affaires à le Petit, avec ordre de faire son possible pour decouvrir ce que se passoit dans le cabinet de M. Caffoni. Il m'apprit le 14, qu'avec beaucoup de peine il avoit trouvé dans les papiers de ce Secretaire du Pape dans une coin secret de son petit cabinet, ou il tient les papiers dont il ne s'est pas encore servi, que les Anglois sont d'accorde avec le Prince d'Orange pour detroner le Roy Jaques II. et elever sur le trone la Princeffe d'Orange sa fille, et par consequent son mari Guillaume ; que les Anglois sont aussi resolu d'oter la vie à leur Roy et au Prince de Galles, si la Reine accouchoit d'un fils, et que le Prince d'Orange ne doit pas aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de l'Empereur ; que ce n'est qu'une pure pretexe pour amuser le Pape et les peuples, à fin qu'on n'ait aucun soupçon que ce Prince veuille s'elever sur le trone d'Angleterre ; et que très affurement le Saint Pere ne fait rien de cette intrigue fatale contre le Roy Jaques II, car on lui a fait seulement accroire que le Prince d'Orange doit passer en Allemagne. Le Petit ne doute point que cette affaire ne soit ainsi, puisque les memoires qu'il a trouvé ne sont pas au rang de ceux qui ont été veus et approuves du Pape ; et que de toute cette affaire il n'y avoit rien paru sur la table de le Secretaire pour les faire coter par numero, à fin de trouver d'abord ce que est necessaire au Secretaire du Pape, sur ce qu'il a traité et arreté avec sa Sainteté des qu'il en a besoin ; qu'à present il escrivoit et travailloit sur tout ce que le Saint Pontif venoit de permettre à l'Empereur, au Duc de Lorraine, et au Prince d'Orange, qui devoit aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de sa Majesté Imperiale, et que ce commandement ne fera qu'une fable.

Des que j'eus appris l'attentat horrible qu'on veut faire sur la tête du Roy Jaques, et sur la Famille Royale, je fis avertir le jeune Milord Norfolk, qui estoit ici incognito comme vous scavez, pour tacher de decouvrir les intrigues du Vatican, qu'on craint qu'on ne trament contre son maitre : ce Milord a depeché incessamment deux

deux couriers à sa Majesté Britannique, l'un par terre, l'autre par mer, pour l'avertir de tout que je viens de vous dire.

Vouz sçavez que la Hollande, les Electeurs, et l'Espagne se sont declarés contre nous, Je crains fort que le Duc de Savoye ne nous fasse aussi la guerre; j'en ay quelque presentiment par de certain discours que j'ay appris, que je ne vous écris pas encore a cause que je ne suis pas encore assez bien éclairé : fais qu'on prenne guard de pres à lui.

Nos Cardinaux secrets sont avertis du personnage qu'ils doivent jouer. Le Petit est un habile homme, et le Gut l'est in superlativo gradu. Ces deux personnages sont la cause de toute cette decouverte : car ce que nous en sçavons auparavant estoit dans une grande incertitude. Le Gut qui soupa hier avec moi, m'a prié de vous prenez la peine de faire sçavoir au Roy, qu'il n'abandonnera pas Ouir pour sçavoir decouvrir tous les endroits de Rome qu'il pratiquera. Le Breton me rendit de la part de Gut son maitre un billet, par lequel il m'avertissoit qu' Ouir avoit levé Boutique en place Navone, ou il vendoit toutes sortes des fleurs et des fruits artificiels, et de petites enfants de cire, et qu'il avoit un garçon Venetien qui travailloit à ces ouvrages merveilleusement bien."

Le Cardinal d'Etrées au Roy. Du 29 Juin, 1688.

“ **O**N est fort en peine dans le Vatican comme quoi votre Majesté a pu sçavoir sitot le projet et tous les articles de la ligue d'Ausbourg. L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne en a été malade, et il en est encore tout troublé. Il cherche les moyens pour decouvrir ceux qui en ont donné avis à votre Majesté.

Par la dernière lettre que j'écrivis a M. Louvois, je lui marquai l'action que le Gut de votre Majesté fit au
Barigelle

Barigelle et à toutes les troupes des Sbiris, au nombre de 50, des qu'il les entendoit s'approcher des endroits où il s'etoit mis pour voir qui entroit chez le Cardinal , qui est le conseil de Caffoni, Il commença à appeller ses deux valets le Breton et le Gasçon, et leur fit crier——“ Vive le Roy de France.”—— Apres il leur fit dire——“ Arretez à la porte de la cour——Vive le grand Louis,——perissent tous ses ennemis.”——Ces trois hommes obligerent le Barigelle et ses 50 Sbiris à s'en fuir au plus vite, et se mettre à l'abbris sous la garde du Pape, laquelle se mit toutes sous les armes à la fourdine ; et votre Gut eut le plaisir de rester dans un endroit d'où il pouvoit voir cette poultrone compagnie, qui ne fortit du poste qu'elle avoit pris, jusqu'à ce qu'il fut jour.

Le 24 du current, le Petit etant allé a Notre Dame des Neiges, et le Gut en fonction, il lui remit une lettre par laquelle il l'avisoit que Ouir devoit se rendre chez C. Caffoni pour prendre des lettres, qui se trouvoient dans des fruits qu'il faisoit semblant de lui vendre, et qu'il eut à prendre ses mesures.

Le lendemain 25, votre Gut, Sire, sans me rien communiquer de son dessein, ne manqua pas de s'aller mettre en sentinelle près de la maison d'Ouir, de façon qu'on ne pouvoit pas le decouvrir. Il vit sortir le Bourgemestre avec le boete pendue au col ; il le suivit jusqu'à ce qu'il fut entré chez M. Caffoni ; dans ce moment il entenda sonner onze heures. Ouir en sortit à une heure et demie apres minuit. Le Gut s'habilla cette nuit en crocheteur avec ses deux valets. Ces trois personages suivrent ce Bourgemestre. Des qu'il fût éloigné de mille pas du Vatican, ils virent qu'il prenait le long d'une petite rue. Des qu'il fût entré, ils avancerent le pas, l'attraperent, et lui sauterent dessus, lui presentant le poignard à la gorge. Des que Ouir fût à leur discretion, le Gut le fouilla et ne lui trouva rien, ce que l'obligea à lui oter sa boete pleine des fruits artificiels. Il la donna à Breton qui me l'apporta. J'attendois, Sire, avec impatience votre Gut, à cause qu'il

qu'il m'avoit envoyé dire qu'il viendrait souper avec moi, mais qu'il seroit tard. Je me doutai alors qu'il s'agissoit de quelque entreprise pour votre service que je ne pouvois pas diviner. Son valet entrant dans ma chambre, il me remit la boîte que le Gut avoit oté à Ouir. Elle ne fût pas plutôt ouverte que de ma vie je n'ai rien vu de mieux travaillé : j'admira ces fruits un peu de tems, et je les rangai sur ma table : des que j'en achevai, j'entendis votre Gut qui ouvroit la porte, de derriere de mon cabinet, ce que m'obligea d'y entrer, et il m'apprit, que après avoir oté la boete à Ouir il le conduisoit jusqu' à 10 pas de sa porte ; et re fût en cet endroit qu'il lui dit, qu'il le suivit depuis le tems qu'il estoit à Rome, et c'étoit la Signora Hortensia qui lui avoit fait enlever ses lettres et ses papiers il y avoit quelque tems, et que c'étoit elle aussi qui lui avoit fait enlever sa boîte, et que si pourtant le jour qui estoit pret d'arriver il ne sortoit pas de Rome, elle le feroit jeter dans le Tibre.

Aprés que le Gut m'eut appris son aventure, et qu'il avoit toujours parlé Hollandois au Bourgemestre, il voulut souper, ce qu' etant fait, il m'a demandé ce que je voulois faire de la marchandise d'Ouir. Je lui repondis, que je la trouvois si belle que je la destinois pour votre Majesté. Le Gut me repliqua qu'il la vouloit toute ouvrir, et en même tems il la fit apporter par mon maître d'hotel qui nous avoit servi, et il rompit tous les fruits en ma presence. Il n'eut pas plutôt fait ce coup, que j'avouai qu'il avoit raison ; puisque nous trouvames tout autour de ces fruits des fils d'archal sous des soyes verts qui les environoient, et qui entroient dans les citrons, les pommes, les figues et les raisins, avec des petites banderolles de papier escrit en chiffres. Le Gut les prit et les rangait selon leur numero et les déchiffra, et nous y trouvames les projets et les bonnes intentions que M. le Duc de Savoye a pour la ruine de vos états.

Le dessein de cette altesse n'est pas de prendre ouvertement la part de vos ennemis, comme vous le verres ; et je crois que si votre Majesté faisoit menager ce Prince, elle

elle pourroit l'obliger à se tourner du coté de la France, ou de rester neutre. La suite des lettres de Cassoni nous apprit les forces que l'Empereur, l'Angleterre et la Hollande doivent mettre sur pied contre vous, Sire, et les secours que l'Empereur et le roy d'Espagne doivent donner au Duc de Savoye lorsqu'il en fera tems. Le nombre des Barbotés et nouveaux convertis, selon leur supputation, ira à plus de 100 mille hommes, qui sont le nombre de ceux qui sont sortis des vos états; et tous les autres généralement qui sont restés dans le royaume doivent prendre les armes contre votre Majesté, dès que la trompette de vos ennemis sonnera. Votre Majesté doit connoître par là combien le ministre du Pape lui fait entendre des chimères. puisque à l'heure que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, sa Sainteté croit la France perdue par le moyen de toutes les fables que le comte de Cassoni lui a débité.

Votre Majesté recevra donc dans ce paquet toutes les banderolles qui étoient dans les fruits d'Ouir, avec une lettre du Gut, pour vous marquer, Sire, de quelle manière il les faut ranger. Vous verrez aussi le soin avec lequel Ouir et Cassoni les avoient accommodé, pour donner à vos ennemis le moyen de les lire sans peine. Après que le Gut eut achevé sa lettre, il me pria d'assurer votre Majesté que si elle veut faire tenir deux de ses galères à Civita Vecchia, il s'oblige, à peine d'avoir le col coupé d'enlever Cassoni au milieu de Rome, ou dans sa chambre, pourveu qu'elle le veuille et qu'elle lui donne 20 gentilshommes et autant de gardes marines, et promet qu'il aura plutôt fait embarquer Cassoni dans une de ces galères et conduira à Marseilles ou à Toulon, ou en autre endroit qu'il le voudra, qu'on ne sache dans Rome ce que ce secrétaire sera devenu. Il me dit encore, que s'il osoit, il vous feroit bien, Sire, l'offre que M. de Lyonne vous fit autrefois, de venir à Rome poignarder Dom Mario frere du Pape Alexandre VIIth, après l'attentat que les Corfes commirent sur la personne de Madame l'Ambassadrice de Crequi dans sa carosse: mais sachant que votre Majesté abhorre le sang, il se contente de

de vous offrir au peril de sa vie de mener en tel lieu qu'il vous plaira le comte Cassoni lié et garotté, pour lui faire payer par sa detention la follie en chere de mauvais conseils qu'il a donné. Ouir n'a plus paru dans Rome depuis le 26me. La pretendue boutique est fermée, ainsi eu il s'est caché ou il est parti."

Translation.

Extract of two letters written by Cardinal d'Estrees, ambassador extraordinary from Louis the XIVth, to the court of Rome, concerning the league of Augsbourg:—Intrigues of the Emperor, Pope, and Prince of Orange, previous to the revolution.

To Mr. de Louvois. December 18, 1687.

“**T**HE 12th of December, 1687, *le Petit* * gave a note, at the gate of St. Peter, to Gut †, by which he advised me, that the person who went every day disguised to Cassoni in the manner I wrote your Majesty the 15th of November past, was a Dutchman; but he did not know his name. There is no doubt of his being the Burgomaster Ouir. I informed *le Gut* of it. You will inform his Majesty that as soon as *le Gut* was certain that *Ouir* was the person who conferred with Cassoni, he took the resolution, without communicating it to me, to place himself with his two valets ‡ at ten paces from Antonio Ferri's door, where this Burgomaster lodged, to see *Ouir* come out. About midnight he saw him all at once in the street, shutting Ferri's door, disguised as a porter, which they call here *fachino*. He followed him till he entered the Vatican, to go to Cassoni's apartment. *Le Gut* with his two valets placed themselves as centinels till they saw *Ouir* come out of the Vatican. About three in the morning, *le Gut* with *le Gascon* and *le Breton* followed him at a

* Clerk to M. Cassoni, secretary to Pope Innocent the eleventh

† He was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Louis the XIVth, and acted as a spy at the court of Rome.

‡ One of these servants of *le Gut* was called *le Gascon*, the other *le Breton*.

distance, and as soon as they saw him enter into la Longara, le Breton who was foremost leaped upon him. Le Gut and le Gascon came up immediately. Le Gut presented a dagger to his throat, and told him, that if he made the least motion he was a dead man, for he would stab him. Whilst le Gut regaled him with this compliment, the two valets searched him from head to foot in a little time, and took all the letters and papers he had about him. As soon as le Gut had the writings in his possession, he released Ouir. He came to me, opened the door of my palace with his key, went up the back stairs, and gave notice to my maitre d' hotel by one of my valets: They waked me; I got up and put on my night-gown. I went into my closet, where I found Gut very well pleased with the success of his attempt, which I have just told you of. I ordered him some victuals, for he was almost famished. He declared to me that he had not eat for 18 hours. As soon as he had supped, he gave me the letters he had intercepted upon Ouir. We opened the paquet, and saw that Cassoni's letters were directed to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine.

The secretary to the Pope informed the Duke of Lorraine, that his Holiness had received a particular joy upon learning that his Imperial Majesty had brought almost all the Princes of Europe to league themselves against the King of France. he remarked to him, that what gave the holy Father a good deal of pain was, to hear that the English were resolved to dethrone their King, if he would not take a firm resolution to make war against France, abolish the catholic religion entirely, and join himself to the league of Augsbourg.

However Cassoni said, that one of the first things his Holiness wishes the Emperor to do, after the war is declared, is to lay siege to all the places which France has taken from the Elector of Cologne with a design to give the possession of them to cardinal Furstemberg in the quality of Elector, though his Holiness would never own nor acknowledge him as such, nor yet confirm the postulation;

lation ; and that the holy Pontiff was very glad that the Prince of Orange was to go into Germany to sustain at the head of two armies the interests of the Emperor and his Holiness against Cardinal Furstemberg, and France at the same time. To effect this, Count Cassoni promises on the Pope's part to send the Emperor large sums of money, without specifying the quantity, to be given to the Prince of Orange, to the end that they may both continue the war more easily against the most Christian King.

Upon reading over and over this fine project both in Cassoni's letters, and the papers taken from Ouir, we there saw the instructions which the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Prince of Orange had given to the worthy Burgomaster, the whole of which turned upon what I have just wrote you, and you will see in Count Cassoni's letters. I repeat it, we were extremely surpris'd to see that his Holiness had just concluded a treaty with the Emperor against the eldest son of the church, who only sought to maintain his own interests, and that his Holiness had approved of a league made by the greater part of the Princes of Europe against the King of France. After having considered a little, I took a resolution to make known the substance of these matters to le Petit, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to discover what pass'd in the cabinet of Mr. Cassoni. He inform'd me on the 14th, that with a great deal of trouble he had found amongst the papers of his secretary to the pope, in a secret corner of his small cabinet, where he kept the papers which he had not yet used, that the English had agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James the Second, and place the Princess of Orange his daughter upon the throne, and consequently her husband William ; that the English were also resolv'd to take away the life of their King and of the Prince of Wales, if the Queen was brought to bed of a son ; and that the Prince of Orange was not to go into Germany to command the Emperor's troops ; that it was only a mere pretence to amuse the Pope and the public,

public, in order that they might have no suspicion of this Prince's wanting to raise himself to the throne of England; and that for certain the holy Father knew nothing of this fatal intrigue against King James the second, for he had been only made to believe that the Prince of Orange was to go to Germany. Le Petit makes no doubt that the matter stands so, since the memorials that he found are not ranged with those which the Pope had seen and approved; and that of all this affair nothing appeared upon the secretary's table to refer to them according to their endorsements, which is necessary for the Pope's secretary, that he may directly find those articles which he has treated and finished with his Holiness as soon as he wants them: that at present he is writing and working on what the holy Pontiff has just promised to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Prince of Orange, who was to go into Germany to command his Imperial Majesty's troops; but that this command was only a fable.

As soon as I learnt the horrible attempt that was intended against King James and the Royal Family, I informed the young Lord Northfolk of it, who was here incognito, as you know, to endeavour to discover the intrigues of the Vatican, which it was to be feared were forming against his master: my lord immediately dispatched two couriers to his Britannick Majesty, one by land, the other by sea, to inform him of all I have told you.

You know that Holland, the Electors, and Spain have declared against us. I fear also that the Duke of Savoy will also make war upon us. I have some foresight of it, from certain discourses which I don't yet write you, because I am not yet sufficiently informed: He should be watched very narrowly.

Our confidential cardinals are informed of the part they are to play. Le Petit is an able man, and le Gut is so in the superlative degree. These two persons are the cause of all this discovery; for what we knew be-

fore was extremely uncertain. Le Gut, who supped with me yesterday, has desired me to write to you to beg you will take the trouble to let his Majesty know that he will not quit Ouir, till he discovers and knows all the places in Rome he frequents. Le Breton gave me, on the part of his master le Gut, a note by which he informs me that Ouir had opened a shop in the place Navone, where he sold all sorts of artificial flowers and fruits, and little wax images; and that he had a Venetian boy who worked wonderfully well at this sort of business."

Cardinal d' Etrees to Louis the XIVth. June 29, 1688.

"**T**HEY are in much pain in the Vatican to know how your Majesty could so soon be acquainted with the project and all the articles of the league of Augsbourg. The Spanish Ambassador has been sick upon it, and is yet much disordered. He tries every means to discover those who have given your Majesty the information.

By the last letter I wrote to Monsieur Louvois, I informed him of the action which your Majesty's le Gut did to the captain of the town-guard and all his troop of Sbiri to the number of 50. As soon as he heard them approach the place where he had placed himself to see who went to Cardinal who is Caffoni's adviser, he began by calling his two valets, le Breton and le Gascon, and made them cry out,—“ Long live the King of France.”—After that he made them say,—“ Stop at the gate of the court.—Long live Great Louis—may all his enemies perish.”—These three men obliged the captain and his 50 Sbiri to fly in the greatest haste, and to take shelter with the Pope's guard, who put themselves under arms as fast as they could; and your Gut had the pleasure to remain in a place from whence he could see this rascally company, who

who did not leave the post they had taken, till daylight.

The 24th instant, le Petit being gone to Notre Dame des Neiges, and le Gut being upon duty, he gave him a letter by which he advised him that Ouir was to be with Caffoni to take his letters, which would be found in the fruits which he pretended to go to sell him, and left him to take his measures.

Next day, the 25th, your le Gut, Sire, without communicating to me his design, did not fail to go and place himself as a centinel near to Ouir's house, in such a manner that he could not be discovered. He saw the burgomaster go with his basket hanging about his neck. He followed him till he went into Mr. Caffoni's: at this moment he heard the clock strike eleven. Ouir came out an hour and an half after midnight. Le Gut dressed himself this night as a porter, with his two servants: These three personages followed the burgomaster. As soon as he was about a thousand paces from the vatican, they saw he took his way along a small street; as soon as he was entered they mended their pace, overtook him and seized him, presenting a dagger to his throat. As soon as Ouir was at their discretion, le Gut rummaged him, but found nothing on him: this obliged him to take away his basket full of artificial fruits: He gave it to le Breton, who brought it to me. I waited, Sire, with impatience for your le Gut, because he had sent me word he would come and sup with me, but that it would be late. I then thought that he was about some enterprize for your service, which I could not divine. His valet entering my room, gave me the basket that le Gut had taken from Ouir. It was no sooner opened than in my life I never saw any thing better executed. I admired the fruits a little while, and then ranged them upon my table. As soon as I had finished, I heard your le Gut, who opened the back door of my closet, which obliged me to go into it; and he informed me, that after having taken the basket from Ouir, he conducted him to about ten paces from his door, and on that spot

told him, that he had followed him ever since he had been at Rome, and that it was Signora Hortensia who was the cause of his letters and papers being taken from him some time ago, and it was she also who had occasioned the loss of his basket; and if during the course of next day he did not quit Rome, she would cause him to be thrown into the Tiber.

After le Gut had acquainted me with his adventure, and that he had always spoken low Dutch to the burgo-master, he asked for supper, which being finished, he asked me what I would do with Ouir's merchandize. I told him I thought it so fine that I designed it for your Majesty. Le Gut replied that he would open the whole, and in the mean time made my maitre d'hotel, who waited on us, bring them. He broke all the fruits in my presence, which he had no sooner done, than I owned he had reason. We found all round these fruits brass wires under green silk that covered them, and which were struck into the lemons, figs and grapes, with little flags of paper writ in cypher. Le Gut took and ranged them according to their number, and decyphered them, and there were found the schemes and good intentions of the Duke of Savoy for the ruin of your dominions.

The design of his Highness is not openly to take part with your enemies, as you will see: and I think if your Majesty deals properly with this Prince, you may oblige him to turn to the side of France, or remain neuter. The series of Cassoni's letters shows the forces which the Emperor, England, and Holland are to employ against you, Sire; and the assistance the Emperor and the King of Spain are to give to the Duke of Savoy when it shall be necessary. The number of Barbotes and new converts, according to their computation, will amount to more than one hundred thousand men, which is the number of those who are gone out of your dominions; and all the others in general who remain in the kingdom, are to take arms against your Majesty as soon as the trumpet of your enemies sounds. Your Majesty may know by this how much the Pope's minister amuses him

him with chimeras, since at this hour that I have the honour to write to you, his Holiness believes France ruined, by means of all the fables which Count Cassoni has entertained him with.

Your Majesty will receive then in this packet all the flags which were in Ouir's fruits, with a letter from le Gut, to shew you, Sire, in what manner to range them. You will also see the care with which Ouir and Cassoni have adjusted them, to give your enemies the means of reading them without trouble. After le Gut had finished his letter, he begged me to assure your Majesty, that if you will keep two of your gallies at Civita Vecchia, he obliges himself under penalty of losing his head; to carry off Cassoni from the midst of Rome, or from his chamber, provided your Majesty desires it, and will let him have twenty gentlemen and as many guardes marines; and promises he will get Cassoni put aboard one of the galleys, and conduct him to Marseilles or Toulon, or any other place you please, before any one in Rome knows what is become of this secretary. He farther said to me, that if he dared, he would make the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Lyonne formerly made, of going to Rome to stab Don Mario, brother to Pope Alexander the seventh, after the attempt that the Corsicans made upon the person of madam the Ambassadors de Crequi in her coach; but knowing how much your Majesty abhors bloodshed, he contents himself with offering, at the peril of his life, to bring the Count Cassoni to what place you please bound and gagged, to make him pay, by his confinement, for the folly of the bad councils he has given. Ouir has not appeared in Rome since the 26th; the pretended shop is shut; so that he is either in hiding or gone."

The credit given in the first of these letters to a wild story of a concert in England to murder the King and his son, if he should have one, is a strong instance of the mistakes of foreigners, with regard to the character

of a people, who, because they are more high-spirited, are therefore more honourable in their resentments, than the rest of mankind: Yet perhaps these letters may account for the ridiculous fear which James was under at the revolution, for his own life and that of his son. The letters are probably right with regard to the intentions of the Prince of Orange to mount the throne of England. In King William's box there is a letter to him from the Elector of Brandenburg, from which there is reason to conjecture, that at his interview with the Elector at Minden, a few months before he sailed for England, such an object had not been altogether out of sight.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.

Monfieur, mon très honoré cousin et frere,
 “ JE ne puis exprimer la grandeur de ma joye que me
 cause l'accomplissement des souhaits que j'ay
 fait depuis quelques années, et particulièrement il y a six
 mois à Minden, pour votre elevation au trone d'Angle-
 terre, qui vous est du également et par le sang, et par le
 bien-fait que l'Angleterre et tous les Protestans ensem-
 ble, même toute l'Europe, reçoivent par votre moyen.
 J'en viens feliciter votre Altesse de toute mon ame, et
 souhaite que le grand Dieu qui l'a mis miraculeusement
 sur ce trone, lui conserve longues années, et y adjoute le
 bonheur d'une heureuse lignée. Je me promets cepen-
 dant de mon coste auprès de votre Altesse, les mêmes
 sentiments de bonté et tendresse qu'elle a tousjours eu
 pour moy, qui serai à jamais, Monfieur, mon très
 honoré cousin et frere,

De votre Altesse le très humble,

De Berline,

Et très devoué serviteur,

27 Fev. 1689.

FREDRICK ELECTOR.”

Translation.

Translation.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.—Mentions the wishes he had formed at the interview at Minden for his elevation to the throne.

My Lord, my most honoured cousin and brother,
 “ I CANNOT express the greatness of the joy caused in me, by the completion of the wishes which some years ago I had formed, and particularly six months ago at Minden, for your elevation to the throne of England, which is due to you equally by blood, and by the advantage which England, and all the protestants together, even all Europe, receives by your means. I felicitate your Majesty with all my soul, and wish that the great God, who has miraculously put you on this throne, may preserve long years to you, and add to them the good fortune of an happy issue. In the mean time I promise myself on my side from your Majesty, the same sentiments of goodness and tenderness which you have always had for me, who shall be for ever, my dear and most honoured cousin and brother,

Your Highness's most humble,

Berlin,

And most devoted servant,

27th Feb. 1689.

FREDRICK ELECTOR.”

But if the Prince of Orange in coming to England had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his box there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a short time before he sailed.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.

SIRE,

JE n'ay pu n'y voulu manquer de donner avis à votre Majesté Imperiale, que les mesintelligencez, qui sont depuis quelque tems entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et ses sujets, sont venues à des extremitez si grandes, qu'étant sur le point d'eclatter par une rupture formelle, elles m'ont obligé de me refoudre à passer le mer, a cause des instances vives et reiterées qui m'en ont été faites par plusieurs pairs et autres personnes considerables du royaume, tant ecclesiastiques que seculiers. J'ay cru fort nécessaire d'y mener quelques troupes d'infanterie et de cavaliere, à fin de n'être point exposé aux insultes de ceux qui par leurs mauvais conseils, et par les violences qui s'en sont ensuivies, ont donné lieu à ces mesintelligencez extremes. J'ay voulu, Sire, assurer par cette lettre votre Majesté Imperiale que quelques bruits que l'on puisse avoir deja femez, et non-obstant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir à l'avenir, je n'ay pas la moindre intention de faire aucun tort à sa Majeste Britannique, n'y à ceux qui ont droit de pretendre à la succession de ses royaumes, et encore moins d'empiecher moy même sur la couronne, où de vouloir me l'aproprier.

Je n'ay non plus aucun dessein d'extirper les Catholiques Romains, mais seulement d'employer mes soins pour tacher de faire redresser les desordres et les irregularités, qu'on a fait contre les lois de ces royaumes par les mauvais conseils des mal-intentionnez.

Je tacheray aussi de procurer, que dans un parlement legitimement assemblé et composé de personnes deüement qualifiées selon les lois de la nation, les affaires soient réglées d'une telle maniere que la religion protestante, avec les libertes et les droits du clergé, de la noblesse, et du peuple soient mis dans une entiere sureté ; par ce moyen seulement il y a lieu d'esperer qu'il s'ensuivra une bonne union et une sincere confiance entre le Roy et ses sujets, à fin d'être en état de pouvoir contribuer puissamment au bien publique. J'ajoute que dans le dessein

desein que j'ay de tacher aussi de prevenir le continuati-
on de ces mesintelligence, et d'affermir une si bonne
union sur des fondemens solides, je dois prier votre Ma-
jeste Imperiale de s'assurer, que j'employeray tout mon
credit pour moyenner que les Catholiques Romains de
ce pays le jouisse de la liberte de conscience, et soient
mis hors de toute inquietude d'etre persecutez é cause de
leur religion; et que pourveu quils en fassent l'exercise
sans bruit et avec modestie, ils ne soient point sujets é
aucuns punitiez.

J'ay eu de toute tems une tres grande aversion pour
toute sorte de persecution en matiere de religion parmi
les Chrétiens.

Je prie Dieu qui est le tout puissant, de vouloir benir
cette mienne sincere intention, et j'ose me promettre
qu'elle ne deplaira pas é votre Majeste Imperiale.

Je prie aussi Dieu de la vouloir combler de ses meilleurs
benedictions. Je suis avec toute sorte de respect."

Translation.

*The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.—Assures him, that
in his expedition to England, he has no intention to de-
throné King James, or to injure the Roman Catholics.*

S I R,

" I Could not fail to give information to your Impe-
rial Majesty, that the misunderstandings which
have subsisted for some time between the King of Great
Britain and his subjects are come to so great extremities,
that being upon the point of breaking out into a formal
rupture, they have obliged me to pass the sea, on ac-
count of the lively and reiterated instances which have
been made to me by many Peers and other considerable
persons of the kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as secular.
I think it necessary to carry some troops of infantry and
cavalry there, that I may not be exposed to the insults
of those, who, by their bad counsels, and by the vio-
lences which followed them, have given occasion to these
extreme

extreme misunderstandings. I assure your Imperial Majesty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been spread, and notwithstanding those which may be spread for the future, I have not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms, and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself.

Neither have I any desire to extirpate the Roman Catholics, but only to employ my cares to endeavour to redress the disorders and irregularities which have been committed against the laws of those kingdoms by the bad councils of the ill intentioned.

I will also endeavour in a parliament lawfully assembled, and composed of persons duly qualified according to the laws of the nation, to procure the regulation of affairs in such a manner, that the protestant religion, with the liberties and rights of the clergy, nobility, and people, may be put in entire security. By this means alone there is place to hope, that there will follow a good union and sincere confidence between the King and his subjects, that they may be in a condition of being able to contribute powerfully to the common good. I must add, that in the design which I have of endeavouring to prevent the continuation of these misunderstandings, and to strengthen so good an union upon solid foundations, I ought to intreat your Imperial Majesty to be assured, that I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that country may enjoy liberty of conscience, and be put out of fear of being persecuted on account of their religion; and provided they exercise their religion without noise, and with modesty, that they shall not be subject to any punishment.

I have at all times had a great aversion to all sort of persecution upon religious matters among Christians.

I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bless this my sincere intention, and I dare promise that it will not displease your Majesty.

I pray

I pray God also, that he may cover you with his best blessing. I am with all sort of respect."

The common vindication of the intrigues of King James's subjects against him is, that the Revolution was a measure of expediency in the then state of things. But there are facts in Barillon's dispatches sufficient to justify it as a matter of absolute necessity. An English reader may not be surpris'd to hear, that King James had resolv'd to make void the act of settlement in Ireland, in order to have it in his power to make use of Irish Catholics for the establishment of his authority in England. But he will be astonish'd to learn a fact hitherto unknown and unsuspected, that towards the end of the reign of King James, there were in England three Popish regiments regularly paid by France.

Lord Tyrconnel was the person who first suggest'd this project, and connect'd it with another equally pleasing to the King, to wit, that the British regiments in the Dutch service should be recalled from that service. The secrets of these things are to be found in the following dispatches.

*Extraitte d'une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy. 1687,
Oët. 13.*

“ JAI été averti par Milord Sonderland que le Roy In the Depot.
son maitre devoit me parler d'une affaire de consequence, et qu'il m'expliqueroit de quoi il est question à fin que je fusse préparé quand sa Majesté Britannique me le communiqueroit.

Le fait est que le Roy d'Angleterre est résolu de retirer les troupes de ses sujets qui sont au service des Etats Generaux : il s'attend bien qu'il demeurera un grand nombre d'officiers et de soldats en Hollande, mais aussi une bonne partie pourra revenir icy, et principalement les Catholiques, et tous ceux qui ne sont pas entièrement gagnés par M. le Prince d'Orange : quelqu' envie
que

que sa Majesté Britannique ait de rappeler ces troupes, il lui est difficile de le faire sans avoir un moyen facile de faire subsister ceux qui seront rappelés, et de les conserver ensemble dans un même corps. L'expedient d'augmenter les nombres des troupes qui sont sur pied icy seroit le plus naturel, mais il y en a déjà un aussi grand nombre que le Roy d'Angleterre ne peut entretenir : sa pensée donc est de proposer à votre Majesté de prendre à son service un régiment d'infanterie composé d'officiers et des soldats qui seront rappelés de Hollande ; ce régiment seroit entierement dans la disposition de votre Majesté, supposant cependant que quand le Roy d'Angleterre en auroit besoin dans son pays, votre Majesté ne refuseroit pas de le renvoyer.

Les raisons qui obligent ce Prince à faire cette proposition sont, que par ce moyen il y auroit un nouveau corps sur pied qui se maintiendrait mieux, et seroit mieux discipliné, que ceux qui sont en ce pays cy ; que se feroit une pépinière pour élever et former des soldats catholiques, qui ne seront pas informes des maximes dangereuses pour la royauté repandues par toute l'Angleterre, et dont même les Catholiques ne sont par toute é fait exempts ; que sans cela il lui sera difficile de rappeler sitot les troupes qui sont en Hollande, ne pouvant pas aisement les faire subsister ensemble, quoiqu'il connoisse combien il lui est de consequences de ne pas laisser plus longtems subsister un corps de troupes de ses sujets, dont le plus grand nombre n'est pas dans ses intérêts, et seroit contre lui si l'occasion s'en presentoit.

Milord Sonderland m'ayant expliqué cela m'a dit, qu'il jugeoit bien que cette affaire n'étoit épas aisé à obtenir de votre Majesté ; que dans un tems de paix votre Majesté ne songeroit pas facilement à prendre un corps de troupes étrangères, dont la dépense excedera celle d'un pareil nombre de ses sujets ; qu'on savoit bien ce qui étoit arrivé il y a quelques années sur le sujet des troupes Angloises et qui étoient en France ; et que votre Majesté étoit peutêtre dégoutée pour toujours d'en prendre son service, et de faire une dépense extraordinaire

naire pour laqu'elle on ne voit pas de raisons assez fortes pour y engager votre Majesté presentement ; que cependant en considerant l'état des affaires d'Angleterre en particulier, et celles de l'Europe en general, votre Majesté jugera peutêtre que la proposition qui lui est faite doit être admise, premièrement parceque c'est une chose extrêmement importante pour le bien de la religion catholique, à l'avantage de laqu'elle principalement ce régiment seroit levé et subsisteroit ; qu'en cela votre Majesté obligeroit sensiblement le Roy son maitre, et lui donneroit une marque d'amitie effective et solide dans un tems ou il peut de son côté donner des marques a votre Majesté de son attachement à ses intérests ; que la proposition qui est faite, marque une resolution déterminée de la part du Roy d'Angleterre de conserver une liaison étroite avec votre Majesté, et que cela même rendra cette liaison publique, et peut produire des effets qui ne seront pas inutiles au service de votre Majesté, que ce sera un deplaisir mortel pour M. le Prince d'Orange de voir passer au service de votre Majesté des troupes rappellées d'Hollande ; que les Etats Generaux prendroit même de là de nouveaux sujets de jalousie contre le Roy d'Angleterre, et connoitront qu'il est fort éloigné d'entrer en aucune liaison ni concert avec eux ; que le maison d'Autriche croira par là qu'il y a entre votre Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre une liaison encore plus étroite et plus établie quelle n'est, et que cela ne peut qu' être utile dans la conjoncture présente ; qu'en fin, ce régiment étant à votre service doit être regardé comme un gage d' une confiance entière de la part du Roy son maitre ; et que c'est un commencement pour venir dans la suite à toute ce que votre Majesté pourra juger être convenable à ses intérests.

J'ai dit à milord Sonderland, que je ne pouvois lui rien repondre de mon chef sur une chose nouvelle et de si grand consequence ; que je lui dirois que je la croiois fort difficile ; et que lui même connoissoit les raisons qui pouvoient empêcher votre Majesté de prendre des troupes

troupes étrangères à son service dans un tems au quel votre Majesté a licencié un si grand nombre de ses sujets. Le Roy d'Angleterre ne m'en a point encore parlé, mais je ne doute pas qu'il ne m'en parle au premier jour, et qu'il n'ajoute encore d'autres raisons à celles qui ont été alleguées par milord Sonderland.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.
 —King James is to propose that France should take into his pay a regiment formed of the British troops, to be recalled from Holland.—The views of this.

October 13, 1687.

“**L**ORD Sunderland acquainted me that his master was to speak to me about an affair of consequence, and that he would explain it to me, to the end I might be prepared when his Britannic Majesty should communicate it to me.

The fact is, that the King of England is resolved to withdraw his troops which are in the service of the States General: he expects indeed that a great number of the officers and soldiers will remain in Holland, but also a good part may return here, and principally the Catholics, and all those who are not entirely gained by the Prince of Orange. However desirous his Britannic Majesty may be to recall these troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having easy means of subsisting those who shall be recalled, and keeping them together in one body. The expedient of augmenting the troops which are on foot here would be the most natural, but there is already as great a number as the king of England can maintain. His thought therefore is, to propose to your Majesty the taking into your service
 a regiment

a regiment of infantry, composed of the officers and soldiers to be recalled from Holland ; this regiment will be entirely at your Majesty's own disposal, it being understood nevertheless, that when the King of England shall have occasion for them in his own country, your Majesty will not refuse to send them back.

The reasons which oblige this Prince to make this proposal are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up and better disciplined than those which are in this country ; that it will be a nursery to educate and form catholic soldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to monarchy, which are spread throughout all England, and from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt ; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall so soon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to subsist them easily together, although he knows of how much consequence it is to him not to permit to exist any longer a corps of troops of his own subjects, the greatest number of whom are not in his interests, and would serve against him if the occasion offered.

Lord Sunderland having explained this, said, he judged this affair was not easily to be obtained of your Majesty ; that in time of peace your Majesty would not easily think of taking into your service a body of foreign troops, the expence of which would exceed that of a like number of your own subjects ; that it was well known what had happened some years ago with regard to the English troops which were in France ; and that your Majesty had perhaps formed for ever a dislike at taking them into your service, and making an extraordinary expence, for which there appeared no strong reasons to engage you at present ; that however considering the state of affairs in England in particular, and of Europe in general, your Majesty will perhaps judge that the proposal which is made to you, ought to be admitted ; first, because it is a thing extremely important

tant for the good of the catholic religion, for the advantage of which principally this regiment would be levied and maintained; that in this your Majesty would sensibly oblige the King his master, and give him an effectual and solid mark of friendship, at a time when he might, on his side, give proofs to your Majesty of his attachment to your interests; that the proposal which is made, shews a determined resolution on the part of the King of England, to preserve a strict connection with your Majesty, and it will even render this connection public, and may produce effects which will not be useless to your Majesty's service; that it will be a mortifying displeasure to the Prince of Orange to see the troops recalled from Holland pass into your Majesty's service; that even the States General will from thence form new subjects of jealousy against the King of England, and perceive that he is far from entering into any connection or concert with them; that the House of Austria will from thence believe, that there is between your Majesty and the King of England a connection more strict and more established than there is, which cannot but be useful in the present conjuncture; that, in fine, this regiment being in your service, ought to be looked upon as a pledge of an entire confidence on the part of the King his master, and that it is a beginning to lead in the end to all that your Majesty may judge convenient for your interests.

I told Lord Sunderland that I could not of myself give him any answer to a thing so new, and of so great consequence; that I could tell him, I believed it would be very difficult; and that he himself knew the reasons which might hinder your Majesty from taking foreign troops into your service at a time when you had disbanded so great a number of your own subjects. The King of England has not as yet spoken to me about it, but I don't doubt he will upon the first occasion, and that he will add other reasons to those which have been alledged by Lord Sunderland."

Extrait

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Octobre 16, 1687.

“ **J**'Ai sçu de milord Sonderland que milord Tirconel est celui qui à le plus pressé le Roy son maitre d'avoir un régiment de ses sujets en France, et qui lui en a fait envisager les conséquences; cela m'a donné lieu d'entrer sur les affaires d'Irlande: Milord Sonderland m'a dit que le Roy son maitre est résolu de renverser l' établissement fait des biens des Irlandois Catholiques aux Anglois Protestans après le retour du Roy d' Angleterre; que cela est encore tenu fort secret; mais qu'on y travaillera bientôt, et que les mesures sont prises pour en venir à bout. Le renversement de cet établissement fait en faveur des rebelles, et des officiers de Cromwel, est regardé icy comme ce qu'il y a de plus important; et s'il peut être exécuté sans opposition, ce sera une entière séparation de l' Irlande d' avec l' Angleterre pour l' avenir. C'est le sentiment general de tous les Anglois.”

In the Depot.

Translation.

*Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis XIVth.
—James is to rescind the act of settlement in Ireland.*

October 16, 1687.

“ **I** Know from Lord Sunderland that Lord Tirconel was the person who pressed the King his master most to have a regiment of his subjects in France, and who has pointed out to him the consequences of it; this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland: Lord Sunderland told me that the King his master is resolved to reverse the act of settlement which was made of the Irish catholicks estates to the English Protestants upon the return of the late

King of England; that this was as yet kept very secret; but it would soon be gone about, and that measures are taken to accomplish it. The reversing this settlement, which was made in favour of rebels and Cromwell's officers, is looked upon here as the most important of all things, and if it can be executed without opposition it will be an entire separation of Ireland from England for the future. This is the general sentiment of all the English."

In this letter Barillon further says, that King James had pressed upon him Lord Sunderland's project for taking into the French service the Roman Catholics who should leave the Dutch service, alledging that a foreign force of his own subjects ready at his call, would be the best means of establishing Popery.

Barillon in his letter to his court of the 6th of November 1687, mentions his having received orders from Louis to decline receiving into France the troops, which should be recalled from Holland, but to offer to maintain them in England. On the 10th of November he writes, that he had communicated his orders to King James, and made a farther offer of what troops James should want from France, "Pour opprimer ses ennemis, et se faire obeir de ses sujets." "To oppress his enemies, and make himself be obeyed by his subjects."

James having accepted the offer of maintaining the troops from Holland on French pay in England, his gratitude to Louis is to be seen in the following dispatch.

Extrait d'une dépêche de Barillon au Roy.

Dec. 8, 1687.

"**L**E Roy d'Angleterre me dit il y a deux jours, que Milord Sonderland lui avoit rendu compte de ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majesté sur l'entretien de deux mille hommes qui seroient rap-
pellee

pellée d'Hollande ; qu'il l'acceptoit avec beaucoup de joie et de reconnoissance ; qu'il ne pouvoit assez me dire combien il ressentoit cette nouvelle marque de l'amitié de votre Majesté ; qu'il me chargeoit de l'en remercier de sa part ; que l'entretien de quelques troupes de ses sujets en France lui avoit paru avantageux à ces desseins, mais que ce que votre Majesté fait l'est fort aussi, et le mêt en état de poursuivre hardiment les résolutions qu'il a prises en faveur de la religion catholique.

Je dis à ce Prince que votre Majesté n'avoit pas hésité d'accorder ce qui lui avoit été proposé ; et que j'avois des ordres bien précis de l'assurer que quand il auroit besoin des troupes de votre Majesté, il en passeroit bientôt un plus grand nombre que n'auroit été le corps de ses sujets qui y auroit été entretenu. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'interrompit, et me dit, je me tiens pleinement assuré de l'amitié du Roy votre Majesté, je tacherai d'en mériter la continuation, et il connoitra en toutes occasions combien j'ai d'attachement à sa personne et à ses intérêts.

J'ai vu depuis milord Sonderland qui m'a dit que l'offre de votre Majesté d'entretenir deux mille hommes à produit le meilleur effet qu'on en puisse attendre dans l'esprit du Roy son maître, et qu'il n'a pas manqué de lui faire remarquer avec quelle promptitude votre Majesté avoit accordé ce qui avoit été seulement insinué comme une chose qui lui seroit agréable.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James thanks Louis for keeping the 2000 Papists in his pay in England.

December 8, 1687.

“ **T**HE King of England told me two days ago that Lord Sunderland had given him an account of what I had said to him on your Majesty's part,

concerning the keeping up in this country two thousand men to be recalled from Holland, that he accepted it with a great deal of joy and gratitude; that he could not sufficiently tell me how much he esteemed this new mark of your Majesty's friendship; that he charged me to thank you for it on his part; that the keeping on foot some troops of his subjects in France had appeared to him advantageous to his designs, but that what your Majesty does is likewise highly so, and puts him in a condition to pursue boldly the resolutions which he has taken in favour of the catholic religion.

I told this Prince that your Majesty had not hesitated in granting what had been proposed; and that I had very precise orders to assure him, that when there should be occasion for your Majesty's forces, you would soon cause a much greater number to pass over than the body of his subjects would have been, which were to have been kept on foot in France. The King of England interrupted me, and said, I hold myself fully assured of the King your master's friendship; I shall endeavour to merit the continuation of it, and he shall know on every occasion how much I am attached to his person and interests.

I have since seen Lord Sunderland, who told me that your Majesty's offer of keeping up the two thousand men had produced in the King his Master's mind a better effect than could have been expected from it; and that he had not omitted to make him observe with what readiness your Majesty had granted, what had only been insinuated as a thing that would be agreeable to him."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the recall of these troops from the Dutch service.

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Recalls the six British regiments in the Dutch service.

Whitehall, Jan. 17th, 1688.

“ I Have charged my envoy, Monf. d’Abbeville, who will give you an account that I think it for my service to call for home the six regiments of my subjects, which are under your command, in the States service; and have written to the States to the same purpose, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as soon as may be: what else I have to say upon this subject, I refer to my envoy; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall still find me as kind as you can desire.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Angry that the States have given leave to the officers but not to the soldiers.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1688.

“ YESTERDAY I received yours of the 20th, and at the same time the States answer about the regiments of my subjects which are in their service; by which I was surpris’d to find they make a difficulty to let the common soldiers have the same liberty which they grant the officers, they being all equally my subjects. I had no reason to expect such an answer; what I have further to say to you upon that affair, I must refer to my envoy, whom I have also ordered to speak to the States upon that subject; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 2, 1688.

“**I** Had not time by the last post to let you know I had received yours of the 2d, by which I found the reason why I could not then expect an answer to Mr. Abbeville’s second memorial concerning my subjects in the six regiments. The next letters may I think bring me the answer of it, which I cannot doubt will be such a one as in reason I ought to expect, the common soldiers being as much my subjects as the officers. You will have seen, before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Ossory, which is very home to this point; so that sure, if it was not done before, there will be no further difficulty made of letting such of the common men come over as are willing. I shall say no more now, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 13, 1688.

“**S**INCE I wrote last to you I have had two of yours; and having been a hunting this day, and come home late, am so sleepy that I can only tell you that I did not expect to have had such answers from the States to the memorials lately given in by my envoy, especially where your influence is so great; and sure ’tis the first instance, and I believe will be the last wherever subjects were refused the liberty to return back when demanded to serve their Prince. I shall always be as kind to you as you have reason to expect.”

Notwithstanding the refusal of the States (or rather of the Prince) to permit the British soldiers in their service,

service to obey King James's recal, many of them made their escape and returned into England. Of these, and other popish soldiers, three regiments were formed instead of the two which had been a little before intended; for on the 26th July, 1688, Barillon writes to his court, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres tournois, for the first two months pay of the three regiments, and that he was to continue the same payment at the end of every second month.

On the 6th of December, 1685, Louis the XIVth, In the *Depos.*
 in a letter to Barillon, ordered him to give a pension to Lord Sunderland of 20,000, or even 24,000 crowns: "Tant qu'il contribuera tout ce que depend de lui au maintien d'une bonne correspondance entre moy et le Roy son maitre, et à éloigner tout engagement qui pouvoit être contraire à mes interests."—"As long as he shall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correspondence between me and the King his master, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my interests."

After James had thanked Louis XIVth for complying in part with Lord Tyrconnel's project for recalling the British troops in the Dutch service, and putting them in the pay of France, the resolution for recalling them was suspended for some time; and about the same time Skelton, who was ambassador in France, suggested to the French court his suspicions that Lord Sunderland was secretly in the interests of the Prince of Orange. Barillon, upon this, got orders from Louis the XIVth to watch narrowly the motions of Lord Sunderland, and to report what he observed. Upon Barillon's attempting to sound him, he who had been the cause of getting the recal suspended, agreed to give his interest for having the suspension removed, provided a large gratification in money should be added to his pension, for doing so; thus, by a refinement of profligacy, deceiving Barillon into the belief that he was engaged in no interest but his own. The two following dispatches, the first of which

contains an account of his asking a gratification, and the second of his getting one, though smaller than he expected, show to what an extraordinary degree Barillon was duped by him.

Depêche de Mr. Barillon, au Roy, Janvier 5, 1688.

En the Depot.

J'AI observé exactement ce que votre Majesté m'ordonne par sa depêche du 13 Decembre dernier, de ne témoigner aucun empressement pour le rappel des troupes qui sont en Hollande. J'ai pris aussi tout le soin que je dois pour découvrir de qui vient le retardement de la resolution qui paroissoit prise pour le rappel de ces troupes ; et je n'ai rien obmis pour pénétrer si le soupçon que paroît avoir le Skelton a quelque fondement solide. Je ne me suis tenu à ce que milord Sonderland m'a dit que les principaux Catholiques étoient d'avis que ce rappel ne devoit être fait qu'après l'assemblée d'un parlement. J'ai su d'un ami intime de milord Puez, que milord Arondel et lui croioient que ce seroit gater les affaires que de rapeller les troupes qui sont en Hollande présentement : la question est de savoir s'ils ont pensé cela de leur chef, ou si milord Sonderland leur a inspiré le sentiment qu'ils ont, ou s'il a pris le parti de retarder une affaire qu'il a pressée d'abord fort vivement, et qu'il paroissoit avoir fort à cœur aussi bien que le Roi son maitre ; c'est ce qui n'est pas aisé à penetrer ; mais ce qu'il y a d'assuré, c'est que le retardement du rappel des troupes d'Hollande après la séance du parlement rend ce rappel incertain, et qu'il pourra arriver beaucoup de choses qui l'empacheront. Votre Majesté en jugera plus aisément quand je lui aurai rendu compte de ce qui s'est passé dans cette affaire depuis quelques jours.

Milord Sonderland ayant entrevu que je ne faisois aucune nouvelle instance pour le rappel des troupes de Hollande, m'a parlé plus ouvertement qu'il n'avoit encore fait : il m'a dit que les principaux Catholiques regardoient ce rappel des troupes comme une rupture

avec

avec les Etats Généraux, et principalement avec le Prince d'Orange; et qu'ils avoient été d'avis que cela ne se pouvoit faire qu' après qu'on auroit effaié ce qui se pourroit obtenir d'un parlement, parceque si on venoit à bout de faire révoquer les loix penales et le Test, il n'y auroit point alors de peril ni d'inconvenient de rappeler des troupes dont on pourroit avoir besoin, pour maintenir ce qui auroit été établi en faveur des Catholiques, et empêcher les efforts des factieux, aux quels il ne resteroit plus d'autre ressource que celle d'exciter des troubles et des difordres en Angleterre: que si ces troupes étoient rappelées présentement, ce seroit redoubler les soupçons qu'on a deja en ce pays cy, que le dessein est formé de rompre avec les Etats Généraux et avec le Prince d'Orange, et par conséquent de s'unir étroitement avec la France; que beaucoup de gens bien intentionnés pour l'autorité royale et pour la révocation des loix penales craindroient qu'on ne s'engageat trop avant contre la Hollande, et que ce ne fût un projet fait pour l'établissement de la religion Catholique, et pour la ruine de la Protestante, et que cela les empêcheroit de favoriser les desseins de sa Majesté Britannique dans le parlement; qu'il seroit beaucoup plus prudent d'attendre ce que le parlement fera, et de ne point mettre d'obstacle aux résolutions qui s'y peuvent prendre.

Milord Sonderland m'a fait entendre que ces raisons avoient fait quelqu' impression sur l'ésprit du Roi son maitre et l'avoient empêché de se déterminer à rappeler presentement les troupes de Hollande; qu' à son egard de lui, il n'estimoit pas que les raisons alleguées fussent solides, et qu'il croyoit les pouvoir obtenir et faire prendre la résolution de rappeler les troupes d'Hollande incessamment; qu'il en avoit envisagé toutes les consequences, et qu'il connoissoit bien ce qui en pouvoit arriver; qu'il prétendoit faire connoitre au Roi son maitre, que l'envie demesurée qu'ont les principaux Catholiques d'obtenir d'un parlement la révocation des loix pénales, leur fait apprehender mal à propos ce rappel des troupes; que l'offre que votre Majesté fait d'entretenir deux mille hommes de ces troupes, marque un desir sincere

sincere d'obliger le Roi son maitre ; qu'il la regarde aussi comme une preuve certaine de ses bonnes intentions pour l'affermissement de son autorité, et pour l'avancement de la religion Catholique en Angleterre ; que la maniere don votre Majesté avoit accordé ce qui lui à été demandé, a produit tout l'effet qu'on en pouvoit attendre dans l'esprit de sa Majesté Britannique ; que tout cela n'empêche pas que votre Majesté ne suive en cette occasion ses veritables intérests, et qu'elle ne fasse un coup important pour son service, en mettant une si grande division entre l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux ; que l'entretien de deux mille hommes couteroit à votre Majesté deux cent mille ecus ou fort peu davantage, et que pour cétte somme le Roi son maitre entroit dans un engagement aussi formel et aussi fort qu'avoit fait le feu Roi d'Angleterre pour des sommes bien plus considerables ; que quand ce premier pas seroit fait, on suivroit exactement de la part du Roi son maitre la conduite que votre Majesté pouvoit desirer ; que ce secret de l'entretien de deux mille hommes n'étoit encore su que de lui seul, et qu'il ne le seroit apparemment dans la suite d'aucun autre, qu'il croioit du moins qu'il sera confié à fort peu de gens ; qu'il seroit fort facile de faire connoitre au Roi son maitre qu'il s'engage tout à fait avec votre Majesté pour deux cent mil ecus par an, et d'insinuer qu'il faudroit demander une somme plus considerable, mais que ce n'étoit pas la conduite qu'il veut tenir ; que son dessein au contraire est de faire que le Roy son maitre se content de ce qui est offert, et entre dans tous les engagements qui en font les suites nécessaires ; que les troupes d'Hollande pourroient être rappellées incessamment ; et qu'il s'exposeroit à ce qui on pourroit arriver si ce rappel des troupes produisoit des effets contraires à ce qu'on attend d'un parlement ; qu'il savoit bien qu'on le regardoit comme l'auteur de cette resolution, et que ceux qui ne l'approuvent pas trouveront aisement les moyens de s'en disculper auprès de M. le Prince d'Orange, et de remettre tout sur lui ; qu'il vouloit bien en courir le hazard, mais qu'en même tems

il croioit devoir être assuré d'une protection pleine et entière de la part de votre Majesté ; qu'ainsi il me diroit franchement que le peril au quel il s'expose l'oblige à prendre quelque précaution, et à demander que votre Majesté entre en consideration de ses services, et lui donne de nouvelles marques de sa bienveillance en lui accordant une gratification, et lui continuant sa pension ordinaire ; qu'il ne demandoit rien de cette gratification qu'après que les troupes d'Hollande seroient arrivées icy ; qu'il ne craignoit point de lui avoir cette nouvelle obligation dans le dessein ou il est d'entrer generalement dans tout ce qui peut convenir aux intérêts de votre Majesté ; que c'étoit à moi à représenter le fait comme il est, et à lui faire savoir les intentions de votre Majesté, à fin qu'il s'y puisse conformer.

Je répondis peu de chose à ce discours, parceque je fus fort surpris de la proposition qui m'étoit faite : Je ne m'engageai pas d'abord d'en écrire ; je dis seulement à milord Sonderland qu'il m'avoit dit beaucoup de choses de grand consequence qui meritoient beaucoup de reflexion ; que je croyois seulement lui pouvoir dire qu'il ne devoit pas capituler avec votre Majesté, et qu'il seroit plus convenable de faire de sa part ce qui peut être agréable à votre Majesté, et que dans la suite il fera en droit de demander et d'attendre des graces qu'il aura meritées.

Nous eumes hier un second entretien dans lequel ce ministre répéta ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit entendre que son dessein n'étoit pas de se prévaloir de la conjuncture présente pour en tirer ses avantages particuliers ; qu'il demeuroit dans les engagements qu'il a pris d'être toujours dans les intérêts de votre Majesté ; que j'ai vu de quelle maniere il s'est conduit en toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées ; que je connois quelle part il a dans la confiance de son maître ; que si le rappel des troupes d'Hollande convient à votre Majesté, elle voudra bien que celui qui lui rend ce service en soit recompensé, puisque par là il s'expose beaucoup plus qu'il n'a encore fait ; que cela doit être représentée d'une manie-

re pleine de respect et de soumission de sa part, mais que dans les affaires d'importance il faut s'expliquer nettement, et favoir à quoi s'en tenir, à fin d'agir plus sûrement et plus hardiment; qu'il espere que votre Majesté voudra bien lui accorder une somme qui le mette en état d'envisager avec moins d'inquiétude les revolutions qui arrivent si souvent en Angleterre; il ne s'est point expliqué précisément de la somme qu'il demande, mais je crois qu'il s'attend à quelque chose de considerable; et il paroît persuadé qu'il rendra un grand service à votre Majesté en faisant rappeler les troupes d'Hollande.

J'ai fait mon possible pour le détourner de faire cette demande, et je lui ai représenté que s'étant déjà engagé dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, il devoit faire tout ce qu'il croit lui devoir être agréable, et ne pas mettre votre Majesté dans la nécessité de lui accorder ce qu'il demande, ou de le dégouter par un refus.

Ma remontrance a produit peu d'effet, et il m'a répliqué, que si votre Majesté, juge qu'il est avantageux à son service de faire rappeler ces troupes, elle ne fera pas fâchée de lui accorder une somme qu'elle croira bien employée.

Il me reste à rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qui concerne le soupçon que le Monsieur Skelton croit pouvoir tomber sur milord Sonderland d'une liaison secrète avec M. le Prince d'Orange; je n'ai rien pénétré qui puisse le faire croire; je vois au contraire que ce ministre s'engage tous les jours d'avantage dans tout ce qui peut être le plus opposé aux intérêts de M. le Prince d'Orange, et qu'il tient une conduite qui ne s'accorde pas avec le dessein qu'on prétend qu'il auroit de le menager. C'est lui qui a depuis long tems pressé avec ardeur toutes les résolutions ce qui peut conduire les affaires à l'abolition des loix Pénales et du Test, qui est ce que M. le Prince d'Orange craint d'avantage; je crois favoir qu'il est résolu de se déclarer catholique quand le Roy son maître le voudra: tout cela est difficile à concilier avec un engagement secret dans les intérêts de M. le Prince d'Orange. Il me paroît garder fort peu

de menagement sur les choses importantes qu'il me confie, et il hazarderoit beaucoup s'il y en avoit quelques unes de connues: il se peut faire que je fois prevenu en sa faveur, et qu'ayant a vivre dans une cour dont il occupe le principal poste, je me laisse aller trop aisement à croire ce qui m'est le plus agreable, et ce qui facilite d'avantage le succès des affaires dont je suis chargé. Je ne laisserai pas d'avoir les yeux ouverts pour pouvoir decouvrir la verité; cependant il me semble que milord Sonderland se livre tous le jours d'avantage a moi, et se met pour ainsi dire entre les mains de votre Majesté. C'est lui qui a entamé avec moi l'affaire du rappel des troupes, et qui a pris tout le soin possible de la faire réussir: il est vrai que l'execution de ce rappel est retardee, que la proposition qu'il fait d'une gratification extraordinaire pourroit faire croire qu'il a retarde le rappel des troupes pour son interest particulier; il croit du moins s'en devoir servir pour venir à ses fins. C'est à votre Majesté de juger ce qui est le plus convenable à son service. Les raisons que le Marquis d'Abbeville a allegues dont j'ai envoyé copie à votre Majesté marquent assez qu'il est de l'intérest du Roy d'Angleterre de rapeller ces troupes d'Hollande; mais ces raisons n'ont pas été suffisantes pour en faire prendre la résolution. Si votre Majesté juge qu'il soit de son service d'entrer dans ce qui est proposé par milord Sonderland, je ne fais aucun doute que les troupes ne soient incessamment rapellées, et que ce ministre ne donne bientôt cette marque de son crédit; mais si votre Majesté laisse agir le Roy d'Angleterre selon qu'il le jugera plus à propos, et qu'elle se remette à ce qu'on voudra déterminer icy sur le tems de ce rappel, il sera, ce me semble, necessaire de parler à milord Sonderland d'une maniere qui adoucisse le chagrin d'avoir essuié un refus, et qui lui laisse une porte ouverte pour traiter les affaires en la maniere qu'il a fait jusqu'à present. J'attendrai ce qu'il plaira à votre Majesté d'ordonner pour l'exécuter ponctuellement.

Il y aura des prieres publiques ordonnées par tout l'Angleterre à un jour qui sera marqué, pour l'heureux succès

succés de la grossesse de la Reine d' Angleterre; les prieres de catholiques seront fort sinceres; on ne s'attend pas que ce soit la même chose dans les eglises Protestantes; mais les evesques et les pasteurs n'oseront se dispenser d'obeir á la proclamation. Je suis, &c."

Translation.

Dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Suspitions of lord Sunderland.—Barillon duped by his flattery.—Sunderland asks a gratification besides his pension.

January 5, 1688.

" I Have exactly observed what your Majesty ordered me by your dispatch of the 18th of December last, not to shew too much eagerness for recalling the troops which are in Holland. I have also taken all the pains I could to discover who has been the occasion of suspending the resolution which appeared to be taken for recalling these troops; and I have omitted nothing to find out if the suspicion Mr. Skelton appears to have has any solid foundation. I do not build any thing upon Lord Sunderland's telling me, that the principal catholicks were of opinion that the recall ought not to be made till after the meeting of a parliament. I know from an intimate friend of Lord Powis, that Lord Arundel and he believe that recalling the troops which are in Holland at present would spoil matters: The question is to know if this opinion is their own, or if Lord Sunderland has insinuated it to them; or if he has taken the part to retard an affair which at first he pressed very strongly, and seemed to have much at heart as well as the King his master; this is not easy to be penetrated; but what is sure is, that the delay of recalling these troops from Holland till after the session of parliament, renders the recall uncertain, and many things may happen to prevent it. Your Majesty will judge better of this, when I have given you an account
of

of what has passed upon this affair within these few days.

Lord Sunderland having observed that I made no new instances for recalling the troops from Holland, spoke to me more openly than he ever yet did: he told me that the principal catholics looked upon this recall of the troops as a rupture with the States General, and principally with the Prince of Orange; and that they were of opinion it could not be done till after a trial had been made of what might be obtained from a parliament; because if they could bring about the revocation of the Penal laws and the Test, there would then be neither danger nor inconvenience in recalling such troops as they might have occasion for, in order to maintain what should be established in favour of the catholics, and prevent the efforts of the factious, who would have no other resource left than that of exciting troubles and disorders in England; that if the troops were recalled at present it would redouble the suspicions already entertained in this country, of a formed design to break with the States General and the the Prince of Orange, and consequently of a strict union with France: that many people well intentioned to the Royal Authority, and the revocation of the Penal laws, would be afraid of being too far engaged against Holland; and that it was a scheme concerted for the establishment of the catholic, and the ruin of the protestant religion, and that this would hinder them favouring the designs of his Britannic Majesty in parliament: that it would be much more prudent to wait for what parliament will do, and not put an obstacle in the way of the resolutions which may be taken there.

Lord Sunderland made me understand that these reasons had made some impression upon the King his master's mind, and had prevented him from determining at present to recall the troops from Holland; that with regard to himself he did not esteem the reasons given solid, and that he believed he might prevail, and cause a resolution

lution to be taken for recalling these troops from Holland immediately: that he had looked at all the consequences, and very well knew what might happen: That he would convince the King his master that it was the immoderate desire of the principal catholics to obtain from parliament the revocation of the Penal laws, which made them apprehend this recall of the troops to be ill-timed; that the offer your Majesty made, to keep two thousand men of these troops, shews a sincere desire to oblige the King his master; and that he regards it also as a certain proof of your good intentions for the establishing of his authority, and the advancement of the Catholic religion in England; that the manner in which your Majesty granted what had been asked of you, had produced all the effect which could be expected from it in the mind of the King of Great Britain; that your Majesty would at the same time in this follow your true interests, and strike an important blow for your service, by making so great a division between England the States General; the supporting two thousand men will cost your Majesty two hundred thousand crowns, or very little more, and that for this sum his master would enter into an engagement as formal and as strong as the deceased King of England did for much more considerable sums. That when this first step was taken, there would be followed on the part of the King his master, that conduct which your Majesty could desire; that the secret of keeping two thousand men in pay was known to him alone, and, in all appearance, would not be to any other, at least he believed it would be trusted to very few people; that it would be easy to make the King his master see that he engages himself entirely to your Majesty for two hundred thousand crowns per annum, and to insinuate that he ought to ask a more considerable sum, but that this is not the conduct he chuses to follow; that his design, on the contrary, is to make the King his master contented with what is offered, and enter into all the engagements which are the necessary consequences of it; that the

troops

troops in Holland might be recalled immediately, and would expose himself to whatever may happen, if this recall of the troops should be any ways prejudicial to what may be expected from a parliament; that he knew very well he was looked upon as the author of this resolution, and that those who do not approve it, will easily find means to exculpate themselves to the Prince of Orange, and throw the whole upon him; that he was very willing to run the hazard, but at the same time he thought he should be assured of a full and entire protection from your Majesty; that upon this account he would freely tell me, that the danger to which he exposes himself obliged him to take some precaution, and to desire your Majesty to take his services into consideration, and give him some new marks of your goodness by bestowing upon him a gratification, and continuing to him his ordinary pension; that he would ask no part of his gratification till after the troops from Holland should arrive here; that he was not afraid of owing this new obligation to you, as his design was to enter generally into whatever might be suitable to the interests of your Majesty; that it was my part to represent the fact as it is, and to let him know your Majesty's intentions, in order that he might act accordingly.

I answered very little to this discourse, because I was much surpris'd with the proposal he made me: I did not undertake at once to write of it, I only told Lord Sunderland that he had said many things to me of great consequence, which merited more reflexion; that I thought, I could only tell him, he ought not to treat upon terms with your Majesty, and that it would be more suitable on his part to do what might be agreeable to your Majesty, and that afterwards he would have a right to ask and expect the favours he shall have deserved.

We had yesterday a conversation, in which this minister had repeated what he had said to me, and gave me to understand, that his design was not to avail him-

self of the present conjuncture to draw his own advantage from it; that he continued in the engagements he had taken to be always in your Majesty's interests; that I had seen in what manner he had conducted himself on all occasions which had offered; that I knew what part he has in his master's confidence; that if recalling the troops from Holland suited your Majesty, you would not be unwilling to recompense the person who renders you that service, since he thereby exposes himself much more than he had yet done; that this ought to be represented in a manner full of respect and submission on his part, but in affairs of importance it was necessary for him to explain himself clearly; and know what he had to depend upon, to the end he might act more surely and more boldly; that he hoped your Majesty would graciously bestow upon him such a sum, as might put him in a condition to confront with less anxiety the revolutions which so often happen in England: he did not precisely explain himself upon the sum he asked, but I believe he expects something considerable, and he appears persuaded; that he shall render a great service to your Majesty in causing the troops to be recalled from Holland.

I did all I could to dissuade him from making this demand, and I represented to him, that being already engaged in your Majesty's interests, he ought to do every thing he thought might be agreeable to you, and not put your Majesty under the necessity of granting what he asked, or disgusting him by a refusal.

My remonstrance produced little effect, and he replied, that if your Majesty judged it advantageous to your service to have these troops recalled, you would not grudge him a sum which you believed well employed.

It remains for me to give your Majesty an account of what relates to the suspicion which Mr. Skelton thinks may fall upon Lord Sunderland of a secret connexion with the Prince of Orange; I have discovered nothing that can make it be believed; on the contrary, I see
that

that this minister engages himself every day more in whatever can be most opposite to the interests of the Prince of Orange, and that he holds a conduct inconsistent with the design which it is pretended he has, to keep measures with him. He is the person who for a long time past, has ardently pressed all the resolutions which have been taken in favour of the Catholics; he pursues with firmness whatever can lead to the abolishing the Penal Laws and the Test, which is what the Prince of Orange fears the most. I know that he is resolved to declare himself a Catholic, when the King his master will have him. All this is difficult to reconcile with a secret engagement in the interests of the Prince of Orange. He appears to me to preserve very little reserve upon the important things he trusts me with, and hazards a great deal if some of them were known. I may, perhaps, be prejudiced in his favour, and that living in a Court, the principal employment of which he fills, I am too easily led to believe what is most agreeable to me, and what most facilitates the success of the affairs with which I am charged; I shall not, however, fail in keeping my eyes open to discover, if possible, the truth. In the mean time, it seems to me, that Lord Sunderland gives himself up to me more and more every day, and puts himself, if I may say so, into your Majesty's hands. It was he who set on foot the affair to me of recalling the troops, and who had taken all possible pains to make it succeed: it is true the execution of this recal is retarded, and the proposal he makes of an extraordinary gratification, might make it believed that he has delayed the recal of the troops for his own private interest; at least he believes he may make use of it to bring about his ends. Your Majesty is to judge what is most suitable to your service; the reasons which the Marquis d'Abbeville makes use of, (of which I have sent your Majesty a copy) prove sufficiently that it is the King of England's interest to recal these troops from Holland, but these reasons have not been sufficient to cause the resolutions to be taken. If your

Majesty thinks it may be for your service to enter into what is proposed by Lord Sunderland, I make no doubt but the troops will be recalled without loss of time, and that this minister will speedily give this proof of his credit; but if your Majesty shall leave the King of England to act according to what he shall judge most proper, and shall refer yourself to what they may determine here with regard to the time of the recall, it will, I believe, be necessary to speak to Lord Sunderland in such a manner, as may soften the chagrin of having met with a refusal, and leave a door open to him for managing affairs in the manner he has done hitherto. I shall wait for what it may please your Majesty to order, that I may execute it punctually.

There will be public prayers ordered throughout England upon a day to be named, for a happy issue to the Queen of England's pregnancy; the prayers of the Catholics will be very sincere; the same is not expected in the protestant churches; but the bishops and ministers will not dare to excuse themselves from obeying the proclamation.

I am, &c.

*Extrait d'une dépêche de Barillon au Roy, Janv. 26,
1688.*

In the Depot.

“ **C**’E n’est pas sans peine que j’ai réduit la personne dont il est question à se contenter de ce que votre Majesté me prescrit par sa dépêche du 17 Janvier: il s’est à la fin rendu aux assurances que je lui ai données de la part de votre Majesté, que dans d’autres occasions plus convenables et plus avantageuses aux intérêts de votre Majesté, elle entrera en considération de ce qui se fera pour son service. J’ai fait valoir comme j’ai du l’offre d’une gratification extraordinaire, sans rien exiger de lui présentement. Je n’ai fait paroître aucun empressement pour le rappel des troupes d’Hollande, et je l’ai laissé dans une entière liberté de le hater ou de le retarder; j’ai même allégué les raisons, portées par le de-
peche’

pêche de votre Majesté, pour lui persuader que votre Majesté n'a aucune raison de presser ce rappel, et qu'elle se rapporte à ce que le Roy d'Angleterre jugera en cela devoir être fait pour son propre intérêt. La conclusion a été que celui à qui je parlois a accepté la gratification extraordinaire, et a pris de nouveaux engagements d'être entièrement dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, et de chercher avec soin les occasions de lui en donner des marques. Je ne puis pas dire cependant qu'il soit pleinement content; il avoit conçu l'esperance d'un avantage considerable dont il a peine à se departir; il s' imagine ne pas trouver sitôt une occasion pareille à celle cy de meriter de votre Majesté; je lui ai fait entendre qu'il s'en présenteroit assez à l'avenir, et qu'ayant beaucoup de bonne volonté et un grand crédit auprès du Roy son maitre, on trouveroit dans la suite des conjonctures, encore plus favorables et plus importantes.

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.
 — Lord Sunderland gets a present gratification from
 France besides his pension.*

January 26, 1688.

“ **I**T was not without trouble that I brought the person in question (i. e. Lord Sunderland) to content himself with what your Majesty prescribed to me by your dispatch of the 17th of January; at last he submitted himself to the assurances I gave him on your Majesty's part, that on other occasions more suitable and more advantageous to your interests, you would enter into the consideration of what he shall do for your service. I shewed him the importance of your Majesty's offer of an extraordinary gratification, without exacting any thing from him at present. I expressed no eagerness for recalling the troops from Holland, and left him entirely at liberty to hasten or to retard it; I

even made use of the reasons contained in your Majesty's dispatch, to persuade him that you had no cause to press the recall, and that you refer to what the King of England shall judge should be done for his own interest. The conclusion was, that the person to whom I spoke accepted the extraordinary gratification, and has entered into a fresh engagement to be entirely in your Majesty's interests, and to seek with care for occasions to give proofs of it. I cannot, however, say that he is fully contented; he had conceived hopes of a more considerable reward, which he can hardly quit. He imagines he will not soon find such an opportunity of deserving well of your Majesty. I told him, that enough would offer in time to come, and that having much of the good will of the King his master, and a great credit with him, conjunctures would be hereafter found still more favourable and more important."

In the Depot.

Barillon in his dispatches of 26th February, 1st, 4th, 11th and 22d March, 12th April, and 24th May, 1688, gives his court accounts, that he asked King James to fit out twenty-five ships of war to support Denmark: that Sunderland long opposed this armament, alledging it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland; but that James, in consideration of 200,000 crowns to be paid him by France, having at last, with Sunderland's approbation, agreed to what was asked, Sunderland made a merit of his master's consent, to insinuate an expectation of another gratification to himself. "Je ne dois (says Barillon) cacher à votre Majesté que milord Sonderland croit en cela avoir bien mérité de votre Majesté, et qu'il peut esperer des marques de sa bienveillance par une gratification extraordinaire." "I ought not to conceal from your Majesty, that Lord Sunderland thinks he has deserved well of your Majesty in this, and that he may hope for marks of your goodness by an extraordinary gratification."

In the Depot.

An account of Barillon's disbursements, dated 26th July, 1688, contains these two articles.

“ Surquoi

“ Surquoj j’ai donné pour les six premiers mois de cette année de la pension que sa Majesté a accordé à milord Sunderland, la somme de trente mille livres Tournois.

Plus à la même personne pour gratification extraordinaire par sa Majesté la somme de trente mille livres Tournois.”

“ Of which I have given for the first six months of this year, of the pension which your Majesty has granted to Lord Sunderland, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois.

More to the same person for extraordinary gratification by your Majesty, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois.”

Le Marquis d’Abbeville, whom Lord Sunderland chose to send ambassador to Holland, at the time when the foundations of the Revolution were laying, was as profligate as himself.

Barillon in his letter 2d of September, 1686, reminds Louis the XIVth that he had, upon a former occasion, engaged Albeville in his interests, and asks a power to do so again. He adds these words, “ Monsieur le Prince d’Orange fera ce qu’il pourra pour le gagner.” “ The Prince of Orange will do what he can to gain him.”

On the 5th of September, 1686, Barillon writes, “ L’Ambassadeur d’Hollande (i. e. d’Avaux) croit que Monf. le Prince d’ Orange pourra, s’il en a bien envie, l’engager dans ses interests.” “ The ambassador of Holland (i. e. d’Avaux) believes that the Prince of Orange will be able, if he has much desire for it, to engage him in his interests.”

On the 23d September, 1686, he writes, that he is to pay 300 guineas to Albeville; he adds, “ Il a pris avec moy toutes les engagements possibles.” “ He has taken with me all possible engagements.” And in his account of disbursements of the 10th of March, 1687, he states 300 guineas more to Albeville.

Lord Sunderland, as may be seen in the Memoirs, to which the present papers are an Appendix, got the command of the foreign correspondence, by procuring an order from the King to his ambassadors in foreign parts, not to write news of importance to the ordinary ministers. Among others, Albeville got this order, but he made a merit of it to Barillon, as if himself had procured it. Barillon, in the same letter of the 23d September, writes thus: “ Il (i. e. Albeville) a rendu une service considerable depuis trois jours, ayant obtenu du Roy son maitre, que lorsqu’il seroit en Hollande, il ecriroit les choses generales et qui doivent être publiques a milord Middleton; mais que les choses secretes et importantes seroient adressées à milord Sunderland: c’est mettre les affaires d’Hollande dans ses mains, et les tirer de celles de milord Middleton, cela peut être utile en beaucoup d’occasions.” “ He (i. e. Albeville) has done considerable service within these three days, having obtained of the King his master, that when he is in Holland he may write to Lord Middleton general things, and which may be made public; but that secret and important affairs, should be addressed to Lord Sunderland: this is putting the affairs of Holland into his hands, and taking them out of Lord Middleton’s, which may be useful on many occasions.”

After this, Barillon in his dispatches frequently sends news to France, which he got from Albeville in Holland.

James was lulled into a fatal security by Sunderland and Albeville.

In the Depot. Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon of the 7th of June, 1688, ordered him to warn James to be on his guard against the States of Holland, and to make an offer of joining sixteen French ships to the English fleet.

In the Depot. Barillon answers, on the 10th of June, that James had accepted the offer, and that Lord Sunderland proposed

posed the offer should be made public, to intimidate the Dutch.

Barillon writes, on the 14th June, that James had altered his mind, and thought the junction needless. *In the Depot.*
 “ Il ne paroît pas persuadé jusqu’à présent que cette junction puisse être nécessaire cette année, ni qu’il y a apparence d’aucune entreprise de la part des Etats Generaux contre lui.” “ He does not appear persuaded that this juncture can be necessary this year, or that there is an appearance of any enterprize on the part of the States General against him.”

Notwithstanding this, Louis, in his letter to Barillon of 24 of June, 1688, writes that he is to keep his ships ready. The following passage in the letter, marks the vain-glorious character of that monarch. “ Et j’ai lui de croire, que le seul bruit qui s’en repandra sera suffisant pour retenir le Prince d’Orange, et l’empêcher de rien entreprendre.” “ And I believe the report of this alone will be sufficient to restrain the Prince of Orange, and prevent him from attempting any thing.” *In the Depot.*

The looseness of Albeville’s dispatches were calculated to continue the deception of James and his court. Barillon, on the 2d August, 1688, writes thus of them: *In the Depot.*
 “ Il ne me paroît pas que sa Majesté Britannique ni ses principaux ministres soient fort allarmez des avis de Mons. le Marquis d’Albeville, n’y en ayant point d’assez circonstantié.”—“ It does not appear to me that either his Britannick Majesty or his principal ministers are much alarmed with the informations of the Marquis of Albeville, none of them being circumstantiated enough.”

Even the French court were little sedulous to let James know all his danger, being probably not unwilling to see a family and a civil war among the only powers they had to dread, though little deeming it was to end so soon. Barillon got no accounts from his court of the extent of the Prince of Orange’s preparations

till the 12th of August, when Louis indeed gave him a full detail of them in a letter of that date, and charged him to beg James to prepare himself, “ Par terre et par mer.”—“ By land and by sea.”

In the *Depot.*

On the 23d and 26th of August, 1688, Barillon writes to his court that James is at length come to believe in the Prince of Orange's intentions, and has desired the French ships to be kept ready at Brest for his assistance. Yet on the 30th of August James had been brought back to his original ideas of security; for Barillon, of that date, writes: *Il me dit qu'il avoit encore peine à croire que Monf. le Prince d'Orange entreprit de faire une descente en ce pays ci.*—“ He (i. e. James) told me that he had still difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange could attempt making an invasion upon this country.”

In the *Depot.*

On the 2d of September Barillon writes that he had advised James to send to Ireland for the troops which were there; that James approved, but Sunderland made difficulties. He adds: “ *Ce ministre paroît persuadé que le Prince d'Orange n'osera entreprendre une descente.*”—“ This minister appears persuaded that the Prince of Orange will not dare to attempt an invasion.”

In the *Depot.*

On the 6th of September Barillon writes thus of the incredulity of James and his court: *Sa Majesté Britannique et ses principaux ministres ne croient point que Monf. le Prince d'Orange ose faire une descente en Angleterre.*—“ His Britannick Majesty and his principal ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange dare make a landing in England.”

In the *Depot.*

In this last letter Barillon informs Louis the XIVth, that James was willing the Irish troops should come; but that Sunderland objected they would alarm England; that they could not arrive in time enough if the Prince should make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceless, because the Prince perhaps intended to

land

land there ; and that at any rate the consent of parliament ought to be waited for.

Louis the XIVth being astonished at the slumber of James, sent over Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, on purpose to rouse him to a sense of his danger, to press him to recall his troops from Ireland for his defence, and to offer an instant junction of the French to the English fleet. Barillon writes, on the 9th September, that Bon Repos was arrived, and that the King had accepted the offer of the French fleet, and directed Lord Sunderland to take measures for its junction with his own.

In the Depot.

Yet, on the 13th of September, James lost again the sense of his danger ; for Barillon, of that date, writes : “ Sa Majesté Britannique et ses plus confidens ministres ne croyent pas que Monf. le Prince d’Orange ait dessein de tenter une descente en Angleterre dans la conjoncture presente.”——“ His Britannick Majesty and his most confidential ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange has a design to attempt an invasion of England in the present conjuncture.”

The following letter from Monf. Barillon to his court, so late as the 18th of September, shows to what a strange degree King James was fascinated by Lord Sunderland.

Extrait d’une dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 18 Septembre, 1688.

“ JE reçus avant hier au soir la dépêche de votre Majesté du 13 de ce mois, par un courrier exprés ; j’allai à l’instant trouver le Roi d’Angleterre, et lui dis, que sur les derniers avis reçus de Hollande votre Majesté lui avoit voulu donner une nouvelle marque de son amitié, et de la part sincere qu’elle prend à ce qui le touche ; que cela l’avoit obligé de dépêcher un courrier exprés, qui ne m’avoit rien apporté de nouveau. Le Roi d’Angleterre me temoigna être fort sensible á ce que je lui dis,

In the Depot.

dis, et sans entrer en matiere sur ce qui le regarde, il me demande ce que je savois de l'action des troupes de votre Majesté : je lui dis que votre Majesté ne m'en mandoit rien, parcequ'il n'y avoit encore rien qu'elle peut savoir ; mais que j'avois ordre de lui dire qu'il seroit le premier averti de résolutions que votre Majesté prendra sur les mouvemens que feront ses ennemis. Sa Majesté entra ensuite dans la discussion des avis venus d'Hollande, et me dit que dans des affaires si importantes il ne falloit rien negliger, mais que son opinion n'étoit pas que Mr. le Prince d'Orange osat entreprendre rien contre l'Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente ; et qu'il n'y avoit pas apparence qu'il put engager les Etats Généraux en même tems dans une guerre contre votre Majesté et contre lui ; que son sentiment même n'étoit pas que les troupes des Etats entreprirent rien qui peut estre reputé acte d'hostilité, et qu'ainsi il ne seroit pas impossible que la guerre ne set fit pas sitot, quoique les affaires parussent fort engagées de part et d'autre.

J'ai eu ensuite un long entretien avec Milord Sonderland ; son sentiment est semblable à celui du Roi son maitre ; ils ne croient ni l'un ni l'autre que Monfr. le Prince d'Orange ait dessein de faire une descente en Angleterre, et ils s'imaginent que s'il la fait, aucun homme qui ait quelque bien se déclarera pour lui."

Translation.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, September 18, 1688.—The King and Lord Sunderland do not believe the Prince of Orange will make an attempt upon England.

“ I RECEIVED the evening before last your Majesty’s dispatch of the 13th of this month by an exprefs; I went that instant to the King of England, and told him, that upon the last advices received from Holland, your Majesty had wished to give him a fresh mark of your friendship, and of the sincere part you took in all that concerned him, and that this had obliged you to dispatch a messenger exprefs, but who had brought me no accounts of any thing new. The King of England shewed himself very sensible of what I said to him, and without entering into what regarded himself, he asked me what I knew of the motion of your Majesty’s forces; I told him your Majesty had written nothing to me about it, because there was nothing which your Majesty could as yet know; but that I had your orders to tell him he should be the first to be informed of the resolutions which your Majesty will take upon the motions of your enemies. His Majesty then entered into a discussion of the advices come from Holland, and said that in such important affairs nothing ought to be neglected, but that his opinion was the Prince of Orange did not dare to undertake any thing against England in the present conjuncture; and that there was no appearance he could engage the States General in a war against your Majesty and him at the same time; that he even thought the troops of the States would not undertake any thing which might be considered as an act of hostility; and that therefore it is possible the war may not be so soon, however far advanced the disputes on both sides may seem.

I had

I had afterwards a long conversation with Lord Sunderland ; his way of thinking is the same as the King his master's ; they neither of them believe that the Prince of Orange has any design to make a descent in England, and they imagine if he does, no man who has any property will declare for him."

In the Depos.

On the 18th and 23d of September, and the 18th of October, 1688, Barillon writes, that King James was neglecting to send for the troops from Ireland.

On the 18th of October Barillon writes, that the troops were at last ordered, both from Ireland and Scotland : a period when it is plain their march could only tend to leave these countries open, but not to join James in time enough to resist the first impressions of the Prince of Orange.

In the Depos.

Barillon writes on the 25th of October, that James laid upon Sunderland's counsels the blame of the disavowal of d'Avaux's memorial, and the imprisonment of Skelton.

But the grossest of all Sunderland's artifices to deceive his master and Barillon, was his making a public profession of the Roman catholic religion, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all those who professed it, from all objects of ambition. Barillon gives the following account of this matter.

Extrait d' une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Juillet 8, 1688.

In the Depos.

" **M**ILORD Sonderland s'est déclaré ouvertement catholique ; le Roy d' Angleterre en a témoigné beaucoup de joie, et en a parlé dans un conseil tenu avec les principaux catholiques, comme d' une chose utile à ses affaires, et dont il tirera des avantages pour le succes de ses desseins, quoique milord Sonderland fut déjà dans le premier poste, et eut plus de part que personne à la confiance du Roy son maitre, ce qu'il vient

vient de faire donner encore un nouvel éclat à sa faveur, et augmente en ce pays cy l'opinion de son crédit. Ce ministre m'a parlé comme ne desirant rien d'avantage que de mériter la protection de votre Majesté, et d'en être assuré. Il prétend à cet égard redoubler ses soins et son application à faire tout ce qu'il croira pouvoir convenir aux intérêts de votre Majesté. Au travers des espérances que lui donne l'état présent des affaires par la naissance d'un Prince de Galles, il connoît bien que c'est toujours beaucoup hasarder pour l'avenir de se déclarer catholique dans un pays où les loix faites contre eux subsistent encore ; mais il a cru de voir cette déclaration premièrement à sa conscience, ayant été depuis longtems persuadé que la seule véritable religion étoit la catholique ; et outre cette considération qui a du être la plus forte, il a voulu fermer la bouche à ses ennemis, et leur ôter tout prétexte de dire qu'il peut entrer quelque menagement dans sa conduite pour le parti de M. le Prince d'Orange. On parle fort à la cour depuis deux jours de ce qu'a fait milord Sunderland ; et on croit que sa Majesté Britannique s'en servira pour presser d'autres gens qui sont attachés à lui de faire la même chose. Milord Sunderland n'a point fait de nouvelle abjuration de hérésie, l'ayant faite il y a plus d'un an entre les mains du Pere Pitres."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland's reasons for the public declaration of his Popery.

July 8, 1688.

"**L**ORD Sunderland has openly declared himself a catholic ; the King of England expressed a great joy at it, and has spoke of it in a council held of the principal catholicks, as a circumstance useful to his affairs, and from which advantages will be drawn for the

the

the success of his designs; although Lord Sunderland was already in the first employment, and had a greater share than any person in his master's confidence, what he has done gives still a new lustre to his favour, and augments in this country the opinion of his credit. This minister spoke to me as if he desired nothing more than to deserve your Majesty's protection, and to be assured of it. Upon this consideration he proposes to redouble his care and his application to do whatever he believes may be suitable to your Majesty's interests. Notwithstanding his hopes from the present state of affairs by the birth of a Prince of Wales, he well knows, that he risks much for the future, by declaring himself a catholic in a country, where the laws made against them are still in being; but he thought he owed the declaration of his religion, first to his conscience, he having been long persuaded that the only true religion was the catholic; and besides this consideration, which ought to be the strongest, he was willing to shut the mouths of his enemies, and take from them all pretence of saying there could be any reserve in his conduct in favour of the Prince of Orange's party. What Lord Sunderland has done has been much spoken of at court these two days, and 'tis thought his Britannic Majesty will make use of it to press other persons who are attached to him, to do the same thing. Lord Sunderland has made no new abjuration of heresy, having done it more than a year ago in the presence of father Petre."

The following passage from Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's history, gives an instance of the affectation of zeal for James by which Lord Sunderland endeavoured to deceive others as well as that Prince. The period to which it relates, is the birth of the Prince of Wales.

"The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the Earl of Sunderland's, who declared publickly, that they were now sure of their
game;

game; for it would be an easy matter to have a house of commons to their minds, and there was nothing else could resist them. Lord Bradford asked him if they were as sure of the house of lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill who sat next him, and in a very loud shrill voice, cried, O Silly, why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords."

Lord Sunderland concluded all his hypocrisy by pretending to ask refuge in France, at a time when he had resolved to take it in Holland.

Barillon writes on the 7th of October, that Sunderland told him he would be ruined if the Prince of Orange succeeded; and that he had applied to him for a refuge in France. He writes on the 6th of November, that Sunderland had renewed his application, and that he, Barillon, had promised him a retreat in France. In the *Despat.*

But though those around King James were by means of Lord Sunderland's having the command of the foreign correspondence, kept in the dark as to the preparations of the Prince of Orange, there were not wanting men of honour to warn him of the mischiefs which his ideas of arbitrary power would bring upon him. Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes on Burnet, contain the following passage. In the *Despat.*

" P. 590. Not long before his (Bishop Morley's) death (for he then kept his chamber) my father carried me with him to Farnham castle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the Bishop talked much of the duke, and concluded with desiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance he would find himself deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very sure they would in practice. My father told me he had

frequently put King James in mind of Morley's last message to him, though to very little purpose: for all the answer was, that the bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous."

While tempests were on all hands gathering around King James, he interested himself only in reconciling the King of France with the holy see, and in the fate of a war against the infidels.

While the Prince of Orange was in the heart of his kingdom, Barillon writes to his court on the 22d of November, that James had sent for him with joy to inform him of a letter he had received from Lord Thomas Howard, to let him know that the Pope had accepted his mediation in the affair of Franchifes.

The following letters (except a few already printed concerning the recall of the Dutch troops) are the last which King James wrote to the Prince of Orange. They come down so low as the 17th of September, and to the end are full of the other folly of a war against the infidels. It is observable however, of all these letters after the Prince's refusal to part with the British troops in the Dutch service, that the expression of his assurance of kindness at the end of the letters is changed. For whereas his former way of giving that assurance, was by saying he would be as kind to the Prince, "as the Prince could desire," he now says, "as the Prince could expect." The letters are in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Desires peace in Europe.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1688.

I Had not yours of the 12th till this day, and know not by what accident those letters which were written the post after were here two days sooner. I see you apprehend some things which have been transacted lately,
may

may cause trouble in Europe. Nobody desires more the continuance of the peace than I do. It has been a treasury day with me, and is now so late that I can say no more, than that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—He is against peace with the Turks.

Whitehall, April 3, 1688.

"**W**HEN I came from hunting yesterday, I received yours of the 7th, and find by it, you have as ill weather, and that the spring is as backward with you, as it is here, and had a very cold hunting of it abroad. There is very little news stirring here, all things being very quiet, and I hope will continue so, not only in this country, but on your side of the sea also, I mean in Christendom; for if there should be peace with the Turks, I fear a war would break out in some part or other of Europe. I have no more to say to you now, but that you shall find me as kind as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—About the weather and a fruit season.

Whitehall, May 11, 1688.

"**M**Y going to Chatham on Tuesday last hindered me from writing to you by that day's post, to let you know I had received yours of the 11th. I found my ships and stores in very good condition, and chose one of the new three rates, to be fitted out to carry the Queen Dowager, when she goes for Portugal. I came back hither yesterday morning, and found the Queen had not been well, and was in some fears of coming before her time, but God be thanked she was very well all day yesterday, and continues so now, so that I hope she will go

out her full time. The weather is now very seasonable, and there is like to be great store of fruit this year. I have no more to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Likes the Turkish war.

Whitehall, May 15, 1668.

" I Have received yours of the 18th, by the which I find the Earl of Suffex was gone from the Hague, and had been with you on board the ships which were before Scheveling, which must needs have been a new and pleasing sight to one who lives so far from the sea. I am now setting out my summer guard, though there will be little for them to do, except the French who are gone, or agoing to Algiers, oblige those people to make peace with them, and then of course they must fall out with me, though they have already war with you. For my part, I continue still of the mind I was, and will endeavour to support the peace of Christendom, that the Emperor and Venetian may prosecute the war against the Turks. I intend to have a camp as usual at Hounslow the beginning of next month, which is all I have to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—An apology for not writing to him.

St. James's, May 19.

" I Am so ashamed to have been so long without answering your obliging letter, that I know not what to say for myself. I well believe you know me too well to suspect it want of kindness, and therefore I hope you will

will think it as it was, want of time, or at the worst a little laziness, which being confessed, I hope will be excused, for else I did long to return you a thousand thanks, as I do now for your kind wishes, which I hope you will continue, and believe that I am with all sincerity, truly yours,
M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Common news.

Whitehall, May 29, 1688.

"I Have received yours of the first of June, and am of the opinion that the Algerines will not break with me, unless they make peace with you, for they do not care to have to do with both of us at once; the Queen Dowager being resolved not to go for Portugal, will save me the charge of a great third rate I was fitting out for her, and the continuing out of some other ships longer than I had at first designed them. The Queen was let blood this morning, having a great cold and being somewhat feverish; she is now better than she was, and I hope will be quite well to-morrow. I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious about the Turkish war.

"I Have had yours of the 11th, and am afraid that the death of the Elector of Cologne, may in time cause some disturbance. I should be glad it did not, being still desirous there should be no war amongst Christians. And by letters of the 2d of May, from my ambassador at Constantinople, I am informed that the Turk can have no considerable army in the field this year, by reason of the great disorders they have had amongst themselves; so that the Imperialists have a fair opportunity of taking

Belgrade this summer. I intended to have said more, but it is so late that I cannot, and so must end, which I do with assuring you of my being as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince of Wales born.—The Turkish and Algerine war.

St. James's, June 12, 1688.

" **T**HE Queen was, God be thanked, safely delivered of a sonne on Sunday morning a little before ten; she has been very well ever since, but the child was somewhat ill this last night of the wind and some gripes, but is now, blessed be God, very well again, and like to have no returns of it, and is a very strong boy. Last night I received yours of the 18th, and hope by this the campaign is well begun towards Belgrade. I expect every day to hear what the French fleet has done at Algiers, having heard they were just arrived before that place. 'Tis late, and I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me to be as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange —Sorry for the slowness of the Turkish war.

St. James's, July 13, 1688.

" **I** HAVE had yours of the 13th, and am sorry things go on so slowly in Hungary; the Duke of Lorraine's having been indisposed has been very advantageous to the Turk. I came back last night from Windsor, after having hunted there. This next week I intend to go down to the buoy of the Nore, to see the small squadron of ships I have out, having ordered them to come thither for that purpose; and about the 24th

of this month, intend for Windsor, to stay there the remaining part of the summer. My troops are still encamped at Hounslow. When Mr. Zuliften goes back he will give you an account of them. I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect."

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—A dry answer to the Prince's congratulation on the birth of the young Prince.

St. James's, July 22d, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours by M. Zulestein, and who has, as well as your letter, assured me of the part you take on the birth of my son; and would not let him return without writing to you by him, to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can with reason expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, July 24th, 1688.

"THE compliments Mr. Zulifstein made me from you, and the letter he brought me are so obliging, that I know not which way to begin to give you thanks for it. I hope he will help me to assure you that I am very sensible of it, and that I esteem and desire nothing more than the continuance of your friendship, which I am sure shall always deserve one way mine, by being with all the sincerity imaginable truly yours.

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Turkish war.

Windſor, Auguſt 31, 1688.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 30th from Loo, and by it find you had had the good news of the Elector of Bavaria’s having paſſed the Sane, and, I hope, the next letters from that army will bring the news of the taking of Belgrade. When the Emperor is once maſter of that place and Gradifca, he will have a very good frontier towards the Turks. This place of itſelf affords little news, for ’tis none now to tell you when the parliament is to meet, and till then we are to expect what news we have from your ſide of the water. I ſhall now ſay no more, but that you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my ſonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James’s laſt letter to the Prince of Orange.—The ſame ſubject.

Windſor, September 17, 1668.

I HAVE received yours of the 17th from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany, to ſpeak with ſome of the Princes there. I was very glad to hear, by an expreſs which came to the Spaniſh ambaffador here, of the taking of Belgrade, which, with the taking of Gradifca, will ſecure the Emperor’s conqueſts in thoſe parts. I am ſorry there is ſo much likelihood of war upon the Reyn; nobody wiſhing more the peace of Chriſtendom than myſelf. I intend to go to-morrow to London, and the next day to Chatham, to ſee the condition of the new batteriēs I have made in the Medway, and my ſhips which are there. The Queen and my ſonne are to be at London on Thursday, which is all
I ſhall

I shall say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange,

James's disavowal of d'Avaux's memorial at the Hague, and the imprisonment of Skelton, who had suggested it, provoked the pride of Louis, and he left James to his fate. The following letter from Louis to Barillon, both shews his pique, and gives full evidence that there was no formal treaty between Louis and James.

Lettre du Roy à Mr. Barillon, Septembre 30, 1688.

“ **M**ONS. Barillon, votre lettre du 23me de ce mois m'informe des précautions que le Roy d'Angleterre prend pour se garantir d'une descente du Prince d'Orange en Angleterre; et je suis bien aise d'apprendre qu'il ne néglige rien pour faire repentir ce Prince d'une si injuste entreprise; mais je suis d'autant plus surpris de toutes les demarches que le dit Roy fait à Londres et la Haye pour faire voir qu'il n'a aucune part à la dclaration que le Sieur d'Avaux a faite par mes ordres aux Etats Generaux. Il ne doit pas douter que si quelque chose est capable de détourner le Prince d'Orange de passer en Angleterre, c'est l'interest que je temoigne prendre à tout ce qui regarde le dit Roy; et qu'encore qu'il n'y ait pas de traité deigné entre moi et lui, néanmoins les liaisons de convenance en ont formé depuis son avènement à la couronne une plus étroite que si elle avoit été stipulée par un traité solemnel; et d'ailleurs quelque moyen que j'aie de repousser par mes seules forces tous mes ennemis, je serai toujours bien aise que les Princes qui auront quelque affection pour ma couronne déclarent la guerre à mes ennemis sans que je les en recherche; en fin de quelque côté qu'on examine les déclarations que le Roy d'Angleterre a faites sur ce sujet aux Etats Généraux, on y reconnoitra toujours

In the Depot.

jours

jours une foiblesse capable d'encourager le Prince d'Orange dans ses pernicieux desseins.

J'approuve aussi la maniere dont vous avez parlé au Roy d'Angleterre, et au Comte Sonderland touchant le rappel du Sieur Skelton ; cet envoyé méritoit plutôt une recompense qu'une disgrâce aussi éclatante que celle d'un si prompt retour en Angleterre pour y aller rendre compte de ses actions. Sur ce, &c."

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to Mr. Barillon.—Is piqued by James's disavowing d'Avaux's memorial.—No formal treaty between James and Louis.

September 30, 1688.

“**M**R. Barillon, Your letter of the 23d of this month informs me of the precautions the King of England takes to guard himself against an invasion by the Prince of Orange in England ; and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make that Prince repent of so unjust an enterprize ; but I am, on that account, the more surpris'd at all the step the said King takes at London and the Hague, to shew that he had no part in the declaration which the Sieur d'Avaux made by my orders to the States General. He ought not to doubt that if any thing is capable to divert the Prince of Orange from passing into England, it is the interest which I shew I take in all that regards the said King ; and though there is no treaty signed between me and him, nevertheless the ties of agreement since his coming to the throne, have formed a more strict one than if stipulated by a formal treaty ; and moreover, whatever means I may have to repel, with my forces alone, all my enemies, I shall always be very glad that the Princes who have any affection for my crown, should shew hostility to my enemies without my asking it of them ; in short, in whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the States General are examined,

examined, there will always be found a weakness capable of encouraging the Prince of Orange in his first designs.

I approve also of the manner in which you have talked to the King of England and the Earl of Sunderland concerning the recall of Mr. Skelton; this Envoy rather deserves a recompence, than a disgrace so public as that of being obliged to return immediately to England to give an account of his actions."

King James to his dying hour complained of his enemies for alledging that there was a formal treaty between him and France, and assumed merit from his innocence of the charge: a strong instance how the mind of man may impose upon itself. Many papers in this Appendix shew that the connection was stricter between him and Louis than any formal treaty could create; and the words of Louis in this last letter, prove that Louis thought so.

Amongst Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history there is the following one.

Page 783. "The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege Mastrick, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their forces for such an expedition, but the secret must be kept inviolable from any of the ministers. Soon after the States ordered six thousand men to be sent to Mastrick, upon which the King of France desired to know of King James if he had revealed it to any body, for he himself had to none but Louvois, and if he had betrayed him should treat him accordingly. King James's answer was, that he never told it to any body but Lord Sunderland, who he was very sure was too much in his interest to have discovered it. Upon which the King of France said, he saw plainly that King James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him."

The

The Earl of Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the following curious notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her sister, which were taken from the originals by the late Doctor Birch.

Doctor Birch's notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her Sister.

Cockpit, Dec. 29, 1687.

“**S**ORRY people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of Lady Churchill . . . I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than she has. It is true, she is not so strict as some are, nor does not keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess, I think, is never the worse, for one sees so many saints meer devils, that if one be a good Christian, the less she one makes, it is the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, it is impossible to have better; and without that, all the lifting up of hands and eyes, and going often to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I must say for her, which is, that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; so that as to this particular, I assure you she will never change. The same thing, I will venture, now I am on this subject, to say for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful servant to the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are consistent with religion; yet rather than change that, I dare say, he will lose all his places, and all that he has.

K. once talks to her upon religion, upon occasion of her talking to some lady, or looking another way, when a priest said grace at the King's table.

Report

Report of Lord Treasurer's being to be put out of his place. The King tells her that this morning.

Lord Treasurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a dispute; and that he heard one between two of their priests, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our side; and by it, that he was the more confirmed of the truth of our religion.

January 10, 1687-8

“ **A** FRAID to send a letter by Mr. d'Albeville, he having always had a very odd character. — He has always been counted a spy, that you may have a care of him.

Lady Tyrconnel is going to-morrow.

Very sorry that the King encourages people of that religion so much.

Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being sorry for on my mother's account; for as for himself, he has not behaved himself so well to me as I think he had reason, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary.

Cockpit, Jan. 31, 1687-8

“ **I** AM sorry the King encourages the Papists so much; and I think it is very much to be feared, that the desire the King has to take off the Test, and all other laws against them, is only a pretence to bring in Popery.

I am sorry the King relies so much upon Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin; for every body knows, that once they were as great enemies as any he had, and their own hearts can only tell what converts they are. As for the first of them, by all outward appearance, he must be a great knave (if I may use that expression of a minister) for he goes on fiercely for the interests of the Papists, and yet goes to no church, and has made no public declaration of his religion, whatever

whatever it is. I fear he has not much of any. All we can do in these matters, is to pray to God to open the King's eyes, and to order all things for the best, that this poor nation may not be overthrown by Popery.

The Cockpit, March 13, 1687-8.

“ **T**HIS letter going by sure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

Denied the satisfaction of seeing her sister this spring, though the King gave her leave when she first asked it. Imputes this to Lord Sunderland, for the King trusts him with every thing; and he going on so fiercely for the interest of the Papists, is afraid you should be told a true character of him.

You may remember, I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backward and forwards in the late King's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the priests, and stirs up the King to do things faster than I believe he would of himself. Things are come to that pass now, that, if they go on so much longer, I believe, in a little while, no protestant will be able to live here.

The King has never said a word to me about religion since the time I told you of; but I expect every minute, and am resolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it should come to such extremities, I will chuse to live on alms rather than change.

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to mass, but hears it privately at a priest's chamber, and never lets any body be there, but a servant of his.

His lady too, is as extraordinary in her kind; for she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman; but she has so fawning and endearing a way, that she will deceive

ceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then she has had her gallants, though may be not so many as some ladies here; and with all these good qualities, she is a constant church woman; so that to outward appearance one would take her for a saint, and to hear her talk, you would think she were a very good Protestant; but she is as much one as the other; for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

. . . One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and so retire, and by that means it is possible he will think he makes his court to you.

There is one thing about yourself, which I cannot help giving my opinion in, which is, that if the King should desire you and the Prince of Orange to come over to make him a visit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handsome excuse) not to do it; for though I dare swear the King could have no thought against either of you, yet since people can say one thing, and do another, one cannot help being afraid; if either of you should come, I should be very glad to see you; but really if you or the Prince should come, I should be frightened out of my wits for fear any harm should happen to either of you."

The Cockpit, March 14, 1687-8.

"I Cannot help thinking Mansell's Wife's (i. e. the Queen) great belly is a little suspicious. It is true indeed, she is very big, but she looks better than ever she did, which is not usual; for people when they are so far gone, for the most part, look very ill: besides, 'tis very odd, that the Bath, that all the best Doctors

tors thought would do her a great deal of harm, should have had so very good effect so soon, as that she should prove with child from the first minute she and Mansfell met, after her coming from thence. Her being so positive it will be a son, and the principles of that religion being such, that they will stick at nothing, be it never so wicked, if it will promote their interest, give some cause to fear there may be foul play intended. I will do all I can to find it out, if it be so; and if I should make any discovery, you shall be sure to have an account of it."

The Cockpit, March 20, 1687-8.

"**I** Hope you will instruct Bentley, what you would have your friends to do, if any alteration should come, as it is to be feared there will, especially if Mansfell has a son, which I conclude he will, there being so much reason to believe it is a false belly. For methinks, if it were not, there having been so many stories and jests made about it, she should, to convince the world, make either me, or some of my friends feel her belly; but quite contrary, whenever one talks of her being with child, she looks as if she were afraid one should touch her. And whenever I have happened to be in the room, as she has been undressing, she has always gone in the next room, to put on her smock. These things give me so much just cause of the suspicion, that I believe, when she is brought to bed, nobody will be convinced 'tis her child, except it prove a daughter. For my part, I declare I shall not, except I see the child and she parted.

I can't end my letter without telling you, that Rogers's wife (i. e. Lady Sunderland) plays the hypocrite more than ever; for she goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon (because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall chapel), and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church

to church after the famousst preachers, and keeps such a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure there never was a couple so well matched, as she and her good husband; for as she is throughout in all her actions the greatest jade that ever was, so is he the subtillest workingest villain, that is on the face of the earth."

The Cockpit, March 26, 1688.

King angry with the Princess of Orange for having taken Lord Coote into her family.

Richmond, April 11, 1688.

Account of her manner of life.

The Cockpit, April 29, 1688.

Firmness to her religion.

"**I** Abhor the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is possible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greatest reason in the world to do so, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, most of them, plain downright idolatry."

Richmond, May 9, 1688.

"**U**PON the King's proceedings against the University of Cambridge. By this, one may easily guess, what one is to hope for henceforward—since the priests have so much power with the King to make him do things so directly against the laws of the land, and indeed contrary to his own promises. It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every one has the free exercise of their religion, on
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purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which, I think, to all impartial judges is very plain. For my part, I expect every minute to be spoke to, about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.

. . . This last honour the King has conferred on Lord Sunderland, will, I doubt not, make him drive on our destruction with more haste. His Lady too, is now in all appearance like to be a favourite with the Queen; for now, that Lady Rochester is dead, there is nobody to put the Queen in mind, often, how ill a woman Lady Sunderland is. Though the Queen of late had no good opinion of Lady Rochester; yet the truth she told of Lady Sunderland, did certainly keep her from growing great with the Queen while she lived. But now she is dead, Lady Sunderland, what with her fawning insinuating way, and the court her Lord makes to the Queen, is to be feared will grow in great favour; and then no doubt she will play the devil, for she has no religion, though she pretends to a great deal; and so she is great, she cares not who she ruins. And to say truth, she does not want wit or cunning, and that with her ill-nature together, may make her capable of doing a great deal of mischief. The Queen, you must know, is of a very proud haughty humour; and though she pretends to hate all form and ceremony, yet one sees, that those that make their court that way, are very well thought of. She declares always, that she loves sincerity, and hates flattery; but when the grossest flattery in the world is said to her face, she seems extremely well pleased with it. It really is enough to turn one's stomach, to hear what things are said to her of that kind, and to see how mightily she is satisfied with it. All these ways Lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her. She is now much oftner with the Queen than she used to be.

It is a sad, and a very uneasy thing to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that one knows hates one, and does all she can to undo every body; which she certainly does.

One thing, I must say of the Queen, which is, that she is the most hated in the world of all sorts of people; for every body believes, that she presses the King to be more violent than he would be of himself; which is not unlikely; for she is a very great bigot in her way; and one may see by her, that she hates all Protestants. All Ladies of quality say, she is so proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they must needs, just out of mere duty. And indeed, she has not so great a court, as she used to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindness for me; but I doubt it is not real; for I never see proofs of it, but rather the contrary.

Apprehends that the King will speak to her about religion, when the Prince goes to Denmark at the end of the month."

The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

"**M**Y dear sister can't imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I should be so unfortunate to be out of town when the Queen was brought to bed, for I shall never now be satisfied, whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows, for she never took care to satisfy the world, or give people any demonstration of it. It is wonderful, if she had really been with child, that nobody was suffered to feel it stir, but Madam Mazarin, and lady Sunderland, who are people that nobody will give credit to. If out of her pride, she would not have let me touch her, methinks it would have been very natural for her sometimes, when she has been undressing, to have let Mrs. Roberts, as it were by chance have seen her belly; but instead of endeavouring to give one any satisfaction, she has always been very shy both to her and me. The great bustle that was made about her lying in at Windsor, and then resolving all of a sudden to go to St. James's, which is much the properest place to act such a cheat in; and Mr. Turone's lying in the bed-chamber that night she fell in labour, and none of the family besides being

removed from Whitehall, are things, that give one great cause to be suspicious. But that, which to me seems the plainest thing in the world is, her being brought to bed two days after she heard of my coming to town, and saying that the child was come at the full time, when every body knows, by her own reckoning, that she should have gone a month longer. After all this, 'tis possible it may be her child; but where one believes it, a thousand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonstrations, which is almost impossible now, I shall ever be of the number of unbelievers. I don't find that people are at all disheartened, but seem all of a mind, which is a very comfortable thing at such a time as this.

All the time the bishops were in the Tower, every body flocked to see them; and there was great joy at their coming out. As many Lords as could without falling into a premunire, intended to petition the King, but their not having done it yet, makes me fear they will stay till 'tis too late. One cannot help having a thousand fears and melancholy thoughts; but whatever changes may happen, you shall ever find me firm to my religion, and faithfully yours."

Windsor, June 22, 1688.

"**H**AVING heard, that in Scotland every body has taken new commissions for their places, without taking the Test, and thinking it of very great consequence, because all that has been done there, has been but a fore-runner of what in a short time has been done here, I thought myself obliged to send one a purpose to give you notice of it, as soon as it was possible, that you may, if you can, do something to put a stop to it, before it is gone too far; for I am wholly of your mind, that in taking away the Test, and Penal laws, they take away our religion; and if that be done, farewell all happiness; for when once the Papists have every thing in their hands, all we poor Protestants have but dismal times to hope for. Though we agree in these

these matters, yet I can't help fearing, that you are not of my opinion in other things, because you never answered me to any thing that I have said of Rogers, nor of Mansell's wife."

The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.

"**T**HE Prince of Wales has been ill these three or four days; and if he has been so bad as some people say, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.

You will not have many more letters from me, from hence, this summer; for I intend next week, as it please God, to go to Tunbridge, which the doctors tell me is the best thing I can do to hinder me from miscarrying, when I am with child again. I confess I am very glad I am advised to go thither, for it is very uneasy to me to be with people, that every moment of one's life one must be dissembling with, and put on a face of joy, when one's heart has more cause to ache; and the Papists are all so very insolent, that it is insupportable living with them. There is no remedy but patience; but you may easily imagine, that as the world goes now, to a sincere mind, the court must be very disagreeable.

This going with the packet-boat, I shall not write to you, by to-morrow's post.

*Questions sent by the Princess of Orange, to the Princess
Ann of Denmark.*

July 21, 1688.

" 1. **W**Hether the Queen desired at any time any of the Ladies, in particular the Princess of Denmark, to feel her belly, since she thought herself quick; and who those ladies are; and when that was, whether in the beginning of her being quick, or of late?

P 3

2. Whether

2. Whether the milk that, as is said, was in the Queen's breasts, was seen by many, or conducted in a mystery?

3. Whether the astringents, that the Queen is said to have taken, were taken by her openly, or if a mystery was made of that?

4. Whether the treating of the Queen's breasts for drawing back the milk, and the giving her clean linen, has been managed openly, or mysteriously?

5. At what hour did the Queen's labour begin?

6. At what hour was the notice of it sent to the King? Whether the King did not lie at St. James's, or with the Queen that night; or if he was gone back to Whitehall?

7. Whether upon sending to the King, the thing was let fly over St. James's and Whitehall; or if the notice was sent secretly to the King?

8. Whether did the King send about for the privy counsellors; or if he took those that were by accident at Whitehall?

9. At what time came the King with the council into the Queen's chamber?

10. Whether was there a screen at the foot of the bed, between it and the rest of the room, or not?

11. Whether did any women, besides the confidants, see the Queen's face when she was in labour? And whether she had the looks of a woman in labour? Who was in the room, both men and women? What time they came in, and how near they stood?

12. How long was the King talking to the privy counsellors, after the child was carried into the next room, before he went to look upon it? and in this, as well as in the other questions, relating to the point of time, a critical answer, as near to a minute as it is possible, is desired.

13. What women, of one sort or other, were present? And if no woman was called in to hold the Queen?

14. Were

14. Were no Ladies sent for ? or who were sent for ? and at what time the message was sent to the Queen Dowager ? Also at what time she came ?

15. Whether in any former labour the Queen was delivered so mysteriously, so suddenly, and so few being called for ?

16. If many observed the child's limbs being slender at first, and their appearing all of a sudden to be round and full ?

17. Is the Queen fond of it ?

18. How Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Bromley stands with the Queen ? Which of her bed-chamber women are most in favour ?

Ad. 12. Who took the child, when it was born ?

Ad. 13. If the King did not use to be nearer the bed, and hold the Queen in former labours ?

Ad. 16. If every body is permitted to see the child at all hours, dressed and undressed ?

Ad. 16. Who is about it, rockers and dry nurse ?

Ad. 3. What doctors were consulted about the Queen, before, and since her being at the Bath. Whether Doctor Waldgrave alone, or others with him, knew the particulars of her condition, all along."

The Princess Anne of Denmark's answer.

The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.

" I Received yesterday, yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not satisfied with the account I have given you in my last letter ; but I hope you will forgive my being no more particular, when you consider, that not being upon the place, all I could know, must be from others ; and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to enquire so narrowly into things, as I have since ; but before I say any more, I can't help telling you, I am very sorry you should think I would be negligent in letting you know things of

any consequence. For though I am generally lazy ; and it is true indeed, when I write by the post, for the most part, I make those letters very short, not daring to tell you any news by it ; and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy, when I write such letters, since I have never missed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able ; and pray be not so unjust to believe I can think the doing any thing you can desire, any trouble ; for certainly I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the answering your questions, which I shall do now as exactly as you desire.

1. I never heard any body say they felt the child stir ; but I am told Lady Sunderland, and Madam Mazarin say they felt it at the beginning. Mrs. Dawson tells me she has seen it stir, but never felt it.

2. I never saw any milk ; but Mrs. Dawson says she has seen it upon her smock, and that it began to run at the same time it used to do of her other children.

3. For what they call restringing draughts, I saw her drink two of them ; and I don't doubt but she drank them frequently and publicly before her going to the Bath. Dr. Waldgrave was very earnest with Sir Charles Scarborough, to be for her going thither ; but he was so fierce against it, that there was another consultation of doctors called, Sir Charles Scarborough, Dr. Waldgrave, Wetherby, Brady, and Brown. After that, there was only Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Waldgrae, and for the first I believe he knew but little) excepting once, when she was to be let blood, and when she was to have gone to Windsor. Then some of the others were called in to give their opinions.

4. All I can say in this article is, that once in discourse, Mrs. Bromley told Mrs. Roberts, one day Rogers's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Mansell was putting off her clouts, and she was very angry at it, because she did not care to be seen when she was shifting.

5. She fell in labour about eight o'clock.

6. She

6. She sent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, and was then dressing.

7. As soon as the King came, he sent for the Queen Dowager, and all the council. After that, it was known all over St. James's.

8. Most of the other men, I suppose, that were there, was at the King's rising.

9. They came into the room presently after the Queen dowager came, which is about half an hour before she was brought to bed.

10. There was no screen. She was brought to bed in the bed she lay in all night, and in the great bed-chamber, as she was of her last child.

11. The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two sides were open. When she was in great pain, the King called in haste for my Lord Chancellor, who came up to the bed-side to shew he was there; upon which the rest of the privy counsellors did the same thing. Then the Queen desired the King to hide her face with his head and periwig, which he did, for she said she could not be brought to bed and have so many men look on her; for all the council stood close at the bed's feet, and Lord Chancellor upon the step.

12. As soon as the child was born, the midwife cut the navel-string, because the after-burthen did not follow quickly; and then she gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who, as she was going by the bed-side, cross the step, to carry it into the little bed-chamber, the King stopt her, and said to the privy-counsellors, that they were witnesses there was a child born, and bid them follow it into the next room and see what it was, which they all did; for till after they came out again, it was not declared what it was; but the midwife had only given a sign that it was a son, which is what had been done before.

13. When the Queen Dowager first came into the room she went up to the bed-side, but after that stood all the while by the clock. There was in the room Lord Chancellor,

Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, the two Chamberlains, Lord Middleton, Lord Cran , Lord Huntingdon, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Peterborough, Lord Melfort, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Ernley, Lord Preston, Sir Nicholas Butler, Duke of Beaufort, Lord Berkeley, Lord Murray, Lord Castlemain; these were of the council: And for others, there was Lord Feversham, Lord Arran, Sir St. Fox, and Mr. Griffin, besides pages of the back-stairs and Priests. The women that were there, were Lady Peterborough, Lady Bellasis, Lady Arran, Lady Tyrconnel, Lady Roscommon, Lady S. Buckley, Lady Fingal, Madam Mazarin, Madam Bouillon, Lady Powis, Lady Strickland, Lady C , Mrs. Cran, two of the Queen Dowager's Portugueses, Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Waldgrave, Lady Wentworth, and Mrs. Feraine. All these stood as near as they could. Lady Bellasis gave the midwife the receiver, and Mrs. Dawson stood behind a Dutch chair that the midwife sat upon to do her work. All the time the child was parted, I do not hear of any body that held the Queen except the King, and he was upon the bed by her all the while.

14. I don't hear that any Ladies were sent for but the Queen's own, and they were called presently after the Queen Dowager. She came a quarter after nine: Where she stood, and at what time she was sent for, I have already told you.

15. Her labour never used to be so long.

16. I never heard what you say of the child's limbs. As for seeing it drest or undrest, they avoid it as much as they can. By all I have seen and heard, sometimes they refuse almost every body to see it; that is, when they say it is not well; and methinks there is always a mystery in it, for one does not know whether it be really sick, and they fear one should know it, or whether it is well, and they would have one think it is sick, as the other children used to be. In short, it is not very clear any thing they do; and for the servants, from the highest to the lowest, they are all papists.

17. The

17. The Queen forbid Lady Powis to bring the child to her before any company ; but that, they say, she used to do to her other children. I dined there the other day, when it was said it had been very ill of a loofeness, and it really looked so; yet when she came from prayers she went to dinner without seeing it, and after that played at comet, and did not go to it till she was put out of the pool.

18. I believe none of the bed-chamber women have any credit with the Queen but Mrs. Tureine ; but they say Mrs. Bromley has an interest with the King.

I am going to Tunbridge ; but if I was to stay here I could not watch the child, for it is to be at Richmond. Lady Churchill does not go with me at first, and as long as she stays here I am sure she will do all in her power to give you and I an account if any thing happens that is worth knowing.

I have done my endeavour to inform myself of every thing ; for I have spoke with Mrs. Dawson, and asked her all the questions I could think of: for not being in the room when the Queen was brought to bed, one must enquire of somebody that was there ; and I thought she could tell me as much as any body, and would be less likely to speak of it ; and I took all the care I could, when I spoke to her, to do it in such a manner that I might know every thing ; and in case she should betray me, that the King and Queen might not be angry with me.

It was she that told me what I have said in the 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15th Articles. She told me, besides, that when she came to the Queen, she found Mrs. Tureine and the midwife with her. All that she says seems very clear ; but one does not know what to think ; for methinks it is wonderful if it is no cheat, that they never took pains to convince me of it.

I hope I have answered your letter as fully as you desire ; if there be any thing else you would know, pray tell me by the first safe hand, and you shall always find
me

me very diligent in obeying you, and shewing by my actions how real and sincere my kindness is.

One thing I had forgot, which is, that the last time she was brought to bed, the reason of her being delivered in the great bed was because she was caught; and this time, Mrs. Dawson says, though the pallet was up, the Queen would not go into it because the quilts were not aired."

Windfor, Aug. 18, 1688.

"**I** AM in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I can never believe that Mansel would go on so violently, if he had not some hopes that in time he may gain either you or me."

In the *Depot*.

The Princess Anne, in the above letter, of 13 March, 1688, mentions a visit she intended to have paid her sister in the spring of that year. Barillon writes to Louis the XIVth, on the 13th of March, 1688, that Prince George had applied to King James for leave to go to Denmark, and that the Princess should in the mean time pay a visit to her sister in Holland, and that the King had at first consented, but afterwards changed his mind. Barillon writes, on the 17th March, 1688, that the Princess Anne had herself applied to the King, but had herself got a refusal. There can, I imagine, remain little doubt what the intention of this interview was.

The ingenious and learned Mr. Duan was so obliging as to communicate to me the following letter, in his possession, from Dr. Chamberlayne to the Electress Sophia, concerning the birth of the Pretender.

Dr.

Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Electress Sophia.—Account of the Pretender's birth.

May it please your Royal Highness,

“ I Should not have presumed to interrupt your better spent hours with my rude and unpolished lines, had I not been encouraged by your gracious commands, sent by the Rev. Heer Meuschen, minister of the gospel to the Lutheran church in the Hague. He was pleased to give me a short account of a discourse past in your Royal Highness's presence, wherein my name was mentioned upon two different subjects, of which I think it my duty to give your Royal Highness the best satisfaction I can.—The first related to my attendance at the birth of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain, now firmly settled by law on your Royal Highness. In this I perceive the Heer Meuschen was misled, confounding my discourse with him, on this matter, together with the conversation he might have with others, occasioned by pamphlets, then here current, pretending an account how far I had been therein engaged, to which several falsehoods were added; one of those papers was writ by Mr. Burnet, son to the bishop of Salisbury:—The matter of fact follows:

On Sunday morning, the day of the month and year occurs not at present to my memory, the Queen sent early a footman to fetch me to St. James's; but late the night before being gone to Chatham to visit a patient, he missed me; a post was immediately dispatched, and I hastened and found a child newly born loose, and undrest in Lady Powis her lap, and, as I was informed, brought forth an hour before I came. I was not long in the chamber when came the late Duke Hamilton, then Lord Arran; more, as to this particular, I cannot offer on my own knowledge, but shall subjoin a few probable circumstances; for instance, the Dutchess of Monmouth having some time before sent for me,
and

and being in the mean time gone to the Queen's levee, left order I should wait her Grace's return; when arrived, she was pleased to make this excuse for my waiting; that she had been with her Majesty, saw her shifted and her belly very big, which I suppose nothing can so soon reduce as the bearing a child; other tumors requiring for a compleat abatement, weeks, months, or years. This relation being wholly occasioned by a chance, and mentioned by one at that time disoblged by the court, I take to be genuine, without artifice or disguise, so that I never since questioned it. Another circumstance in this case is, that my being a noted whig, and signally oppressed by King James, they would never have hazarded such a secret as a supposititious child, which, had I been at home to have immediately followed the summons, I must have come time enough to have discovered, though the Queen had usually very quick labours. Next morning meeting the King coming through the Park to St. James's, he was pleased to tell me that when he sent I was absent: To which I humbly replied, more warning had been necessary: But he told me they were surpris'd, for the Queen expected to go a fortnight longer: Whereupon I answered, that if his Majesty had given me three four months warning as formerly, I would not have left the town without their Majesties knowledge and leave. The King told me further, that Dr. Brady, one of his physicians, and physick professor in Cambridge, had informed him no woman exceeded eight and thirty weeks with child: To which, with a modest smile, I replied, It might be true, though I could not guess how he, I, or another, could know it to be so without having been guardians to a seraglio. I confess I was a little piqued that besides former slights, neither the King nor Queen themselves had spoke to me to attend: indeed, Lady Sophia Buckley told me, in her Majesty's presence, some weeks before, that shortly there would be occasion for me; but I did not take that for sufficient orders. At another time Lady Jefferies asking whether I had
 commands

commands to attend her Majesty? I briskly answered, I thought I should, unless their brains were in disorder. A third material circumstance may be admitted; that during my attendance on the child, by his Majesty's directions, I had frequent discourse with the necessary woman, who being in mighty dread of Popery, and confiding in my reputed whiggism, would often complain of the busy pragmatism of the Jesuits, who had placed and displaced whom they pleased, and for her part she expected a speedy remove, for the Jesuits would endure none but their own party: such was our common entertainment; but about a fortnight after the child was born, a rumour being spread through the city, that the child was supposititious, she cried, Alas! will they not let the poor infant alone? I am certain no such thing as the bringing a strange child in a warming pan could be practised without my seeing it, attending constantly in and about all the avenues of the chamber.

Other remoter accidents might be alledged, which being of smaller moment, are forborne; but neither the laws nor practice of England allow other hereditary right to the crown, or private estates, than what upon good grounds the nation hath power to alter, and often do."

To defend the Revolution upon a pretended supposititious birth, is to affront it; it stands upon a much nobler foundation, the rights of human nature. The supposititious birth was a mere lie of party, and was intended to have been made use of six years before, if King James's Queen had then been brought to bed of a son.

In *The Observator*, No. 194, printed Wednesday, August 23d, 1682, is the following remarkable passage.

"If it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the blessing of a son, as it proved a daughter, you were prepared

prepared to make a Perkin of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your instruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutchess of York was not with child? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an impostor; whereas you now have taken off the mask in confessing the daughter.—I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far into the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten. For we must expect, that the same sham shall, at any time hereafter, be trump up again upon the like occasion."

Compare also Lord Clarendon's Diary as follows.

Diary of the Earl of Clarendon, 1688, p. 20.

"Jan. 15th. In the morning, I went to St. James's church; this is the thanksgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child; there were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them. It is strange to see how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if scarce any body believed it to be true. Good God help us!"

Lord Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the use of manuscript memoirs in his possession, of Byng Lord Torrington, which throw considerable light upon a part of the story of the Revolution, hitherto very little understood.

In this manuscript there are the following passages.

Extracts

Extracts from the MS. memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington.
 — *The intrigues of the fleet with the Prince of Orange.*

Extract first.

“ Lord Dartmouth remained three weeks with the fleet at the Nore, and then judging it most proper to lye off the Gunfleet, he therefore sailed with it there. Here my Lord called a council of war, when it was proposed, and much insisted on by some, that the fleet should go over to the coast of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this proposition had no effect; for the greater number of Captains were steady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefest and most considerable of them were otherwise inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their management they brought over a majority of the council to think it was hazarding the fleet, to lye on that dangerous coast at this time of the year, and therefore much better to remain where they were, sending some frigates over to observe the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered, and the fleet only removed without the Ship Wash, Lord Dartmouth sending three frigates to observe them. This was a point artfully gained by those that were industrious to possess the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the measures taken to prevent his designs. The Captains they were most desirous of bringing over to their party were, Ashby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet: it was therefore agreed, that Mr. Byng should break it to them, for Ashby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him, and Cornwall was his most intimate friend. Mr. Byng himself had been early entrusted with what was then doing;

for at a meeting in London, where the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others, were consulting of the designs then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet could be trusted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a person he would answer for, and Captain Alymer was to acquaint him with it, which he did, as they went down to the fleet, in the beginning of October, trusting himself with him upon General Kirk's assurances of his faithfulness to them. Mr. Byng replied, that Mr. Kirk should lose no honour by what he had said, assured him he would not betray him, desired him to consider about joining with them, and finding by further discourse, that General Kirk, Mr. Ruffel, and other particular persons, were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree with them in their undertakings, and from that time was entrusted by them. Ashby was not soon prevailed on, thinking that in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King. But after some discourse with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the fleet, and shewing the necessity there was to free themselves from popish oppression, he then yielded so far as to become a well wisher to the cause. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be persuaded. In a discourse he expressed the obligations of himself and family to the King, and thought it a villainy in those who attempted any thing against him; but when Mr. Byng named some persons that were engaged in it, that were his most intimate and particular friends, he was surpris'd, and when convinced of it he gave up his zeal for the King, and from that time no man was more heartily in the cause, using his endeavours to bring over several in his own ship, and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

Nov. 3. While the fleet lay off the Ship Wash by the Gunfleet, with the yards and topmasts down in a hard
hard

hard gale at E. S. S. the Dutch fleet passed by them; making the best of their way to the westward, and though it was foggy weather, yet six of their ships were within sight of the English fleet early that morning, upon which they got up their yards and topmasts, and three ships slipped immediately, and plyed to discover them, and soon after made the signal of seeing the enemy's fleet; but Lord Dartmouth could not stir with his, not only from the lee tide, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to pursue them, which kept him at anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay.

The next day the Lord Dartmouth sailed with the English fleet, standing after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them, so there was a meeting of such Captains as were inclined to the Prince, to consult what measures they should take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion, that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they should do their duty against them; but the opinion to which they agreed, was upon such an occasion to leave him."

Extract second.

" The fleet remained nine days in the Downs, when Lord Dartmouth sailed again to the westward with thirty men of war and eighteen fire ships; but when he came off of Portland, they met with such bad weather as separated and forced them back into St. Helens and Spithead, which was, perhaps, from want of skill, for it is thought they might have stretched over, and got to windward, as did the *Defiance*, within sight of Alderney. Captain Ashby finding himself on the French coast, he was inclined to carry over his ship to the Prince. He was standing on our coast to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strickland, he could not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was

here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to shew themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto, at a meeting they had, they determined to send him a message, and to assure his Highness of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders. This was to be done in secrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this message, and to that purpose first addressed himself to Mr. Ruffel, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be absent, on pretence of going into Huntingdonshire upon affairs that very much concerned him."

Extract third.

"The Prince of Orange had passed Exeter, in his way to Salisbury, and was at the Earl of Bristol's house, at Sherborne, when Mr. Byng came to him. The first person he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the stairs head asked him, what he did there? Mr. Byng desired he would ask no questions, but carry him to a private room, where he might see Mr. Ruffel; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his message, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company then retiring except Mr. Ruffel, and he then delivered to his Highness the message from the officers of the fleet, naming those who had engaged themselves to assist him. The Prince expressed great satisfaction at such welcome assurances, received Mr. Byng with courtesy, and promised him, if he succeeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the necessity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet,

fleet, with promises that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was some variance) should not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince advised Mr. Byng to put into the stuffing of his saddle, lest, in case he was seized, it should be found upon him; but he thought it best to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches; so Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned safely to the fleet again. There was some difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette. This letter had some effect on him, for from that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the measures then taken; yet he was terrified at the disposition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpose to oppose them, and knew not what might be the consequences to himself, since the Prince of Orange advanced with such success, and all the people were daily rising against the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour from a design that was discovered to seize him on board the com-manded by Captain Hastings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpose, in which case they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Flood, who had found himself neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, discovered their design to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution by excusing himself from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and consistent with his duty to the King, seeing himself in the power of those of the other party, and not able to refuse his assistance in an attempt of the most dangerous consequence; for the young P. of Wales had been brought down to Portsmouth, to go in a yacht to France with Sir R. Strickland, which being known to several Captains of the fleet,

they were resolved to seize him, and representing to Lord Dartmouth the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape when the nation was in confusion, and the government unsettled, they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Hastings and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they should come out of Portsmouth, in case he should escape Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng, who were appointed to go with armed boats to wait his coming off, to lay that yacht on board where the Prince of Wales should be; and in case of resistance, these three ships were ready to take him in case he escaped from them. Upon this design Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng were employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town, to get intelligence of the time of his going off, appointing a place to confer at upon occasion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the stairs going to embark, where he found the Duke of Powis's (Governor of the town) coach and six horses at the door, and approaching them in the dark, felt their legs which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in, but going out of town. He was surpris'd at this, and found an end of their enterprize, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh succeeding, since all the baggage and necessaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great disappointment to those who had projected the design; yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill success in such an attempt; since their being possessed of the Prince's person must have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought this discovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor suffer them to be put in execution, and that by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might escape.

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The Prince of Orange making great progress in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by those he most confided in, and the Queen sent with the young Prince away to France, deserted by his army, and seeming himself to have no remedy but in his flight, circumstances that so terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highness's service, and sent it by Captains Aylmer, Hastings and Byng."

The opportunity which the Duke of Grafton had of serving the Prince of Orange's interest in the fleet, is confirmed by a letter from Barillon to his court, of the 6th Nov. 1688, in which he says, that the Duke of Grafton had asked leave to go down to the fleet as volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was gone there.

In the Depot.

The Earl of Dartmouth was also so obliging as to communicate to me the following letters, relative to his ancestor's conduct in the command of the fleet at the Revolution, and the part which he acted with regard to the transporting of the young Prince into France.

Letters which passed between King James and Lord Dartmouth, whilst Lord Dartmouth lay with the fleet at the mouth of the Nore.

Extract of King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1688.

" You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what is done about the victuals, and what Sir R. Haddock and the rest of them said to me this evening; which if so, you may be soon ready to sail with most of your ships, and though all that are in the Hope should not be quite ready, consider well whether you should lose the opportunity of this westerly wind to

get out from among the sands, or venture to have the Dutch come and find you posted somewhere near the buoy of the Ozeedge among the sands, for you must expect they will come out, and be looking for you with the first easterly wind, &c.”

Extract of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Buoy of the Nore, October 12, 1688.

“ I am infinitely sensible of the great trust your Majesty is pleased to put in my conduct of this fleet, which, to the best of my understanding, shall be faithfully performed for your service. Your Majesty cannot be more desirous to have me from among the sands, than I am impatiently endeavouring to get out. I judge it much more for your service to unite while we have time, than to drop out in parcels with the hazard of being separated, especially knowing myself here in the best place to do my business while these winds continue; and be assured, Sir, I shall be at sea upon the first alteration. And, Sir, though it is your Majesty's great goodness to trust so great a concern to me, yet I humbly beg leave to lay my thoughts before you, that your Majesty may please to judge better, and to give me your commands, if you please to approve or disapprove of my present intentions, which cannot be final till I am at sea, and, with the humblest submission may alter with the opportunities I may meet, being hard to take any result but as the place and occasion may offer. None of the Portsmouth ships are yet come to me, therefore, at my first going out, I will look towards the Downs, and see what ships I can get from thence, and leave directions with those ships that are to follow, to come thither first, where farther orders shall lye ready for them: with what I have with me I intend to keep the sea as much as possible I can, thinking that much safer for this squadron, than to venture being any where embayed, or trusting myself to be set upon in any road, and if it shall be necessary for me to ride at any time in the Downs, I will always put to sea upon
any

any easterly winds. As soon as I get a reasonable squadron together, I believe it for your Majesty's honour and service, if the weather be any thing reasonable to shew myself upon their coast, as near as I conveniently can in the day time, still standing off to get good sea room every night, while I see it reasonable to stay thereabout."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth dated Whitehall, October 14, 1688.

"I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and prosper my arms both by land and sea. I need say no more to you, being sure you will do what is best for my service, which you that are on the place are the only judge of, and must govern yourself according to the enemies motions, and as wind and weather will permit."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Oaz Edge, October 17, 1688.

"We are all now of opinion that upon the first flatch of wind and fair weather, we shall fall down to the Gunfleet, where though it be hard roading, yet the ground is good, and we shall be well formed: there we shall be ready to cover Harwich as well as the river Thames; be able to go to sea, if occasion be; or we can but come up again at worst; we shall be ready to look towards the channel, have very good anchoring between the Kentish knock and the North sands-head, and the Downs always to friend upon bad weather. This, Sir, with the humblest submission to your Majesty's better judgment, is the present measures I think of, till any thing better offers for your service.—— Upon the caution your Majesty hath given me, I will not venture over on the coast of Holland, without I see settled fair weather, which is not impossible after so much bad."

Extract.

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 24, 1688.

“ I thank God I am at last got hither, with your Majesty's fleet safe, and in as good condition for the time as could be expected, whatever may be suggested to the contrary; and our coming out not sooner hath been hitherto for the best, as I hope all things will do for your advantage. Sir, we are now at sea before the Dutch after all their boasting, and I must confess I cannot see much sense in their attempt, with the hazard of such a fleet and army, at the latter end of October, and if they can make use of this moon, it is as good for us as them.”

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 29, 1688.

“ —I thank God your Majesty's fleet is in very good condition, and (considering the whole matter your Majesty hath been so graciously pleased, to leave to me) I will endeavour to keep it so, &c.”

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet October 30, 1688.

“ Since mine to your Majesty yesterday, the wind came up last night, between 9 and 10 o'clock to the N. and continued most of the night between the N. and N. N. E. About 4 o'clock I gave the signal for unmooring, and we are just now under sail with the tide of ebb, and the wind at S. S. E. and hope to get clear of the Galloper before night. On Friday last the Prince of Orange and Herbert were both seen at Helvoetsluys, so that they could not be stirring, as the winds have been, till last night and this morning; no doubt, they will get all to sea this day, and I hope by to-morrow, to give your Majesty a better account of them. I have my scouts out, and I believe it impossible for us to miss such a fleet. God prosper your Majesty, and send you victory over your enemies; I am sure I will endeavour heartily my part towards it.”

*Copy of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Nov. 5, 1688.*

“ S I N C E mine to your Majesty on Tuesday last, by Mr. Bridges, I came that night to an anchor at six o'clock, the Nar bearing W. and Balzy Church N. W. and by N. with a very fresh gale of wind, at due E. Besides the 3 cruizers I had out before, I sent out the Suadado's to ply to the northward, upon the receipt of the abstract from Marquis d'Albeville's letters. The Katherine yacht I ordered to ply off to the Eastward, and the Kitchen to the Southward; the King-fisher Ketch was likewise sent to Ostend, with letters from captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind stood, and as it blew so hard, availed me nothing; for on Thursday our Frigates that were sent a cruizing were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing at a league and a half to the windward of us; one of them came in without a foretopmast, and another wanted his maintopmast. It blowed so very hard that we were forced to strike all our yards and topmasts, and rid with two cables and a half out, the wind fretting and never varying above one point either way. Just at break of day on Saturday morning, we saw 13 sail about three leagues to windward of us; the 3 frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one fly-boat that had lost her rudder; she was taken by the Foresight, and sent into the Downs with the Swallow, who it seems sprung a leak, so that I fear I shall have little good from her. Major Colondby of colonel Babington's regiment with 290 men were in the fly-boat, and as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken, but I do not find the officers so, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to sail with the fleet on Saturday, but the sea came in so heavy, and the tide fell so cross, that we could not till yesterday morning. We got under sail at 8 o'clock,
with

with the wind E. S. E. a topfail gale. About 10 captain Clements came in to us, with the Katherine yacht, which was the first news we received of the Prince of Orange, for the Foresight returned not to us till 2 this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat. We made all the sail possible we could to the Northward, the weather came very fair, and the wind continued at E. S. E. a steady gale. By 8 at night we got about the Southsands-head; about 12 we got the length of the Nefs, and I hauled in with the shore, lest they should be in Rye Bay; but it pirred so little wind from 12 o'clock, that when the flood came in we could scarcely stem it, and got no further than Beachy by 9 this morning; but this ebb I hope we shall make better of it. Thus I have given your Majesty a true account of all my proceedings, which are so far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myself for the most unfortunate man living, though I know your Majesty is too just to expect more than wind and weather will permit.

Sir, finding that the Dutch sailed by Dover on Saturday in the afternoon, and that they had a fresh gale all that night, and a fair wind all yesterday, and such weather for their purpose and so little for mine to day, I am in great apprehensions they will be landed before we fetch them; and if their fleet lie at St. Helens, whilst the rest land in Stokes Bay and Hampton water, their fleet being so much superior, as I find they are, both in number and quality, I am at a stand what to do; for on calling the flag officers and commanders, they unanimously advise me against attacking the Dutch fleet, if all possibility of hindering their landing be over; though every body I assure you, Sir, I think are so exasperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majesty's service. I consider the success of their landing, and beating your only fleet, together with the destruction, as I may say, of the flower of the English fleet, or so many of them at least as are here present, Sir, I confess the thoughts of this, with the consequence it may have in
London,

London, and all over England, checks my inclination of setting upon them without your Majesty's further orders; but I resolve to endeavour to fall in with the Isle of Wight at break of day to-morrow morning, and see what advantage it will please God to offer me, taking the caution not to shoot too far to the westward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreasonably, or at least that I see some hopes of doing it.

Just as I was finishing this, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Jo. Berry, and Captain Davis came all together to me, and earnestly pressed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in consideration that the squadron is at present so weak; shewing what are now wanting of what I should have with me, which are the Swallow and Tyger in the Downs; the Dover, Bonadventure, and Suadado's not yet come to us from cruising with the Foresight; since we came into the channel, the Speedwell and Sally Rose fireships missing, as is all the small craft, except one ketch and the two yachts, besides the Yorke, Woolwich, St. Albans, and Newcastle; so that at present we want twelve. They further urged, they are doubtful that upon our appearance their whole fleet would come out to us, and either force us to a disadvantageous battle, or a disgraceful going from them; so that I have now resolved with them to ply off and on, and jogg on easily till the scouts I have now, upon their advice, sent to the westward, bring me an account of the enemy, and that the ships a-stern (or rather left behind for the present) come up to me; and that I know your Majesty's pleasure what you would have me do; which I humbly desire may be as soon as is convenient, for the case is much different now, and from what it would have been if we had been so happy to have met them before they were discharged of their great convoy. The places I am likely to come to an anchor at, are the Nefs or the Downs, where I believe some of our ships may be that are missing. I understand the Prince of Orange changed his measures upon his last coming aboard, when he heard your Majesty's fleet

was at the Gunfleet; for before that he intended for the river. Pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majesty; and notwithstanding all this, I hope, by his blessing, yet to be able to render your Majesty good service from this squadron, as time and opportunity offers; for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majesty to my life's end."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, November 9, 1688.

"I had last night your's by Captain Rooth, but had not then leisure to answer it, and am fully satisfied you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwise than you did. I am sure all knowing seamen must be of the same mind, and therefore be at ease as to yourself, and consider of the best means of securing the squadron you have with you, and of being in a condition of taking such advantages upon the enemy which may offer themselves to you," &c.

I found among Lord Preston's dispatches, in the possession of Mr. Graham, the following letter from Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth, which shews both the sentiments which the King entertained of Lord Dartmouth's not having betrayed the command with which he was trusted, and the aversion of these Lords to the Popish counsels of their master.

Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth.—Complains of Popish counsels.—The King pleased with Lord Dartmouth's conduct.

MY LORD,

London, Nov. 11th, 1688.

"I HAVE received your Lordship's very kind letter of the fifteenth instant, and was very glad to find by it that you were in good health, which I hope

God

God will continue to you. I wish you all the success that may be in whatsoever you undertake, and I must assure you that notwithstanding the malice of a party at court, which hath already almost wrought our destruction, your lordship is extremely safe and happy in the King's justice to you; who knoweth, and hath declared publickly and privately, that it was impossible for you to take other measures than you did when the Dutch passed by you. He is this afternoon gone for Windsor, and hath taken the Prince with him in order to have him at Portsmouth.

The Queen stayeth here for some time.

God give him good success, and grant him a safe return.—God of heaven send us a good meeting, and preserve you. You may be assured that I shall be watchful over whatever concerns you. I shall ever remain,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate friend,
and most humble servant,

P R E S T O N."

Letters between King James and the Earl of Dartmouth, concerning the transporting the young Prince into France.

Andover, Nov. 25, 1688.

" I SEND this to you by the Lord Dover, whom I send to Portsmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myself, intending to be there to-morrow; and have ordered all my army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with some others. I have charged Lord Dover also to speak with you of my intentions concerning my son, and you must follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our said son, by being assisting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to say more.

J A M E S, R."

Whitehall,

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1688.

“**T**HIS is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my son, though the other was from Andover, as I remember; it will not have been delivered to you sooner than this; that was not given to you sooner, hoping still things would not have been so very bad as they are. 'Tis my son they aim at, and 'tis my son I must endeavour to preserve, whatsoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and that with as much secrecy as may be; and so that trusty men may be put in the yachts, that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea; and know I shall look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of service you can do me.

JAMES, R.”

“Nov. 30. Since the writing of what is before, I have altered my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you will see more at large by mine to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do again conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my son secured, as in the first part of this letter, and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark, as I have already said in mine to Lord Dover.

J. R.”

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688.

“**U**PON the receiving of this you are immediately to put in execution the orders I have already given you and Lord Dover, for the sending away of my son, the Prince of Wales.

JAMES, R.”

Whitehall,

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688. 9 at night.

“**M**R. Pepys writes the news to you, so that this is only to tell you I had this morning yours of the 28th and 30th; and though, as you say in it, I have reason to mistrust mankind, yet I assure you, though all the rest of those about me should betray me, I could never suspect you, as you may have seen by some letters of mine, which I hope will have been given you before this gets to you. Let me know by this messenger, when he returns, when you received them: I shall be very impatient till I know you have had them, and put those orders in execution.

J. R.”

These four letters, together with another, dated Nov. 29, relating only to the disposition of the fleet, are together in one parcel, on the outside of which is the following endorsement, viz.

“These three letters received not till the 2d of December; two by the hands of Lord Dover, the other as indorsed in Mr. Pepys’s packet: The other two being dated the 1st December, were brought to me soon one after the other, on the 3d in the morning. All these five letters were answered on that 3d of December, and delivered to my Lord Dover, and by him sent with a messenger on purpose. Resolved, between us both, not to do any thing in carrying away the Prince of Wales till we have his Majesty’s further order, and an answer to my letter.”

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—His reason for declining to carry the young Prince to France.

Spithead, December 3, 1688.

“**Y**esterday in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me, and brought me two letters from your Majesty, one dated at Andover the 25th of November,

vember, the other at Whitehall of the 29th, with a postscript of the 30th, on the subject of sending away the Prince of Wales, wherein you were pleased to shew thoughts of delaying your intentions therein, and I must confess I was in hopes, if your Majesty took the least time to consider, you would find so many undeniable reasons to the contrary, as would soon oblige your Majesty to alter your resolutions, and therefore I forbore shewing my Lord Dover the surprize I was at first in; but by two letters dated from Whitehall yesterday, (which I received this day soon after another) with the greatest dread and grief of heart imaginable, I understand your Majesty persists in your former intentions and consultation held with my Lord Dover, in sending away the Prince, and conjures me to be assisting therein. I need not tell your Majesty how strict the laws are in this matter, nor after so many experiences of my duty, and loyalty to your person, lay before you fresh assurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treason to your Majesty and the known laws of the kingdom, of so high a nature as this, when your Majesty shall further deliberate on it, I most humbly hope you will not exact it from me, nor longer entertain so much as a thought of doing that, which will give your enemies an advantage, though never so falsely grounded, to distrust your son's just right, which you have asserted and manifested to the world (in the matter of his being your real son born of the Queen) by the testimonies of so many apparent witnesses. Pardon me therefore, Sir, if on my bended knees, I beg of you to apply yourself to other councils; for the doing this looks like nothing less than despair, to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement, but distrust of your friends and people, who I do not despair but will yet stand by you, in the defence and right of your lawful successor. Your Majesty knows I have always professed myself of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promises of being of any other; and therefore as
such,

such, and a faithful servant, subject and councillor, I beg leave to advise you, and give you my humble opinion, that sending away the Prince of Wales, without the consent of the nation, is at no time advisable, and therefore the doing it at this time especially, and that to France, being what I dread will be of fatal consequence to your person, crown, and dignity, and all your people will (too probably) grow so much concerned at this your great mistrust, as to throw off their bounden allegiance to you, which God forbid; therefore pray, Sir, consider farther on this weighty point: for can the Prince's being sent to France, have other prospect than the entailing a perpetual war upon your nation and posterity; and giving France always a temptation, to molest, invade, nay hazard the conquest of England, which I hope in God never to see, but that we may have this Prince of your own loins, to rule over us. The most I can apprehend your Majesty may be jealous of, is his being brought up in the religion of the Church of England, and that ought (for his Royal Highness's sake especially) to be the prayer of every honest loyal subject. Pardon me therefore, Sir, that I most earnestly implore you, not to make me the unhappy instrument of so apparent ruin to your Majesty and my country, as an act of this kind will be; and I hope your Majesty will not suffer it to be done by any other, for I can foresee nothing less from it, than the putting in hazard your own sacred person and the Queen's, and making England the most miserable nation in the world.

Remember I pray, Sir, how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes, and the courses you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you, but to put you in mind of doing it now at last; and for heaven's sake, Sir, as you have made a great step towards reconciliation by publishing your Royal intentions of calling a parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly; God in his infinite mercy will preserve you, and your Royal

Issue, and the Church of England will defend you in all your just rights, and remove the disturbers of your peace, and settle you as great and firm on your throne, as any of your predeceffors. Pardon me, Sir, for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a sincere heart, and concern for you and yours; and what has past between us on this unfortunate subject shall never be an injury to you, by being made known from me, and I know your goodness is too great to think ill of your constant faithful servant, or to impute to me any disobedience; for what I have thus most humbly laid before your Majesty, is really and honestly, from the utmost and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preservation; for as I will not be instrumental in, nor suffer him to be carried into France, if by any means I can prevent it, so on the other hand, I will frankly venture my life in your Majesty's and his defence; and as the last expedient, I can at present propose nothing more essential to your Majesty's great service, than in delivering him safe into your own Royal custody, and the sooner your Majesty gives me order for it, it will be the better: Sir, I am afraid if I go from hence, the Dutch fleet will soon be here, and I likewise fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portsmouth, therefore I desire your Majesty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you speedily, and that you will please to recollect yourself, and apply reasonable means to prevent what you seem to be under such dreadful apprehensions of. Your Majesty may see in what confusion I am, so that I can say no more, but my daily prayers to God Almighty, to direct and prosper you."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—Upon his first Flight.

Spithead, the 2d.

"**I**T is impossible for me to express the grief and anxious cares I am in for your Majesty, and the news of your withdrawing was the greatest surprize of my

my life; for I did humbly hope, my dutiful supplications to your Majesty would with your own considerate thoughts have wholly altered your intentions of sending away the Prince of Wales, and did think it impossible ever to enter into any body's thought, that had the least inclination of duty to your Majesty, to give you so pernicious and destructive counsel as to go away yourself; and if your Majesty had been drove to such a desperate course (which was morally impossible, at least in my thoughts) as to absent yourself, Sir, could you have been with more honour and safety, than in your own fleet, who would always unanimously (I dare say) have protected and defended your sacred person, from any violence or unhallowed hands; but this looks like so great mistrust of me, that many can witness it hath almost broke my heart. Your Majesty knows what condition you left the fleet in, and me in the utmost unsupportable calamity of my life; what could I do but send to the Prince of Orange, when I found the whole nation did, and received orders from the Lords, which were communicated to the fleet, and removed all Roman Catholic officers. I have had yet no return from the Prince of Orange, but I hope all will end in your Majesty's happy re-establishment. Mr. Pepys will acquaint your Majesty with the state of the fleet, and Mr. Vaudry, I hope, will do me justice of my care of the Duke of Berwick, garrison and harbour of Portsmouth, with all the great ships; but withal, my confusion is so great, that I am only able to beg God Almighty's protection of your Majesty, and to deliver you out of all these troubles, which shall not only be the prayers, but hearty endeavours of a heart that never studied any thing but your real service, and will ever do to my unfortunate life's end."

In King William's box there are, among many other letters written to him, or by him, upon his coming to England, the following ones.

Copy of three letters from the Prince, without address, in Lord Portland's hand-writing.

Letter first.

A Exeter ce $\frac{1}{2}$ de Novembre, 1688.

“ **J**E say le zele que vous avez pour votre religion, et l'intereſt que vous avez au bien de ces royaumes ; ainſi je ne doute pas que vous vous joindrez avec moy pour contribuer tout ce qui ſera en votre pouvoir pour cet effet. Je ſuis d'avis que vous ne devez point bouger du lieu ou vous êtes, et ne vous en point laiſſer diſſuader ; c'eſt à vous à ſavoir qui eſtes ſur les lieux les meſures que vous devez prendre, ne pouvant vous l'ecrire d'ici. Je vous prie d'être aſſuré qu'il eſt impoſſible d'être votre ſerviteur plus paſſionement que je le ſuis, et je le temoigneray en toutes occaſions.”

Letter ſecond.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{1}{2}$ Novembre,

“ **J**'ESPERE que vous approuverez la cauſe qui m'amene icy, et je ne doute pas que quand vous l'aurez bien examinée que vous vous trouverez être autant intereſſé que moy ; ainſi j'eſpere que vous aurez la bonté d'y concourir et me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable pour travailler à une ſi bonne et juſte fin ; je vous en auray une obligation tres grande que je tacherai de reconnoitre en toutes occaſions ou je vous pourrai temoigner combien paſſionement je ſuis votre ſerviteur.”

Letter

Letter third.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{1}{2}$ ² de Novembre, 1688.

“ **L**’ON ne fauroit avoir plus d’obligation que je vous ay de la maniere que vous en uses avec moy, et des assurances que vous continues à me donner à m’assister à procurer à ce pais l’establissement de leur religion et liberté. Je vous prie de me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable, laissant à vous de prendre votre temps ; mais il sera necessaire de considerer combien des gens scavent l’affaire, qu’il est dangereux d’attendre trop long tems ; cependant il sera necessaire de m’envoyer de nos amis le plus que vous jugerez convenable, puisque cela donne un bon exemple pour des autres à nous venir joindre ; et vous prendrez toutes les precautions qu’il sera possible en ce que vous m’avez fait, et envoyer ce que l’on a requis. Je marcheray en avant le plutôt qu’il sera faisable et ne perdray aucun temps, mais il faut considerer l’eloignement, les mauvais chemins,^s et que nous n’avons pas tous les chariots que nous souhaiterions. Je vous prie d’estre assureé de mon amitié, et que je n’oublieray jamais les obligations que je vous auray. Je vous prie de faire les mêmes assurances de ma part à nos bons amis.”

Translation. Letter first.

Exeter, 12—22 November, 1688.

“ **I** Know the zeal which you have for your religion, and the interest which you have in the good of these kingdoms, therefore I do not doubt that you will join with me to contribute all that shall be in your power for this effect. I am of opinion that you ought not to stir from the place where you are, and not to allow yourself to be dissuaded from it. You who are upon the spot, know best the measures which you ought to take, as I cannot point them out to you from this. I entreat you to be assured that it is impossible for me to be your servant more passionately than I am, and will shew on all occasions.”

Letter second.

Exeter, 12-22 November.

“**I** Hope you will approve the cause which brings me here, and I doubt not that when you have well considered it, you will find yourself as much interested in it as I am: I hope, therefore, that you will have the goodness to concur in it, and to join me the soonest that you shall judge convenient to help so good and just an end. I shall have a great obligation to you for it, which I will endeavour to acknowledge upon all occasions, where I can shew how passionately I am your servant.”

Letter third.

Exeter, November 12-22, 1688.

“**N**OBODY can be under greater obligations than I am to you for the manner of your proceeding with me, and for the assurances which you continue to give me to assist me in procuring to this country the establishment of its religion and liberty. I pray you to join me the soonest that you shall judge proper, leaving you to take your time. But it will be necessary to consider how many people know the affair, and that it would be dangerous to wait too long. In the mean time it will be necessary for you to send me as many of our friends as you shall judge proper, since that gives a good example to others for joining us, and to take all precautions possible in what you have done, and to send what has been asked. I will march forward the soonest that is feasible, and will lose no time: but you must consider the distance, the bad roads, and that we have not all the waggons we should wish. I beg you to be assured of my friendship, and I shall never forget the obligations which I have to you. I pray you to give the same assurances to our good friends.”

The princess Anne to the Prince of Orange.— Prince George is to join him.—Uncertain whether to continue where she is, or to repair to the city.

The Cockpit, November 18.

“ **H**AVING on all occasions given you and my sister all imaginable assurances of the real friendship and kindness I have for you both, I hope it is not necessary for me to repeat any thing of that kind; and on the subject you have now wrote to me, I shall not trouble you with many compliments, only in short assure you, that you have my wishes for your good success in this so just an undertaking; and I hope the Prince will soon be with you, to let you see his readiness to join with you, who I am sure will do you all the service that lyes in his power. He went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought it proper. I am not yet certain if I shall continue here, or remove into the city; that shall depend on the advice my friends will give me; but wherever I am, I shall be ready to shew you how very much I am your humble servant.

A N N E.”

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—A curious letter to be written by a Bishop.—The Princess Anne thinks of joining the prince of Orange.

S I R,

Nottingham, December 2.

“ **W**E are just arrived here, and find the gentlemen here much disposed to go in to you. Her Highness has a desire to go with them, that she may be under your protection: that you may therefore contrive how to secure her passage to you, it is fit you should know the condition of our troops here; they are very raw, and defective of good officers. We shall march

march a thousand, and increase every day very much, but still we are very weak in discipline. I beseech you, therefore, Sir, to advise best of this matter what forces will be necessary for you to send, and wherever I shall meet them, and when.

I am, Sir,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,
H. L O N D O N."

Lord Devonshire to the prince of Orange.—The princess Anne wants to join him.

Nottingham, Dec. 2d, at midnight.

May it please your Highness,

"**B**Y this expresses your Highness will receive notice from the Princess, and likewise from the Bishop of London, that she intends to join your Highness as soon as she can. I shall presume to add nothing more, only to give your Highness, as near as I can, a state of our force. We are (reckoning the gentlemen that are with us) in all about a thousand horse, but both our officers are unexperienced, and our men new raised; of these we shall make about two troops of dragoons, and I am afraid no more. We can have great numbers of foot, if we had arms, and submit to your Highness whether you will order me to march with such. If not, in my humble opinion, it would be absolutely necessary that a detachment were sent to meet the Princess at some certain place, for at this time we are in perfect ignorance (at least I am in my particular) where your Highness is. I likewise humbly beg that your Highness would appoint every day's march. I am, with all duty and respect, Sir,

Your Highness's most obedient
And most humble servant,
DEVONSHIRE."

Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange.—Is to obey the Prince's directions.

May it please your Royal Highness,

“ I DO with all possible gratitude acknowledge the great honour of your late most gracious letter, with so many signal marks of favour and goodness towards me, which I shall endeavour to deserve by all the faithful services and actions of my life. Having now fully discoursed with my most worthy friend the bearer, and particularly imparted to him the methods and measures that I have presumed to think fittest to be taken in this juncture, with my resolution to submit all things to your pleasure and great wisdom, I crave leave most humbly to refer myself to his relation, and shall ever yield perfect obedience to your commands, and improve my utmost interest with all zeal for your service, who am, with all duty and respect, may it please your Royal Highness, your Royal Highness's

Most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient servant,

Nov. 18, 1688.

B.”

The Bishop of Bristol to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—Concurs in his enterprize.

May it please your Highness,

“ I Received the great honour of your Highness's letter, and beg leave to return you my most humble thanks for those kind opinions you have been pleased to conceive of me, which I shall endeavour still to preserve.

My Lord Shrewsbury (with whose conduct we are all extremely pleased) will give you a full account of what has been done here, which if your Highness shall approve of, it will be great satisfaction to me, that I have bore some part in the work which your Highness has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preservation

preservation of the protestant religion, the laws and the liberties of this kingdom.

I desire Almighty God to preserve you, as the means of continuing to us the exercise of our holy religion and our laws; and humbly beseech your Highness to believe me very ready to promote so good a work, and on all occasions to approve myself your Highness's

Bristol, Most obedient, faithful, humble servant,
December 5. J. BRISTOL."

Bishop of St. Asaph to the Prince of Orange.—Irritates the Prince against the King.—Has tried in vain to get the Bishop of Ely to adopt the idea of a cession of the crown by the King.

S I R,

December 17, 1688.

" I DID not find the Bishop of Ely at home, but I looked him out, and broke the matter to him with all possible care, that he might not discover what I said to be any more than my own thoughts; and it was well I used this caution, for I found him strongly possessed with a project of accommodation. He told me what my Lord Halifax said he had spoken to his Majesty formerly, when the King was sending him commissioner to his Highness, and told his Lordship he was willing to make large concessions for peace. He told his Majesty he could not expect that the Prince would accept of any less concessions than such as would put it out of his power to do such things as he had done heretofore against the laws. The Bishop said, that now he believed his Majesty was willing to do all that could be required of him, and even to be reduced to the state of a Duke of Venice, committing all the power of war and peace, and of making all officers, ecclesiastical and civil, to the Prince for his life-time; or that he would consent to bills in parliament for that purpose, and to all other bills that should be offered for the security of religion and civil rights. I did not think it worth the while to ask him what reason he had to believe this, both because I was not instructed on that

that subject, and also because I did not think the church and kingdom would be very safe in such an accommodation. I was not provided to answer what he said, that this way was most agreeable to his Highness's declaration. But how unsafe it would be, I shewed him by all the reasons in my instructions, which he was not able to answer. Yet I could not persuade him to propose the other way of cession, he has too great a tenderness for that, and besides, he despaired of doing good in it. If there be any good way of bringing his Majesty to this, it must be by some of the criminals that are in danger of the law; they are the men that have always had the greatest power with him; and now their power is like to be so much the greater, because he looks upon them as his sufferers, though, in truth, he is theirs. And they have not done with him yet; for, as I am certainly informed, there was a throng of Papists about him last night, with Mons. Barillon at the head of them; and this day there were thirty or forty at his Majesty's dinner, and no other priest but a Jesuit to say grace.

I beseech God to direct his Highness in all these difficulties, and to bless all his councils with success; and the same gracious God to continue your health, and to fill you with all comforts.

I am, Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

W. A S A P H."

But the most material letter of all is the following anonymous one, which seems written by a person of condition, and suggests directly to the Prince to assume the crown. I cannot find out the hand writing.

Anonymous

Anonymous letter to the Prince of Orange, urging him to take the crown.

“ **T**HE occasion of my presenting this to your Highness, arose from my Lord Halifax coming on Friday last to me, to let me know that he and my Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin were appointed by the King to go commissioners to treat with your Highness; and that he received the employment with some trouble. I freely told his Lordship that he had reason so to do, for he would give very unhappy suspicions that he was engaged in a design to give a stop to your Highness’s advancing to this place by the delays of a treaty, and the mistaken notion of an accommodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that would be endured, for there was no room left for trust, and every thing must be built upon new foundations: He seemed then fully to agree with me, and assured me he would not act so as to deserve the least censure of this nature.

Yesterday, being Saturday, he came again to me in the evening, and told me, that though the trumpet that was sent to your Highness for a passport was not yet returned, yet they were ordered to go next morning (which is this Sunday) to Windsor, and next day to Reading, and to expect to meet the trumpet by the way.

I perceived by this haste that they were reduced almost to a dependency on this design, and, therefore, by the advice of some considerable persons here, whose interest in the city and parliament will be very great, I have presumed to give your Highness this account, that you may not only be prepared to judge of his proceedings, but also that you may be presented with the general sense of things here as near as I can collect them; and I may presume to assure your Highness, that any delay
caused

caused by the notion or pretence of a treaty, will cast a damp on the spirits of people, who are now raised with the mighty expectation of your advance, and are so far from having any thoughts of settling things by an accommodation, that they only fix upon hopes of remedy by the total change of persons; judging it the greatest folly to graft any thing upon the old stock; taught by too sad experience that the difference of religion makes it irreconcilable to trust though but the name of power with it; for all limitations of power are but notions that may be raised to interrupt or hinder that blessing to us all, which nothing but mistakes of such a nature can now prevent; and, therefore, as your Highness has come to redeem us from the threatening miseries of Popery and Slavery, we can never suffer the name or trust of power in any other person.

I doubt not but your Highness has in your clearer judgment discerned all this, and perhaps you have received accounts of the same nature from other hands; yet I, and those friends I advise with, thought we could not discharge our duties to your Highness, and this great cause, in which we are all so deeply concerned, without our humble representation of this to you, which, if it be agreeable to your sense, we doubt not but your Highness will prevent all designs that may give the least delay or interruption to your proceedings; for all things are in such a posture here to receive you, that we have reason to suppose that you will find little opposition from force, and therefore all other artifices will be attempted, which we doubt not but your great judgment and prudence will prevent.

The city keep themselves prudently quiet, but are very well inclined, and resolve upon your approach to appear in your assistance, which I receive now from a considerable person of it, who also believes; that if I can get released by that time of this fit of the gout, that has now held me this three weeks, I may probably be of some use to them.

Your

Your Highness will have an account of the Duke of Norfolk's appearing very considerable in that country.

Lastly, give me leave to present to your Highness the person I send this by, Mr. Richard Ophile, he is my wife's brother that died; at present a cornet of horse in the King's army, who has been ready to embrace any occasion that I should direct him in to serve your Highness. I have so good an opinion of him in all respects, that I used him in this business; and humbly desire your Highness to believe, that in any thing you command him he will not deceive your expectation."

There are also in the box letters from the Lords Delamer, Stamford, and Brandon (three persons whose lives had been called in question by the King) making apologies to the Prince for their want of speed in joining him: offences, however, which he never afterwards forgave.

*Lord Montague to King William.—Asks a Dukedom.
—Enumerates his services in the question of the Regency.*

S I R,

London, May 18th, 1694.

“ I Did not think it very good manners to trouble your Majesty in the middle of so great affairs as you had at your going away, else I should have made it my humble request that you would have been so gracious as to have done my family the same honour you have done to my Lord Clare, Bedford, and others. This request had been made to you by the old Duke of Schomberg, who thought himself under some obligation to me for the encouragement I gave him to attend you in your expedition into England, but that I did not think it reasonable to ask the being put over the Duke of Shrewsbury's head; but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatness of his family and personal merit has deserved, I may, by your Majesty's
grace

grace and favour, pretend to the same dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myself the head of a family that many ages ago had great honours and dignities, when I am sure these had none; and we having lost them by the civil wars between York and Lancaster, I am now below the two younger branches, my Lord Manchester and Sandwich. I have to add to my pretension the having married the Duke of Newcastle's eldest daughter; and it has been the practice of all your predecessors, whenever they were so gracious to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to bestow it upon those who married the eldest, without there were some personal prejudice to the person who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretension, which is the same for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family; the having been one of the first, and held out till the last, in that cause which, for the happiness of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a less merit to be alive and ready on all occasions to venture all again for your service, than if I had lost my head when my Lord Ruffel did. I could not then have had the opportunity of doing the nation the service I did, when there was such opposition made by the Jacobite party, in bringing my Lord Huntington, the bishop of Durham, and my Lord Ashley, to vote against the Regency, and for your having the crown; which was carried but by those three voices and my own. I should not put you in mind of this, but hoping that so fortunate and so seasonable a service as this, may supply all my other wants of merit; and which, since you were pleased to promise me in your bed-chamber at St. James's before you were King, never to forget, you will not now that are so great and so gracious a one. The Duke of Shrewsbury can further satisfy you what persecution I suffered, and what losses I sustained in the

two last reigns, which must make the mortification greater if this humble suit be refused to,

Sir, your most dutiful

and obedient subject and servant,

M O U N T A G U.”

This letter is singular in several respects : First, It supposes that Russel's conspiracy had been agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Secondly, It insinuates that Lord Mountagu had been a party to it, whereas it is certain he was not. I found, in Barillon's correspondence, that infinite pains were taken in England to fix his accession to that conspiracy, upon him, but in vain. But it must be doubly curious to those who, in this Appendix, have seen the intrigues of Mountague with the French court in the reign of Charles the II^d. King William refused the request of this letter.

In the Depot.

Barillon's remaining dispatches, after the Prince of Orange's landing, contain the following anecdotes.

In the Depot.

His letter of 25 November, 1688, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to sail for England.

His letter of 1st December, relates that Lord Melfort had pressed James to seize all the principal persons of the whig party, as soon as the Prince of Orange had landed.

Letter of 11th December, expresses King James's astonishment at the desertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, because, of all his regiments, he trusted it the most.

In this letter, and that of 27th December, Barillon says James had ordered Jefferies to reside in the palace, in order that the Great Seal might be at hand to be carried off; and that James believed the loss of the Great Seal could not be repaired, and that the constitution must fall loose by his disappearance.

Letter

Letter of 13th of December, describes the various and contradictory advices with which King James was tormented from all quarters.

Letter of 22d Decemb. describes the indignation of the English common soldiers upon hearing Lord Feverham's order for disbanding them read.

Letter of 24th December, relates that when King James was discovered by the fishermen in his first flight, one of them knelt and wept; that upon this James wept, and the other fishermen who had behaved ill to him before, at the sight of his tears, fell upon their knees; and that at Feverham the common people behaved to him with far more respect than those of better condition; for which Barillon assigns this reason, that these last were afraid of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history, contains the following anecdotes of the time in question.

Extract 1st, from Lord Dartmouth's notes.

Note on p. 790. of Bishop Burnet's history. "The Duke of Shrewsbury told me, the Prince was much surpris'd at his backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolv'd to publish the names of all those that had invited him over, which he said would be a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewsbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongst them was, who should run the hazard of being the first, but if the ice were once broke, they would be as much afraid of being the last; which proved very true."

Extract 2d.

Note on p. 819. "There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high

high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby; one for the Prince, the other for the Princess: at last Lord Halifax said, he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who defended himself a great while, by saying he knew nothing of his mind upon that subject, but if they would know his own, he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman-usher; upon which Lord Danby said, he hoped they all knew enough now, for his part he knew too much, and broke up the assembly, as Sir Michael Wharton who was present told me."

Extract 3d.

Note on p. 808. "The Duke of Leeds told me, that Lord Tyrconell sent several messages to King William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse, by sending any thing that looked like a force to demand it: but Lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army: and if there was none, he would be turned out, as easily as he had been brought in; for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already."

END OF PART FIRST.

A P P E N D I X

T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

PART THE SECOND.

VOL. III.

A

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BOOK A

A P P E N D I X.

B O O K I.

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, dated Amsterdam, March 8th, immediately after the revolution.—Anxious about his own fate—reminds King William of his services in the revolution.

May it please your Majesty,

IF I had not followed the advice of my friends rather than my own sense, I should not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had served the publick so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent: but nothing makes me repine so much at it, as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majesty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive: and now most heartily wish you all the greatness and prosperity you deserve, which is to wish you more than any man ever had. I must now beg leave to offer to your Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for your justice and grace in ordering me to be set at liberty. I came into this country because I desired to be intirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majesty will never do. I should be sure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your consideration. Whereever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, shall be most exactly obeyed by,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful, most humble,
and most obedient subject and servant,

Amsterdam,

March the 8th.

SUNDERLAND,

[In King William's chest.]

Lady Sunderland to King William.—A similar letter.

S I R,

THE relief I had by your Majesty's justice and grace from the sharpest apprehensions that ever I lay under, may, I hope, be allowed a sufficient plea for the liberty I now take to present you my most humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours: I dare not impute it to any other motive; but however unfortunate my present circumstances are, I have this to support me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare say ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majesty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe you. But long before your glorious undertaking, which was founded upon so many great and estimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world; and may I but hope for so much of your Majesty's favour as to live quietly in a country where you have so much power, till it shall please God to let me end my days at my own home, I shall ever be most truly and humbly thankful. Nothing can make me more than I am already,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most humble,
obedient subject and servant,

Amsterdam,
March 11th.

A. SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William.—Anxious about his fate.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR displeasure is of all things the most grievous. I deserve pity upon many accounts. That I beseech you do withdraw, and forgive my failings,
and

and dispose of me for ever as you shall think fit. God Almighty preserve you for ever. I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your most faithful, most humble, and

Thursday: most dutiful subject and servant,
SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

Remark.] The above three letters shew the difficult situation into which the double conduct of lord and lady Sunderland (as double-dealing always does) had thrown both themselves and King William.

Remark.] IN memoirs written by sir John Lowther, first lord of the treasury to King William, part of which sir James Lowther was so obliging as to show me, there is a very strong picture of the distresses which King William was under in England, from want of money.

BUT the strongest picture of all is in a letter in King William's chest, from lord Godolphin to King William, without a date, but appearing from its contents to have been written in the year 1693, This letter containing the true state of parties and of the King immediately after the revolution, and being a very capital one in many respects, I print the whole of it.

For the KING.

SIR,

HAVING according to my duty made it my business not only to give a constant attendance in this house all this sessions, but at all meetings to which I was called, to consider how to carry on your affairs; and having thereby had an opportunity to make several observations that may prove for your Majesty's service

vice to know, I think myself obliged with all imaginable submission, to lay them before your Majesty.

And it being generally discourf'd as if your Majesty had a peace in prospect, you'll pardon me, Sir, if from those observations, in the first place, I presume to say how much, in my poor opinion, it will contribute to your future happiness, if it should, if possible, be perfected before the meeting either of this or any other parliament.

When your Majesty considers the present state of the kingdom, and the factions that are in it, you'll find that the two great points that require more especially your care, are how to manage the parties so as to maintain yourself against your enemies abroad, and at the same time so to preserve your authority at home, that the necessity of doing the one may not bring you to such circumstances that it will be impossible for you to keep the other; and this task is more difficult because the Torex, who are friends to prerogative, are so mingled with Jacobites, that they are not to be confided in during the war; and the whigs, who are, for that reason, of necessity to be employed to support your cause against the common enemy, will at the same time endeavour all they can to make use of that opportunity to lessen your just power. And let them pretend what they will to your Majesty, the several instances they have given this session of their intentions that way, put this matter out of all doubt to any person who has taken the least pains to observe them, and it's beyond all dispute manifest, that though they will give money to keep out King James, yet they'll never give you one vote to support your just right in any point where (what they please to call) the interest of the people is concerned.

This being the condition of your partye, which I presume your Majesty will allow to be too true, I am confident, when you look into the funds that are given for the service of this year, and consider how much they lessen and incumber your hereditary revenue; and

when

when you know, Sir, that if the war continue, it will be impossible to save the customs (which is the only tax now left you can expect will ever be given for a longer time than from year to year) from being likewise pawned for five years at least: I presume to say, Sir, these things considered, your Majesty will be of opinion that it is more your interest, with relation to your affairs at home, to have a peace this summer, than ever it was since you sat upon the throne of England; and that if you have it not, as things have been managed, the next year's expences will so anticipate those branches of the revenue that ever have been kept hitherto for the ordinary support of the government, that it will be scarce possible that your Majesty should ever see an easy day, though it should please God hereafter to give you such a peace as yourself could wish: and the ground-work on which I build this assertion is, that it ever was and ever will be impracticable for any king of England to be the least happy, who must depend upon a parliament every year to give a million of money for his common and necessary support; and that this will be your Majesty's circumstance, if the war be another year continued, will, I fear, by the following account of expence of this year, and by the guess or computation of what may the funds for the next, appear to be very near a demonstration.

The funds for 94.

Land-tax, besides what is paid thereout to the defect of the poll, to this year's charge,	1,500,000
2d, Ninepence upon the excise granted for 16 years, to commence from May, 97; the salt to make good the fund in the mean time, to rais by way of lottery for this year's servis,	1,000,000
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>
	2,500,000

A P P E N D I X.

	Brought over	2,500,000
3d, Ninepense upon the excise, granted for 97 years, to commence from May, 97. ; the tunag being to supply the same in the main time. to rais upon perpetual interest and lives for this year's service,		1,500,000
Quarterly poll given for	— — —	700,000
Hackney coaches to be licensed for 21 years		100,000
Paper act for four years,	— — —	230,000
		5,030,000

Note, The 2 ninepenses granted this year upon the excise, with that which was last year given upon the same revenues, for raising a million of money upon lives, are allowed to sink the hereditary excise above 250,000 per annum ; and the remainder being made a collateral security, that the salt and tunage shall answer 280,000 per annum, till May, 1695, will, in probability, be thereby sunk about 100,000 a-year more for that ; from the salt branch must not hereafter be expected more then 300,000 per annum ; though formerly it yielded when the half crown stood singly, (and that is only hereditary) 650,000*l.* a-year. I take it for granted that if the war continue, it will be impossible for your Majesty to lessen your charge, for as the confederats must take it ill if the land forces are not the same, for the parliament will never suffer the navy to be decreased, therefore I compute the money necessary to be given to be likewise 5,000,000.

A guess at the funds for 95.

Four Shillings in the pound upon land, unless it be more equally assent, (and that the major part of the house will never allow) will not yield above 1,800,000, and of that then will probably be anticipated by the clauses of credit given this year about 600,000, so that to next year's charge must not be expected more than

— — —	— — —	1,200,000
		The

The pole can't possibly be repeated next year, in regard it will be in collection in April next, nor more can be got upon trade, since the tunnage is now granted.

There can be no more money raised by protests for want of funds, there being no renew out of which to make any, but the small remainder of the hereditary excise.

For that not only the customs must be pawn'd for a considerable time, but a further charge upon land, and several heads of excises must be brought to make up the sum wanting; and when the customs are so pawn'd, the hereditary excise part lessened for ever, and an other part made a collateral security for three years, to its prejudice 100,000 per annum; and the ninepence (that used to be given to the crown in cases of necessity) settled two of them for 99 years, and the third for 19 years to come, nothing is more plain, than that your Majesty has not a renew of your own to depend upon at present, of above 400,000 per annum, nor will there be any other in prospect when the usual ones are disposed on as aforesaid; for that computing the necessary charge of the government, in time of peace, at 1,400,000 a year, which is the lowest it has been estimated at, a million must constantly be raised out of your subjects pockets, by extraordinary ways for your support, and how uneasy that will make your government to yourself, I leave your Majesty to judge. I shall only add, that it is manifestly the designs of some people to keep necessities always upon you, and it was from such that the reversion of the 600,000 upon the East India company, and the resolutions to charge the customs this year, proceeded. And nothing, I can assure your Majesty, prevented the latter but the warmth you spoke with on that subject to the secretary.

A new parliament will not help this matter, for let who will be the givers, there will remain still the same ways of giving; and let what sort of men soever be chosen, I dare answer for't, a majority of them will be much rather for mortgaging the revenue of the crown, than their own land; and this makes me have reason to fear your Majesty will never again have such an offer as was made you this sessions; and refused by those that pretended to be your friends, and soon after repented that it was ever tendered, by those that were your enemys; when, upon thinking on't more thoroughly, they found of what infinite advantage it would have been to your government.

But, Sir, since I have mentioned a new parliament, and knowing you will be press'd by the whiggs to have one, being sanguine enough to imagine they shall be able to get a greater majority in the next than they can pretend to in this, you'll pardon me for troubling you with a word or two on that subject, and in my humble opinion it seems to be unquestionably your interest, if the war continue, to continue the parliament; and if the war ends, to let that end with it. And my reasons for this opinion are:

1st, These are the same men that engaged your Majesty in the war, and are obliged by their votes to support you in it.

2dly, The experience you have that this house will do it, ought to be an unanswerable argument against parting with it, for a new one, when you do not know whether they will be for you or not.

3dly, The great reason that's given for dissolving this, being, because it's said they have an ill reputation, ought not to sway in this affair, but the contrary; since that is only a scandal raised by the enemys of the government; and the supporting your Majesty being the crime they lay to their charge, your
Majesty's

Majesty's friends ought to esteem them for that, for which they are hated by their enemys.

4thly, Your Majesty has for this 4 years last past been giving all employments to members of the house, which though it has not signified much in any party business, yet in the grand affair of carrying on the war, they have been of mighty service, for there is but very few instances of any of them but which upon occasion appear to be hearty for your government, in relation to the foreign dispute, and many of these will be left out in a new choice, which will be no small prejudice to your Majesty, considering that most of your enemys in the house of commons are made so, because they have not places like the rest.

But what's the most dangerous consequence of a new election is, that it will throw the ballance too much on the one side or the other, for either the Whigs will, according to their expectation, get it into their hands intirely, and then I fear your Majesty will think the impositions they'll be laying upon you unreasonable; or otherwise the Tories will have the ascendant, and then it's to be doubted that they, in revenge to the Whigs, will, for the major part, be governed by the artifices of the Jacobites, and from such a misfortune nothing less than destruction can proceed.

Whereas, as the house is now constituted, the Whigs are not strong enough to make use of the necessitys of your government as much as they are inclined to do; neither are the Tories numerous enough to resent your Majesty's favouring the Whigs. Sir, upon the whole I shall presume to conclude as I began, that the parliament that begun with the war, should likewise end with it, and not before.

And if it pleased God to grant your Majesty an honourable peace, and you would then be pleased to sett up for a party of your own, and let all people see that if they expected your favour they must depend upon
you

you for it, and not lett any one hope for promotion for being true to a faction, but by serving of you ; I presume to say that the war being ended, a new parliament called, and such measures pursued, your Majesty would quickly find, that the Jacobites would turn moderate churchmen, and loyall subjects, and the Whigs much more obsequious courtiers, and easier servants, than they now are.

I shall now conclude with begging your Majesty's pardon most humbly for the trouble I have presumed to give you, and I am persuaded if you knew with what zeal this is intended for your service, you would not refuse to grant it to,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutifull
and obedient subject and servant,

GODOLPHIN.

Remark.] While King William was engaged in his project of reconciling the religious differences of England, he was at great pains to find out the proportions between churchmen, dissenters, and papists. In his chest there is the following curious report in consequence of an enquiry upon that head.

The NUMBER of FREEHOLDERS in
ENGLAND.

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.
Province of Cant.	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York	353,892	15,525	1,978
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
in both,	2,477,254	108,676	13,856

Conformists,

Conformists,	2,477,254
Nonconformists	108,676
	<hr/>
	2,585,930
Papist,	13,856
	<hr/>
In all England,	2,599,786

According to which account, the proportion of

Conformists to Non-conformists, is	$22\frac{4}{5}$	to one.
Conformists to Papists, is	$178\frac{10}{13}$	
Conformists and Non-conformists together to Papists, is	$186\frac{2}{3}$	

PAPISTS *in the severall provinces above the age of 16.*

Canterbury	142
London,	2,069
Winchester,	968
Rocheſter,	64
Norwich,	671
Lincoln,	1,244
Ely	14
Chicheſter,	385
Salisbury,	548
Exeter,	298
Bath and Wells,	176
Worceſter,	719
Coventry and Litchfield,	1,949
Hereford	714
Glouceſter	124
Briſtol,	199
Peterborough,	163
Oxford,	358
St. David's,	217
Landaff,	551
Bangor,	19
St. Afaph,	275

Total of theſe, 11,867
 Canterbury,

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Conformists to as 1 to Non-conformists.	Conformists to Papists, as 1 to	Conformists to both, as 1 to	Non-conformists to Papists, as 1 to
Canterbury,	59596	6287	143	9 R 3013	419 R 98	9 R 1735	44 R 39
London,	263385	20893	2069	12 R 12669	127 R 622	11 R 10805	10 R 201
Winchester,	150937	7904	968	19 R 761	155 R 823	17 R 113	8 R 160
Rochester,	27886	1752	64	15 R 1606	445 R 46	15 R 646	27 R 24
Norwich,	168760	7934	671	21 R 2146	251 R 339	19 R 465	11 R 553
Lincolne,	215077	10001	1244	21 R 5056	172 R 1109	19 R 1422	8 R 49
Ely,	30917	1416	14	21 R 1181	2208 R 5	21 R 887	101 R 2
Chichester,	49164	2452	385	20 R 124	129 R 399	17 R 935	6 R 142
Salisbury,	103671	4075	548	25 R 1796	189 R 99	22 R 1964	7 R 239
Exeter,	207570	5406	298	38 R 2142	696 R 162	36 R 2326	18 R 42
Bath and Wells,	145464	5856	176	24 R 4920	826 R 88	24 R 696	33 R 48
Worcester,	37489	1325	719	28 R 389	52 R 101	18 R 697	1 R 606
Coventry and Litchfield,	155720	5042	1949	30 R 4460	79 R 1749	22 R 1918	2 R 1144
Hereford,	65942	1076	714	61 R 606	92 R 254	36 R 2602	1 R 362
Glocester,	64734	2363	128	26 R 296	505 R 84	25 R 2449	18 R 59
Bristol,	66200	2200	199	30 R 200	332 R 132	27 R 1487	11 R 11
Peterborough,	91444	2031	167	43 R 1961	591 R 111	40 R 1684	12 R 125
Oxford,	58812	1122	358	34 R 664	108 R 148	26 R 1332	3 R 48
St. David's,	68242	2368	217	28 R 1938	314 R 104	26 R 1032	12 R 198
Landaffe,	39248	719	551	54 R 422	71 R 147	30 R 1148	1 R 168
Bangor,	28016	247	19	113 R 95	1474 R 10	105 R 86	13
St. Asaph,	45088	635	275	71 R 3	163 R 263	49 R 498	2 R 85
	2123362	93104	11876				

There are in the province of Canterbury 23740 papists, half of these is under the age of 16 years, viz. 11870; a seventh part of these are aged, and above 3391. Taking out of the said number of papists the two last sums, which make in all 15261; there remains then 8479, of which the one half is women: there remains therefore in the province of Canterbury, fit to bear arms, 4239 papists.

The province of York bears a sixth part of the taxes; and hath in it a sixth part of the people as that of Canterbury hath, (viz.) 3956, whereof half are under the age of 16, (viz.) 1978; and a seventh part above 60, (viz.) 565; and of the aforesaid sixth part one half is women.

The total therefore of the papists of the province of York fit to bear arms is 701; joining which to the total of the papists in the province of Canterbury fit to bear arms, makes the total of the papists throughout all England fit to bear arms to be 4940.

There being every where as many under the age of 16 as above it, the total of the whole papists in the whole province is 23740.

An Account of the Province of Canterbury.

In the taking of these accounts we find these things observable:

1. That many left the church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.
2. The sending for these enquirys hath caused many to frequent the church.
3. That they are Walloons chiefly that make up the number of dissenters in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover.
4. That the presbyterians are divided, some of them come sometime to church, therefore such are not wholly dissenters upon the 3d enquiry.
5. A considerable part of dissenters are not of any sect whatsoever.

6. Of

6. Of those that come to church very many do not receive the sacrament.
 7. At Ashford and at other places we find a new sort of hereticks, after the name of Muggleton, a London taylor, in number 30.
 8. The rest of the dissenters are presbyterians, anabaptists, independants, quakers, about equal numbers, only 2 or 3 called self-willers professedly.
 9. The heads and preachers of the several factions are such as had a great share in the late rebellion.
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The Rev. Dr. Percy was so good as to give me a few memorandums in the hand writing of Lord Nottingham secretary of state to King William, among which was the following :

Memorandum by Lord Nottingham.

April 9th. Letter from King James to the Queen, that he had hitherto been willing to make excuses for what had been done, and thought her obedience to her husband, and compliance with the nation, might have prevailed, but that her being crowned was in her own power; and if she did it, while he and the prince of Wales were living, the curses of an angry father would fall on her, as well as of a God who commanded obedience to parents. Princess of Denmark had a Letter also. King William declared there is nothing he has done, but he had the queen's advice and approbation.

B O O K II.

DOCTOR PITCAIRN, one of the first of modern Latin poets, wrote the following fine epitaph upon lord Dundee :

Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ :
 Te moriente, novas accepit Scotia cives,
 Accepitque novos, te moriente, deos.
 Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi :
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.
 Tuque vale, gentis priscae fortissime ductor,
 Ultime Scotorum, atque ultime Grame, vale.

Thus translated by Mr. *Dryden*.

Oh last and best of Scots ! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign.
 New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
 Scotland and thou did in each other live ;
 Nor wouldst thou her, nor could she thee survive.
 Farewell, who dying didst support her state,
 And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate.

The following letter from lord Strathnaver, to lord Dundee, and lord Dundee's answer, were given to me by my worthy fellow labourer in historical enquiries, Sir David Dalrymple.

*Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee.—Advifes Dundee
to make his peace.*

My Lord,

THE concern that many equally interested in us both, has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot therefore but wish, that you would follow the duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family, and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than,

Inverness,
3d of July, 1689.

My Lord, &c.
STRATHNAVER.

*Lord Dundee to Lord Strathnaver.—His spirited
answer.*

My Lord,

Struan, 15th July, 1689.

YOUR lordship's, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and amunition sent from Ireland. My lord, I am extreamly sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship, I have had no less concern for you; and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should

should be so far abused as to think, that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves: they made you, I doubt not, believe, that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came amongst they fell on the two frigats, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Schomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west (whom I am sorry for) very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid amongst your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge frankly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your well as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDEE.

Remark.] The following speech of King James, at St. Germans, to the Scotch officers when reduced to a company of centinels, is a strong instance, how a mind naturally severe and weak, may be humanized, and even elevated by misfortunes.

King James's speech to the Scotch officers, when reduced into a company of centinels at St. Germain's.

MY own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the prince of Orange, and who I know will be ready on all occasions to serve me, and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done, and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression in my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetfull of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, and your prince, he is your own blood, a child capable of any impressions; and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable he can forget your merits.

At your own desires, you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.

B O O K III.

IN King William's chest there is the following letter from the Princess Sophia to King William, upon occasion of that prince's endeavouring to bring the family of Hanover into the line of succession.

The Princess Sophia to King William.——Thanks for endeavouring to bring her family into the succession.

SIRE,

C'EST un avantage si grand pour moy de me voir honoré des marques de la bienveillance de Votre Majesté, que j'ose prendre la liberté de vous en témoigner ma tres humble reconnoissance. Le chevalier Colt m'a dit fort particulièrement l'obligation que je vous ai. Je veux croire que ceux qui sont contraire a la volonté de V. M. ont une faculté prophetique qui leur inspire qu'il ne leur manquera point de successeur en Angleterre, des personnes royales que le parlement a deja nommé. Pour moy, je ne vivrai pas assez longtems pour en voir l'issue ; mais tant que je pourrois respirer je serai devouée, avec tous les miens, au service de V. M. pour m'attirer la continuation de l'honneur de ses bonnes graces, et qu'elle me puisse conter toujours pour,

SIRE,

De V. M.

La tres humble et tres obeissante servante,

SOPHIE.

Translation.

IT is so great an advantage for me to see myself honoured with marks of your majesty's goodness, that I presume to take the liberty to testify to you my humble gratitude for it. The chevalier Colt has told me

very particularly the obligation which I am under to you. I am apt to believe that those persons who act contrary to your majesty's intentions, have a prophetic faculty which gives them the inspiration that there will not be wanting a successor in England, from amongst those royal persons whom the parliament has already named. As for me, I shall not live long enough to see the issue: but as long as I breathe, I and all mine shall be devoted to the service of your majesty, in order to draw to me the continuation of the honour of your good graces, and that you may always count upon me for,

S I R,

Your Majesty's
most humble and most obedient servant,
SOPHIA.

In the same chest there is a letter from the Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne; the tenderness of which, to an unfortunate though guilty prince, does honour to her memory.

The Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne—her joy—her pity for King James—her attachment to the Protestant religion.

S I R E,

A PRES la profession que j'ay toujours faite d'être une tres humble servante de Votre Majesté, je crois qu'elle ne scauroit douter de la part que je prens en tous ce qui contribue a son elevation et a sa gloire: ce n'est pas que je ne plaigne le Roy Jaque, qui m'honoroit de son amitié. Je craindrois que Votre Majesté auroit mechante opinion de ma sincerité si je luy cachois ce sentiment, Je suis même persuadé que ma franchise vous donnera melieure opinion de moy; et que V. M. croira plus facilement la protestation que je luy fait de mes vœux pour sa prosperité, et de l'opinion que j'ay qu'elle merite la couronne qu'elle porte, par mille endroits que je ne veus nommer de peur de choquer sa modestié.

modestié. Cependant, comme il a plut a Dieu de faire Votre Majesté le protecteur de notre religion, j'espere qu'il la mettra aussi dans un etat a avoir les bras libre, pour pouvoir assister nos autres pauvres mortels, qui aprochons, par la desolation de nos voisins, de la bete mugifante qui tache a nous devorer, afin que tous ceux qui ne sont pas papistes puissent par succession maintenir la religion jusqu'en eternité en Angleterre et ailleurs, dont nous faisons profession, et que V. M. me puisse conter parmy une des plus zelées, qui sera tout sa vie,

SIRE,

De Votre Majesté,

La tres humble et tres obeissante servante,

SOPHIE, P. PALATINE.

Translation.

SIR,

AFTER the profession which I have always made of being an humble servant to Your Majesty, I believe you cannot doubt of the part which I take in every thing that contributes to your elevation and your glory: yet I lament King James, who honoured me with his friendship. I should be afraid that Your Majesty would have a bad opinion of my sincerity if I concealed from you this sentiment. I am even persuaded that my candour will give you a better opinion of me, and that your Majesty will the more easily believe the protestation which I make you of my prayers for your prosperity, and of the opinion I have, that you deserve the crown which you wear, in a thousand respects which I am unable to name, from the fear of shocking your modesty. However, as it has pleased God to make Your Majesty the protector of our religion, I hope you will put it also in a state to have its arms free, to assist us poor mortals, who, by the desolation of our neighbours, are near to that roaring beast which endea-

A P P E N D I X.

vours to devour us, in order that all those who are not papists may successively maintain the religion we profess to all eternity, in England and elsewhere; and that Your Majesty may count among the most zealous, one who shall be all her life,

S I R,

Your Majesty's
most humble and most obedient servant,
SOPHIA, P. PALATINE.

B O O K IV.

IN King William's chest are the dispatches of the duke of Schomberg, in Ireland, to King William. I print the following ones because they paint in lively colours the state of the army in that country, clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity, which has been unjustly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant simplicity of Cæsar, and to whose reputation and conduct, next to those of King William, the English nation owes the revolution.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things not in order.

Heyleek, 9 Aoust, 1689.

LES vaisseaux de vivres destinés pour Londonderry et pour Kirck n'ont pu partir que ce matin. Ce qui cause bien de l'ambaras est, qu'il ny à pas d'ordre icy de l'âmirauté, pour les vivres des vaisseaux de guerre, qui sont presque finis; il à falu en prendre des nôtres.

Jâý été forcé de faire donner presque á toust les regiments cinq centt mousquets ou fusils, tant parce que
les

Les nouveaux soldats les rompent, que parce qu'ils sont assez mal faits, et fort vieuxs, et que peutetre sieur Henry Sheils, qui en à eu l'inspection, peut avoir pris des presents pour recevoir de mechantes armes.

Translation.

Heyleek, 9 Aug. 1689.

THE vessels with provisions intended for Londonderry and for Kirck could not sail till this morning. It causes much embarrassment that there is no order of the admiralty here for provisions for the ships of war. Their provisions are almost finished; they have been obliged to take some of ours.

I have been forced to give five hundred muskets to almost every regiment, both because the new soldiers break them, and because they are ill enough made, and very old, and because perhaps Mr. Henry Shales, who had the inspection of them, may have taken presents to receive bad arms.

*Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.
—Disagreement among officers.*

Carickuergus, le 26 Aoust, 1689.

JE ne puis pas passer sous silence que Messrs. Goulon et Cambon m'ont donné beaucoup de peine. Il se trouve que le premier est un peu brutal, et que le dernier est chicanneur sur ses mathematiques; à cela ce joint une ancienne rancune, qu'ils ont l'un contre l'autre depuis Holande. Je les ay pourtant un peu pressé de demeurer à leur devoir, et que ce qu'on ne leur souffriroit pas en France, ou ils ont servy, je ne leur souffrirois pas aussi icy. Cambon m'ayant dit, qu'il ne vouloit par servir d'ingenieur, je lui ay repondu, qu'on se pourroit passer de luy, aussi bien que d'être colonel d'un regiment Francois; et s'il ne se tenoit point en son devoir, j'en avertirois V. Mté.

Carrickfergus,

Carickfergus, 26 Aug. 1689.

I CANNOT pass over in silence that Messrs. Goulon and Cambon have given me a great deal of pain. The first is a little brutal, and the last is a mathematical chicaner ; besides, there has been an ancient grudge between them since they were in Holland. I have however pressed them a little to keep within their duty ; telling them that I would not suffer them to do there, what they would not be suffered to do in France, where they have served. Cambon having told me, that he did not like to serve as an engineer, I answered, that we could do without him in that station, as well as in that of his being colonel of a French regiment ; and that if he did not do his duty, I should inform Your Majesty of it.

Part of Duke Schomberg's letter to King William—The burthen of every thing lies on him.

Caricfergus, du 27 Aoust, 1689.

JÉ croy qu'il faudra laisser icy Sir Henry Inglesby avec son regiment, qui n'est pas des meilleurs. J'avois eu quelque dessein de le faire brigadier ; mais j'ai trouvé qu'il y a trop long tems qu'il est hors d'action. J'ay fait servir dans ce siege Mr. de la Meloniere comme brigadier : nous aurions besoin encore de quelques autres ; mais je n'en voy point dans cett armée icy. On m'a dit que dans les regiments qui sont avec Kirck, le colonel Stewart pouroit y etre propre. Vôte Mté. me mandera sur tous les deux sa volonté ; car jusques icy, il a falu avoir tout le soin des vivres, des vaisseaux, de l'artillerie, de la cavallerie, de tous les payemens, et de tout le detail de l'attaque de la place. Si on venoit plus pres d'un ennemy, on auroit peine de fournir à tout cela ; les officiers d'artillerie sont ignorans, paresseux, et craintifs. Je decouvre que dans cett artillerie il y a beaucoup de tromperie : les bombes mal chargés, les canons d'une mechante fonte, les armes mal faites, et bien d'autres choses, qui sont trop
longues.

longues à dire à V. Mte. à quoi je croy que Sieur Henry Sheil a beaucoup contribué ; car jusques aux mineurs, on ne les a pas pû attacher à la muraille ; un officier et quatre soldats Francois l'ont entrepris, et en sont venus à bout, dont trois ont été blessés par nos gens.

J'ay fait faire la charge de quartier maître general à Sieur de Cambon ; nous n'en avons pas de meilleur icy pour cela.

Jusques icy les cheveaux et le bagage de nos officiers n'est point arrivé ; cela nous embarrassera un peu pour avancer au de la de Belfast.

Translation.

Carickfergus, 27 Aug. 1689.

I BELIEVE I must leave Sir Henry Inglesby, who is none of the best here, with his regiment. I had some thoughts of making him a brigadier ; but I found that it is too long since he was in action. I made Monsieur de la Meloniere serve as brigadier in this siege. We have need of still more, but I see none in this army. I have been told, that in the regiments which are with Kirk, colonel Stewart may be a proper man : for hitherto I have been obliged to take upon me all the burden of the provisions, the vessels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the attack of the place. If we came nearer the enemy, we should have difficulty to furnish officers for all these duties. The officers of artillery are ignorant, lazy, and timorous. I discover that in the artillery there has been a great deal of roguery : the bombs ill charged, the cannon ill cast, the arms ill made, and many other things too long to tell Your Majesty ; to which, I believe Mr. Henry Shales has contributed much ; for even the miners could not be got to fix themselves to the walls : an officer and four French soldiers did it, and succeeded : three of them were wounded by our own people.

I have

I have given the charge of quarter master general to Mr. Cambon. We have no better here to employ.

The horses and the officers baggage are not as yet arrived, which will embarrass us in going beyond Belfast.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Position of the armies.—Complaints of the new army.

A Dundalk, le 20 Sept. 1689.

VOTRE Majesté recevra par Mr. de Sgravemour deux de mes memoires, et s'il court la poste, elle fera encore mieux informée par luy. Depuis quatre jours qu'il est party, il ne s'est rien passée de considerable. On a fouragé à la veüe de la garde des ennemys, cela n'est pas fort difficile à faire, puisque ce est un pays traversé de petit marets, les chemins et les champs renfermes par des pierres et de la terre. Je ne scay si cela est la cause que les ennemys n'ont pas avancé depuis quatre jours: je croy qu'il est difficile d'en venir à une bataille en ce pays icy, quoy qu'ils ayent une armée à ce qu'on peut voir fort etendue.

Je ne voys pas que de nôtre côté nous devions aussi rien hazarder. Nous avons une petite riviere devant nous, et eux une. Etant aller ce matin trouver le comté de Schonberg, qui estoit asses proche des vedettes des ennemys, nous avons veu avancer un gros de cavalerie, qui ne marchoit point en escadron, qui nous a paru être le Roy Jaques, ou divers officiers generaux. Ils ont dela pû voir notre camp; mais je croi que ce qui leur aura le plus depeu est, qu'ils ont veu arriver onze vaisseaux à la rade de Dundalk, par ou ils auront pû juger qu'ils auront peine à nous affamir icy, comme ils l'esperoient. Il est difficile de juger ce qu'ils entreprendront, apres avoir campé cinq jours à deux mille de cett armée, avec un si grand nombre du monde qu'ils ont ramassé de tous côtés, et fait courir le bruit qu'ils venoient nous attaquer. Il y en a qui croyent à present que

que c'est pour detruire et manger tous les fourages entre cette place et Drogheda, pour nous empêcher d'en pouvoir en suite approcher avec notre armée. Cela ne laissera pas de nous embarasser, et il sembleroit par la, que s'ils demeuroient deriere Drogheda, où ils trouveront de fourage et des vivres, ils nous tiendront arrestés, sans beaucoup pouvoir avancer; et d'autant plus que Mr. Shals ne nous a pas encore envoyé les chevaux, ni les chariots pour porter nos vivres. Il nous manque meme une partie des chevaux de l'artillerie et des équipages d'officiers, comme aussi des officiers Francois de cavallerie, qui attend il y a long têmes pour passer. Cependant la saison s'avance pour camper sous des tentes, et cela deviendra dans un mois assez difficile.

Deux cavalliers des ennemys, qui viennent de se rendre, disent, qu'ils ont rencontré cinq de nos soldats, qui alloient aux ennemys. Par les habillemens, je juge c'est de Mylord Méc. On dit que les ennemys sont assurée de deux de nos regiments, et que si nous en approchons, il s'iront rendre. S'ils pretendent nous affamir ce ne sera pas à l'égard des hommes, nos vaisseaux etant arrivés dans cette baye; mais ce sera nos chevaux, pour lequel on se trouvera indubitablement dans un grand embaras. Ce matin un party des ennemys est venu asses prest de la garde; un detachment de vint-cinq dragons les ont repoussé, et leur ont tué un homme et un cheval. Ils sont fort au guet pour voir si nous fourageons de leur coté. Le regiment de dragons de Luçon est celui qui sert le mieux icy. Les troupes d'Iniskilling, qui sont en partie arrivées, paroissent de bonne volonté; et je croy qu'il y aura plus de fond à faire sur elles que sur les regiments ces Mylords Irlandois. Herbort est aussi arrivé, nous allons travailler avec luy pour établir un paye pour ces troupes d'Iniskilling. Il vaudroit mieux casser quelques regiments de ces nouvelles leves d'Angleterre, dont je viens de parler, et conserver tous les Iniskillings. J'espere que leurs habits viendront bientot, ils paroîtront beaucoup mieux. Ils me paroissent tous fort adroits à tirer, s'ils avoient
des

des fusils. Ce que nous manquons le plus dans cette armée sont des fouliers et des fers de chevaux. Je souhaiterois que les troupes de Dannemark et celles que Votre Majesté a ordonné qu'ils vinssent d'Ecosse fussent arrivées. Avec cela nous nous aprocherions fort près d'eux. Il ny a pas un officier de tout la cavallerie capable d'etre employé comme brigadier ; cependant le Comt de Schonberg auroit besoin d'en avoir un de quelque conduite, pour en être soulagé. Si Sir Jean Lanyer vient, il pourra en être aydé dans l'infanterie. On a été obligée pour tenir quelque ordre d'en etablir quatre, scavoir, Sir Henry Belys, la Melonniere, Stuard, et Sir Jean Eshuard.

Il faut aussi faire souvenir Votre Majesté d'un article que j'ay mis dans mon memoire, de Robert Broadnax, major du regiment de Mylord de la Mer ; ce regiment deperit entierement ; et le major n'est pas digne de le commandir, comme le Sieur de Sgravemour le pourra dire à V. Mté. qui l'a connu en Hollande. J'ay crû qu'il estoit bon d'envoyer à V. Mté. un petit papier, où elle verra les officiers que Mylord de la Mer luy a mandé de remplacer au lieu de ceux qui manquent. Je tacherai de voir si demain je puis persuader le dit Broadnax de s'en aller trouver le sieur Blathuet, pour faire luy meme ses propositions ; et je croy qu'il sera bon qu'il ne returne plus. Il y a bien encore d'autres officiers que je voudrois qu'ils fussent en Angleterre. Je n'en ay jamais veu de plus mechants et de plus interessees : tout le soin des colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs regiments, sans aucun autre application.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.

Dundalk, 20th Sept. 1689.

YOUR Majesty will receive by Monsieur Sgravemour two of my memorials, and if he takes post, you will get still better information from him. Since he
went

went from this, which is four days ago, nothing considerable has passed. We have foraged in the view of the enemies guard, which is not difficult, because the country is cut with little bogs, and the roads and fields inclosed with stones. I don't know if this is the reason why the enemy have not advanced these four days. I believe it is difficult to come to a battle in this country, although, according to what we see, they have a very extended army.

I do not see why we should risk any thing on our side. We have one little river before us, and they another. Having gone this morning to find Count Schomberg, who was pretty near the vedettes of the enemy, we saw a body of cavalry advance, which did not march in squadron, and which appeared to us to be King James, or several general officers. From thence they could see our camp; but I believe the sight which has displeased them the most, was the arrival of eleven vessels in the road of Dundalk, from whence they might judge that they could scarce starve us here, as they hoped to have done. It is difficult to judge what they will attempt, after having been encamped five days, within two miles of our army, with so great a number of men, whom they have gathered from all parts, and spread a report that they came to attack us. Some believe that the intention of this is to destroy and eat all the forage between this place and Drogheda, in order to prevent us from approaching it afterwards with our army. This would embarrass us; and it would appear by that, that if they should fix themselves behind Drogheda, where they will find forage and provisions, they could stop us from advancing much farther, and the rather, because Mr. Shales has not as yet sent us horses nor carts for carrying provisions. We even want a part of the horses for the artillery and the baggage of the officers, and also the horses of the officers of the French cavalry, which have been waiting a long time for a passage. In the meantime, the season advances
for

for encamping under tents, and that will be difficult enough in a month.

Two troopers of the enemy, who have surrendered, say, that they met five of our soldiers going to the enemy; by the dress I judge they are my lord Meath's men. They say that the enemy are sure of two of our regiments, and that if we approach they will surrender. If they pretend to starve us, it will not be on account of the men, our vessels being arrived this day; but of the horses, for whose maintainance we are under great embarrassment. This morning a party of the enemy came pretty near the guard; a detachment of 25 dragoons drove them back, and killed a man and a horse. They patrole much to see if we forage upon their side. The regiment of Lucon's dragoons serves best of any here. The Iniskilling troops appear to have good will to the service, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of the Irish lords. Harbord is arrived; I am going to work with him to establish a pay for the Iniskilling troops. It would be better to break some of these regiments newly raised in England, of which I am speaking, and to keep all the Iniskillers. I hope their clothes will come soon; they will then appear much better. They appear to me to fire well if they had fuses, of which there is a want: what we want most in this army are shoes for the men and horses. I wish that the Danish troops and those which Your Majesty has ordered from Scotland were arrived; with these we could approach very near the enemy. There is not an officer of all the cavalry capable of being employed as a brigadier; yet count Schomberg will have need of one of some conduct to relieve himself. If sir John Lanyer comes, he will get his assistance. In the infantry, we have been obliged, in order to preserve some order, to establish four, viz. sir Henry Bellasis, la Melonniere, Stewart, and sir John Stewart.

I must also remind Your Majesty of an article in my memorial, relating to Robert Broadnax, major of lord de la Mer's regiment. This regiment is entirely wasted
away,

away, and the major is unworthy of commanding it, as Monsieur Sgravemour, who knew him in Holland, can tell Your Majesty. I thought it right to send Your Majesty a small paper, where you will see the officers whom lord de la Mer has ordered to succeed upon vacancies. I shall endeavour to-morrow to persuade Broadnax to go to Mr. Blaithwait and make his proposals; and I believe it will be right that he should not return. There are many other officers whom I could wish in England. I never saw more wicked and more interested. All the care of the colonels is to live by their regiments, without applying to any other thing.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Treachery in troops.

21 Septembre.

C'EST matin quelques escadrons des ennemys ont paru proche de ce camp, un marais entre deux, et ensuite trois ou quatre regiments d'infanterie, dont nous avons veüe les drapeaux, et par leur cris nous avons jugé que le Roy Jaques passoit devant leur bataillons. Ces troupes la ont demeuré à notre veüe sur un coteau jusques à deux heurs apres midy, qu'elles ont commencé à se retirer. Je croy que dans tous ces mouvements la, il y a quelques desseins pour tacher d'attirer quelques deserteurs de notre armée, ayant fait jeter meme quantité de billets imprimés, Anglois et François. Cela m'a obligé d'examiner de plus près les regts. d'infanterie François, et y ay trouvez que la plupart des recrues qu'on a fait des deserteurs du coté de Bruxelles et Frankfort étoient des papistes, et que parmy eux il s'en est trouvez un qui a été capitaine de cavallerie en France, le quel avoit escrit une lettre à Roy Jaques et une à Mr. d'Avaux, qu'on a trouvé entre les mains d'un tambour, qui les devoit porter. Leur proces sera fait demain. Apres avoir decouvert cela, et qu'il y avoit dans ces regimts. quantité de papistes qui avoient caché

leur religion, j'en ay fait arrester la nuit passée plus de cent vingt, que j'ay fait conduire a Carlingfort, pour les mettre dans les vaisseaux de guerre, qui doivent retourner à Heyleck, et ay escrit au gouverneur de Chester de les garder surement, jusque à ce que Votre Majesté en dispose ; ils meritoient qu'on les envoyast aux Indes, comme ils ont envoyé les protestants en Amerique. Non obstant ce retranchement et cette examination, les bataillons ne laissent pas encore d'etre plus forts que ceux des Anglois.

Translation.

21st September.

THIS morning some squadrons of the enemy appeared near this camp, a bog being betwixt us, and then three or four regiments of the infantry, whose colours we saw, and judged by their cries that King James was passing before their battalions. These troops remained in our view upon a coteau till two hours after mid-day, when they began to retire. I believe that all these movements are intended to draw some deserters from our army ; they having spread about a quantity of English and French printed billets. This has obliged me to examine more narrowly the regiments of French infantry, and I find that the greater part of the recruits, which were drawn from deserters about Brussels and Francfort, were papists ; and amongst them there was found one who had been a captain of cavalry in France. This man had written a letter to King James, and another to Monsieur d'Avaux, which were found in the hands of a drummer, who was to deliver them. They will be tried to-morrow. Upon discovering this, and that there were in these regiments many papists, who had concealed their religion, I caused to be arrested above an hundred and twenty of them last night, whom I ordered to be conducted to Carlingfort to be put on board the ships of war which are returning to Heyleck ; and have written to the governor of Chester to guard them strictly,

strictly, till your Majesty shall dispose of them. They deserve to be sent to the West Indies as they sent the protestants to America. Notwithstanding this loss and this examination, the battalions are still stronger than those of the English.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—State of the two armies.

Le 27 Septembre.

MR. Shals étant enfin arrivé à Carlingsfort, Mr. Herbort et moi avons été d'avis d'attendre que nous le vissions parler pour scavoir ce qu'il a amené. L'on a été avant hyer au fourage sans que les ennemys aient parû; mais hyer ils sont venus avec leur cavallerie et quelque infanterie brusler le fourage qui restoit entre eux et nous, sur leur droit tirant vers la mer. J'ay evité de faire ce fourage, aprehendant que toute leur cavallerie ne me tombast sur les bras, pendant que tous nos fourageurs seroient epars dans la campagne. Ils l'ont meme bruslé jusque assez proche de leur camp, et deux ou trois petits villages entre eux et nous, par ce qu'on peut apprendre de deux rendus. Ils ont aussi leur manquements. Le pain ne se peut pas donner regulierement dans leur armée à tant de peuple ramassé, qui a crû qu'on en viendroit d'abord icy à une bataille. On ne peut pas bien conter sur tout cela, puisque d'un autre coté, ces peuple ramassé vivent encore de quelque betail, et bruslent la paille ou est le grain, le quel par la se durcit et en font de la farine, et ensuite des gallettes à la mode du pays. Nos manquements jusque icy sont en habits et en souliers, ce que je croy contribue autant à la maladie des soldats, que la bierre nouvelle a quoy contribue grandement le peu de soin de leurs colonels, quoique je leurs en parle souvent. Cela m'a fait juger a propos de faire une reveûe à toute l'armée, à fin que Mr. Herbort puisse payer la dessus. J'en enverray l'etat à votre Majesté.

Ce que je puis juger de l'état de l'ennemie, est que le Roi Jacques ayant ramassé en ce royaume tout ce qu'il a pû, vaudroit bien en venir à une bataille avant que ses troupes se pussent dissiper par la mauvais saison dans laquelle nous allons entrer. Pour cela il me semble que nous devons tenir bride en main icy, si Votre Majesté l'approuve ainsy, puisque il nous doit encore arriver des troupes d'Ecosse et ceux de Danemark meme ; et le meme raison qui empeche les ennemys de pouvoir m'obliger à une bataille, puisqu'il faut qu'ils viennent à moi, par deux ou trois grands chemins seulement, le reste etant entrecoupé de marais, m'empeche aussy d'aller à eux, ayant une petite riviere et quelques montagnes devant eux. Si neanmoins ils l'opiniatrent de demeurer en ce poste, le fourage pour la cavallerie pourra nous manquer ; en ce cas je seray obligé d'en envoyer la plus grande part à vingt milles d'icy, du costé de Charlemont, que je pourray faire assieger en meme temps, pour n'avoir rien deriere nous qui nous incommode, et en me retranchant un peu mieux que je ne le suis encore, je pourray bien demeurer en ce camp icy, sans que les ennemys m'y puissent forcer.

L'armee du Roy Jacques s'étant venue presenter diverses fois assez proche de ce camp, semble avoir eu quelque esperance que quelques troupes pouroient plus facilement s'aller rendre à luy, j'ay eu quelque soupçon du regt. de Mylord Mée, parcequ'ils s'étoient allés rendre quelques soldats les nuits auparavant. Pour m'oter cette inquietude, le Colonel Wsley m'a proposé d'envoyer ce regimt. à Iniskilling, et de faire venir un regiment de la en sa place.

Translation.

27th September.

MR. Shales having at last arrived at Carlingford, Mr. Harbord and I thought it best to wait till we saw him, to know what he had brought. The day before

before yesterday we foraged without the enemy appearing; but yesterday they came with their cavalry to burn the forage that was left between them and us, drawing towards the sea upon their right. I avoided foraging, lest all their cavalry might fall upon us whilst the foragers were scattered in the country. They have burnt even pretty near their camp, and two or three little villages, as we have learnt from two who surrendered. They also have their wants. They are not able to give bread regularly in their army to so many people gathered together, who thought that immediately there would have been a battle. However we cannot count upon all this, since on the other hand this collection of people have still some cattle to live upon, and burn the straw in which the grain is, by which it becomes hard, and corn is made of it, and then they make it into a bread, according to the custom of the country. Our wants hitherto are in clothes and shoes, which I believe contributes as much to the maladies among the soldiers, as the new beer, of which there is indeed but little, owing greatly to the little care which their colonels take, although I often speak to them of it. This makes me think it right to make a review of all the army, in order that Mr. Harbord may pay on that footing. I will send the state to Your Majesty.

So far as I can judge from the state of the enemy, and King James's having collected here all the force that he could in this kingdom, he wants to come to a battle before the troops separate, on account of the bad season, which will soon begin; for this reason it appears to me, that we should lie here upon the defensive, if your Majesty approves of it, since there are troops to arrive from Scotland and Denmark; and the same reason which hinders the enemy from forcing me to a battle, since they can only come to me by two or three great roads, the rest being cut with bogs, hinders me from going to them, who have besides a little river, and some mountains before them: however, if they

persist in continuing in this post, forage for cavalry may fail us ; in that case I shall be obliged to send the greatest part twenty miles from this, towards Charlemont, which I may cause to be besieged at the same time, in order to have nothing behind that can incommode us ; and in entrenching myself a little better than I am, I can continue in this camp, without the enemy being able to force me.

King James's army having presented itself several times near this camp, appears to have had some hopes of facilitating the desertion of some troops. I had some suspicion of my lord Meath's regiment, because they had permitted some soldiers to desert some nights before. To remove this uneasiness, colonel Woolley has proposed to me to send this regiment to Iniskilling, and to bring another from thence in its place.

*Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—
Reasons for his not fighting.*

A Dundalk, le 3me Octobre, 1689.

JE suis de l'opinion de V. M. que l'armée ennemye ne nous attaquera pas icy ; mais il ne fera pas moins difficile, que nous la puissions attaquer dans le poste où elle est. Elle est campée endeca d'Atherdee a une lieuë de nous, une petite riviere devant elle. A trois ou quatre gues, qu'il y a, ils ont fait des retranchements ; et je ne doute pas, comme V. M. le dit dans sa lettre, que leur dessein est de couvrir Dublin, et que le manque de fourage nous obligera de reculer. Quand je n'auray que l'infanterie seule avec moy, ils ne pourront pas me faire sortir d'icy ; mais je seray obligé, dans peu de jours, d'envoyer la plus part de la cavallerie, qui n'est pas en grand nombre, dans le comté de Downe, d'où, en deux petites journées, on la peut toujours avoir icy ; et comme il y a un guë au dessus de Carlingford, on peut même l'avoir en moins de tems. Les chevaux, par le couvert qu'ils y trouveront, se conserveront un peu mieux qu'icy : les officiers en prenant, outre

outré celà, peu de soin, laissant toujours aller leurs cavaliers à toute bride, et ne savent pas fourager, ny faire des trouffes, ce qui a été cause que nous n'avons jamais pû faire de provisions plus que pour deux jours.

Pour ce qui est de pouvoir marcher aux ennemis, jusques icy cela ne s'est pas pû faire, n'ayant pas eu un seul chariot pour porter des vivres : et quant au chemin qu'il faudra tenir, toutes gens du pays pourront dire à V. M. qu'on est toujours obligé de defiler par un grand chemin, des marêts à droit et à gauche : il ne s'est jamais veu un tel pays : et pour pouvoir aller jusques à Nauan, que V. M. verra sur la carte, il faut faire un fort grand tour, et les ennemis, en deux petites journées de marche, y arriveront deux jours devant nous. Par la gauche on ne peut point marcher que le long de la mer ; mais les ennemis n'auront qu'à descendre le long de leur riviere, pour nous en empêcher le passage.

Il y a dans cett. armée environ mille malades, compris quelques blessés, qu'on a laissé à Belfast : ils commencent à en revenir, et il en meurt peu.

J'ay peine à croire que les ennemis n'ayent aussi des malades, et qu'il ne leur coute plus de peine à porter leur vivres de Dublin, que nous de les tirer des vaisseaux, qui sont icy proche, et à conserver ses troupes avec la monnoie de cuivre, pendant que celle de V. Mté. est bien payée. Votre Mté. mande qu'elle envoie quelques troupes d'Ecosse ; pendant que celles la arriveront, peutêtre celles de Dannemarck viendront-elles. Par là on hazarderoit moins en leur donnant une bataille, et la guerre s'en finiroit plus sûrement. Ce n'est peutêtre pas l'opinion du conseil des commites d'Irlande, ny de quelques personnes de Londre, qui croient qu'il ny a que donner bataille pour la gagner.

Monsieur Herbort s'est chargé d'envoyer à V. Mté la revue que j'ay fait faire depuis deux jours de l'armée de V. Mté. Elle y paroitra plus nombreuse quelle n'est, les colonels etants fort habiles en matiere de montres.

Quoyque les troupes d'Iniskilling ne paroissent pas, a cause de leurs habits ; elles sont néanmoins assés vigoureuses : elles ont deffait quelques troupes des ennemys du côté de Boyle et Jamestown. Ce sera aussi Mr. Herbort, qui rendra compte à Votre Majesté du traité que nous avons fait avec eux ; mais il me semble qu'ils ne s'en contentent pas, pretendans ne pouvoir servir à ce petit prix, ainsy que V. Mté verra par un escrit qu'ils m'ont donné en presence du sieur Herbort, le quel s'est chargé de luy envoyer. J'ay donné le regimt. de Norfolk à Mr. Bellasis, ainsy que V. M. me l'a ordonnée. Le lieutenant-colonel, qui est un jeune homme, de ce nom, se plaint fort : je l'ay exhorté de ne pas quitter, et que V. M. feroit quelques chose pour luy dans les premieres occasions.

Je dis hyer à My lord Methe, que j'avois eu ordre exprés de V. M. de donner les regiments à ceux, que je croirois les mieux apliqués au service, quand je verrois que leurs colonels les negligent.

Translation.

Dundalk, 3d October, 1689.

I A M of your Majesty's opinion, that the enemy's army will not attack us here ; but it will not be less difficult for us to attack them in the post they are in. They are encamped on this side Atherdee, at a league distance from us, with a little river on their front. At three or four fords which the river has, they have cast up entrenchments ; and I do not doubt, as your Majesty says in your letter, that their design is to cover Dublin, and that the want of forage will oblige us to fall back. If I had nothing but infantry with me, they could not force me from hence ; but in a few days I shall be obliged to send the greatest part of my cavalry, which is not numerous, into the county of Down ; from whence, in two days, I can always bring them here ; and as there is a ford above Carlingford, I can have them even in less time. The horses, by the cover
which

which they will find there, will be better preserved than here : besides, the officers take little care of them here, allowing their troopers to go at full gallop ; and knowing nothing of the way of foraging or of making trusses. This has been the occasion of our never having had provisions for above two days.

With regard to our marching to the enemy, that could not be done hitherto, as we had not a single cart to carry provisions ; and as for the roads, all the people of the country can tell Your Majesty, that we should be obliged to defile through a great road, with bogs to right and left : such a country was never seen. And as for going to Navan, which Your Majesty will see in the map, we should be obliged to make a great tour ; and the enemy, in two short days march, would be there before us. By the left we can march only along the sea ; but the enemy would have nothing to do but to come down along the river to stop our passage.

There are in this army about a thousand sick, comprehending some wounded men, left at Belfast : these begin to come back from thence, and few of them die.

I have difficulty to believe that the enemy have not sick also, and that it does not give them more trouble to carry their provisions from Dublin, than for us to receive them from our vessels, which are at hand, and to keep their troops together with copper money, while Your Majesty's are well paid. Your Majesty intimates that you are sending some troops from Scotland : whilst these are on their way, perhaps those from Denmark may come too. In that case there would be less hazard in giving battle, and the war would be finished with less risk. This perhaps is not the opinion of the committee for Irish affairs, nor of some persons in London, who believe that one has only to give battle to win it.

Mr. Harbord has engaged to send Your Majesty a review of the army which I made two days ago : by that it will appear more numerous than it is, the colonels being very able at making up musters.

Although

Although the Iniskilling troops do not appear, on account of their clothes, they have however a good deal of vigor. They have defeated some troops of the enemy, on the side of Boyle and Jamestown. Mr. Harbord will also give Your Majesty an account of the agreement we made with them ; but it appears to me, that they are not contented with it, pretending they are not able to serve upon so small pay, as Your Majesty will see by a writing which they gave me in presence of Mr. Harbord, who engaged to send it to you. I gave the regiment of Norfolk to Mr. Bellasis, as Your Majesty ordered me. The lieutenant-colonel, who is a young man of the same name, complains much. I exhorted him not to quit the service, for that Your Majesty would do something for him on the first occasion:

Yesterday I told my lord Meath, that I had an express order from Your Majesty, to give the regiments to those who I believed gave the most application to the service, when I saw that their colonels neglected them.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Reasons for not advancing.

A Dundalk, le 6me Octobre, 1689.

VOTRE Majesté pourra voir par le mémoire que j'ay écrit de ma main du quatre, que ces raisons là m'ont fait penser à marcher vers la riviere du Shanon ; ce sera peutêtre encore le meilleur de ce qu'on pourra faire, aumoins que d'aller chercher les ennemys, et leur donner une bataille ; car il me paroist que V. Mté. est du sentiment que l'on les pousse, avant que cett'armée déperisse par les maladies, ou que les secours qu'ils pouroient esperer de France vienne. J'aurois fort envie de faire les choses, pour les quelles V. Mté. montre plus de penchant, et j'aurois marché des demain ; mais comme V. Mté. aura veu, par les avis de officiers generaux, que toute l'armée est sans souliers, et qu'on ne feroit pas deux journées de marche que la moitié demeurroit

demeurroit pied nud ; il faut attendre qu'il nous en vienne d'Angleterre, où Mr. Herbort a envoyé : cela nous fait perdre l'occasion de marcher en même tems, sur la droite, vers la riviere de Shanon, pendant que les ennemys l'eloignent de nous. Je laisse à part les autres difficultés, qu'il faudra tâcher de surmonter le mieux qu'on pourra. J'en ay fait mention dans mon memoire, qui sont, que les chariots de vivres ne sont pas tous arrivés, les chevaux de ceux qui le sont, sont même en fort mechant état. Shals dit qu'il a été obligé de s'en servir toutes jours à Chester, n'en ayant pas pû trouver à louer. J'a deja dit qu'il n'avoit pas aussi pris soin de faire ambarquer six vingt chevaux de l'artillerie, qui restent encore là.

Translation.

Dundalk, 6th October, 1689.

YOUR Majesty will see by the memorial of my hand-writing of the 4th, reasons which made me think of marching to the river of Shannon. It will perhaps be the best thing that can be done except seeking the enemy and giving them battle. For it appears to me that Your Majesty is of opinion that we should push them before this army perishes by diseases, or the succours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I should desire much to do the things which Your Majesty is so eager for, and I would have marched tomorrow ; but as Your Majesty will see by the opinion of the general officers, that all the army is without shoes, and that it could not march two days without half of them being barefooted, it is necessary to wait till shoes come from England where Mr. Harbord has sent for them. This has made us lose the occasion of marching upon the right towards the river of Shannon, while the enemy are removing from us. I speak not of the other difficulties which it will be necessary to surmount the best that we can. I mentioned them in my memorial. They are, That the provision waggons
are

are not all arrived, the horses of those which are, are in a very bad state. Shales says, that he was obliged to make use of them at Chester, because he could not find any to hire. I have already said that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horses which are still left there.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Cannot comply with the King's desire that he should fight.

A Dundalk, le 8me Octo. 1689.

QUAND je relis les deux dernières lettres de V. M^{té}. des 2 et 6. Octobre, je trouve qu'elle auroit envie qu'on poussât les ennemis. Je lui ay déjà mandé que cela étoit difficile à faire, en un pays où on ne peut aller à eux que par deux ou trois grands chemins, le reste étant partagé par des marais et des montagnes ; mais il y a encore d'autres circonstances à représenter à Votre Majesté qui sont que j'ay peine à commettre son armée contre une autre, qui est, comme toute le monde sçait, en ce pays icy au moins double en nombre de la notre, d'ont une partie est disciplinée et assez bien armée, et jusques icy mieux nourrie que la notre en pain, viande, et biere ; mais ce qu'il y a de plus fâcheux est que les colonels qui ont nouvellement levé des régiments, et particulièrement les Mylords Irlandois, n'ont regardé que avoir des garçons à bon marché. C'est ce que j'ay bien prévu, lorsque on leur donna leur commissions : et j'en parlai dans le conseil des comités d'Irlande à Votre Majesté, mais l'avis de Mr. Halifax fut plutôt suivi que le mien. Je ne parle point de souliers, en ayant déjà fait mention en tous mes memoires. Mais si l'incapacité de ces officiers est grande, leur inapplication et leur paresse l'est encore d'avantage : Quoique la cavallerie ne soit pas si nouvellement levée, les officiers ne prennent néanmoins point soin des chevaux de leurs cavaliers, et tous sont si accoutumés à loger dans les cabarets, partout où ils marchent, que cette maniere de guerre les étonne. Je suis fâché d'importuner

V. M.

V. M. de tous ces détails ; mais je croy que c'est mon devoir de l'en informer, afin qu'elle voye par là les raisons, pourquoy j'ay peine de me refoudre a decider de tout par une bataille.

J'espere qu'a tout heure ce qui nous reste de chevaux d'artillerie, et de vivres, et les troupes Ecoissoises arriveront, et que les souliers qui sont achetés il y a plus de deux mois, se retrouveront. Sans faire valoir mes services, n'y mettre en conte les chagrins que j'ay eu, ce n'a pas été sans peine que je suis venu icy, et d'y avoir pu demeurer presque sans pain. Il auroit été bien difficile d'aller en avant sans aucun chariots de vivres. Et comme il y avoit un ruisseau entre les enemys et nous, j'aurois peutêtre été obligé de faire un pas en arriere, qui auroit eu de mechantes suites.

A ce que l'on peut juger, les ennemys tachent de consommer et bruller tout le fourage qui est autour d'eux, et qu'ils continueront de faire de meme jusque aupres de Drogheda.

Translation.

Dundalk, 8th October, 1689.

WHEN I read over again Your Majesty's two last letters of the 2d and 6th October, I find you have a desire that the enemy should be push'd. I have already wrote that that was difficult to do in a country where one cannot go to them but by two or three great roads, the rest being divided by bogs and mountains. But there are still other circumstances to be represented to Your Majesty ; that I am uneasy to venture your army against one which is, as all the world here knows, at least double the number of ours, of which a part is disciplinèd, and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nourished with bread, meat, and beer than ours. But what is still more uneasy is, that the colonels who have lately raised their regiments, and particularly the Irish lords, thought of nothing but to have boys at a cheap rate. I foresaw this when their commissions

missions were given them, and I spoke of it to Your Majesty at the meeting of the committee for Irish affairs ; but Lord Hallifax's advice was rather followed than mine. I do not speak of shoes, having mentioned them in all my memorials. But if the want of capacity of the officers is great, their want of application, and their laziness, is still greater. Although the cavalry are not so lately raised, the officers, however, take no care of the horses of their troopers, and are all so accustomed to lodge in inns wherever they march, that the present kind of war astonishes them. I am vexed to importune Your Majesty with all these details, but I think it is my duty to inform you of them, that you may see the reasons why I am unwilling to resolve to decide all by a battle.

I hope every minute, that the rest of our artillery horses and provisions and the Scotch troops will arrive, and that the shoes which were bought above two months ago will be found again. Without enhancing my services, or bringing into the account the chagrins which I have suffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come thus far, and continued here almost without bread. It would have been very difficult to advance without any waggons or provisions : and as there was a rivulet between the enemy and us, I might perhaps have been obliged to fall back, which would have had bad consequences.

As far as one can judge, the enemy endeavour to consume and burn all the forage around them, and will continue to do the same as far as Drogheda.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—To the same purpose.—Presses for a diversion by the fleet upon the coast.

12 Octob.

JE voye par la lettre de Votre Majesté qu'elle est informée que nous avons beaucoup plus de malades dans cette armée qu'il ny en a, et pour ne pas attendre qu'il y en ayt d'avantage, il faudroit pousser les choses
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le plus qu'on peut, en hazardant quelque chose. Si V. Mté étoit bien informée de l'état de notre armée, de celle des ennemys, du pays, et de la situation de leur camps, je ne croy pas qu'elle voulust qu'on se hazardat à l'attaquer. Si cela ne réuciffoit pas, l'armée de V. Mté seroit perdu sans ressource. Je me fers de ce terme là, car je ne croye pas que si le desordre s'y étoit unè fois mis, qu'il fut aisé de la retablir. Rien ne scauroit donner a Votre Mté une plus forte idée de tout cecy, que le souvenir de toutes les troupes nouvellement levées, dont generallement cett' armée est composée.

Je voy aussi par la meme lettre de V. Mté, que si on ne hazarde rien presentement, cette guerre tireroit en longueur. Je suis bien faché de ne pouvoir pas trouver des expedients pour la finir. Il y auroit a craindre qu'en hazardant le tout pour le tout, et que cela ne reuffit pas, que les ennemys seroit bientot maitres de toute l'Irlande. Je ne comprends pas, qu'un si grande flotte d'Angleterre et d'Holland n'ayant rien fait tout cet estè ne puisse au moins garder les costes d'Irlande, et y faire un diversion par une descente, comme V. Mté l'avoit toujours projeté, et par là nous donner le temps d'attendre les troupes de Dannemark pour se servir de toutes ses forces, puisque V. Mté les destine pour icy ; lesquelles ne seroient plus d'un grand secours, si nous avions perdu une bataille avant leur arrivée. Pour ce poste icy, dont V. Mté me parle, je puis bien le conserver avec l'infanterie seule, jusques à ce que Shals aye un peu mis ses chariots de vivres en meilleur état, comme aussi les chevaux d'artillerie, qu'on usent de me dire être arrivés. Je crois que tout cela sera en état dans huit jours, apres quoy, si les ennemys s'oppinient a demeurer à Atherde ou derriere Drogheda, V. Mté put bien juger, que je ne puis faire autre chose que marcher sur la riviere de Shannon, qui est le pays après Dublin, qu'ils considerent le plus.

A l'égard de ce que V. Mté me mande des grands desordres, que les soldats commettent, sur tout les François ;

çois ; quand je suis arrivé dans ce royaume, je n'avois que six mille hommes, aucuns equipages, les officiers de l'armée pas un cheval. Apres m'estre rendu maistre de Belfast, j'ay marché aussitot pour assieger Carrick-fergus. J'ay été bien aisé que les troupes trouvaissent acheter quelves chevaux. Cela ne suffisoit pas au besoin. Tout le desordre qui peut s'estre commis, n'a été que prendre de petits chevaux qu'ils trouvoient dans les champs, pendant que ceux de Londonderry et d'Iniskilling pilloient de leur costé, et des paysans dans les glinns du leur. Parmy ceux qui ont pris quelques chevaux, il y peut avoir eu des François. Et je croy qu'on est bien aisé, par les letters qu'on escrit d'icy, de mettre cela sur eux. Comme je ne prens le party ny des uns ny des autres, il faut pourtant dire à V. Mté, que si nos colonels Irlandois estoient aussi habiles à la guerre, comme à envoyer piller dans le pays, et ne pas payer les soldats icy, V. Mté en feroit mieux servie ; elle pourra estre informée par d'autres, que les trois regiments d'infanterie et celui de cavallerie François, font mieux le service que les autres. J'ay travaillé toute cette semaine a regler ce que les capitaines doivent donner à leurs soldats, pour tacher d'empêcher les chicanes qu'ils leur font. Les colonels prennent si peu de soin de leur regiments que la moitié des piques sont rompues, et les fusils et mousquets de meme, de sorte que je suis forcé presentement de leur en donner d'autres de ceux que j'avois aporté avec moy.

Si on accorderoit le congé à autant d'officiers, qu'il en usent pour le demander, une grande partie d l'armée demeurroit sans officiers, les plus part affectant des incommodités, ou des maladies, qui n'ont d'autres fondement que de s'ennuyer beaucoup icy.

Venant d'entretenir Mr. les Comte de Solms de la pensée que j'avois d'envoyer la plupart de notre cavallerie du coté d'Ardmagh, il a trouvé une raison, qui est considerable, que l'ennemy pourroit se mettre entre elle et nous, et qu'il vaudroit mieux attendre encore quelques jours, en donnant de l'avoine à notre

à notre cavallerie des vaisseaux, et voir si les ennemys ne marcheront pas d'Altherde à Drogheda, ou que peutêtre en attendant un peu, les troupes de Danemark arriveroient, et cependant ou pourvoiroient les soldats des souliers, et de meilleurs habits. En tout cecy, je croy qu'un plus habile homme y seroit beaucoup embarrassé ; car les ennemys ne sont pas seulement forts en nombre, mais aussi sont bien disciplinés, et la situation des camps aussi bien choisie que des generaux les plus habiles pourroient faire.

Translation.

12th October.

I SEE by Your Majesty's letter, you are informed we have a greater number of sick in this army than we have, and that to prevent our having more, we ought to push matters as much as we can, in hazarding something. If your Majesty was well informed of the state of our army and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the situation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to risk an attack. If we did not succeed, Your Majesty's army would be lost without resource. I make use of that term ; for I do not believe if it was once put in disorder, that it could be re-established. Nothing can give Your Majesty a clearer idea of all this, than the remembrance of the nature of all new raised troops, of which this army is chiefly composed.

I see also by the same letter from Your Majesty, that unless something is risked now, the war will draw out to length. I am sorry it is not in my power to find expedients to finish it. There is reason to fear, that if we had hazarded all for all, and had not succeeded, the enemy would have been immediately masters of all Ireland. I do not understand why so great an English and Dutch fleet, which has done nothing all summer, should not be able at least to guard the coasts of Ireland, and to make a diversion in it, by a disembarkation,

as Your Majesty always projected; and thereby give us time to wait for the Danish troops, so that we may make use of all our forces : but these troops would have been of little use if we had lost a battle before their arrival: As to this post which Your Majesty speaks of, I can keep it with the infantry alone; till Shales has put his waggons for the provisions into better order, as also the artillery horses, which he is in the use of telling me are arrived. I believe all this will be ready in eight days, after which, if the enemy resolve to stay at Atherdee or Drogheda, Your Majesty may judge that I can do nothing else than march to the river Shannon; which is the country which, next to Dublin, they value the most.

With regard to what Your Majesty says of the great disorders which the soldiers commit, and above all the French; when they arrived in this kingdom, I had not more than 6000 men, no equipages; and the officers of the army not one horse. After making myself master of Belfast, I marched immediately to besiege Carrickfergus. I was happy that the troops found some horses to buy. These did not answer our necessities. All the disorder that could be committed, was in taking the little horses, which were found in the fields; while the troops of Londonderry and Iniskilling pillaged on their side, and the peasants on theirs. Amongst those who took some horses, there are Frenchmen, and I believe people are very glad, in the letters which they write from hence, to lay the blame upon them. I do not take a side either way; I must however tell Your Majesty, that if our Irish colonels were as able in war as they are to send to pillage the country, and not to pay the soldiers, Your Majesty would be better served by them. You may be informed by others, that the three regiments of French cavalry and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than others. I have worked all this week, to regulate what the captains should give to their soldiers, to prevent their cheating the men. The colonels take so little care of their regiments,

giments, that the half of the pikes are broke, and also of the fuseses and muskets; so that I am at present forced to give them others from amongst those which I brought with me.

If leave of absence was given to as many officers as ask it, a great part of the army would be without officers, the greatest part affecting to be out of order, or under diseases, which have no other foundation than in their weariness at being here.

Having communicated to Count Solms a thought which I had, to send the greatest part of our cavalry on the side of Ardmagh, he has found an argument which is considerable, viz. that the enemy may put themselves between it and us, and that it would be better to wait some days, giving oats from the vessels to the cavalry, to see if the enemy will not march from Atherdee to Drogheda, or that perhaps in waiting a little, some of the Danish troops may arrive, and that in the mean time, shoes and better clothes may be providing for the soldiers. In all this I believe an abler man would be much embarrassed: for the enemy are not only strong in number, but also well disciplined, and the situation of their camps as well chosen as the ablest generals could contrive:

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.

—The Scotch troops arrived.—Yet it is impossible to advance.—Schomberg's unhappiness.

A Dondalk le 4 de Novr. 1689.

LES troupes qui sont venus d'Ecosse consistent en quatre regiments, dont les chevaux sont fort fatigués; celuy de Haistings n'a pas trois cent soldats. Quand l'on auroit marché avec ces troupes icy, le pays est faite d'une maniere que l'on ne peut obliger un enemy à en venir à une bataille, s'il ne le veut. Il seroit a souhaiter que Votre Majesté eut parlé à un

homme qui coignoit bien ce pays icy autour. Il n'est pas moins difficile que la Flandre, pour obliger un enemy à donner une bataille. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas un establissement fait avec des personnes à certains prix pour fournir le pain de munition, comme on fait en France, Flandre, et ailleurs, il ne sera pas possible de soutenir cette guerre, des que l'on s'eloignera de la mer. Voila le principal article. Je ne diray rien icy des autres defauts de cette armée. Je me suis donné bien des peines et des fatigues pour y remedier. La chose n'est pas aissée avec de tels officiers. Et il n'y a que la passion, les obligations, et le parfait devouement pour le service de Votre Majesté, qui puisse me faire supporter les chagrins, et les peines, où je me trouve.

Translation.

Dundalk, 4th Nov. 1689.

THE troops arrived from Scotland consist of four regiments, of which the horses are extremely fatigued. That of Hastings has not three hundred soldiers. Though we could march with these troops, the country is of such a form that an enemy cannot be forced to battle against his will. I wish Your Majesty would speak to a man who knows the country hereabouts well. It is not less difficult than Flanders for forcing an enemy to a battle. As long as there is not an establishment made with people at certain prices for furnishing ammunition bread, as is done in France, Flanders, and elsewhere, it will not be possible to sustain this war, whenever we remove from the sea. This is the principal article. I will say nothing of the other deficiencies of this army. I have given myself much pain and fatigue to remedy them. The thing is not easy with such officers. And there is nothing but the passion, the obligations, and the perfect devotion which

which I have for your Majesty, that could make me bear the chagrins and the pains which I have suffered.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.
 ————*Bad arrangement in every department.*

A Lisborne, du 26 Decembre, 1689.

PUISQUE j'ay commencé à parler de l'artillerye, il faut dire à Votre Majesté que je n'ay jamais veu tant de mechant officiers qu'il y en a. Ce qui peut avoir contribué à cela, c'est la paresse et inapplication aux détails de Goulon. Je veux croire qu'il entend à faire des mines et l'usage de la poudre, mais c'est le tout. Je croye être obligé en conscience à dire la verité à Votre Majesté, le seul homme que j'ay icy dont je suis soulage c'est le commissaire Halloway, lequel j'ay fait controlleur à la place d'un nomme Clerk qui vient de mourir, ayant des ministres avec lui, mais n'a pas voulu prier Dieu.

Pour les recreües de l'infanterye, je suis toujours d'opinion que Votre Majesté les fera faire meilleurs en Angleterre. Du temps de Cromwell il avoit cette commodité, qu'il avoit plusieurs regiments en Angleterre, d'ou il tiroit la moitié ou le tiers des soldats pour ses recreües icy, lesquels sçavoient deja manier leur armes. A quoy je dois encore ajouter cette consideration, que l'on fait courir le bruit en Angleterre, que la peste est en Irelande, et ainsy et les soldats et les officiers lève parcy par la dans la pays, quand ils arriveront proche de Chester, aprenant par les gens mal intentionner, que la peste est dans ce pays cy, ils deserteront. Mais quand la moitié d'un regiment tout levé, armée et exercé sera envoyé par Votre Majesté à Highlake, il en desertera peu. Les regimens venus d'Ecosse n'auront pas moins besoins de recreües, etant arrivez icy fort foibles. Les colonels Irlandois ont plus d'inclination pour les gens de leur pays, non pas parcequ'ils les

connoissent plus braves dans un occasion, mais pour tirer plus de profit de leur regiments. Nous avons vüe par experience que vers le mois de Septembre les Irlandois desertoient tous pour aller faire leur moissons.

Les regiments de Lisburne, Sanky, Roscommons, Drogheda, et Bellasis sont fort foibles. J'ay été obligé de retirer ces deux derniers d'Armach, n'y ayant pas trois cents hommes dans les deux.

Quant à la cavalerie, nous avons examiné en presence de Messrs. Scravemour, Lanier et Kirke leur etat, et fait un reglement, et en la maniere que l'on doit faire les recrûes. Les officiers ne prennent pas soin de leurs cavaliers, et à les obliger de prendre soin de leur chevaux qu'ils ne se donne pas la peine de penser.

Pour les farines, biscuits et avoines, Vanhumery travaille à faire une etat de ce que nous avons, et ce que nous avons besoin. Je ne voy pas les peuples fort disposez à labourer leurs terres, quoy qu'ils vendent bien tout ce qu'ils ont, et l'on tient une discipline si exacte qu'ils ne tire que du profit du logement des gens de guerre. Cependant, je crains que les peuples manqueront du pain dans le printemps; mais à mon avis on pourroit prevenir ces manquemens icy, en permettant aux marchands de transporter d'Angleterre icy, du bled, de l'avoine et des farine, sans payer de droits, non seulement icy mais aussi du coste du nord, pour les peuples aussi bien que pour les soldats, du costé de Belleck et Bellichanon. Je suis obligé aussi d'informer Votre Majesté que la negligence de les officiers est causé que les soldats ont perdue beaucoup d'armes, nonobstant le reglement que j'avois fait que les capitaines seroient obliger d'en racheter à leurs depens: et leur negligence a été si grande qu'ils sont venus en ce royaume sans porter une tente avec eux, se servant de celles qu'on leur avoit donné pour les soldats. Les grand pluyes ayant presque tout pourry les dites tentes, il faudra en faire venir d'autres.

Comme je ne me suis jamais trouvé dans un armée, ou il y ait tant d'officiers nouveaux et paresseux, Votre Majesté n'aura pas peine à croire que cela me donne beaucoup de peine et de chagrin. Si on castoit tous ceux là pour ce sujet comme ils le meritent, il en resteroit peu.

J'ay remarqué dans tous ces embarquements icy, qu'il manquoit de gens appliquez pour avoir soin des vaisseaux marchands à Highlake pour embarquer les soldats, quoy qu'il y eut quelque envoyé de l'amirauté pour cela, il seroit tres necessaire aussi pour le service et l'epargne de Votre Majesté, qu'il y en eut deux icy pour avoir le besoin de faire decharger promptement toutes les denrées qu'ils apporte, pour les renvoyer ou decharger, si l'on n'en a plus besoin. Cela me soulagera un peu des soins qu'il a fallu que j'ay pris. Comme aussi les petites vaisseaux de guerre qui prennent toujours le pretexte qu'il leur manque quelque chose pour n'aller pas au mer. Votre Majesté a aussi besoin d'officiers de justice pour regler les desordres qui se commettent parmy les peuples, qui sont paresseux, et ne vive que de vols et de pillage. Je ne trouve pas aussi que les ministres ecclesiastiques soient appliquez à leur devoir, pendant que les pretres Romains sont fort passionnez à exhorter les peuples à combattre pour l'eglise Romaine, et à se mettre à leur tete. Je croy que ce zele du peuple Irlandois se trouvera à ce printemps un peu relenty, par la quantité de gens qu'on apprend qui meurt du costé des ennemys, de la fatigue de la campagne passée.

Les officiers de cette armée me demandent avec grand empressement leur congée pour aller en Angleterre. Je les ay remis la plus part sur ce que j'ay escrit à Votre Majesté pour luy en demander la permission, et que je l'attens; et qu'une partie de ceux la pourront aller aux recreües, a quoy je croy qu'il n'y a pas de temps à perdre, sur tout pour ce que regarde l'infante-

rye ; car pour la cavallerie elle arrivera affés à temps vers la fin d'Avril, comme auffi celle de Danemark.

M. Herbort doit avoir rendu compte à Votre Majesté de l'état des regiments du pays de Londonderry et Iniskilling. Nous avons menagé cette paye en la faisant moins forte que celle des troupes Angloises qui sont venu en ce royaume. Et je croy que comme ils n'avoient rien du tout auparavant, ils devroient être content de celle qu'ils ont presentement. Car quoy que ceux d'Iniskilling ayont acquis quelque reputation dans le combat qu'ils gagnerent, il y a eu bien du bonheur de leur coste, et de la confusion des ennemys qui n'estoient point ensemble. Lorsque j'ay envoyé des troupes d'Iniskilling du coste de Sligo, l'affair a manqué, par ce que la plus part des soldats estoient tous allez chez eux. Et je suis d'opinion qu'on se peut servir de l'exemple des royaumes de France et d'Espagne, où on ne donne pas à beaucoup pres tant de paye aux soldats du pays qu'aux corps étrangers.

M. Herbort est party sans nous avoir laissé de l'argent pour payer les troupes. Il faut esperer, comme il m'a mande de Highlake, qu'il en envoyera de Chester ; mais il nous a laissé dans une grand confusion. A l'égard des officiers, il n'a point fait aucun deconte avec eux. Ils s'excusent la dessus, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent pour leur subsistance, ny pour soulager leur soldats. Je croy que je menage à moins l'argent de Votre Majesté, comme elle pourra voir par le contingent money ; mais M. Herbort, dans les depenses generalls, a de la peine à de defaire de l'argent qui est justement due ; dont le retardement ne peut porter que de la confusion. Depuis qu'il est party, j'ay fait difficulté de signer les payments que les commis font : luy meme, auffi bien que moy, ayant decouvert, que ses dits commis se sont faits agents de tous les regiments Anglois de cette armée, et par là ils se mettent dans les interests des colonels. Jamais on n'a vüe tant des gens avoir envie de voler. Pour la compagnie de M. Herbort, je ne l'ay point encore vüe que l'étandard dans sa chambre. On dit

dit que les officiers le servent de secrétaire et de commis. Je ne voye pas que Herbort aye bien examiné les comtes du major genl. Kirk, ou qu'il n'a pas osé les finir, á ce que j'apprens le dit Mr. Kirk n'apportant point de quittance du payment des regmts. qui estoient avec luy. Je croy aussi, qu'il est necessaire de faire souvenir V. Majesté, á faire examiner á qu'elle prix l'argent se donne icy. Si cela est au profit de M. Herbort, avec les droits qu'il tire sur les payments qu'il fait á l'armée, comme tresorier, cela va á une somme fort considerable par an.

Je suis bien fáché d'importuner Votre Majesté d'un si long memoire. On ne peút pas se dispenser de le faire, et encore de la prier qu'elle ne le laisse pas lire publiquement.

Translation.

Lisborne, 26th December, 1689.

SINCE I am speaking of the artillery, I must tell Your Majesty that I never saw so many bad officers as there are in it. What may have contributed to this, is Goulon's laziness and want of application. I believe he understands the making of mines and the use of powder, but that is all. I think myself obliged in conscience to tell truth to Your Majesty. The only man here who has given me relief, is commissary Halloway, whom I have made controller in the place of one named Clark, who is just dead, having had ministers with him, but refusing to pray to God.

With regard to the recruiting the infantry, I am always of opinion it would be better to do it in England. In the time of Cromwell, he had the conveniency of several regiments in England, from whence he draughted the half or third of the soldiers for recruits here, who understood to manage their arms: to which I ought to add this consideration, that a report is spread in England, of the plague being in Ireland; and thus, when the soldiers, whom the officers raise here and there in
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the country, come near Chester, and are told by people of bad intentions, that the plague is in Ireland, they will desert: but when the half of a regiment, all raised, armed, and exercised together, shall be sent by Your Majesty to Highlake, few of them will desert. The regiments from Scotland have no less need of recruits, having come here very weak. The Irish colonels have more inclination for the people of their own country, not because they know them to be more brave upon an occasion, but to draw the greater profit from the regiments. We have seen by experience, that towards the month of September the Irish all deserted.

The regiments of Lisborne, Sankey, Roscommon, Drogheda, and Bellasis, are very weak. I have been obliged to withdraw these two last from Ardmach, there not being three hundred men in the two.

With regard to the cavalry, we have examined their state in presence of Messieurs Scravemore, Lanier, and Kirck, and made an establishment, and likewise in the manner of their recruiting. The officers take no care of their troopers, or of obliging them to attend to their horses, which they are not at the pains even to blood.

With regard to the grain and biscuits, and hay, Van Humery is making a state of what we have and what we need. I do not see the people much disposed to labour their grounds, although they sell well all that they have: and so exact a discipline is kept, that they draw nothing but gain from giving lodging to the soldiers. However, I am afraid the people may want bread in the spring; but in my opinion, these wants may be prevented, if the merchants were permitted to carry grain and bread, and hay, without paying duties, not only here, but also in the North, for the people as well as for the soldiers, on the side Belleck and Bellechanon. I have also to tell Your Majesty, that the negligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost many of their arms, notwithstanding the regulation I made, that the captains should replace them at their own expence: and their negligence has been so great, that they
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are come into this kingdom without a tent with them, and make use of those which were given them for their soldiers. The great rains have rotted the tents; it is necessary that others be sent.

As I never was in an army where there are so many new and lazy officers, Your Majesty will have no difficulty to believe that this gives me much trouble and chagrin. If all were broke who deserved it on this account, there would be few left.

I have remarked in all the embarkations here, that there are wanting people to have an eye upon the merchant vessels at Heylake, in the embarkation of the soldiers. Although there was one sent from the admiralty for this purpose, it would be necessary for the service, and a saving to Your Majesty, that there were two here, to take care for the speedy landing of the provisions, and to send them back or discharge them if there was no need of them. This would relieve me a little of the attention which I am obliged to pay. They ought likewise to have an eye upon the small vessels of war, who use always the pretext that they want something or other for not going to sea. Your Majesty has also need of officers of justice, to repress the disorders among people who are lazy, and live only by theft and pillage. I also do not find that the ministers apply themselves enough to their duty, whilst the Romish priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the church of Rome, and in putting themselves at their head. I believe that the zeal of the Irish people will cool itself a little this spring, on account of the numbers who, we learn, have died on the enemy's side of the fatigues of last campaign.

The officers of this army are very pressing for leave of absence. I put most of them off with my having wrote to Your Majesty, to ask your leave, and that I wait for it; and that a part of them may go to recruit. There is no time to be lost in this last service, especially for the infantry; for as to the cavalry, it will come
time

time enough in the end of April, as also that from Denmark.

Mr. Harbord will have given Your Majesty an account of the state of the regiments of Londonderry and Iniskilling. We spared upon the pay, in making it less than that of the troops which came from England; and as they had formerly nothing, they should be now content with what they have. For though the Iniskilliners acquired some reputation in the battle which they won, there was much good luck on their side, and confusion on that of the enemy, who had not got together. When I sent the Iniskilliners towards Sligo, the affair failed, because most of the soldiers were gone home: and I think we may make use of the examples of France and Spain, where they do not give so much pay to native as to stranger corps.

Mr. Harbord is gone without leaving us money to pay the troops. I hope that he will send it from Chester, as he writes from Heyleck he will do: but he has left us in great confusion. With regard to the officers, he has paid them no arrears. On this account they excuse themselves, that they have no money for their subsistence, or the relief of the soldiers. I at least spare Your Majesty's money, as you will see by the bill of contingencies. But Mr. Harbord, in the general expences, makes a difficulty to part with money which is justly due; a delay which must bring on confusion. Since he is gone, I have made a difficulty to sign the commissaries payments; he as well as I having discovered that these commissaries are agents to all the English regiments of this army, by which they put themselves in the interest of the colonels. Never were so many people seen so desirous of stealing. As for Mr. Harbord's company, I never saw any part of it but the standard in his chamber. They say that his officers serve him in the qualities of secretary and commissary. I find that Harbord has not well examined major general Kirk's accounts, or that he has not dared to finish them, as I learn that Kirk did not bring with him his discharges

discharges for the payment of the regiments which he had with him. I believe it is also necessary to remind Your Majesty to cause examine the value of money here. If the difference goes to the profit of Mr. Harbord, with the percentage, which as treasurer he draws upon the payments of the army, it must go to a great sum in the year.

I am troubled to importune Your Majesty with so long a memorial. I could not avoid doing it, and begging Your Majesty not to allow it to be read in public.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—He falls ill—his indignation at the complaints from England against him.

Lisbørne du 27 Decembre 1689.

J'AY bien fait des reflexions sur ce que Votre Majesté m'a fait la grace de m'écrire du 29 Decembre, et sans l'ennuyer de l'état de mon indisposition, je puis l'asseurer que mon envie d'aller en Angleterre, n'est venu que de là, et que les medecins croyent que l'air et les eaux chaudes me gueriroient de ce mal dont mon fils l'aura entretenu à present. Il y en a en Angleterre qui croyent que je me fers de ce mal pour une pre-texte, qui que cela ne soit pas vray. J'avoüe, sire, que sans une profonde soumission que j'ay aux volontez de Votre Majesté, que je prefererois l'honneur d'etre souffert aupres d'elle au commandement d'une armée en Ireland comme étoit composée celle de la campagne passé : et si j'eusse hazardé une bataille (ce qui étoit difficile à faire si les enemis eussent voulu demeurer dans leur camp) j'aurois peutêtre perdu tout ce quelle a dans ce royaume, sans parler des consequences qui en seroit ensuivies en Ecosse jusques en Angleterre. M'étant trouvé dans un tel etat, aidé de fort peu de personnes, chargé d'une infinité de details qui m'occupoient, pendant que d'autres generaux ne songent qu'au plus important d'une guerre. Je dis, sire, qu'il n'y a que mon dévoïement pour les commandements de son service. Je souhaite seulement que ce mal ne m'empeche pas

pas d'agir comme je le voudrois. Lorsque je l'ay pû faire, je me suis presque chargé de tout ; n'étant pas beaucoup soulagé des officiers généraux Anglois ou Ecoffois.

D'ailleurs ce qui peut rebutter le plus de cet employ icy, c'est que je vois par le passé, qu'il sera difficile à l'avenir, de contenter les parlements et les peuples, qui sont prevenus qu'un soldat Anglois quoy que nouvellement levé en battra plus de six de ennemys. L'on auroit tort de m'envier cet employ pour les profits que j'en tire. Je n'ay pas encore trouvé cette invention ; quand je l'aurois découvert, je ne le pratiquerois pas, me contentant des appointments que l'on me donne, et que l'on voit bien icy que j'en dépense le double.

Translation.

Lisborne, 27th December, 1689.

I HAVE made many reflexions on what Your Majesty had the goodness to write on the 2^o of December, and without tiring you with the state of my indisposition, I can assure you, that my desire to go to England arises only from that cause, and that the physicians believe the air and the hot waters will cure me of that ailment which my son informed you of. There are people in England who believe that I make use of this ailment as a pretence, although that is not true. I confess, Sir, that without the profound submission which I have for Your Majesty's will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your person, to the command of an army in Ireland composed as that of last campaign was. And if I had risked a battle, (which was difficult to do if the enemy inclined to keep in their camp,) I might perhaps have lost all that you have in this kingdom, not to speak of the consequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even in England. Finding myself in such a state, assisted by very few persons, charged with an infinity of details which occupied me, while other generals attend only

only to the important part of the war: I say, Sir, there is nothing but my devotion for your Majesty's commands, which obliges me to sacrifice the health I have left to your service. I wish only that this ailment may not hinder me to act as I wish. Whilst I was able I took the charge of every thing upon me, not being much relieved by the English or Scotch general officers.

Besides what shocks one the most in this employment is, that I see by the past, it will be difficult for the future, to content the parliament and the people, who have a prejudice that an English new raised soldier can beat above six of his enemies. People are in the wrong to envy me this employment for the profits which I draw from it. I have not as yet fallen upon that invention; and though I should discover it, I should not practise it; being contented with the appointments which are given me, and because people see well here that I spend the double of them.

Part of a Letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William, ——— Condition of the army in winter.

Lisborne, du 30 Decembre, 1689.

COMME j'allois faire partir plusieurs memoires pour Votre Majesté, un expresse m'apporte de sa part son billet du ¹⁶/₂₆ Decembre, par lequel Votre Majesté m'a mandé qu'elle trouve la saison trop avancée pour envoyer Trelany avec ses troupes du costé de Kork, et qu'elle m'enverra l'infanterie Danoise icy, pour nous fortifier dans nos quartiers. Cela empéchera les ennemis à s'en approcher. Les maladies commencent à se diminuer. Votre Majesté trouvera par les roles des montres, que nous sommes plus forts que nous ne sommes pas. Je croy que si Votre Majesté faisoit chasser tous les commissaires des montres, ce seroit le mieux. Les officiers pour de l'argent en font ce qu'ils veulent. Et se servir de la methode d'Hollande, les capitaines de l'armée s'obligeants à tenir leurs compagnies complet-

tes le premier de May, et chatier ceux qui y manqueront.

My Lord Lisborne, dont le regiment est le plus foible, l'a fait passer fort. Il y a meslé 200 Irlandois. Je luy ay dit que l'intention de Votre Majesté n'estoit pas de meler des Irlandois parmy les regiments Anglois, mais de laisser les Irlandois aux regiments d'Iniskilling et Londonderiy. La conduite du mylord Lisborne n'est pas bonne. Il passe la vie à jouer et boire. Peu de vin l'enivre : apres cela, il tient des discours avec les officiers, qui vont jusque aux soldats, qui sont pernicious au service. Puisque Votre Majesté lui a permis d'aller en Angleterre ; je croy qu'il vaudroit mieux qu'il y demeura, et que son regiment fut mis dans un autre. Pour les regiments a reformer, je les feray executer comme Votre Majesté me l'ordonne. Et j'espere qu'elle ne desaprouvera de ce que j'ay fait, par l'avis des majors generaux Scravemour, Kirk et L'Annier, de mettre le regiment de Drogheda dans celui de Goor, puisque il n'y a pas de colonel ny lieutenant colonel, et en laisser le commandement à mylord Drogheda. L'envoye aussi cy joint, l'etat des regiments levé en Irlande, et la reduction de la cavallerie. J'espere que votre Majesté l'approuvera, et l'etat de leur payement. Il ne faut pas faire etat sur ces troupes la que comme sur les cravattes. Un jour d'une bataille ils se jetteront toujours sur le premier pillage. M. Herbort en pensa faire l'experience : ayant voulu aller avec le C. de Schonberg la nuit en partie, armé de son mousqueton, tomba en bas de son cheval. Cinq ou six cavaliers de Iniskilling commencerent à le deshabiller et de le depouiller, quoy qu'il cria qu'il estoit le pay-master, qu'il donneroit de l'argent afin qu'on le ramena au camp. Un officier François en passant l'ayant reconnu, les Iniskillings le ramerent. Mais de cette histoire il faut passer à une plus serieuse, qui est qu'il s'en est allé sans nous laisser d'argent pour les troupes. Cela cause deja du desordre dans les quartiers ou il y en a qui ne payent pas leur hostes. Je m'en vais travailler à voir si je puis emprunter

emprunter quelque argent des doüannes de Votre Majesté dont le revenu commence a être considerable.

J'aye epargné à votre Majesté, sur le train d'artillerie, depuis que je suis icy, trois milles livres sterlings; elle le trouvera de meme si elle fait examiner les comptes du contingent money; comme je n'aime pas à piller, je tache autant que je puis que Votre Majesté ne le soit pas par des gens qui ne pensent qu'à cela icy.

Ayant examiné le memoire que j'envoye à Votre Majesté, par le paquet que j'envoye à M. Blathwayt, de la manière qu'on payoit icy les officiers du temps du Roy Charles Second, la paye y est aussy haute que celle des officiers en Angleterre, cela ne me paroist pas juste. Votre Majesté pourroit en diminuer au moins un quart.

Translation.

Lisborne, 30th December 1689.

WHilst I was going to send several memorials to Your Majesty, an exprefs brought me a note of ¹⁶/₂₆ December, by which your Majesty intimates that you find the season too far advanced to send Trelawny with the troops to Cork, and that you would send me the Danish infantry to fortify our quarters. This will prevent the enemy from approaching us. The diseases begin to diminish. Your Majesty will find by the muster rolls that we are stronger than we really are. I believe if your Majesty would drive away all the commissaries of musters, it would be better. The officers for money do with them what they please. It would be better to make use of the Dutch method, which is to oblige the captains to have their companies compleat on the first of May, and to chastise those who fail.

My lord Lisborne, whose regiment is the weakest, made it appear strong. He mixed two hundred Irish in it. I told him your Majesty's intention was not to mix Irish amongst the English regiments, but to leave the Irish to the Iniskilling and Londonderry regiments. My lord Lisborne's conduct is not good. He passes his

life at play and the bottle; a little wine fuddles him. After this he holds discourses with the officers which go even to the soldiers, that are pernicious to the service. Since your Majesty has given him leave to go to England, I believe it would be better he should continue there, and that his regiment was put into other hands.

With regard to the regiments to be broke, it shall be done as your Majesty orders. And I hope you will not disapprove of what I have done by the advice of the majors general Scravemore, Kirk, and Lanier, in putting the regiment of Drogheda into that of Gower, since it has neither colonel nor lieutenant colonel, and in giving the command of it to my lord Drogheda. I send likewise annexed the state of the regiments levied in Ireland and the reduction of the cavalry. I hope your Majesty will approve of it, and the state of their pay. One must count upon these troops only as so many cravates. In the day of battle they will always throw themselves upon the first plunder. Mr. Harbord had the experience of this, for having gone one night with his fowling-piece upon a party with count Schomberg, he fell from his horse; five or six Iniskillen troopers began to strip and rob him, although he cried that he was pay-master, and that he would give them money to carry him to the camp. A French officer, in passing, having known him, the Iniskilleners then brought him back. But from this story I must go to a more serious one, which is that he has gone off without leaving us money for the troops. This causes disorder already in the troops, where there are people who do not pay their landlords. I am going to see if I can borrow money from your Majesty's customhouses whose revenues begin to be considerable.

I have spared your Majesty since I came here, 3000 pounds upon the artillery, and the same upon the contingent money, if you will look at the accounts. As I don't love to pillage, I do what I can to prevent others from doing it, who think of nothing else.

Having

Having examined the memorial which I sent to your Majesty by Mr. Blaithwait's packet, concerning the manner in which the officers were paid in the time of Charles II. the pay there is as high as that of the officers in England, which does not appear to be just. Your Majesty may diminish at least a quarter.

Duke of Schomberg to King William. — Lord D. la mer and other colonels in England, their neglect of their regiments.

Le 4me Janvier, 1689.

VOyant le regiment de la Mer en si mauvais ordre, j'ay été obligé d'en donner le commandement au colonel Rouffel. Peutêtre mylord de la Mer le trouvera t-il mauvais de moy, si votre Majesté ne luy dit qu'elle me la commandé. Celuy qui en estoit major s'estant retiré, (acause du lieutenant colonel Brodnax qui s'en est allé,) je luy ay fait ecrire de venir. Si V. Mté l'agrée, on le fera lieutenant colonel. Mylord de la Mer aussi bien que d'autres colonels en Angleterre, envoient icy des memoires avec des gens d'Angleterre pour les faire officiers, parmi lesquels il y en a peu qui meritent de l'être.

Translation.

SEeing Lord de la Mer's regiment in so bad order, I was obliged to give the command of it to colonel Ruffell. Perhaps lord de la Mer may take this amifs of me, if your Majesty does not tell him I have your orders for it. The major of it having retired (on account of lieutenant colonel Brodnax who is gone away) I have caused him to be writ to to come here. If your Majesty pleases he may be appointed lieutenant colonel. Lord de la Mer, as well as the other colonels in England, send memorials here with people from England to be made officers, among whom there are few who deserve to be so.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things continue in a bad state.

Liſborne, le 9e Janvier, 1689.

J'AY preſſé de partir le capitaine St. Saveur afin que votre Majeſté fut informé de l'ambaras ou je me trouve, de ce que M. Herbort nous a laiffé ſans argent. Il m'a fait deux ou trois tours de meme à Dondalk. Quand les affaires vont mal, il s'échape. La frayeur le prit de tomber malade. Il prit le pretexte d'aller à Belfast, pour y prendre ſoin que les malades n'y manquaſſent de rien. Huit jours apres j'appriſ qu'il étoit allez à une aſſes belle maiſon pour y respirer un bon air, ſans avoir envoyé ſeulement un de ſes gens à Belfast pour s'informer de l'tat de l'hospital. Je ne ſuis icy aidé de perſonne. Je ne ſçay ſi votre Majeſté en fera bien ſervy; c'eſt un homme qui penſe trop à ſes intereſts particuliers.

Je ſuis bien aifé que la cavalerie Danoife ne vient pas ſi tôt, car je crains que nous n'ayons pas aſſez de paille et de foin icy pour la cavallerie que nous y avons. Pour de l'avoyne, il ne tiendra qu'a Van Humery de nous en faire venir, mais c'eſt un petit genye pour un telle affaire. Son aſſocie ne vient pas d'Angleterre, et Van Humery n'a pas un ſol que quelque peu d'argent que je luy ay fait preſter. Je luy ay dit de mander à ſon aſſocié d'acheter une grand quantité d'avoyne, dont on en peut auſſy faire vendre aux officiers d'infanterye. S'ils ne font pas un meilleur equipage que l'année, ils ne feront pas capable de ſervir la campagne prochaine.

Si les regiments d'infanterye Francoiſe avoient pu obtenir de l'argent de Herbort, ils auroient deja fait partir pour des recreties en Suiſſe. De ces trois regiments et de celui de cavallerie, votre Majeſté en tire plus de ſervice que du double des autres.

Votre Majeſté aura vû par mon precedent memoire, les raiſons que j'ay fait comprendre à ces troupes d'Inifkilling et Derry, qu'il n'étoit pas juſte qu'ils euſſent leur

leur paye auffy haute que les Anglois qui ont été envoyez par votre Majesté en ce royaume. Ils ne s'en éloignent pas. Mais ayant bien examiné le paye des officiers Irlandois, elle est presque auffy haute que celle des officiers Anglois. Ce qui me semble est trop pour des officiers, dont les plupart sont des payfans.

Il est deux ou trois regiments d'infanteries Françoises en subsistence seulement, sans parler du déconte des officiers environ mille livres Sterlings chacun. Comme le soldat ne peut rien acheter au marché, cela le met dans une grande difette, et en fait tomber beaucoup malade. Les colonels n'ont pas laissé de faire partir des officiers pour faire des recreües en Suisse; mais il faudroit qu'on leur donna quelque argent sur bon compte de ce qui leur est deu. Ils ont écrit à M. Lestang, afin qu'il reçoive les ordres de votre Majesté sur cette article: car pour Mr. Herbort, il ne finit jamais quand il est question de payer les troupes, comme je l'ay mandé à votre Majesté; à quoy je suis obligé d'ajouter, que ce qui nous a fait manquer de medicine la campagne passé, c'est que Herbort n'a pas voulu donner de l'argent à l'apoticairer Augibaut, à Londres, quoyque je luy en ay parlé souvent, et envoyé chez luy. Il y a d'autres plaintes icy de luy, cela seroit trop long. Son avarice n'a que trop paru, particulièrement en ce point, qu'il n'a pas fait de deconte de pas un regiment, ce qui nous cause icy une grande confusion.

Votre Majesté auroit bien besoin icy de quelque personnes de justice: ceux qui j'ay voulu employer icy ne songent qu'à leur interests, et on fait plus de confusion que de bien.

M. Duglafs, lieutenant-general, m'a montré une lettre de M. le compte de Solms, par laquelle il luy mande qu'il a obtenu de votre Majesté son congé pour aller à Londres. J'y mandé dans un de mes memoires à votre Majesté, qu'il ne s'etoit pas fait aimer dans cette armée, on l'a trouvée fort fier. C'est de quoy on ne se mettroit pas tant en peine, si cela estoit réparé par une grande capacité. Je ne voy pas icy d'officiers généraux

capable de commander une aïlle d'une armée le jour d'une bataille.

M. Duglafs pourra dire à votre Majesté, que les regiments qui sont sur la frontier d'Armagh, Teinan, Clannish, et Newry, souffrent un peu de n'être pas bien logez, et de coucher sur la paille. Mais si nous abandonnions ces places, cela estreffiroit nos quartiers, et donneroit lieu aux ennemys de s'en prevaloir, qui ne sont pas plus à leur aïse que nous, et dont il en meurt tous les jours beaucoup et de leur payfans. La nation Angloise est si delicatement elevée, que d'abord qu'ils sont hors de leur pays, ils déperissent partout où je les ay vû servir, dans les pays etrangers, les premiers campagnes.

Je croy, Sire, être de mon devoir dire encore un mot sur le sujet de M. Herbort, dont j'ay deja parlé à votre Majesté dans un des mes memoires. C'est à l'égard des guinées et des cabs. Ceux qui savent mieux calculer ces choses la que moy, m'ont fait entendre, que le profit qui se retire la dessus, sur toute la depense que l'on fait pour l'armée, il y a un gain de plus de quarante mille livres sterlings par an. Pourveu que cela aille au proffit de votre Majesté, je suis satisfait. Il seroit bien necessaire qu'il y eût en ce pays cy comme un intendant qui eut une inspection generale, cela empêcheroit bien des gens à voler.

M. de Scravemour a été voir la cavallerie du costé de la comté de Doune, comme il en informera sans doute votre Majesté. Je n'ay rien à ajouter, sinon que les regiments de la Mere, Devonshire, et Hewett sont tous composez d'officiers qui n'ont jamais veu de campagne, que la dernier. M. Beyerlay, qui est lieutenant-colonel du regiment d'Hewett, me paroist un honneste homme, et de plus appliquez, mais je ne croy pas qu'il ayt jamais veu tirer un coup de pistolet. Il seroit à desirer, que si votre Majesté luy donne le regiment, qu'elle y met un bon lieutenant-colonel. On en trouveroit bien icy qui seroient propre à cela parmy les officiers François,

çois, mais de moy meme, je n'en met pas parmy les Anglois, à moins qu'ils ne le demandent.

J'ay parlé à votre Majesté peutêtre trop souvent des moyens pour porter des vivres avec l'armée. Van Humery, comme je luy a dit aussi, est peu capable pour la campagne. Cependant, je voy que M. de Scravemour le prend fort à sa protection; il en faisoit de meme de Shales. Je ne pretend pas entrer dans ce secret pour quoi il le fait; mais je croy aussi qu'il est de mon devoir d'en avertir votre Majesté, comme j'ay fait aussytôt que j'ay débarqué icy avec les troupes. Depuis que Shales est en prison, et qu'il a été examiné par sir John Tapom, qui a visité ses papiers, il y a trouvé cette lettre, que je n'ay pas jugé à propos qu'il laissa parmy d'autres papiers, pour envoyer en Angleterre; mais qu'il falloit mieux que je l'envoyasse dans mon paquet à votre Majesté, laquelle elle peut bruler apres l'avoir leü si elle juge à propos. J'aurois fait partir le dit Shales, n'etoit qu'il est malade aussi.

Translation.

Lisborne, 9th January, 1689.

I PRESSED Captain St. Sauveur to leave this, that your Majesty may be informed of the embarrassment I am under, by Mr. Harbord's leaving us without money. He played me two or three of the same tricks at Dundalk. When affairs go ill, he makes his escape. He took fright that he should fall ill. He used as a pretence for going to Belfast, that he was to take care the sick should want nothing. Eight days after, I learnt that he was gone to a fine house to breathe a good air, without having sent even one of his people to Belfast, to get a state of the hospital. I am not assisted here by any body. I do not know if he will serve your Majesty well: he is a man who looks too much to his own interest.

I am glad that the Danish cavalry does not come so soon, for I fear that we have not enough of straw and oats here for the cavalry which we have. As for hay, it will stand at Van Humery to make it come; but he has a small genius for such an affair: his partner does not come from England, and Van Humery has not a penny but what I have lent him. I have told him to write to his partner to buy a great quantity of hay, of which he may sell a part to the officers of the infantry. If they do not provide better equipages than they did last year, they will not be capable of serving next campaign. If the regiments of French infantry could have got money from Harbord, they might already have sent into Swisserland for recruits. Your Majesty gets more service from these three regiments, and from that of their cavalry, than from twice the number of any others.

Your Majesty will see by my last memorial, the reasons which I gave to the troops of Iniskilling and Derry, to show them it was not just they should have as high pay as English troops sent into this kingdom. They seem to yield to them; but the pay of the Irish officers being well examined, it is almost as high as the English. This appears to be too much for officers, most part of whom are peasants.

There are two or three regiments of French infantry, who have only subsistence money, not to mention 1000*l.* due to each of them, for the arrears of the officers. As the soldier cannot buy any thing in the market, this reduces him to famine, and makes many of them fall ill. The colonels have not neglected to send the officers to Swisserland for recruits: but they ought to have had some of the money that is due to them. They have written to Mr. Le Stang to receive your Majesty's orders upon this article; for as to Mr. Harbord, he never brings things to an end, when the question is to pay the troops, as I told your Majesty; to which I am obliged to add, that what made us want medicines last campaign was, that Mr. Harbord would

not

not give money to the apothecary, Augebaut, though I spoke to him of it, and sent to him. There are other complaints of him here, which would be too long. His avarice has appeared too much, particularly in his not having paid the officers' arrears, which causes a great confusion here.

Your Majesty will need here some officers of justice. Those whom I employed here think of nothing but their interest, and create more confusion than good.

Lieutenant general Douglas shewed me a letter from count Solmes, in which he tells him that he has got your Majesty's leave of absence. I told your Majesty, in a former memorial, that he was not beloved in this army, he being thought too haughty. This might be overlooked if he made up for it by great capacity. I do not see any general officers here capable of commanding the wing of an army in the day of battle.

Mr. Douglas will tell your Majesty that the regiments on the frontiers of Ardmagh, Tunan, Clannish, Newry, suffer a little from not being well lodged, and lying on straw. But if we abandon those places, it would straiten our quarters, and enable the enemy to make use of them, who are not more at their ease than us. Many of them and of their peasants die every day. The English nation is so delicately bred, that, as soon as they are out of their own country, they die the first campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have seen them serve.

I think it, Sir, my duty to say a word of Mr. Harbord, of whom I have spoken in a former letter: it is with regard to the guineas and cabs. Those who understand the calculation of these things better than me, tell me, that the profit upon these, on the expence of the whole army, amounts to above 40,000 *l.* a year. If that is saved for your Majesty, I am satisfied. It will be necessary, that there was in this country an intendant, who had a general inspection. This would prevent many from stealing.

Mr.

Mr. Scravemore has been to see the cavalry in the county of Down, as he will doubtless have informed your Majesty. I have nothing to add, but that the regiments of de la Mer, Devonshire, and Hewet, are all composed of officers who never saw a campaign but the last. Mr. Beverly, the lieutenant-colonel of Hewet's regiment, appears to be an honourable man, and to have application : but I do not believe that he ever saw a pistol fired. It were to be wished, if your Majesty gives him the regiment, that you would put into it a good lieutenant-colonel : several proper for it might be found among the French officers. But I never of my own accord put any French amongst the English, unless the English themselves desire it.

I have spoke to your Majesty, perhaps too often, upon the methods of carrying provisions to the army. Van Humery, as I mentioned also, has little capacity for a campaign ; however I see Mr. Scravemore takes him much under his protection. He did the same to Shales. I do not pretend to enter into the secret why he does it ; but I think it my duty to let your Majesty know it, as I did as soon as I landed here with the troops. Since Shales was in prison, and examined by Sir John Topham, who inspected his papers, this letter was found, which I did not think right should be left to be sent among the other papers to England, but thought it better to send by my packet to your Majesty, who may burn it after having read it, if you think proper. I would have sent off Shales if he had not been ill.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.——Detail of service.——Complaints.

De Lisborne, le 10 Fevrier, 1690.

IL y a un article dans cette dépeche du committé d'Irlande, qui est de payer les regiments de Londonderry et Iniskilling sur le même pied que les regiments Anglois. Puisque c'est la l'intention de Votre Majesté, il faudra qu'ils se mettent sur un meilleur pied ; car
jusques

Jusques icy ces troupes la étoient sur un pied de libertinage, et de voler, et piller. C'est ce qui a été cause que le colonel Rouffel ne put mener avec lui toutes les troupes d'Iniskilling, que j'avois fait partir pour se saisir du poste de Slego, et de le maintenir.

Le lieutenant-colonel Rofs, du regiment de dragon de Wynn, s'en va en Angleterre pour y acheter quelques selles et brides, pour raccommoder ce regiment; lequel, aussy bien que toute cette cavalerie et dragons d'Iniskilling, sont fort mal montez, beaucoup d'officiers et des soldats mal faits; mais puisque Votre Majesté leur fait une grace si particuliere de les vouloir payer comme des troupes levées en Angleterre, on obligera les officiers des dits regiments à avoir des officiers et soldats mieux faits. Votre Majesté ordonnera, s'il luy plaist, que M. Herbot donne quelque argent au lieutenant-colonel Rofs, pour acheter les choses necessaires, et pour revenir promptement.

Je me suis deffendu de donner congé à tous ceux qu'il a été possible de s'en dispenser, car tous les officiers de cette armée ont une grande envie d'aller en Angleterre.

My lord Lisburn part presentment, aussy sur la permission qu'il a obtenu par une lettre de my lord Shrewsbury. Je luy ay dit suivant ce que Votre Majesté m'a mandé, qu'il pouvoit garder les bons hommes, qu'il avoit levez depuis peu en ce pays icy, mais qu'on ne vouloit plus de ses miserables garçons Anglois et Irlandois, dont ils sont farçy leur regiments quand ils sont passé icy.

Il est arrivé icy un ministre, qui dit avoir obtenu une commission en Angleterre, pour être le chapelain du regiment du colonel Rouffel. J'avois deja remply cette place d'un autre chapelain il y a deux mois: Votre Majesté me mandera ce qu'elle veut que je fasse en cela: les ecclesiastiques de ce pays sont des gens peu attachez à leur paroisses.

Votre Majesté me permettra que je luy fasse souvenir de ce qui regarde le train de l'artillerie icy, afin de
mettre

mettre un bon officier a la place de Glaum, qui est mort. Celui qui presentement gouverne tout ce train s'appelle Aileway, qui est controlleur, et je croy le seul bon officier que nous y ayons. Il sera aussy neccessaire que Votre Majesté mande quel nombre de canon elle veut qu'on mene à l'armée, puisque je voy par quelques lettres que Votre Majesté pourroit venir se mettre à la tête de son armée. Il me semble qu'il seroit neccessaire qu'on mena plus de canon en campagne. Glaum m'avoit parlé d'un equipage d'artillerie que Votre Majesté a en Hollande, qu'elle a fait faire pour elle, où il y a meme quelques hawitzers, lequel seroit fort util icy. Cela est contenu dans le memoire que j'ay fait avec Glaum avant qu'il partit d'icy.

J'auray soin de ne point laisser manquer de poudre. Mais comme ce canon peut être d'un calibre qui n'a pas tout-a-fait rapport à celui de la Tour, il sera neccessaire que Votre Majesté donne ordre aus dits officiers de la Tour de s'en pourvoir. Il est vray que ceux qui y sont entendent fort peu ces choses la, pas même à examiner les fusils que les ouvriers leur delivre tous les jours, qui sont fort mal faits, mal montez, et ont de mechants ressorts.

Le colonel Cambon m'a montré une lettre de Londres, par laquelle l'on voit que M. Herbort n'est pas content de luy. Cela est venu d'une lettre de change que Cambon avoit tirée de M. Herbort à Dundalk de huit cent guinées, qu'il lui donna la pour faire rendre à Londres à son agent, pour payer les habits de son regiment. Les marchands qui avoient porté le lettre de change chez les gens de M. Herbort ne l'ayant pas voulu acquitter firent leur protest. Cela a tellement offensé M. Herbort qu'il en a voulu mal à toutes les troupes Françoises icy, et qu'il a dit que le regiment de Cambon n'etoit pas de 150 hommes. Je puis assurez Votre Majesté, que quoy qu'il en soit mort beaucoup depuis qu'ils sont entrez dans leur quartier d'hiver, qu'il en restoit encore plus de 460 en santé, et depuis huit jours

il luy est arrivé un fort bonne recreüe de Londres de 70 hommes qui ont été levez du costé de la Suisse.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire sur le sujet de M. Herbort. Je croy qu'il est connu en Angleterre comme il est icy presentement sur le sujet de l'interest, et je ne puis assez exagerer le prejudice que cela a apporté au service de Votre Majesté, de ce qu'il n'a jamais voulu faire le deconte aux colonels et capitaines des regiments. Je croy qu'il seroit necessaire pour le service de Votre Majesté, qu'elle envoya icy un ordre aux commis de la tresorerie qu'il a laissez de faire ce déconte ; car quand on parle aux officiers d'avancer quelque chose à leur compagnie lorsque l'argent manque, ils disent que comme on ne leur a point fait de déconte depuis qu'ils sont dans ce royaume, ils n'ont pas un sol pour subsister eux mêmes. On estoit dans une grande difette d'argent, quand depuis dix jours les trente mille livres sterlings sont arrivez, lesquels j'ay fait distribuer à toutes les troupes de l'armée sur bon compte. Je supplie Votre Majesté que cette article de M. Herbort ne soit leu que par elle.

Je suis fort aise d'apprendre que Votre Majesté a fait faire un traitté avec Pereyra, pour les vivres, et pour les chariots pour les porter avec l'armée, qui est la chose le plus essentielle. C'est à Pereyra à voir que ces chariots et charettes ne soient pas si pezantes comme on les fait à Londres, et d'avoir de bons chartiers qui sachent fourager.

J'ay écrit souvent aux officiers de la Tour, et à M. Bertie le tresorier, de nous envoyer de l'argent ; car il en est deu beaucoup. Et j'ay entretenu icy le train par des emprunts que j'ay faits, en tirant des lettres de change sur la Tour, qui n'ont point pu être aquittées. Je supplie tres humblement Votre Majesté d'ordonner qu'on donne de l'argent à M. Bertie afin qu'on les puisse aquitter, et que nous ne dependions point de M. Herbort, puisque la charge de tresorier de l'artillerie n'a jamais dépendu ny en Angleterre ny icy du tresorier de l'armée.

Translation.

Translation.

Lisburne, 10th Feb. 1690.

THERE is an article on the dispatch of the Irish committee, ordering the Iniskilling and Londonderry regiments to be paid in the same way with the English regiments. Since this is Your Majesty's intention, it will be necessary that they put themselves upon a better footing; for hitherto these troops have been upon the footing of a licence both to rob and steal; which was the reason why colonel Ruffel could not carry with him all the Iniskilling troops whom I had ordered away to seize and maintain the post of Sligo.

Lieutenant-colonel Ross, of Wynn's dragoons, is going to England for saddles and bridles to put the regiment in order. That regiment, as well as all that cavalry, and the Iniskilling dragoons, are very ill mounted, and many of the officers and soldiers ill made. But since Your Majesty does them so particular a favour, as to pay them like troops raised in England, they should be obliged to have officers and soldiers better made. Your Majesty, if you please, will order Mr. Harbord to give money to colonel Ross, that he may be enabled to buy the things that are necessary, and come soon back.

I have restrained myself as far as was possible from giving leave of absence. For all the officers of this army have a great desire to go to England.

My lord Lisburne goes away immediately, upon the leave he has obtained by my lord Shrewsbury's letter. I told him, as Your Majesty ordered, that he might keep the good men whom he had lately raised in this country, but that we did not want these miserable English or Irish boys with which they larded their regiments when they came here.

There is a clergyman come here who says he has got a commission in England to be chaplain to colonel Ruffel's regiment. I had filled the vacancy two months

months ago with another chaplain. Your Majesty will order me what to do in this matter. The clergy of this country are people that are little attached to their parishes.

Your Majesty will give me leave to remind you with regard to the train of artillery, to send a good officer in the place of Glaum who is dead. The person who governs all that train at present is Halloway the controller of it, and I believe the only good officer we have. It will be also necessary that Your Majesty send me word what number of cannon you want to be brought to the army, since I see by some letters, that Your Majesty may come to put yourself at the head of your army. It appears necessary to bring more cannon into the field. Glaum spoke to me of an equipage of artillery which Your Majesty had in Holland, made for yourself, in which are some field pieces which would be very useful here. This is contained in a memorial which I made up with Glaum before he left this.

I shall take care there shall be no want of powder. But as this cannon may be of a bore which does not agree with that of the Tower, it will be necessary that Your Majesty give orders to the officers of the Tower, to make provision accordingly. It is true the people who are there understand these things very little, even the examination of the muskets which the workmen deliver them every day, which are ill made, ill mounted, and have bad locks.

Colonel Cambon showed me a letter from London, by which it appears that Mr. Harbord is ill pleased with him. The cause of this is a bill of exchange for 800 guineas which Cambon had got from Mr. Harbord for money payable at London, to Cambon's agent, for paying the cloaths of his regiment. The merchants who carried the bill to Mr. Harbord's people, upon their not paying it, took a protest. This has so much offended Mr. Harbord, that he has taken an ill-will at all the French troops here, and has said that the regiment of Cambon had not 150 men. I can assure Your Majesty,

Majesty, that though many of them have died since they came into winter quarters, there still remained 460 of them in health, and within these eight days there came from London a good recruit of 70 men who had been levied in Switzerland.

There would be much to say upon the subject of Mr. Harbord. I believe he is known in England as well as here to be interested. And I cannot exaggerate how much prejudice Your Majesty's service has received from his not paying the arrears to the colonels and captains. I believe it would be necessary for Your Majesty's service that you give an order to the commissaries of the treasury whom he left here, to pay these arrears. For when the officers are spoke to, to advance any thing to their companies when there is a want of money, they say, that as no arrears have been paid them since they came into this kingdom, they have not a penny to subsist themselves. There was a great want of money when, ten days ago, 30,000*l.* came, which I fairly distributed among all the troops in the army. I beg Your Majesty that no one but yourself may read this article about Mr. Harbord.

I am glad to learn that Your Majesty has made a contract with Pereira for the provisions and waggons to carry them with the army, which is the most essential thing. It lies at Pereira to take care that they be not as heavy as those made at London, and to get good carters who understand foraging.

I have written often to the officers of the Tower, and to Mr. Bertie the treasurer, to send us money; for there is much due. And I have supported the train by money I have borrowed upon bills of exchange upon the Tower, which have not been paid. I humbly entreat Your Majesty to order money to be given to Mr. Bertie, in order that he may be able to discharge them, and that we may not depend upon Mr. Harbord, since the office of treasurer of artillery has never depended either in England, or here, upon that of the army.

Duke

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of arms.

De Dromôre, le 14e Fevrier, 1690.

J'AY écrit souvent à la Tour pour faire de meilleurs armes, et de nous en envoyer incessamment. Car on n'a jamais veu une armée avoir eu si peu de soin de conserver leurs armes. Mais il sera necessaire que Votre Majesté donne des ordres exprez pour que l'on delivre de l'argent à M. Bertie. Car j'ay emprunté icy tout ce que j'ay pu trouver d'argent pour faire subsister l'artillerye.

Dromore, 14th February, 1690.

IHAVE written often to the Tower to make better arms, and to send them immediately. For no body ever saw an army take so little care of preserving their arms. But it will be necessary for Your Majesty to give expres orders for the delivery of money to Mr. Bertie. For I have borrowed all the money that I could for the subsistence of the artillery.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of money.

De Lisburne, le 3me Mars, 1690.

PAR mes derniers memoires Votre Majesté voit ce que le luy ay mandé sur le manquement d'argent. La necessité m'oblige encore d'avantage à luy représenter, que je voys avec regret que ses troupes au lieu de se racommoder se ruinent manque d'argent, et que Votre Majesté venant icy n'aura pas la satisfaction de les voir rétablis comme je le souhaïterois. Les lettres de Londre etant venue hier par Ecoffe, je ne voy rien dans les miennes qui me fasse esperer que nous en ayons si-tôt; et ayant demandé à un des tresoriers de M. Herbord, si il ne luy avoit pas écrit qu'on eut envoyé de l'argent à Chester, il m'a dit que non. Si M. Herbord n'en donne pas aussy pour les recreües à la cavallerye, et à l'infanterye,

terye, il est à craindre que les troupes ne se mettront pas en bon état. Car les petites sommes d'argent que nous tirons des doüannes de temps en temps n'est pas suffisant pour en donner aux soldats. Les capitaines et les officiers subalternes en prennent pour eux memes, étant obligez d'en vivre aussy, puisque depuis sept mois ils n'ont point receü de paye; et si on ne leur paye pas leur déconte de bonne heure, ils n'auront pas le temps de s'acheter quelques chevaux de charette ou de bas pour faire la campagne.

Mon devoir m'oblige d'en dire autant à Votre Majesté sur le sujet de l'artillerye. L'argent que j'ay emprunté icy pour la faire subsister n'a point été acquitté sur mes lettres de change que j'ay envoyé à la Tour. J'écris à sieur Henry Goodrick d'en parler à Votre Majesté de luy proposer ce qui s'est pratique souvent, que l'on donne quelqu' assignation sur un fond, quoy que les payements ne se font que de quelque mois après, les ouvriers ne laissent pas pour cela de trouver du credit pour subsister. J'ay mandé à mon homme d'affaires d'offrir mille ou 1200 l. sterling pour être avancez aux arquebusiers. Et s'il arrivoit qu'ils n'eussent point d'armes faites, comme je l'apprehende ainsy que je voy par la lettre de Votre Majesté, ne pourroit elle pas ordonner qu'on tira trois ou 4000 fusils d'Amsterdam et d'Utrecht? car Votre Majesté ne peut pas faire grand fond sur les piques. Elles estoient fort vieilles, et se sont achevées de pourrir pendant les pluyes de la campagne passée. Pour les troupes d'Iniskilling, ils ne s'en peuvent pas servir. Ils en disent de meme des mousquetts.

Lisburne, 3d March, 1690.

BY my last memorials Your Majesty sees what I told you of the want of money. Necessity obliges me to represent to you again, that I see with regret that the troops, in place of recovering, are ruined for want of money, and that when Your Majesty comes here you will not have the satisfaction of seeing them re-established

established as I would wish. The letters from London being come yesterday through Scotland, I see nothing in mine which can make me hope for money soon; and having asked one of Mr. Harbord's treasurers, if Mr. Harbord had not wrote him that there was money sent to Chester, he told me he had not. If Mr. Harbord does not give money to recruit the cavalry and the infantry, it is to be feared that the troops will not be in a good condition. For the small sums which we draw from the customhouses from time to time are not sufficient to give the soldiers. The captains and the subaltern officers take it to themselves, being obliged to live upon it, since they have received no pay for seven months. And if their arrears are not paid them soon, they will not have time to buy cart or bas horses for the campaign.

My duty obliges me to say as much to Your Majesty upon the subject of the artillery. The money which I borrowed here to subsist it, has not been paid upon my bills of exchange which I sent to the Tower. I wrote to sir Henry Goodrick to speak of it to Your Majesty, and to propose, what is often practised, to give some assignation upon a fund, although the payments are not made for some months after, notwithstanding which the workmen find credit upon that account for their subsistence. I wrote to my men of business, to offer 1000l. or 1200l. of advance to the gunsmiths. And if it happens that they have no arms ready made, which I am apprehensive of by your letters, could not Your Majesty order 3000 or 4000 fuses to be drawn from Amsterdam and Utrecht? for Your Majesty cannot trust to the pikes. They were very old, and became more rotten during the rains of last campaign. As for the Iniskilling troops, they cannot use theirs at all, and they say as much of their muskets.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—All things out of order.—Schomberg's generous offer.

De Lisburne, le 7e Mars, 1690.

COMME la saison avance, et que Votre Majesté pourroit arriver icy et ne pas trouver toutes choses en etat, j'aurois un extreme regret, si quelque chose pouvoit retarder ses desseins ; et je croy devoir luy dire ce que j'ay trouvé par experience depuis que je suis party de Londres, que l'on ne peut point compter juste sur les officiers de l'armée qu'on employe, soit dans les troupes, dans les vivres, ou dans l'artillerie. Et comme je suis responsable encore plus particulierement de la derniere, je trouve qu'en ce que s'y est fait depuis quelques années on y a beaucoup trompé. Je ne mets point dans ce rang la les vieux mousquets, n'y les vieilles piques, qui estoient pourries ; mais même ce qui a été fait depuis peu d'années en ça. Le canon a été mal fondu comme cela se voit par les pieces qui ont crevé au siege de Carrickfergus, ou l'on voit la mechante composition du métal. Il ne nous en reste qu'un. J'ay écrit a la Tour qu'on nous envoie des pieces de 18 et de 24. Les officiers de la Tour sont si longs à preparer les choses, je crains qu'ils n'arriveront pas devant Votre Majesté. Si j'avois seulement quatre demy canons presentement, j'assiégerois Charlemont, ou on ne peut pas laisser les ennemys derriere, quand Votre Majesté s'avancera avec son armée sans en être beaucoup incommodé. Avant que de finir l'article de l'artillerie, il faut redire un mot à Votre Majesté sur le manque d'argent qu'il y a à la Tour, afin qu'elle ordonné aux tresoriers qu'ils en delivre au sieur Bertie, tresorier de la Tour. Lequel etant pourveu de quelque argent il puisse payer les choses necessaires que Votre Majesté a ordonne, et pour celles que j'ay escrit et les faire partir incessamment, parmy lesquels sont les tentes de la cavallerie et de l'infanterie, dont on a precisement besoin.

besoin. Et comme les vaisseaux ont un grand tour à faire, leur arrivé est incertain, et leur manquement retarderoit la marche de Votre Majesté. C'est pourquoy je la supplie très humblement d'ordonner qu'on donne un convoi aux vaisseaux de la Tour qui seront chargez, afin qu'ils puissent partir incessamment.

Le Sr. Robisson est arrivée icy hier au soir, je l'ai fort entretenu sur les moyens de fournir dez a present le pain de munition à toutes les troupes, et d'autant plus qu'il n'y a point d'argent pour les payer. En leur faisant fournir du pain et de fromage il faut qu'ils ayent patience. Mais à l'égard des officiers j'en suis fort en peine. S'il y avoit de l'argent pour faire leur déconte, Votre Majesté leur donnera moyens de se preparer pour la campagne ; car ils manquent de tout.

Je ne devrois pas une meler de si loin d'ou provient le manquement de l'argent, et je m'ettone que parmy de gens qui en ont tant a Londres, il ne s'en trouvent point qui offrent d'en preter à Votre Majesté. Je n'oserois me vanter de rien ; mais si j'avois entre mes mains les cent mille livres sterling que Votre Majesté m'a fait la grace de me donner, je les ferois delivrer à celui qu'elle voudroit pour le payement de son armée.

Lisburn, 7th March, 1690.

AS the season advances, and Your Majesty may arrive here without finding every thing in order, I should be extremely sorry if any thing retarded your designs. And I think I ought to tell you that I have found by experience since I left London, that there is no counting with certainty upon the officers employed, either in the troops, the provisions or the artillery. And as I am responsible more particularly for the last, I find that for some years past there has been much roguery in it. I do not put in this rank the old muskets and old pikes, which were rotten ; but what has been made within these few years. The cannon was ill cast, as may be observed by the pieces which burst at the siege of Carrickfergus, in which one may see the bad

composition of the metal. There is only one of them left. I wrote to the Tower to send us pieces of eighteen and twenty-four pounds weight. The officers of the Tower are so long in preparing things, that I am afraid they will not arrive before Your Majesty. If I had only four demi-cannons at present, I would besiege Charlemont, where we cannot leave the enemy behind, when Your Majesty advances with your army, without being put to much inconveniency. Without leaving the article of the artillery, I must repeat a word to Your Majesty upon the want of money in the Tower, with a view that Your Majesty may order the treasurers to deliver it to Mr. Bertie, the treasurer of the Tower. When he has got money, he may pay the necessary things which Your Majesty has ordered, and those which I wrote of, and make them set off instantly; among which are the tents of the cavalry and infantry, of which there is immediate need. As the vessels have a great tour to make, their arrival is uncertain, and their failure would retard Your Majesty's march. On this account, I humbly beg you to give orders for a convoy to the vessels of the Tower loaded with these things, that they may sail immediately.

Mr. Robinson came here yesterday in the evening. I have talked with him much upon the means of furnishing from henceforth ammunition bread for all the troops; and the more so, because there is no money to pay them. When they get bread and cheese they must have patience. But with regard to the officers, I am much in pain. If there was money to pay their arrears, Your Majesty would give them the means of preparing for the campaign; for they want every thing.

I ought not at this distance to enter into the question, whence arises this want of money, and I am astonished, that amongst those who have so much at London, there should be found none who offer to lend it to Your Majesty. I dare not boast of any thing; but if I had in my hands the 100,000*l.* which Your Majesty did me the
favour

favour to give me, I would deliver it to whoever you please for the payment of your army.

Want of money and cannons.

De Lisburn, le 22 Mars, 1689.

CETTE dépeche va par le sieur Hamilton, lequel M. Herbort employé dans la tresorerie. Il dit que c'est pour presser M. Herbort de songer à envoyer promptement de l'argent. Je croy qu'il a quelque affaire particuliere, mais le pretexte qu'il prend ne laisse pas d'être fort necessaire ; car apres tout ce que j'ay mandé a V. M. de la grande necessité ou les troupes sont faute d'argent. Je n'ay plus rien à ajouter seulement que j'ay un extreme regret de voir le prejudice que cela fera au service de V. M. et les accidents qui nous peuvent arriver icy, de laisser des troupes si longtemps sans argent, si proches d'un ennemy qui est si plein d'intrigue, et dans un pays ruiné, où le soldat ne trouve rien à subsister chez son hôte, dont la plupart n'a rien pour faire subsister sa famille. Ce manquement d'argent est cause que je remets à assieger Charlemont ; quoyque nous n'ayons que deux pieces de canon de 18, le reste étant crevé, etant de fort méchant métal, au siege de Carrickfergus. J'en ay écrit souvent aux officiers de la Tour, afin qu'ils suppliasent Votre Majesté, d'or donner, qu'il y eut un convoy pour nous mener d'autre canon et des bombes icy, mais ils s'excusent par toutes les lettres, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent, pas memes seulement pour en avancer aux arquebusiers, pour continuer à faire travailler aux fuzils que je leur ay ordonné.

En ecrivant cecy, j'ay receu une lettre de Carrickfergus, par laquelle on me mandé qu'il est arrive trois vaisseaux chargez de vivres, et un où il y a quelque poudre et bombes. Il y a six mois qu'ils sont chargez, et arrivent presentement.

Le Duc de Wirtemberg est venu de son quartier icy. Il est aussi en peine de ce qu'il arrive tous les jours des

vaisseaux de Highlake, et que l'argent qui est destiné pour la troupe qu'il commande ne vient point. Il me paroît un esprit fort doux, patient, et qui a envie de bien faire.

Translation.

Lisburn, 22d March, 1689.

THIS dispatch goes by Mr. Hamilton, whom Mr. Harbord employs in the treasury. He says he goes to press Mr. Harbord to think of sending money immediately. I believe he has business of his own, but the pretence which he uses is not for that the less necessary; for after all that, I have told Your Majesty of the great necessity of the troops for want of money. I have nothing to add, but that I have an extreme regret to see the prejudice which that will do to Your Majesty's service, and the accidents which may happen here from leaving the troops so long time without money, so near an enemy who is full of intrigue, and in a ruined country, where the soldiers find nothing to subsist upon in the houses of their landlords, of whom the greatest part have no subsistence for their families. This want of money is the reason why I put off the siege of Charlemont. We have only two pieces of cannon of eighteen pounds, the rest having burst, because they were of very bad metal, at the siege of Carrickfergus. I have written often to the officers of the Tower, that they might entreat Your Majesty to order a convoy to bring other cannon and bombs here: but they excuse themselves in all their letters, that they have no money, not even to advance to the gunsmiths for their continuing to work at the fuses which I ordered.

Whilst I am writing this, I have received a letter from Carrickfergus, by which I have information of the arrival of three vessels loaded with provisions, and in one of which there is some powder and bombs. It is six months since they were loaded, and they arrive only now.

The

The Duke of Wirtemberg is come here from his quarters. He is also in pain, because every day vessels arrive from Highlake, and no money for the troops which he commands. He appears to me of a spirit gentle, patient, and desirous of doing well.

The following letter was given me by my ingenious friend Doctor Percy.

Letter written soon after the Revolution by Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. The Spanish Friar mentioned below was acted in June 1689. Court Scandal.

I AM loth to send blank paper by a carrier, but am rather willing to send some of the tattle of the town than nothing at all, which will at least serve for an hour's chat, and then convert the scrawl to its proper use.

The only day Her Majesty gave herself the diversion of a play, and that on which she designed to see another, has furnished the town with discourse for near a month. The choice of the play was the Spanish Fryar, the only play forbid by the late k——. Some unhappy expressions, among which these that follow, put her in some disorder, and forced her to hold up her fan, and often look behind her and call for her palatine, and hood, and any thing she could next think of, while those who were in the pit before her turned their heads over their shoulders, and all in general directed their looks towards her, whenever their fancy led them to make application of what was said. In one place, where the queen of Arragon is going to church in procession, 'tis said by a spectator, Very good, she usurps the throne, keeps the old king in prison, and at the same time is praying for a blessing on her army.— And when said, That 'tis observed at court who weeps, and who wears black for good king Sancho's death; 'tis said, Who is that, that can flatter a court like this?

this? Can I sooth tyranny, seem pleas'd to see my royal master murdered; his crown usurped; a distaff in the throne: and what title has this queen but lawless force; and force must pull her down.—Twenty more things are said, which may be wrested to what they were never designed; but however the observations then made, furnished the town with talk, till something else happened which gave as much occasion of discourse; for another play being ordered to be acted, the q—— came not, being taken up with other diversion. She dined at Mrs. Graden's, the famous woman in the Hall, that sells fine ribbands and head-dresses; from thence she went to the Jew's that sells Indian things, to Mrs. Ferguson's, De Vetts, Mrs. Harrison's, and other Indian house; but not to Mrs. Potter's, tho' in her way, which caused Mrs. Potter to say, that she might as well have hoped for that honour as others, considering that the whole design of bringing the queen and king was managed at her house, and the consultations held there; so that she might as well have thrown away a little money in raffing there, as well as at the other houses; but it seems that my lord Devonshire has got Mrs. Potter to be laundress; she has not much countenance of the queen, her daughter still keeping the Indian house her mother had. The same day the queen went to one Mrs. Wise's, a famous woman for telling fortunes, but could not prevail with her to tell any thing, though to others she has been very true, and has foretold that king James shall come in again, and the duke of Norfolk shall lose his head: the last I suppose will naturally be the consequence of the first. These things, however innocent in themselves, have passed the censure of the town. And besides a private reprimand given, the king gave one in public, saying to the queen that he heard she dined at a bawdy-house, and desired the next time she went he might go too. She said she had done nothing but what the late queen had done. He asked her, if she meant to make her her example. More was said on this occasion than

ever

ever was known before, but it was borne with all the submission of a good wife, who leaves all to the direction of the k——, and diverts herself with walking six or seven miles a day, and looking after her buildings, making of fringes, and such like innocent things; and does not meddle in government, though she has better title to do it than the late queen had.

In King William's box there are two letters to the king concerning the dissolution of the first parliament; one on the tory and the other on the whig side. The first is in the hand writing of sir John Trevor; there is reason to believe the other was written by Mr. Wharton, afterwards duke of Wharton.

THE matter wherein Your Majesty hath been pleased to command my weak opinion, doth in my apprehension consist of two points. First, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament; and if so, to what purposes? Secondly; If Your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think it necessary to dissolve this parliament, then what ways and methods are to be taken to get a good parliament, and to make it useful to your establishment? &c.

As to the first part of the first question, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament? I am with all humble submission of opinion, that Your Majesty's best course is to hold on this parliament for a time, and to try them for a speedy and certain supply, that may answer and defray the charge of the government, during such time as will be necessary to call and prepare for a new parliament, which will take up seven weeks at least.

The continuance of this parliament can be of no other use to Your Majesty but to gain such a supply, for all other benefits and expectations from this parliament are lost and gone: the authority of the chair, the awe and reverence to order, and the due method

of debates being irrecoverably lost by the disorder and tumultuousness of the House; the managers having small credit, the rancour and rage between the opposite factions being irreconcilable, the nation in general grown weary of them, and expecting a new parliament. The Dissenters being now under some apprehensions of Your Majesty, and Your Majesty having undeniable reasons and proofs to suspect and distrust them, the confidence on both sides is grown less: the Church party discouraged and almost in despair: they will never agree to unite your subjects by an Act of Indemnity; but they may agree to tear away your ministers, which is a safe method (under colour of redressing grievances) to arraign and expose your government to your people and the world, which methods have heretofore produced very dangerous consequences, especially in the beginning of a new reign, all which mischiefs a new parliament will disappoint, heal and mend; and lay a surer foundation for Your Majesty's happiness than can be expected from this present parliament; therefore I do humbly conclude, that the sitting on of this parliament can be of no other good use to Your Majesty (but quite contrary) unless to grant to Your Majesty a speedy and certain supply.

To gain such a supply will be the next consideration. The supply demanded must be tenderly handled: it must be reasonable and proportionable to such present use and occasion as Your Majesty shall declare you have for such supply, otherwise it will give the Dissenters a jealousy; and Your Majesty to amuse them had better ask less than too much, and thereby leave them some confidence, that you still depend upon them.

Such supply must be also certain, and be made a fund for credit, and not uncertain or unusual; for such projects will take up much time in debates, more time in drawing and framing a bill (wherein your council are not very skilful) and may meet with captious objections in passing both Houses, which waste of time is (as I humbly conceive) inconsistent with Your Majesty's pressing occasions; for by such loss of time Your Majesty

Majesty will become more necessitous, and the Dissenters will probably take advantage thereof, and will grow into such power (wherein they are indefatigable, and never to be satisfied) that I fear it will be very difficult for Your Majesty to extricate yourself out of their hands, &c.

The supply follows next to be considered of. I humbly propose for the quantity and quality of such a supply, a concurrent assessment for six months, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds a month, which with Your Majesty's growing revenue, may (I hope) be sufficient to answer the charge of the government during the interval of parliament.

The way to effect this supply, is to order your managers to consider the absolute necessity Your Majesty lies under to support the government and them; and to press them hard in it; wherein great care must be taken, not to give them any new suspicion of imagining Your Majesty to part with this parliament, which they know is to part with themselves; and to that purpose Your Majesty may intimate to them, that at the highest computation, the Two Shillings bill will not exceed twelve hundred thousand pounds. That very near two thirds thereof is already appropriated. That Your Majesty cannot have credit upon the remainder thereof till the last quarter, which will not be till nine months hence. That there remains due to Your Majesty (according to this computation) eight hundred thousand pounds, to make up the two millions promised to Your Majesty, whereof this six months assessment will answer four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and Your Majesty may bid them take their own time, and let them employ themselves to find out new methods and ways for the raising the other remaining four hundred thousand pounds, which Your Majesty must also earnestly insist to be carried on and dispatched, the better to cover your intentions. I conceive that such an assessment may go easily into the house, if the managers will espouse it heartily, this
 calculation

calculation having already been opened to the house, and the six months assessment having been likewise moved for by Foley and sir Lewson Gore, and there are very cogent reasons to be given for this present supply, more proper for the managers to give, as having more of Your Majesty's urgent necessities in their knowledge than any other, and indeed this must be wholly managed by them to avoid jealousy; and the church party to make a faint oppositon. This supply may be begun on Wednesday next; or if the call of the house should be insisted on, then the Wednesday after, and may be finished in a week. But if Your Majesty cannot prevail for such a speedy and certain supply, Your Majesty, in my poor judgment; will hazard much by the continuance of the parliament, and lose that time in this, (without any sufficient supply) which would be better bestowed on calling a new parliament, which, under God, I conceive to be the only means to answer all your ends, and to support and secure your throne and royal authority, and to reconcile and unite your divided and distracted subjects. If Your Majesty should be unsuccessful in this assessment, which I hope you will not, I could wish Your Majesty had a clause of credit by a short bill upon the excise, which was very strangely neglected, when the revenue bill was passing, for I took it for granted that such a clause was to be; for both Mr. Garraway and sir Robert Howard declared it: but I am afraid that the opinion remains still with some people, that they are not safe in their power and greatness, unless Your Majesty depend upon them. But had a bill of assessment passed instead of the Two Shilling bill, Your Majesty had been above all these difficulties, and out of the hands of these men; and it is plain that this opinion has obstructed Your Majesty's establishment, &c. But suppose, (which God forbid) that the house should neglect or delay this so reasonable and necessary a supply, and spend their time in specious and frivolous inquiries into projects and methods to raise money, under pretence of saving their land, and fall
into

If your Majesty succeeds, the clause for credit on the excise may easily and properly be inserted in the supply bill.

into heat, and run upon your ministers for mismanagement, (the lords having provided some materials for them) and leave Your Majesty's English army unpaid, (which occasions great clamours and heart-burning) and the Irish affairs in a languishing condition, which must cause great confusion in Your Majesty's affairs at home, and discredit abroad, and will encourage your enemies : What is then to be done? I do with all humble submission to your Majesty's great wisdom and experience, and with the deepest sincerity of my soul conceive, that Your Majesty has no other course nor remedy under heaven, unless you will absolutely throw yourself and your crown upon the dissenters, but immediately as soon as Your Majesty has made this last tryal in all gentle manner, without farther loss of time to dissolve this and call a new parliament ; and in order thereunto, to take the first measures to maintain and keep the peace of the kingdom, and to provide for the subsistence of the government during the interval of parliament, and to make such other wise methods, whereby the church party may be so encouraged, and yet the dissenters be assured of their indulgence and your favour. But such a scheme must first attend Your Majesty's resolution in that point, and then my humble thoughts how such an alteration may be best brought about and effected, shall be ready in two or three days time for Your Majesty's perusal. Humbly craving Your Majesty's gracious and favourable construction of my great weakness, but good intentions, herein disclosed.

Anonymous letter to King William, believed to be written by Mr. afterwards duke of Wharton.—Reproaches of the King's ingratitude to the Whigs.

S I R,

25 December, 1689.

BEING a protestant; a true Englishman, and one that wishes to see Your Majesty happy and glorious, as a reward for the protection you gave to our religion and laws, in driving out a tyrant who endeavoured

voured to destroy both, I think it my duty to lay before you the desperate condition you are brought into, by the flatterers, knaves, and villains, you have the misfortune to employ.

You will forgive my speaking plainly, since both your own state, and the nation's require it; for if you do not, without delay, wholly change your conduct, you are inevitably lost and undone.

Many thousands of your ablest seamen, are either dead, or taken prisoners, and the rest so enraged by their ill usage, that it will be difficult to persuade them to serve you next yeare.

Your army, your very guards, last raised, are much disaffected, and will help to ruin you on the first occasion.

That parliament, which sett the crowne upon your head, is grown cold, and alienated in their affections from you.

Scotland is so far discontented, that you must expect a warr thence next yeare.

You have lost the hearts of great part of your people.

You have an expensive and dangerous warr upon your hands, and no revenue settled nor money to carry it on.

And what is yet worse, your court and your councils, are filled and guided by such men as most of all seek your ruin.

These sad truths need no further demonstration, they are visible to the whole world, and I wish it were as easy to propose a remedy, as to know the disease.

It would be an endless worke to lay before you all the particular miscarriages and misfortunes, yet will I mark out some of the principall, which seeme to have caused such a change in your affaires.

First, gathering together king James's army, which was dispersed, and refusing the service of those honest men, who came to you, merely out of principles and affection. These would have been true to you, and might

might by this time, have made as good, if not better troupes than the others, who knew nothing but living dissolutely, and were hated over the nation; your good fortune, not their love, made those old troops come in to you, and whenever that sinks they will be as ready to forsake you. Those were not your friends for your cause, but their own interest, seeing they had not a head would lead them against you, and that the whole people were for you. If any of them were discontented before, it happened from private reasons, either that their ambition was not answered, or that they were like to be laid aside; in short they are corrupted in their principles, nothing can make them faithful to you, and those that remain of the old gang, will infect what men may be added to them.

In the next place, that many of king James's friends, and others, knowne enemies to the laws and government of England, were received into your councils, and promoted to places of greatest trust.

This was thought a fatallity upon your Majesty, that you should pick out the most obnoxious men of all England for your Ministers, when the declaration you published at your coming over, was principally against evill ministers, and that you made maleadministration the chief ground to justify your taking arms; there is scarce one word against king James in your declarations, the evil ministers are alone complained of, yet king James alone is punished, and the same evil ministers, or worse, are employed, when you might have found honest men to have served you in all places.

This hath been of unspeakable prejudice to you, for it is visible to all men, that the meanest people reason upon it, that we must expect the same councils and the same government, from the same men. If you did not come over to support our religion, and repair the breaches that were made in our laws and constitution, what can you urge but force, to justify what you have done; which would destroy the glory of your

enterprize? Wee have made you king, as the greatest returne we could make for so great a blessing, taking this to be your designe, and if you intend to governe like an honest man, what occasion can you have for knaves to serve you? Can the same men who contrived and wrought our ruin, be fitt instruments for our salvations? or with what honor can you employ those, against whom you drew your sword?

The pretence of their being experienced, is very weak, their experience was only in doing ill, and our lawes have sufficiently chalked out the functions of all civil ministers att home; plain honest men of good understandings and principles, suitable to the ends you declared you came hither for, might have performed these duties, especially since Your Majesty's great wisdom can well supply their defects in foreign affaires.

We have the charity to believe that this one false step hath occasioned all the rest, and that (mistaking your men) you have been misled in your measures. We are willing to lay all faults at their doores, if Your Majesty will not protect them, and take all upon yourself: This is a rock we hope you will avoid, for it hath been fatal to several kings of England.

What or who but such men, could have made Your Majesty suspected to your people? Those who would twelve months since have poured out their hearts blood to serve you, have sacrificed their fortunes and all the hopes of their families, for your sake, do now grudge every penny that is given for the necessary defence of your government, and repent their too forward zeal for a man who despises his best and only true friends, and mistakes the right way to advance both his own and his people's interest and glory.

They stand amazed to see that your Majesty, who came in upon one principle, should, for the most part, employ men who have ever professed another; that the glorious prince of Orange, who had rendered himself so renowned in the world, for his steadiness to truth,
justice,

justice, the laws and liberty of his country, and the Protestant religion, should, when he became a king, think himself less obliged to pursue those great and noble ends. The world was filled with your fame, when you landed in England; your friends adored you, and your enemies melted before you; there was nothing wanting to declare you, in the opinion of all mankind, to be the greatest and most glorious prince that had appeared for many ages, but your own resolution to give a finishing stroke to that character; IN THIS YOU FAILED, AND FELL FROM A HEIGHT WHICH VERY FEW MEN EVER REACHED BEFORE YOU.

I will say no more on this sad subject, nor accuse or name particular persons, whose villainous councils have almost ruined you and us; lest I may be thought an enemy to their persons, rather than their councils: but, sir, I beseech you to call to mind what advice every man hath given you; and what paths those you have been guided by, chalked out for you to walk in; the success of their councils will tell you what opinion to have of them, whether they love you, and have served you faithfully.

Could they intend your service or safety, that advised your Majesty to entertain king James's army, thereby making you liable to their great arrears, and putting your person and cause into the hands of the enemy. You have not much reason to think better of them by their behaviour since that time. And then, sir, you may well remember, there did not five hundred men of all king James's troops come over to your side till he left them and ran away; and many of those too forsook him, as rats do a falling house, seeing the souls of the nation against him, and that his own heart had failed him.

Can you think, sir, that any of those men who were raised by him out of the dirt, and have served him in all interests, with all their hearts and might, could be such villains as to leave him, but that they saw it absolutely necessary, for their own safety, not love for
 you?

you? and doubtless they have so much honour, and gratitude, as to betray you to him whenever they can: no man of reason can think otherwise of them.

Can they be your friends, who have recommended persons to most employments that hate you and your government, and can never be faithful to you; and where they could not put in all such, as in some of the great commissions, yet have they prevailed for at least one or two of their friends; who delay and entangle your business, and make it impossible for the rest to serve you as they ought; let them design it ever so sincerely? by the means of these men your enemies never want intelligence how all your business goes every where.

If your Majesty will please to look into the charters of your commissioners of the treasury, admiralty, customs, navy, and excise, you will find in every place some whom all England are amazed to see employed; and trusted by you; and believe you strangely imposed upon in having recommended to you men who are marked to the world for infamous and corrupt knaves on every change and turn of government.

But what surprizes yet more is, that many of them were confidants of king James's, and acted as much to carry on his interests and designs as it was possible for them; I wish they did not still, or that they were not in a condition to render him greater service, where they are, than they were capable of all their life-time before.

These men poison and trouble your business in its first motion, and it can never go well while they have the direction.

Almost all their imps are as bad as they, and many in your own family of the same stamp. Some of those who daily serve, with every bit you eat, and drop you drink, may poison you. Though it seems very strange, that any man should have the imprudence to recommend such persons to your Majesty, yet we cease to wonder, when we see the corruption of your court and ministers.

ters. The whole town is filled with infamous stories, how they sell all employments, more publickly and with shame, than in either of the two last reigns. Good God, Sir, what a dishonour is this to your Majesty! at this rate, in a little time, the basest and vilest of men, and the most inveterate of your enemies, will buy themselves into all places about you; your ministers will be detested and abhorred, your court deserted by all honest men, and your government grow cheap and despised.

Can they be you friends, who laboured to replace king James upon the throne, and bring your Majesty to terms with him, when he had no power to support himself? Being not able to prevail for this in the Convention, they desired a regency; that being rejected, they set up the pretended prince of Wales his title, and demanded evidence of his being supposititious; that being not thought necessary.

They would have vested the royal power in the queen alone, without your Majesty, thereby making the husband subject to the wife, contrary to the law of God; but that being carried against them,

They would have made you both queen and king, giving the queen still the preference; and that being refused,

They would have made your Majesty king, and her queen, settling the royal power equal in both.

So that, Sir, they struggled for every thing that could be devised against you, before they would agree to make you king alone; and it is remarkable, they never yielded any one point, until your friends did, as well by threats as arguments, oblige them to comply.

You see by this, Sir, how they set themselves against you. In that great affair, there could not happen a greater occasion to try who were your friends and enemies, and it was hoped you would make your judgment of men by it; for those who would not have you king, were it in their power would have made you nothing.

I cannot forbear acquainting your Majesty with what was said at that time in the House of Lords, by the earl of Nottingham, though perhaps you may have heard it already.

He confessed that England was much obliged to the prince of Orange, and that he was confident his highness proposed nothing to himself but the glory of freeing us; and that he had too much honour, justice and religion, to aim at the crown. If that were expected, it was not in our power to give: the reward was too great in itself, and we should pay too dearly for our liberty. For supposing the worst, king James was an old man, and could not live long; and the prince of Wales was a child: so that the administration must fall into the hands of the nation, and they might easily restore the government to themselves.

I shall observe upon these questions, that it will be found upon inquiry, that the persons who espoused them, in both Houses, (though some have been preferred, and trusted by your Majesty) have since opposed your Majesty's service and interest in every debate.

And that I think it next to an impossibility for any of them to be sincerely in your interest, or that you ought in prudence to trust them.

It was the best service that could be done at that time for king James, for while they delayed your Majesty's from being declared king, they both obstructed your possessing yourself of Ireland, and making the necessary preparations for the war in due time.

While the rebels strengthened themselves there, and the French king sent them the late king to head them against you, and supplies of all sorts; had it not been for these traitors to your Majesty and the Protestant religion, Ireland would have been mastered with little expence; and they ought to have answered for the treasure that shall be spent in reducing it.

Can you believe, Sir, that they who would have made terms for king James against you, will not be ready, if any change happens, to make terms with him, for themselves,

themselves, though it were by delivering your Majesty up to him ?

You see, Sir, how king James is supported by the French king ; and with what insolence papists, and many others, have carried themselves against you and your government ; many thousands talk against you in all publick places, who not only declare their hopes of seeing king James here very suddenly, but seem assured that the nation will rise to restore him as unanimously as they did to bring you in.

This confidence cannot be without some grounds, either from the assurances given by his friends in your councils, or that they see your business so ill managed, that it is impossible for the government to subsist.

At this conjuncture you ought certainly to trust none, but such as you can entirely confide in ; such alone whose integrity is known to the world, whose principles have brought them to your service and interest, and whose safety and welfare is bound up with yours ; not such who would be in the same posts, or better should king James be re-established, and have betrayed you to him ever since you employed them.

This spirit that hath risen up against you is spread over England, as well as about the town ; and though you may not think the militia of much use against disciplined troops, yet if your Majesty will put it into such hands as you can trust, they will be able to prevent any risings or tumults that can be in the country, and secure your peace at home : therefore, Sir, it cannot be ill advice to settle it all over England as soon as possibly you can : they are paid by the country, and do not cost you one penny.

There is another part of your conduct, which hath been of great prejudice to you ; that you have carried yourself with such coldness, slowness, and indifference in all business, and between all parties ; the hands and hearts of your friends have been thereby weakened, and your enemies strengthened against you.

It was expected by all men, when you took the government upon you, that you would have settled it both with wisdom and vigour, that you would have made yourself safe from your foes, and put all power into the hands of your friends. Your enemies gave over all hopes, but those of your mercy, and would never have thought of disturbing your peace, had they not been invited to it by the ill conduct of your affairs.

It is no wonder that so many of them are crept in about you, and that some have gained such credit with you, since you begin very early to forget your friends who had best served you, and showed more kindness to those who had most opposed you. Certainly, Sir, you are the first king set up by power, that ever sought to be supported by his enemies.

Were they not fit to be entrusted and employed by you, who had hazarded their all for you? or could you think those who had placed the crown upon your head not able to keep it there? those are doubtless two very good arguments for their fidelity and power to serve you.

Your coldness and slowness in business hath made your enemies think you are afraid of them; and your trimming between parties is beneath you and your cause. Had you made use of those men alone who always appeared true to the interest of England, your enemies would not have had the confidence to have opposed you in any thing; your business would have gone on smooth and undisturbed, and your reign would have been glorious: but employing a medley of men, who can never act heartily together, your friends could not serve you, and your enemies were encouraged to intrigue against you.

The wisest and best thinking men do not comprehend what your Majesty can propose to yourself from that scheme of measures which seems to be laid before you,

Can it be for your Majesty's service to trust or employ any of king James's creatures?

Or any who are notoriously known to be dishonest men?

Or such whose mal-administration heretofore made them hated by the people?

Or any of those who had a hand, in the two last reigns, in bringing us into the misery your Majesty hazarded your all to deliver us out of?

You see, Sir, into what an ill condition they brought your affairs in one year. Is it not manifest that some of them have betrayed you, that others have cheated you, and that altogether they put your business into such confusion, that you know not which way to turn yourself? Your friends are hereby much discouraged, and rendered incapable of serving you; for they neither can, nor will, act in the company, or under the direction of such villains.

Your whole people complain, and your parliament is discontented at it. If the parliament had not seen these men employed, I dare affirm they would have settled upon your Majesty and the Queen the revenue for life. In the last sessions they complained of these people, yet were then willing to give the revenue for five or seven years; but now they see so much treachery, and the miscarriages grown to such a bulk, that they can no longer bear them. Your Majesty suffers by it, for they will not trust while these men are about you.

Who would have thought it possible, that the people of England would so soon grow jealous of you, their great deliverer, as not to trust you with the revenue for more than one year? These men are the only cause of it; and, first or last, you will find it absolutely necessary to part with them.

If they loved your Majesty, they would withdraw themselves for your sake; and if they were wise men, they would retire for their own: for if they bring us

to confusion, again, they will be certain sacrifices to the publick.

Doubtless they endeavour to misrepresent the parliament to your Majesty, as if they designed to lessen your power when they question those about you, or are dissatisfied with any you employ; thereby hoping to shelter themselves under your prerogative, and prevail with your Majesty to protect them upon these specious pretences.

This hath ever been the trick of wicked ministers, and as often their ruin.

But, Sir, we hope it will not be in the power of any to fix thoughts in your Majesty in prejudice of your parliament. No king of England can be great or happy without a perfect good understanding between him and his people: their interest is the same; and they are enemies to both who endeavour to divide them.

We cannot doubt your Majesty's affection for the protestant religion and the people of England, since you have so much exposed yourself to succour them: and we hope, that neither the disappointments you may have met with on the one hand, nor the insinuation of ill men on the other, will divert you from finishing the good you intended us.

It is true you have an aftergame to play, yet we hope it may be retrieved, if your Majesty pleases to take measures accordingly.

Open your heart to your people, let them see that you sincerely desire their good, and that it is your misfortune, not choice, that you have employed persons you find them dissatisfied with; tell them you are ready to quit whoever they dislike, and that you will never keep any about you who are suspected to them.

The putting away all those who are complained of, cannot have any dangerous consequence; for their interest is so small, that altogether they cannot bring an hundred men either for or against you.

This

This will regain you all the hearts you have lost ; this will fill the Island with acclamations in your praise ; this will make the parliament give you all the money you can want or desire, and your name renowned to all ages.

We are fully persuaded that your Majesty does really intend the good of England ; and since you do, why should you not take the most ready course to make yourself and us easy and happy ?

Since it hath not pleased God to bless you with children, you will by this means raise yourself a name more glorious to posterity, than if you had children to make princes over many nations.

And if you had children to succeed you here, yet this would be the way to establish your throne ; for no king can be so great in England as he that reigns in the hearts of his people ; and he that sincerely desires their good may command the last penny they have to give, and every drop of their blood to serve him.

The proposal of settling a revenue, by act of parliament, upon the Princess Ann of Denmark, was fortunate for your Majesty, for thereby you saw the number of your friends ; and that if you take right measures, you may carry any thing in this house of commons. Your enemies could not have a more plausible question to draw in as many to their side as can be brought against you on any occasion ; yet you heard how weak they were ; the design was plain to give the princess a great revenue, and make her independent upon your Majesty, that she might be the head of a party against you.

This was laboured by the Tories and high churchmen, and carried for you by the honest old Whig interest : so that, Sir, you have clear demonstration, which is the stronger ; and we hope you will no longer delay espousing the honest part of the nation.

Those who made you king, and those who keep your power from being eclipsed, desire you to lay aside the obnoxious men about you ; and, Sir, we hope you will

will gratify us in a request that is both for your honour and interest.

Your circumstances are such, by reason of enemies at home, and your wars abroad, that you will always want to be supported by parliaments, therefore it is necessary that you do what you can to satisfy your people, and do nothing to disoblige them to bring yourself into disputes with them, for it may be of most dangerous consequence.

It is observable, in the reigns of king James the First, king Charles the First and Second, and the late king, that when they once came to have differences with their parliaments, they could never after call any new parliament that would do any thing for them; and, on the contrary, that queen Elizabeth's compliance and affability made her wonderfully beloved, and her parliaments grant whatever she desired.

If your Majesty likes this advice, there be some honest men about you whom you may consult with to improve it; tho' I protest that none of them know of this paper's coming to you, and am confident they will think these the only means to recover your almost lost game; and it is what was done by king Henry the Fourth, a great prince, before you.

I entreat your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, and remain

Your most dutiful and loyal

Subject and servant.

December 25th, 1689.

In king William's box there is, in his own hand writing, a speech he intended to make to his first parliament, when he prorogued it, with a resolution to dissolve it. It may be curious to an English reader
to

to compare this intended speech with that which his ministers formed for him. The two copies follow.

The speech which king William intended to have spoken when he dissolved his first parliament, in his own hand.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I H A V E all the reasons in the world to give you my hearty thanks for your readines in supplying me to carry on the wars I am engaged in: you may be assured that the money you have given me has and will be employed towards it; *as far as it will go*; and 'tis my greatest grief to see my good people so much charged, and therefore would do all what lies in my power to see them eased: and the speedy reducing of Ireland being of that great importance for the good of this kingdom; I am resolved to go in person, to endeavour, under the blessing of God Almighty, to reduce that kingdom, that it may be no longer a burthen to this; and as I have ventured my life for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation, so I am ready to do it again for the settlement of the same. And the time of the year being already so far spent; that there is but a very little left to make all preparations necessary to take early the field, which can't be done during the session of a parliament, so that I am obliged to make an end of this, and do prorogue you till the first of April.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am so sensible of the readines you have shown to supply me with money for the carrying on the wars I am engaged in, that I am glad of this occasion to give you thanks for your chearfull dispatch, which was absolutely necessary for the common safety. The best return I can make to your kindness is, to assure you that, *as far as it will go*, it shall all be employed to the purposes it was given.

It is a very sensible affliction to me, to see my good people burthened with heavy taxes ; but since the *speedy* recovering of *Ireland* is, in my opinion, the only means to ease them, and to preserve the peace and honour of the nation, I am resolved to go thither in person, and, with the blessing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to them.

And as I have already *ventured my life* for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation ; so I am now willing again to expose it, to secure you the quiet enjoyment of them.

The spring draws on, and it being requisite I should be *early* in the field, I must *immediately* apply my thoughts to the giving orders for the necessary preparations, which, that I may have the *more leisure* to do, I have thought convenient now to put an end to this session.

In king William's box there is the following letter to him, in the year 1689, which seems written by Mr. Hampden, dissuading him from going to Ireland.

YOUR Majesty having been pleased, as I am informed, to communicate to several persons your resolutions of going into Ireland, the great objections that occur to me are such, that the infinite zeal I have for your Majesty's service, makes me presume, in all humility, to lay them before you.

First, Sir, It is greatlie to be feared, that since almost no bodie hath escaped sickness that hath gone thither, your Majesty will hardly escape it ; and how fatal that may be, not only to England, but to Europe, every body knows, Ireland bearing no proportion to the concern and interest the world hath in the prolongation of your Majesty's life, the reasons whereof are plain, but too long for this paper.

2dly, The great numbers of men which it will be necessary for your Majesty to carry over, and the many volunteers who will be desirous to follow your Majesty, and will be composed of such as are most affectionate to your royal person, will expose these two kingdoms too much to the designs of turbulent and disaffected persons, too many whereof appear to be in England, as well as Scotland, who no doubt have an understanding together; and 'tis to be feared they do but wait for such an opportunity to execute their designe.

3dly, It appearing manifestlie alreadie, that all things allmost for the support of the armys, must be supplied from hence, and how difficult it is to do it, even when we have had the royal authority to command it to be done: your Majesty will easily believe, that it will be next to impossible, when that is wanting, to furnish in time, and sufficiently, for an army near three times as big as this was this last year.

4thly, The difficultys will be infinite in settling the administration of the government during your Majesty's absence. If your Majesty intrusts your counsils to a few, there exception will be taken, and jealousies will increase, though perhaps as unreasonably as hitherto they have done. If your Majesty make a full counsell, then factions and misunderstandings will arise amongst them, which will obstruct business, besides that it cannot easily be resolved whether there ought to be any parliament or not, even upon the greatest occasions.

Lastly, The expence of treasure will be so great that it seems to put the whole fate of Europe upon the success of the expedition, which can never be certain, from the situation of the country, the unhealthy weather, the want of provision, and many other difficultys.

That

That I may explain the reason last offered, give me leave humble to lay before your Majestie the state of the treasure, and your charge for the next year.

The land forces will cost	—	—	2,500,000
Your navy,	—	—	1,400,000
The civil list,	—	—	0,600,000
The debt already contracted,	—	—	1,400,000
The contingent charges of transports, clothing, magazines, hay, artillery, and carriages, &c.	—	—	300,000
			<hr/>
		Total	6,200,000

Towards this there appears a prospect only of two millions, granted by parliament and the revenue in all,			3,000,000
			<hr/>

So there will be a debt,	—	—	3,200,000
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This debt amounts to so formidable a sum, that the effects of it appear terrible; for first, the want of money will be so great, that your army will be in a great measure unpaid: 2dly, it is almost certain that it will create obstructions in all necessary supplies to the army from time to time, on which the success of the whole business will depend; and your Majestie's honor, and the glory of your name, and the welfare of these kingdoms, are things of too great moment to be hazarded against such apparent difficulties: but 3dly, it is to be feared that the merchants who are to furnish powder and stores, and the navy and victuals, will have so lost their credit, that it is to be doubted, whether it will be possible to sett out a fleet another year, which added to the danger of a mutinie, which may justly be feared in an army so much unpaid, as this must be, seems to reduce your Majestie's affairs in these kingdoms to the last distress.

And

And should the best thing that can, happen, notwithstanding these apparent dangers, which is the total reduction of Ireland, this debt would be so great, that the parliament will certainly quarrel with the ill husbandry, and say it might have been done for less, and the factious will certainly make use of that argument, and the distresses your Majesty's affaires will be in for want of money, to offer things more ungrateful to your Majesty than hitherto they have done. To cure all this in my poor opinion there is but one way, which is to reduce the charge, whatever the consequences be, to such a proportion, that the warr may be carried on, and the government subsist, and the armies and fleet well paid, and thereby depend and be affectionate to your Majesty's service, though less numerous by this means. So Ireland will infallibly fall into your Majesty's hands the next year, if it doe not this. Your Majesty will be free from clamours for money, and all the uneasie consequences of it; your mind will be at ease, and your affairs, though not so raised in their victories, will be more safe, and if a disappointment happen, it will be less afflicting, and easier repaired; and whatever happen of objection from the parliament, there is this answer obvious, that your Majesty hath done all that the supplies they furnished you with, could enable you to do. But, Sir, if with this lesser armie and fleet, you should happen to be so victorious, but to a degree of getting Dublin, then, Sir, as the glorie would be greater, so every body that had money, would be readie to lay it out upon adventures of land there, to a degree of supplying your treasure, whatever the parliament doe. To explain all the happy effects of such an accident, would be too long here. There is one thing more, which seems absolutely necessary, which is, that after the raising of the parliament, your Majesty go into Scotland, to settle that kingdom; at which journey your Majesty will doubtless take such care as that your Majesty will be safe for many years from having disturbance from thence,

and so defeat those that depend upon them here. I ought here to have offered your Majesty a scheme for reducing the charge of the next year to the proportion I mentioned, but not knowing how far your Majesty will approve this humble opinion, and besides there being so many abler men to make it, I do not here offer it, but if your Majesty pleases to encourage my zeal, so as to command my thoughts, I will lay them before your Majesty, with that integrity and true loyalty, which I must always have to your Majesty's service.

In King William's box there is a letter from Lord Delamer to the marquis of Caermathen, in the year 1689, on the same subject with Mr. Hampden's. Part of it is as follows :

THE small regard which the king has given to my advice and opinion, as well in relation to things as persons, is an unanswerable argument to me, that I ought rather to be silent than unaskt to offer my sentiments upon his going into Ireland; but whether such neglect of me has proceeded from a mean opinion of my understanding, or a distrust of my sincere inclinations to his service, or else from a greater reliance his Majesty may have in your abilities, and the integrity of others, I know not, yet I cannot but declare that it grates the harder upon me to see a preference given to those who have justly rendered themselves suspected, by opposing his having the crown, and obstructing every thing that tends to the settling of it since it was upon his head.

They are not many who will not allow me to have a competent measure of sense, and the number is not greater that think I act against my judgment; and must it not then be a most sensible trouble to be regarded as if I were a knave or a fool, and by him, with whom

whom voluntarily and unaskt I ventured all I had in the world, and wasted a great part of it, and have exerted the utmost of my understanding and interest to make him easy, safe, and great; but I have this to support me, that I have not done any thing to give him the least cause to distrust me, nor ever offered him any advice which the issue of it did not prove I was in the right.

B O O K V.

In King William's box is lord Annandale's confession of the Scotch part of the first conspiracy against King William.

A full and faithful account of the conspiracy William earl of Annandale was with others engaged in against the government, written from the earl's own mouth by Sir William Lockhart, and delivered by the earl to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, the 14th day of August, 1690.

AFTER the first adjournment of the Scotch parliament in the year, 1689, the earl of Annandale, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery of Scallmorlie, came to London, contrary to the king's express command, and presented an address to his Majesty, which (with a paper called the vindication of it, written by Mr. Robert Ferguson, as sir James Montgomery told the earl, who furnished him the materials) gave such offence to the king, as made us quickly see we had totally lost the king's favour. Thus the earl continued in London without entering into any design till the beginning of December, about which time sir James Montgomery, who is perhaps the worst and most restless man alive,

came to the earl, and propos'd to him, that, seeing there was no hopes of doing any thing with the king, we ought to apply ourselves to King James, who was our lawfull prince, and who would no doubt give us what preferments and employments we pleas'd. To this purpose severall days we discours'd, and the earl having agreed to the proposition, it was thereafter propos'd by sir James to the lord Rofs, who after much difficulty engag'd therein. Then did we meet, and consider the most proper ways of making our application to the late king; but sir James Montgomery had already so order'd that matter, that the lord Rofs and the earl had little more to do but to say Amen. For at this time he produc'd three papers, all writt with his own hand. First, A commission for one to represent the late king in parliament. Second, Instructions to his commissioner, consisting, to the best of the earl's memory, of 32 articles. The third, A declaration calculated for Scotland; all which were to be sent to, and sign'd by the late king. The person who was to carry this extraordinary message, and which seem'd of greatest difficulty, was as ready as the rest, who was one Simpson, whose acquaintance the lord Rofs and the earl ow'd to sir James. Some days after, the earl was conduct'd by sir James to the Fleet prison, where they again discours'd the whole affair with Simpson and Nevil Payne, and declares he was, in all, three times there with the same company, only the lord Rofs was once with them. Thereafter the earl had two other meetings on this subject, the one in his own lodgings, and the other at the Globe tavern near Northumberland house, where were present sir James, Mr. Simpson, capt. Williamson, sir Robert Clerk, and the lord Rofs, who was only at one of them, but does not remember which. Williamson and Clerk did at this time resolve to go to France with Simpson. The next and last meeting the earl had in England on this affair, was at capt. Williamson's house near Hyde Park, where all the above named persons, except Nevil Payne, were present.

sent. We looked over all the papers were to go with Simpson, and the credentials he was to have from us was signed there, which was produced under sir James Montgomery's hand in black ink, and writ over in white ink either by Clerk or Williamson, and signed with white ink by the earl, lord Ros, and sir James. The substance of it was, that they were sorry they had departed from that duty and allegiance they owed to King James, great assurances to be faithfull for the future, telling the necessity of satisfying the people of Scotland in the method prescribed, and that there might be full credit given to the bearer, which with the fore-mentioned papers were at this time delivered to Simpson, who carried them to Ireland by the way of France. This is all the earl remembers to have been transacted in England in this matter. And the earl does declare that the whole of the project was bottomed on this ground, that we were able to bring home King James in a parliamentary way, being, as we believed, the majority of the parliament; for though we durst not make any insinuation to the dissenters of bringing home King James, they really abhorring that thought, yet many of them we knew would concurr to force the king to yield to those demands which he had shewed his dislike of, or so to oppose the king's measures, that (though they desired not the parliament dissolved) yet would certainly oblige the king to do it, which would so have served the design that the earl can with great assurance declare, that not only the country would have been in confusion, but that when the king should have been necessitated to call another parliament, the plurality would have called back King James. That this project might be managed to the best advantage, the earl and sir James Montgomery, about the end of December, went to Scotland, the lord Ros having gone two days before; and it was at this time that sir James did settle a correspondence with Nevil Payne, under the direction of Archibald Moor, Patrick Johnson, and James Hamilton. The earl declares, that so

soon as they arrived at Edinburgh, sir James and he waited on the earl of Arran, and told him all they had transacted at London, in sending the message to the late king, which he then approved of, and was willing to do any thing would bring home his old master. Thus matters went on in Scotland, the Jacobites and we joyning cordially in the design of obstructing the king's affairs, so as should oblige him to dissolve this parliament. To this end all endeavours were used to oblige those who were for King James to come in, and take the oaths, so that from the number of Jacobites that were to come in on the one hand, and the appearance we made for the liberty of the subject on the other, by which we had many dissenters, and the advantage we received from the frequent adjournments, gave us good hopes of success; but quickly we were disappointed, for when the parliament had sit some days, we plainly saw that the dissenters had got such a confidence in the earl of Melvill's sincerity, both for the interest of the king, and liberty of the people, and seeing us openly appear with those they concluded Jacobites, they left us almost in every vote. So that the Jacobites finding there might great inconveniences arise to them from so publick an appearance against the interest of the king and settlement of the nation, they told us plainly, they would leave us, and concurr in the money bill, which was the chief thing which from the beginning we all resolved to oppose. Thus the measures of getting the parliament dissolved being broke, we broke among ourselves, and every one looked to his own safety. Whilst these things were transacting in parliament, Mr. Simpson comes to Edinburgh with the return of his message from King James, and to the best of the earl's remembrance it was upon the _____ being her Majesty's birth day; he brought with him a great bundle of papers sealed up in a large leather bag with the late king's own seal. It was delivered to sir James Montgomery and opened by him in his own chamber, without calling either Ross or the earl, who were equally concerned in
the

the message ; so that sir James might have taken out what papers he pleased without controul. The earl, according to the best of his memory, gives in the following list of what papers he saw under the late king's hand.

1. A commission to himself to represent King James in parliament.
2. Instructions to him in a large parchment, and many particular instructions apart.
3. A commission for a council of five, very ample, to the earls of Arran and Annandale, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery ; and whether Argyle's name was in for the fifth, or a blank, he does not remember.
4. A commission of council, wherein duke Hamilton and most of the old privy counsellors were named, with a blank, for the council of five to insert whom they pleased.
5. A commission for the session, wherein sir William Hamilton and sir James Ogilvie were named, and several others which the earl does not remember.
6. A commission of justiciary.
7. A commission to James Stuart to be lord advocate.
8. A general indemnity, six persons only excepted ; the earl of Melville, lord Leven, lieutenant-general Douglass, major-general Mackay, sir John Dalrymple lord advocate, and the bishop of Salisbury.
9. A great many letters, writ with King James's own hand, to most of the considerable men in Scotland, and above 40 more superscribed by him to be directed and delivered as the council of five should think fitt.
10. A letter to the three that sent the message.
11. A particular letter to Annandale, and a commission to command the castle of Edinburgh ; and a patent for a marquiss.

12. The earl has heard that fir James had a particular letter ; but he saw a commission to be secretary, and a patent to be an earl.

13. The lord Rofs had a commission to be colonel of the horse guards, and an earl's patent.

The earl declares that many of these papers are burnt, some yet extant, and that what are in his own custody, he shall deliver to whom Her Majesty shall appoint. The earl of Annandale does further declare, that although he had talked with the earls of Linlithgow, Balcarras, Breadalbine, lord Duffus, lord Preston, lord Boyne, and fir James Oglebie, fir William Scott, about the bringing home King James, and assuring them he was in his interest, yet the particular message from London he only communicated to the marquiss of Athole and the earl of Arran, and declares that the message having come upon the Thursday, it remained with fir James Montgomery untill the Saturday morning, that he and the earl carried all the papers above-mentioned to the earl of Arran's lodging in Holyrood-house, where Arran and Rofs were, and there did consult what papers were proper to show to the rest of the cabal who were that afternoon to meet at the earl of Breadalbin's lodgings. It was here resolved, that nothing should be communicated to them but King James's commission to his commissioner, the 32 articles of instructions, and the particular letters, because we apprehended the rest would have taken umbrage at the extraordinary trust given to us by the commission of the council of 5, and commissions for the greatest trusts and first offices of the kingdom, which some of themselves had in the late king's reign enjoyed. So in the afternoon, according to appointment, we met at the earl of Breadalbin's lodging, where were present the marquiss of Athole, the earl of Linlithgow, Annandale, Balcarras, Breadalbin, lord Rofs, fir James Montgomery, who after having considered the papers, were not satisfied with them, and were ill pleased that the declaration sent to France was not returned, and all

of them did extremely blame us who had sent the message, for thinking it was possible to do King James's business in this parliament, and that in place of these papers, we ought to have writ for ammunition and arms and forces if they could be obtained. So we parted, and the papers continued in Breadalbin's hands, untill the Monday, at which time sir James Montgomery and the earl returned to Breadalbin's lodgings, who sent for one Cambell a writer, who had the keeping of the papers; and we being satisfied that they could be of no import for king James's service, and might prove destructive to us if they should come into the hands of the government, we in Breadalbin's bed-chamber burned them.

In king William's box are the three following letters from the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Nottingham, about the first plot against king William.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.

SIR, London, 13th June, 1690.

YESTERDAY I received the honour of Your Majesty's letter of the 10th, and this day we had the news of Your Majesty's being embarked on the 11th, with so good a wind that I doubt not but Your Majesty arrived in Ireland on the 12th, where I hope you will find your victories as easy as your passage.

The wind has stood so well ever since the 10th, that I hope it will have remedied the mistake of those ships which are gone to Kircudbright, and it may have carried the fleet wherever they would go; only they will be retarded awhile by staying to take up lord Pembroke's regiment on board at Portsmouth. I imparted Your Majesty's commands to the queen concerning the parliament, about which I found you had given her some intimation; but it will be necessary, before the time of its meeting, to let her have your express directions on that

that matter ; to the end her Majesty may deliver it as such to the great council.

It hath been expected that before this time some informations would have come from Scotland, by which sir John Cohrain and Mr. Ferguson might have been detained in custody. There hath little appeared by their papers, saving a constant correspondence betwixt them and some of the club, and sir John's having been ordered to buy some serviceable horses for my lord Ross in April last ; in which month, it appears by several letters, which have been taken in other hands, that something was expected to have been then done which failed.

All things here seem to be in a very peaceable posture ; and the dean of Paul's and I do intend to attempt the making some reconciliations in the city, amongst such as are best able to contribute to your service there, if they can be brought to agree with one another.

I acknowledge Your Majesty's great goodness and condescension in having been pleased to afford me expressions so far beyond what is possible for me to deserve ; and I am sure that if I had not been already devoted to Your Majesty's service with such an entire resignation as is not possible to be greater, I must necessarily have been so, from the date of that letter which comes from an hand so sacred both for truth and greatness of mind.

I am sorry that my son's interest seeming to interfere with major Wildman's, makes it less fit for me to reflect upon his actings : but there are divers passages which make it highly probable that Mr. Wildman is privy to whatever has been acting against the government in Scotland, and particularly his burning very many of his papers, as he did certainly the same night after Ferguson and his papers were seized ; with whom I find he used to be constantly in private twice or thrice every week. His proceedings also with sir Samuel Moreland, which are too tedious to trouble Your Majesty withal, and about which he gave sir Samuel a particular strict charge
that

that I should know nothing. Upon that whole matter, I do truly believe him to be a very dangerous man to the government; and that neither Your Majesty's nor the Queen's letters do escape his search, if he can get to them: insomuch that I am in my conscience of opinion, that of all the hands in England the post-office ought the least to be trusted in his; especially at this time.

I beg leave to conclude with this assurance to Your Majesty, that I am, both by obligation, inclination, and duty, SIR,

Yours, &c.

CAERMARTHEN P.

Lord Nottingham to king William.—Lady Dorchester and Mr. Graham spies to government.—Weak state of the kingdom.—Presses the king to return.

SIR,

I THINK it my duty to acquaint Your Majesty with some informations I have lately had from persons that are privy to all matters relating to the interests of the late king, as Your Majesty will easily believe, when I tell you they are my lady Dorchester and Mr. James Grahme: the latter will now take the oaths of fidelity, and gives me this reason for it: that though he has done all he could to serve king James, yet, since there is now no further possibility of doing him any good, but the quarrel is now more immediately between England and France, he will behave himself as becomes a true lover of his country, and a faithful subject of Your Majesty's; concluding, that if the French king should succeed in any attempt here, it would be no advantage to his old master, who, by his behaviour in Ireland, must needs have lost all that respect which ever the court of France pretended to shew him. This is what he says; but I guess, that the taking the oaths being necessary to entitle him to Your Majesty's general pardon,

pardon, this is at least one motive to induce him to his present resolution.

He says he will never be an evidence, nor would willingly name any persons ; but promises me he will discover every thing that he hears of the French designs ; and if any letters should be intercepted, he will explain the meaning of them.

He tells me, that almost all the persons of any quality in Scotland are in a conspiracy against the government ; and though all are not for the late king, yet they are contented to join with his friends to overthrow the present constitution ; my lady Dorchester added, that my lord marquis of Athol had received 1200*l.* to carry on this design, but did not distribute it as he should have done. She named also my lord Belcarris, who was to have gone lately into France, but wanted money.

As to the French designs, they, in prospect of the success of their fleet, intended to have invaded England with 40,000 men, part from France, and part from Ireland, where they expected the war would have been prolonged by avoiding a battle ; but whether the defeat there will alter their measures as to the time of this invasion, he knows not : for they have ready great numbers of transport ships, and particularly for 2000 horse ; and there are some persons gone into France to give an account of Your Majesty's great success in Ireland, and of the posture of affairs here. And Mr. Grahme has promised to inform me of the resolutions taken thereupon in France, whether to delay or hasten their attempt upon England : and I beg leave humbly to offer my thoughts to Your Majesty, that it will be in a few days or not at all ; for though the design was at first laid to be executed towards the end of the campaign, yet it was upon a supposition that their fleet would have wholly destroyed that of Your Majesty by surprizing them before they were joined, and that the war of Ireland would have lasted much longer ; and that their frigates would have destroyed your transport ships : but being disappointed in the two first, (and I hope in the last

last too) and knowing that it is possible for Your Majesty's fleet to be at sea in three weeks time, and that Your Majesty is at liberty of returning yourself, and bringing a great number of troops, they must conclude they shall not be able to make the attempt of landing here, and much less of succeeding in it, unless they immediately undertake it, while there is nothing by sea, and little by land, to oppose them; and besides these reasons, I have a positive oath of a French fisherman taken lately by the Crown frigate, that great numbers of troops were drawing together to St. Malo's from several parts of France, and it was publickly talked of that they were designed to invade England: and my lord Marlborough tells me, that colonel Talmash writes the Marshal Humieres is drawing a great army to join the duke of Luxemburgh, but more probably to be embarked at Dunkirk, towards which coast some French men of war were seen to be detached after the battle; and my lord further tells me, that it is discoursed here among the disaffected, that Humieres is coming hither with 18,000 foot and 2000 horse.

How ill a condition we are in to resist them Your Majesty can judge; the fleet cannot be expected at sea these three weeks at the least, and, I fear, not near so soon; and though vice admiral Killigrew be arrived at Plymouth, yet his ships are so foul, that he can't avoid the enemy if he should attempt to come up the channel; and the difficulty therefore of joining the fleet is almost insuperable: the troops that can be drawn together, will not be above five thousand foot and a thousand horse and dragoons; and the rest of our strength is in the militia, on which Your Majesty will not much rely, and the most considerable part of that, which is in London, makes difficulty of marching out of London. Their auxiliaries cannot presently be raised, and expect to be armed as usual, by the crown, and their offers of one thousand dragoons and four hundred horse most certainly cannot be effected in so short a time as is necessary, much less can they be so disciplined

plined as to be usefull; so that, if the French should suddenly land, they might in a few days be masters of London, and from thence of all your ships in harbour, and with the help of their fleet, of the others also that are at the Buoy in the Nore.

I should not have said thus much, had it been my own opinion singly, but I think all the rest of my lords of the committee concur with me in it.

Your Majesty knows the officers you have left here, and how few there are that have any experience; but I am bound to tell you, that I hear there will be some difficulty made of submitting to the chief; I cannot say with any reason; but such an humour only is sufficient to discompose a greater strength than we can make.

And I humbly hope Your Majesty will pardon me, that I tell you, there are not wanting disaffected persons, who, although they will not rise in arms against you, yet give occasion of discontent; and murmurings, by saying, that England is at the yearly charge of five millions, and has near 80,000 men in pay in the defence of Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and is itself naked and destitute of the means of its preservation.

All which makes Your Majesty's return so necessary, that nothing should delay it, but the impossibility of it with safety to your person; but however, I presume Your Majesty will send a very considerable body of your troops, and think it much better to hazard them than a whole kingdom.

The messenger is returned from Bath, where my lord Annandale was at his arrival there, and through folly or knavery has suffered him to escape.

Whitehall, I am,
July 15th, 90. Your Majesty's most obedient subject.

NOTTINGHAM.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to King William, 12 August, 1690.—Suspicious of many in England.

I SUPPOSE Your Majesty is informed by others what scruples some of the admiralty raise upon all occasions, and that as some of them have refused to sign the commission for the present admirals (though contrary to the express orders to have it done) so they now raise numbers of doubts about forming a commission for trial of my lord Torrington, and are designing to bring that matter into parliament, and to be tried there by a faction, if they can encompass their designs in that, as they hope to do in other things.

I know not whether the Queen does give Your Majesty any account of my lord Annandale's confession to her this day, concerning the transactions which have been since December last, betwixt the late king and sir James Montgomery, my lord Ross, and himself. He says he shall recollect more than he has yet said; but he does acknowledge their having treated with the late king, and received commissions from him; and that one sir Robert Clark, captain Williamson, Neale Paine, and one Sympson have been their chief agents and messengers. That Ferguson was privy to it, and others in England whom he does not know. That they did first design to have carried it on in Scotland by a parliament, but finding that to fail, their business was then to interrupt the progress of all affairs in parliament. He says sir James Montgomery is now in town, notwithstanding his having newly promised the commissioner in Scotland, that he would come directly to the Queen, insomuch that the committee writ but ten days ago to the Queen, that he had promised sir James he should be safe from any restraint, and besought the Queen that his promise might be kept with him: but it now appears that he hath only cheated the commissioner, thereby to secure himself from being taken, whilst he negotiates with his confederates here, who
have

have made some of themselves appear, by refusing to sign my lord Rofs his commitment.

I fear Your Majesty will find a great many such friends amongst us, and I believe you have not found the difficulties so great in the conquest of your adversaries abroad, as you will do how to deale with a people at home, who are as fearful of your being too prosperous as any of your enemies can be; and who have laid as many stratagems in your way as they can to prevent it; and if by your prudent conduct Your Majesty can surmount their designs, I shall not doubt of your being as great a king, and we as happy subjects, as I wish both, and will contribute towards, as far as can be in my small power.

Remark.] The expression in this letter that those who refused to sign lord Rofs's commitment were his associates, is very singular; considering, that from the queen's letter to king William, afterwards to be printed, of date July $\frac{20}{10}$, 1690: it appears that those who refused to sign, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Winchester, lord Devonshire, and lord Montague.

In king William's box is the following letter from lord Torrington to lord Caermarthen.

Account of the battle off Beachy Head.

MY LORD,

I THIS day received your lordship's, at an unfortunate place and at an unfortunate time; for yesterday morning, according to her Majesty's order received Sunday in the afternoon, we engaged the enemy's fleet with the wind easterly, a fresh gale; we bore down upon them. The Dutch had the van. By that time we had fought two hours it fell calm, which was a great misfortune to us all, but most to the Dutch; who

who being most disabled, it gave the French an opportunity of destroying all their lame ships, which I hitherto have prevented, by ordering them to anchor, falling with the red squadron, by the help of the tide, between all but one of their lame ships and the enemy, that single ship, for want of anchoring; is, without a mast, fallen into the power of the French: we rid within three miles one of another, till the fleet came, and then weighed. The French rid fast, which has given us the opportunity of getting about five leagues from the body of their fleet. We have the Dutch lame ships in tow, and will endeavour to get them into the river, or Portsmouth: several of the English ships are very much disabled, and have lost many men, of which I cannot yet give your lordship the particulars: others have had better fortune, myself for one; for I have not lost many more than twenty men, that I can yet hear of, and eight cannon dismounted by the enemy's shot, and pretty many severe shot under water. Most of the officers behaved themselves very well; but the Dutch, in point of courage, to admiration. I send your lordship, inclosed, a copy of their defects, as I received it from admiral Evertzen. as he delivered it me this morning. Many of them, I believe, have lost many men. Captain Noordley, rear admiral Jan Dick and Brackell killed. We have lost captain Botham; and I doubt captain Pomroy will die; two marine captains in my regiment, and several sea and land lieutenants, and other officers.

We have taken up a French guard marine, that tells me he was shot overboard with the taffarel of the ship he belonged to. He assures me (and if I may believe my eyes he says true) that the French fleet consists of eighty-two men of war, of which the least carries fifty guns, and not above six of them less; they have thirty fireships: that several of their ships have received damage is certain, for they have bore away from us; it is that makes me hope we shall be able to make our

retreat good with our lame ships, which is utterly impossible if they press us; pray God send us well off. It has been said they are ill mann'd; but I do assure you the oldest seaman that lives never saw quicker firing: it will be reasonable to take some quick resolution about the Dutch, whether they shall go home to refit, or be refitted in the river. What the consequence of this unfortunate battle may be, God Almighty only knows: but this I dare be positive in; had I been left to my liberty, I had prevented any attempt upon the land, and secured the western ships Killebrew and the merchantmen. I have sent the Mary galley to order Shovell and all merchant ships he meets, to secure themselves in the first port of strength they can fetch. My intentions are, if possible, to retire into the river; and there make what defence I can, if they come so far: many of our ships want shot for their upper guns, and the Dutch have very little left. Had I undertaken this of my own head, I should not well know what to say; but its being done by command, will, I hope, free me from blame.

Off of Beachy, July the 1st,

One in the afternoon.

I am, &c.

TORRINGTON.

In king William's box are the following letters from queen Mary to king William in Ireland; all of which I print, because they shew the distracted state of England at the time; and perhaps may enable the reader to form some idea of the character of a princess, who was in one of the most singular situations known in history.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William.—Her vexation at his leaving her.

Whitehall, June 12^o, 1690.

YOU will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me; it may be; yet being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And indeed it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent, though I trust every post to hear some good news or other from you; therefore I shall make this very short; and only tell you I have got a swell'd face, though not quite so bad yet, as it was in Holland five years ago. I believe it came by standing too much at the window, when I took the waters. I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea; I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do; and shall till death.

Queen Mary to King William.—Complaints of the Queen Dowager.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{June } 21,}{\text{July } 1,}$ 1690.

I Received yesterday, with great joy, your dear letter of the 21^oth, from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better; I hope he will of his mercy give you all the success we can desire. I must now tell you a thing at large, which I suppose you may have heard of last

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post; for after I had writ my letter and sent it away, lord Nott. lord chamberlain, and lord Mariborough came to me. The lords of the cabinet council had recommended some persons to be reprieved in order to transportation; and lord Ch. press'd extremely that M^rGuire might be pardoned. I told him, that having spoke to you about him, the last answer you gave was, that he must be hanged, having deserved it; but he assured me that you had received other information since, and would certainly pardon him were you here; so that at last I said I would consent he should be transported with the rest; which I thought was all I could do upon his importunity after what you had said. In any other case than that of a man's life, you may be sure I would not have been persuaded so far after what you had said, but I thought there was too much cruelty in refusing that for the time: but lord Nott. told me, you had taken a resolution never to pardon burglary, and he desired that he might tell every body so, that I might be no more importuned. I shall not trouble you with every thing these lords said to me at this time, but the chief thing was that they had had the parson in examination, upon a report that lord Feversham had forbid him saying the prayer for your success at Somerset-house: Upon which he went to him, and asked him if it were his order? Lord Feversham told him, Yes: for it may be, said he, if the Q. hears this prayer is used, she may take it for a pretence to forbid any prayers at all in that place, since she is not obliged to have any thing but mass there: but this she connives at; and lord Feversham and the rest of the Protestant servants contribute to the paying the minister, who they say is an honest man, and does not omit any thing in his parish: but he believing he must obey lord Feversham, did leave it out some days; upon which many of the Q. D. servants would not go to prayers there, but told it; yet lord Feversham, upon Wednesday last, ordered the whole office for the fast to be used. This is so unaccountable a way of proceeding, that I think there

is as much folly as any thing else in it ; but I was extreme angry, which those lords saw, but I shall not trouble you with it. I told them I thought there was no more measures to be kept with the queen herself after this ; that is, if it were her order, as no doubt it is ; but first lord Nott. was to send for lord Fev. to him ; I desired him to speak as angrily as it was possible, which he promised ; but lord Fev. was with him as soon as he got home, having heard the parson had been examined. He was it seems in pain ; when lord Nott. told him all I had said, he seem'd much concerned, and desired to come, throw himself at my feet, and own all the matter as a very great fault in him, but done out of no ill design : to be short, he came yesterday in my bed-chamber, at the hour there was a great deal of company, (I mean then just before dinner) he seemed extremely concerned, lookt as pale as death, and spoke in great disorder ; he said, he must own it a very great fault, since I took it so : but he begged me to believe 'twas not done out of any ill intention, nor by agreement with any body : he assured me the Queen herself knew nothing of it ; he said 'twas a fault, and a folly, an indiscretion, or any thing I would call it : I told him, after doing a thing of that nature, the best way was not to be about excusing it ; that 'twas impossible, since to call it by the most gentle name I could give it, 'twas an unpardonable folly, and which I did not expect, after the protestations he had made ; upon which he said abundance of words. I doubt whether he himself knew what he meant by them, but I am sure I could make nothing of them ; till at last he spoke plain enough, that I understood : he said, God pardoned sinners when they repented, so he hoped I would. I told him, God saw the hearts, whether the repentance was sincere, which since I could not do, he must not find it strange if I would trust only to actions, and so I left him : this is all I think to a syllable what I said to him, and as much as I could make sense of that he said to me :

but though I pity the poor man for being obliged thus to take the queen dowager's faults upon him, yet I could not bring myself to forgive him. This I remember I did say more, that if it had been to myself, I could have pardoned him, but when it immediately concerned your person, I would, nor could not. The Q. D. sent me a compliment yesterday, upon my swelled face, (which I do not know if I have writ you word of, but yesterday I had leeches set behind my ears for it, which has done but little good, so that it mends but slowly, and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times, that I fear you will make but ill sense of it) and will come to day to see me, but desired an hour when there was least company; so that I imagine she will speak something of herself; and that which inclines me the more to this opinion is, that she has sent for lord Halifax, and was shut up in her chamber about business with him, and others, the whole morning: I shall give you an account of this before I seal up my letter: in the mean while I shall tell you, that having had a letter from M. Schulemburgh, about his money, without which, he and M. des Marefts both write me word, his credit is lost. I spoke of it this morning, at the cabinet council, and lord Nott. had also a letter from Mr. Eccart, about the same. Lord Marlborough took great care to shew that honour was engaged, and a great many more consequences of it. I suppose an exact account is given you of all this, so that I need say no more, but that I hope I have done well to press it as much as may be: 'tis resolved to give an answer next Tuesday. Lord Fitzharding having at present no estate in Somersetshire, and not living there, fears he may not be so able to serve you as he ought, therefore, if you please, will be content with the custos rotularum, without the lieutenancy: upon this occasion I shall only name one who desired it; though I told him I was engaged to speak for another, that is the D. of Bolton, who I think will lose nothing for want of asking: but upon my answer, he told me it was not for himself,

but

but his son Winchester, he would have it. The Q. Dow. has been here, but did not stay a moment, nor spake two words; since she went I have been in the garden, and find my face pretty well; but it is now candlelight, therefore I dare say no more. I have still the same complaint to make, that I have not time to cry, which would a little ease my heart; but I hope in God I shall have such news from you as will give me no reason; yet your absence is enough, but since it pleases God I must have patience; do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else with ease.

I send you the letter of M. D. Ablancourt, because I don't know who he means, and 'tis so short 'twill take you up no time to read.

Lord Marlborough tells me 'tis almost time to think of proroguing the parliament; I wish you would give yourself the trouble to write your mind very particularly upon the subject.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the arrival of the French fleet on the Coast.

Whitehall, the $\frac{\text{July } 2,}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, half 11 at night.

THE news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast, makes it thought necessary to write to you both ways; and I, that you may see how matters stand in my heart, prepare a letter for each. I think lord Torrington has made no haste: and I cannot tell whether his being sick, and staying for lord Pembroke's regiment, will be a sufficient excuse: but I will not take up your time with my reasonings, I shall only tell you, that I am so little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland, or this place, to me 'tis much at one, as to the fear; for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my poor carcass. I know who is most necessary in the world. What I fear most at pre-

sent is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be assured I am ever intirely yours till death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall, the $\frac{2 \text{ July,}}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, at half 10 at night.

AS I was ready to go into my bed, lord Nott. came and brought me a letter, of which he is going to give you an account; for my own part, I shall say nothing to it, but that I trust God will preserve us, you where you are, and poor I here. Methinks lord Torrington has made no haste; they say he stays for lord Pembroke's regiment: he also has not been very quick, for he received it at 8 this evening, and kept it till now, that he has sent it open to lord Nott. I thank God I am not much afraid; I think too little; which makes me fear 'tis want of apprehending the danger. That which troubles me most of all things is your absence and the fear I am in, something may be done to hinder us from hearing from you; in that case I don't know what will become of us. I still trust in God, who is our only help. Farewell, I will trouble you with no more, but only desire you, whatsoever happens, to love me as I shall you to death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall $\frac{\text{July 4,}}{\text{June 24,}}$ 1690.

SINCE I writ to you about the coming of the French fleet upon the coast, the lords have been very busy; I shall not go about to give you an account of things, but shall tell you some particular passages: One happened to day, at the great council, where I was by their advice, and when they had resolved to seize upon suspected persons, in naming them, Sir H. Capel would have said something for lord Clarendon (whose first wife you know was his sister); every body stared

stared at him, but nobody preparing to answer, which I thought they would not do may be in my regard, I ventured to speak, and tell sir H. Cap. that I believed every body knew as I did, that there was too much against him to leave him out of the list that was making : I can't tell if I ought to have said this, but when I knew your mind upon it, and had seen his letter, I believed it is as necessary he should be clapt up as any, and therefore thought myself obliged to say so ; but as I do not know when I ought to speak, and when not, I am as silent as can be, and if I have done it now mal a propos, I am sorry, but I could not help it, though at the same time I must own, I am sorryer, than it may be will be believed, for him, finding the Dutch proverb true which you know, but I should spoil in writing. Lord Monmouth and his officers were with me yesterday, with their declaration as they call it, about which I writ to you before. I hope the easterly wind is the only cause I do not hear from you which I am very impatient for now, and when I consider that you may be got a great way if you began to march last Thursday, I am in a million of fears, not knowing when you may be in danger : that alone is enough to make me the greatest pain imaginable, and in comparison of which all things else are not to be named, yet by a letter from lord Torrington, dated at 3 yesterday in the afternoon, I see he thought this day was like to decide a great deal there. I cannot but be in pain, it may be I do not reason just upon the matter, but I fear besides the disheartening many people, the loss of a battle would be such an encouragement to disaffected ones, that might put things here in disorder, which in your absence, would be a terrible thing, but I thank God I trust in him and that is really the only consolation I have. I was last night at Highpark for the first time since you went : it swarmed with those who are now ordered to be clapt up. Yesterday lord Fev. came to lord Nott. to tell him he had put Q. D. off of the Hamburgh voyage ; but she would go to the Bath ; after which he came again, and said that
seeing

seeing it might now be inconvenient to have guards there, she desired to go to Islington, but lord Marl, desired the answer might not be given a day or two till we heard something of the success of the fleet. Since I have writ this, I was called out to lord Nott, who brought me your dear letter of the 2⁸/₁₈h, which is so welcome that I cannot express it, especially because you pity me, which I like and desire from you, and you only. As for the building, I fear there will be many obstacles; for I spoke to sir J. Lowther this very day, and hear so much use for money, and find so little, that I cannot tell whether that of Hampton-court will not be a little the worse for it, especially since the French are in the channel, and at present between Portland and us, from whence the stone must come; but in a day or two, I hope to give you a more certain account, this being only my own conjecture. God be praised that you are well I hope in his mercy he will continue it. I have been obliged to write this evening to M. Schulemberg to desire him to advance money for the six regiments to march, which they say is absolutely necessary for your service as well as honour. The lords of the treasury have made me pawn my word for it, and that tomorrow 20,000 pounds will be paid him. It is now candle light, and I dare say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to king William.—Fears about lord Torrington.—Complaints of being neglected by the ministers.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July } 6,}{\text{June } 26,}$ 1690.

BY this express I shall write freely and tell you what great suspicions encrease continually of major Wildman. Lord Nottingham I believe will by the same write to sir R. Southwell, that upon any extraordinary thing which be necessary to be kept a secret, he should send him an express directed immediately to him. It would be too long to tell you all the reasons of suspicion.

cion, but this one instance I will give, that since your going from hence there is not one word come from Scotland, neither from lord Melvin, nor colonel Mackay, to lord Marborough, which methinks seems unaccountable, though it is this day 3 weeks since lord Nottingham writ pressingly for a speedy answer: Yet lord Monmouth has letters, and give intelligence which does not always prove true. I told lord Nottingham that I thought the only way was to send an express, that he write to lord Melvin, and lord Marlborough to Mackay, and let them know they have not once heard from them. Upon this lord President and lord Nottingham desired I would sign letters to the governors of Berwick and Carlisle, not to let any persons go by who had not a pass, that they should stop the mails, and send word how many were come from thence in this time. This I have done, and the express is to be immediately sent away. I ever fear not doing well, and trust to what nobody says but you, therefore hope it will have your approbation. It is a strange thing, that last night sir R. Holmes writ to lord Nott. and Mr. Blaithwait both, that the fleets were briskly engaged, which he could see from the hills, which letter was writ at 6 yesterday morning, since which we have not a word from him; but another to sir H. Goodricke from Portsmouth, dated at 3 in the afternoon, assures then there had been no engagement, but some shooting between the scouts. What to think of this nobody knows, but it seems to me every one is afraid of themselves, for sir R. H. desires mightily some succours, or else the Isle of Wight is lost. Lord Bath is very backward in going down, but with much ado he sends his son, who only says he stays for a letter of mine, which is signed this morning, to empower him to command at Plymouth in his father's absence, which he tells me you promised before you went, and it is upon your leave lord Bath pretends to stay here till the term is over; but I told him I supposed you had not foreseen the French being so near.

ton also tells me last night, you had given him leave to raise some horse volunteers for which he should have had a commission, but that you went away, therefore he would have me give it; but I put it off; and lord Marlborough advises me not to give it. Lord President some time since told me the same thing, but I will not give any positive answer till you send me your directions. I must also give you an account of what lord Nott. told me yesterday; he said lord Stuard was very angry at lord Torrington's deferring the fight, and proposed somebody should be joined in commission with him. But that the other lords said could not be done, so lord Monmouth offered to take one whose name I have forgot; he is newly made I think commissioner of the navy, and as lord Nottingham tells me, you had thoughts of having him command the fleet if lord Torrington had not: This man lord Monmouth proposed to take and go together on board lord Torrington's ship as volunteers, but with a commission about them to command in case he should be killed. I told lord Nott. I was not willing to grant any commission of that nature, not knowing whether you had ever had any thought of that kind, so that I thought he was only to be thank'd for his offer; I added that I could not think it proper, that he being one of the 9 you had named should be sent away, upon which he laughed and said, that was the greatest compliment I could make him, to say I could not use his arms, having need of his counsell. I suppose they are not very good friends, but I said it really as I meant, and besides to hinder propositions of this kind for Mr. Russell; for I see lord Carmarthen has upon several occasions to me alone, mentioned the sending Mr. Russell, and I believe it was only to be rid of him; for my part after what you told me of all the 9, I should be very sorry to have him from hence. Lord M. indeed I think might as well be spared, but I do not think it was your intention any of those 9 should be out of the way; I desire you would say

say something to this that I may know your mind in case of necessity ; and indeed it would be well it was known also in lord Torrington's regard, for he may dye as well as another man : And now I have named Mr. Russell, I must tell you that at your first going, he did not come to me, nor I believe to this hour, would not have asked to have spoke with me, had not I told lady Russell one day, I desired it. When he came I told him freely that I desired to see him sometimes, for being a stranger to business I was afraid of being too much led or persuaded by one party. He said he was very glad to find me of that mind, and assured me since I gave him that liberty, he would come when he saw occasion, though he would not be troublesome. I hope I did not do amiss in this, and indeed I saw at that time nobody but lord President, and was afraid of myself. Lord Carmarthen is upon all occasions afraid of giving me too much trouble, and thinks by little and little to do all ; every one see how little I know of business, and therefore I believe, will be apt to do as much as they can. Lord Marlborough advised me to resolve to be present as often as was possible, out of what intention I cannot judge, but I find they meet often at the secretary's office, and do not take much pains to give me an account. This I thought fitt to tell you, pray be so kind to answer me as particular as you can. Queen D. has been to take her leave, in order to going to Hammersmith, where she will stay till she can go for Windsor. I have tired you with this long letter, and it is now stayed for ; I shall say no more, but beg you to believe it impossible to love more than I do, don't love me lesse.

Queen

Queen Mary to King William, on lord Torrington's declining to fight.—Lord Monmouth offers to go to the fleet.—Suspensions of him.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 8.}}{\text{June 28}}$ 1690, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

Seeing I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday; as for lord Torrington's letter you will have an account of that and the answer from lord Nott. I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when lord Nott. brought the letter; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends; and believing lord Torrington being in the post he is in; and of his humour, ought not to be provoked; besides, I believe lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that; so that I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Russel drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign; but it was softened, and the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight: at last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed, but lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms, (this was his expression) and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him; to which Mr. Russel answered, you must send for him prisoner then; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the fight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him our other ac-

counts

counts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. I was no sooner in bed but lord Nott. came to me from the lords; who were most of them still at his office, and where lord Monmouth was come very late, but time enough to know all. He offered his service immediately to go down post to Portsmouth, so the admiralty would give him the commission of a captain, and fit out the best ship there, which he believes he can do with more speed than another, with which he will join lord Torrington; and being in a great passion, swears he will never come back more if they do not fight: upon his earnest desire, and the approbation of the lords that were present, lord Nott. came up to ask my consent. I askt who was there, and finding four besides lord Monmouth and lord Nott. of which I remember but three, which were lord President, lord Steward, and sir John Lowther, the fourth was either lord Pemb. or lord Marl. I thought in myself they were two thirds of the committee, so would carry it if it were put to the vote; therefore, seeing they were as earnest as he for it, I thought I might consent; besides, I own to you I had a thought immediately upon it, which I would not own, tho' I find some of them have the same, that the lemon letters, which I suppose you have heard of, which comes so constantly and are so very exact, the last of which told even the debates of the committee as well as if one of the lords themselves had writ them; this I think looks somewhat odd, and I believe makes many forward for this expedition; and for my own part, I believe he may be the best spared of the company; tho' I think it a little irregularity, yet I hope you will excuse it, and nobody else can find fault:

10. at night. Since my writing this, there has come a great deal of news. As I was going to the cabinet council in the morning, sir Wm. Lockhart came with a letter from the committee there: when we rose, lord Steward told me, that he had been speaking to Mr. Seseuk upon the affairs of the
times,

times, who had made great complaint of his usage, and said so much, that he fancies he may turn informer; I doubted, but advised him to continue his discourse, as though by chance, while I should write you word to know how far you would have him engage, which I have now done, and desire your answer. Lord Monmouth was there, after having been in the city, where he has found one major Born, I think his name is, who has the commission of captain, and not himself, he desiring his intentions may be kept as secret as may be, lest he should come too late; in the mean while, his regiment's being at Portsmouth is the pretence. He made great professions at parting, and desired me to believe there are some great designs. We had another lemon letter, with things so particular, that none but some of the lords could know them, especially things that were done at the office late last night; upon which all sides are of the same mind. Before I went out of the room, I received your dear letter from Loughbricklin, but I cannot express what I then felt, and still feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almost asleep, and almost puts me out of any possibility of saying any more, yet I must strive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter from the prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he sent you, so that I can say nothing, but that God, in whose hands all events only are, knows best why he has ordered it so, and to him we must submit. This evening there has been a person with me, from whom you heard at Chester, (probably earl of Broadalbin) and whom you there ordered to come to me, as he says; he believes you will know him by this, and will by no means be named, and, what is worse, will name nobody, so that I fear there is not much good to be done, yet I won't give over so. I must end my letter, for my eyes are at present

sent in somewhat a worse condition than before I received your letter: my impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present; but I trust in God, who alone can preserve you and comfort me.

Queen Mary to King William — upon the defeat at Beachy-head.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{1}{2}$, 1690, 7 in the morning.

I AM sorry there is not as pleasing news to send you from hence, as what I had last from you; I would not write last night by the post, being assured the messenger this morning should overtake him, before they came to Hylake. Here has been great things done, but that so unanimously, that I hope when you have an exact account from lord Nott. you will approve of it. I must confess I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I should have submitted my judgment where I saw all of a mind. What lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and since the engagement, shew sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to orders from hence: those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I will not stop the messenger with staying for my letter, and 'tis unnecessary for me to say much, only as to the part of sending Mr. Ruffel away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was sorry to miss him here, after what you told me, and the fear I am in of being imposed upon, but all were for it, and I could say nothing against it: I confess I was as sorry lord Monmouth came so soon back, for all agree in the same opinion of him. Mr. Ruffel was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, so the nine are again to-

gether. As for the ill success at sea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh: I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment; that same God who has done so much, can still do what is best, and I trust he will do more than we deserve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retired before; but God can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cause: he of his mercy send us a happy meeting again, that will be a happiness to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life.

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in these letters were, the lords Pembroke, Devonshire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, admiral Ruffel, and sir John Lowther.

Queen Mary to king William on the same occasion.—Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspicious of lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July 13, 1690.

IF you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have miss'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would

would come time enough ; but when the letter came in from lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me ; I shall never be so careless more ; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account ; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name ; upon which lord President offered his service. Lord Monmouth said he believed he might be excused, upon his relation to lord Torrington, especially since they were not to command the fleet : Mr. Ruffel said he had served long under him, and it would seem something indecent in him to be forward in offering his service in this particular, though there was nothing which could be thought fit but he would do, yet he supposed others might as well. The rest offered except lord Nott. and lord Marl. who said afterwards they thought it would be ridiculous in them to do it. Upon this I ventured to give my own judgment, for the first time, and chose lord Devonshire and lord Pemb. I thought I could not fail in this, for there was not much choice, and these seemed the most proper to me upon what I had heard them say, and the manner they said it. I told lord President, when I named them, that he could not be spared, but I saw he looked ill satisfied ; so that when the council was up I spoke to him, and bid him remember how necessary he was ; he said he did not look on himself as so tied, but he might go away upon occasions. I told him if he were not by place, yet being the person you had told me whose advice I should follow and rely the most on, I could not spare him.

There is another thing I must acquaint you with by the bye that I believe will anger him, which is that neither Mr. Hambden nor Mr. Pelham will sign the docket for lady Plymouth's eight thousand pounds: he complained to me; I promised to ask them about it, which I have done, and both of them asunder have told me the sum was too great to be spared at present, when money is so much wanted, and indeed I think they are in the right. I hope you will let me know your mind upon it; but they say sir Stephen Fox owns to have signed it by surprize, and is of their mind: the only thing I could say to this was, that you had signed the warrant before you went, which I thought was enough; but they say they had not time to represent it to you, and would only take time to do so: but to return to this morning. I spoke also to lord Monmouth, who I saw was dissatisfied; and told him I knew it was not fit for him to go to sea, who was a seaman, without having the command; and that, he heard, was by all agreed for the present, sir John Ashby should have, for an encouragement to the rest to behave well, as he had done in this occasion: he told me he thought he had reason to expect it, because you once had thoughts of sending him to command, but he was content with any thing as he said; as for that I never heard you say it, and if you knew what I shall tell you, if I ever live to see you, you will wonder. I make many compliments to lord Steward, and some fewer to lord Pembroke. By advice I writ a letter to admiral Evertzen; I forgot to tell you I did so by Mr. Russell, and then not knowing he spoke English, with much ado I writ it in Dutch, so as I believe he could have understood me, but 'tis come back to be burnt. Lord Shrewsbury was at my dinner; I told him I was glad to see him so well again; he said he had been at Epsom for the air, or else he would have been here sooner; he stayed not long but went away with Mr. Wharton, who I have not seen once at council, and but seldom any where. Lord Shrewsbury was again here

here at my supper, and as I thought took pains to talk, which I did to him as formerly by your directions. Though by my letter it may be you would not think me so much in pain as I am, yet I must tell you I am very much so, but not for what lord Monmouth would have me; he daily tells me of the great dangers we are in, and now has a mind to be sent to Holland (of which you will hear either this or the next post). I see every one is inclined to it for a reason I have mentioned before; but to let that pass I must tell you again how he endeavours to fright me, and indeed things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be, when human means fail, he will shew his power: this makes me, that I cannot be so much afraid as it may be I have reason for; but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit, and I think they all desire as much as may be to act according to your mind. I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do any thing that you don't like, 'tis my misfortune and not my fault; for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you.

Queen Mary to King William — her fondness for him.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{15}{3}$, 1690.

THIS is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th, Old Stile, which puts me in many troubles that I shall not trouble you with at present; to-morrow night an express shall go to you that cannot possibly be dispatched to-night, and I am not sorry; for at this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers, and was feign to run away to Kenfigton, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had to-

gether since I saw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now — I will say no more, for I shall hurt my own eyes, which I want more now than ever. Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I shall you, who I love more than my life. I should have sent this last post; but not seeing Madame Nienhuys, hindered me then, and makes me send it you now, which I hope you will excuse.

*Queen Mary to King William on his being wounded. —
Disputes about the command of the fleet.*

Whitehall, July 1st, 1690.

I CAN never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preservation; I hope in his mercy that this is a sign he preserves you to finish the work he has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you, to let you see you are exposed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleased God to keep you once in so visible a manner, yet you must forgive me if I tell you that I should think it a tempting God to venture again without a great necessity: I know what I say of this kind will be attributed to fear; I own I have a great deal for your dear person, yet I hope I am not unreasonable upon the subject, for I do trust in God, and he is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in him; yet my fears are not less, since I cannot tell, if it should be his will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen: for though God is able, yet many times he punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in his sight. Your writing me word how soon you hoped to send me good news, shews me how soon you thought there might be some action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning when I heard the express was come, before lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet,
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and I really dont know what I do. Your letter came just before I went to chapell; and though the first thing lord Notting. told me was, that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expose yourself thus to danger, fright me out of my wits, and make me not able to keep my trouble to myself: but for God's sake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come; consider what depends upon your safety; there are so many more important things than myself, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worst will be over before this time, so that I will say no more. I did not answer your letter by the post last night, because the express could not be dispatched; and I believe more hindrances are come, for lord Steward and lord Pembroke write word they will be here to night; but I can say very little upon the subject at present, for really I had my head and heart so full of you, I could mind nothing else.

It is now past 10 o'clock; I don't tell it you for an excuse, for I am not sleepy; my impatience is too great to hear from you again, that I am not master of it, nor indeed of myself; so that you must excuse me from saying more than is just necessary. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all that has been done. Lord Carmarthen will write to you about a thing he has put in my head, and since I thought of it, I only fear that, and nothing else: I desired he would write it himself, believing what he said would have more weight with you than if it came from me, for you would believe I spoke most out of self-interest. I wish to God he could prevail. The lords are come back from the fleet, of that I leave also lord Nott. to write; but I have undertook to say another thing to you, which is about who shall command it, for I find every body is so animated against lord Torrington that 'tis not to be imagined; whether you will think fitt to confine him after his behaviour, I don't know, but all the lords believe you will not. Lord Monmouth tells me himself that he has reason to expect the command of it, upon which I told

him that I should not undertake to pitch upon any body; it was a thing would allow us time enough to know your pleasure, and I thought it of too great consequence to be resolved of by any here, but that I should write to you to know your will. After this I believed that if it was mentioned in the committee, it might anger him too much if any else should be named; therefore I forbid it, and told lord Nott. he should write to you in general, and I would name those who should be named to me. I have not had time nor opportunity to speak myself to Mr. Russell about it; but I am told he declines it; now whether that may be only modesty, I cannot tell. The others which they name, are sir Richard Haddick and sir John Ashby; the first of these, says, he wishes it might be put in commission of three persons, whereof two might be seamen, and the 3d some person of quality. Somebody named lord Pembroke for the figure he might make, and sir R. Haddick and sir J. Ashby to be joined with him; others would have the duke of Grafton put in instead of lord Pembroke, that he might be encouraged for his behaviour, which they say was very brave in this last business, and also learn, believing he will give his whole mind to it, and so in time be good for something: Others are for having Mr. Russell put with the two before-mentioned; but it may be he would not like it. They tell me Shovell is the best officer of his age, but he is behind these other two; and so is Killigrew, who it is much wondered is not come yet, which some think a fault to be punished, believing he has staid for merchant ships. These are all the names I remember, and when I have told them you I think I might as well have let it alone; it was only that they thought it better I should put you in mind of any body else; you will please to resolve what shall be done as soon as possible; I hope you will forgive me if I forget half what I have to say, for really my concern for you has got the mastery, and I am not able to think of any thing
else,

else, but that I love you in more abundance than my own life.

*Queen Mary to K. William, on the battle of the Boyne.—
Singular picture of the Queen's mind.—Lord Monmouth's intrigues.*

Whitehall, July 17, 1690.

HOW to begin this letter I don't know, or how ever to render God thanks enough for his mercys; indeed they are too great, if we look on our deserts; but, as you say, 'tis his own cause: and since 'tis for the glory of his great name, we have no reason to fear but he will perfect what he has begun: for myself in particular, my heart is so full of joy and acknowledgement to that great God, who has preserved you, and given you such a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beseech him to give me grace to be ever sensible, as I ought, and that I and all may live suitable to such a mercy as this is. I am sorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we must not murmur, but wait with patience to see the event. I was yesterday out of my senses with trouble, I am now almost so with joy, so that I can't really as yet tell what I have to say to you, by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God, by the afternoon, to be in a condition of sense enough to say much more, but for the present I am not. When I writ the foregoing part of this, it was in the morning, soon after I had received yours, and now 'tis 4 in the afternoon; but I am not yet come to myself, and fear I shall lose this opportunity of writing all my mind, for I am still in such a confusion of thoughts, that I scarce know what to say, but I hope in God you will now readily consent to what lord President wrote last night, for methinks there is nothing more for you to do. I will hasten Kensington as much as it's possible, and I will also get ready for you here, for I will hope you may come before that is done. I must put you in mind of
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one thing, believing it now the season, which is, that you wou'd take care of the church in Ireland. Every body agrees that it is the worst in Christendom: there are now bishopricks vacant, and other things, I beg you would take time to consider who you will fill them with. You will forgive me that I trouble you with this now, but I hope you will take care of those things which are of so great consequence as to religion, which I am sure will be more your care every day, now that it has pleased God still to bless you with success. I think I have told you before, how impatient I am to hear how you approve what has been done here; I have but little part in it myself, but I long to hear how others have pleased you. I am very uneasy in one thing, which is want of somebody to speake my mind freely to, for it's a great constraint to think and be silent, and there is so much matter that I am one of Solomon's fools, who am ready to burst. I believe lord President and lord Nott. agree very well, tho' I believe the first pretends to govern all; and I see the other is always ready to yield to him, and seems to me to have a great deal of deference for him; whether they always agreed or not I can't tell. Lord Marleborough is much with them, and loses no opportunity of coming upon all occasions with the others. As yet I have not found them differ, or at least so little, that I was surprized to find it so, I mean the whole nine; for it has never come to put any thing to the vote, but I attribute that to the great danger, I believe all have apprehended, which has made them of a mind. The three I named have all the same opinion of lord Monmouth, that he tells all to Major Wildman, and think several letters we have had, which I believe I mentioned before, were writt by the last. I was unwilling to believe this, and thought there might be something of a party in it, till I asked Mr. Ruffel what he thought of those letters, who told me, that certainly they were writt by Wildman. I ask'd what could be the meaning; he said, to amuse us, or to give suspicion that some of the company betrayed us; for he

he said Wildman was of the commonwealth party, and his whole design was to make stirs, in hopes by that means to bring it about; and he knew lord Monmouth had no reserve for him, which made him glad with all his heart he was gone (that was when he was sent to Portsmouth.) This is their opinion, and indeed is now mine; for I see plainly that while he was away, there came none of these letters. Wildman said the people were gone, but now they begin to come again; and I had a conversation with lord Monmouth t'other morning, in which he said what a misfortune it was that things went thus ill, which was certainly by the faults of those who were in-trust; that it was a melancholy thing to the nation to see themselves so thrown away; and to speake plain, said he, do you not see how all you do is known, that what is said one day in the cabinet-council is wrote next day to France; for my part, said he, I must speake plainly, I have a great deal of reason to esteem lord Nott. I don't believe 'tis he, but 'tis some in his office; then he fell upon Mr. Blaithwit. I owned I wondered why you wou'd let him serve here, since he wou'd not go with you, but I said I supposed you knew why you did it; and when he began to talk high of ill administration, I told him in the same freedom he seemed to speake to me, that I found it very strange you were not thought fitt to choose your own ministers; that they had already removed lord Halifax, the same endeavours were used for lord Carmarthen, and wou'd they now begin to have a bout at lord Nott. too; it wou'd show they wou'd pretend ever to controll the King in his choise, which, if I were he, I wou'd not sufferr, but wou'd make use of whom I pleased. I can't tell if I did well or no in this, but in the free way we were of speaking, I cou'd not help it: upon this he said, he had indeed been an enemy to lord Halifax, but he had done what he could to save lord Carmarthen, out of personal friendship, as well as because he believed him firm to our interest: upon which I took occasion to remember my obligations to him upon the ac-

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count of our marriage, from which he still went on, that he thought it necessary the nation shou'd be satisfied: I askt him if he thought it possible; he said he cou'd tell me much about that subject, but we were called to the councill, so our discourse ended for that time. As for lord Pem. I never see him but there: lord Cham. comes as little as he can with decency, and seldom speaks; but he never visits the cabinet councill. Lord Stuard, you know, will be a courtier among lads: speaking of him put me in mind that M. Sefak, before we went to cards, came and made me a very handsome compliment upon your victory and wound, and assured me, no man living wisht us a longer and happier reign. But to return to that lord, who, (I think I have named all,) I must say once my opinion, that lord Nott. seems to be very hearty in all affairs; and, to my thinking, appears to be sincere, tho' he does not take much pains to perswade me of it, upon all occasions, as others do; for he never spoke but once of himself, yet I confes I incline to have a good opinion of him; it may be his formal, grave look deceives me; he brought me your letter yesterday, and I could not hold, so he saw me cry, which I have hindered myself, from before every body till then, that it was impossible; and this morning, when I heard the joyfull news from Mr. Butler, I was in pain to know what was become of the late king, and durst not ask him; but when lord Nott. came, I did venture to do it, and I had the satisfaction to know he was safe. I know I need not beg you to lett him be taken care of, for I am confident you will for your own sake; yet add that to all your kindness, and, for my sake, let people know you would have no hurt come to his person. Forgiye me this. The lords of the treasury have desired me, that if there is any thing to be done, I would hear them all. You gave me no directions in this, but to the contrary, so that I have declined it hitherto; but if I must sign any warrant, it must come to it.

I have

I have writ this at so many times that I fear you will hardly make sense of it. I long to hear what you will say to the proposition that will be sent you this night by the lords, and do flatter myself mightily with the hopes to see you, for which I am more impatient that can be expressed; loving you with a passion which cannot end but with my life.

Remark.] The proposition from the lords to the King, and concerning which the marquis of Caermarthen afterwards wrote to him was, that he should return.

Queen Mary to King William—has been teased by lord Lincoln.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{22}{8}$, 1690.

BEING resolved never to miss a post, I write now to let you know I have received yours by Mr. Grey, who came at nine in the morning, and was dressing till one before he brought it; to-morrow I think to write again by him. Now, I shall only tell you I have been satisfied with the sight of lord Lincoln, which I have so often wish'd for in vain: I met him as I came from prayers, with a hundred people at least after him. I can't represent to you my surprize at so unexpected an object, and so strange a one; but what he said, was as much so if it were possible. He called lord president by name, and all in general who are in trust, rogues; told me I must go back with him to the council to hear his complaint, which I think was against lord Torrington: he talked so like a madman that I answered him as calmly as I could, looking on him as such; and so with much ado got from him. I shall say no more now, but that I am so sleepy I can scarce see; but I shall live and die entirely yours.

Queen

*Queen Mary to King William——Factions and suspicions
in council.*

Whitehall, July the $\frac{10}{20}$, 1690.

I WROTE to you a Tuesday night by the post, only to show that I would miss no opportunity of doing it, and have kept Mr. Gray ever since, having nothing worth writing or troubling you with. I shall now begin with answering your letter by him, and thank God with all my soul for the continuance of your good success, and hope that you will have no more to do but come back here, where you are wish'd for by all that love you or themselves: I need not say most by me, it would be a wrong to me to suppose you doubt it. If the first part of your letter was extreme welcome, the next was not less so; for next to knowing your health and success, that of your being satisfied with what has been done here is the best news, and till then I was very much in pain. You will see also that we have had the good fortune here to have done just as you would have had it yourself, in sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet; but that was prevented, as you will know before this. I told Mr. Russel what your design was then, and asked what I might write upon it now; he told me, he should be always ready to serve you any way, and seem'd mightily pleas'd with what I told him. I did not say it openly at the committee, because I know how much lord Monmouth would have been troubled. But I told it lord president as you writ him word, and lord Nott. and lord Marl. It seems he still wishes for a commission to other people, and not to be alone. The day that I received yours by Mr. Gray, which was Tuesday noon, the great council was called extraordinarily, being thought fit to acquaint them with the good news: but seeing you had left me to the advice of the committee when to go, I ask'd them in the morning if they thought it necessary, that for my own
part

part I did not? lord president said, No: and none else said a word. But in the afternoon when the council was met, all began, it seems, to ask if I came. Lord President said, No; upon which there were some who grumbled. Sir R. Howard made a formal speech, wherein he hinted many things as if he thought it not reasonable I should not come, and was seconded by the D. of Bolton. In the mean while lord Stuart and lord Monmouth came to me to desire me to come. I was surpris'd at it, for they sent for me out of my closet. I will not trouble you with all they said, but they were very pressing; and lord Stuard told me, there were many there who absolutely told him they would not speak but before me; that they were privy counsellors, established by law; and did not know why they should be refused my presence. I answered them at first as civilly as I could, and as calmly, but being much pressed, I grew a little peevish, and told them, that between us I must own I thought it a humour in some there, which I did not think myself bound to please: for should I come now for this, I should at last be sent for, when any body had a mind to it; and that I wondered they who had heard me in the morning say I would not come, should now be so importunate: but all I could say would not satisfy them; and had not lord Nott. come in, I believe they would not have left me so soon. I cannot tell if I did well or no, but I think I did: this was the same day lord Lincoln was here, as I wrote you word before, and he sat in the gallery, crying aloud, that five or six lords shut me up, and would let nobody else come near me, yet never ask'd it all the while. Lord Nott. will give you an account of lord mayor's being called next day to the great council where I was, but I must needs observe that he came with his answer ready wrote, and pulled out his paper and read it, upon which many of those who came with him look'd upon one another as amazed; and the more, because lord president did not desire it till Friday. Another thing
happened

happened that I must tell : lord Nott. had secured lord Rosse, and now desired the council, he might be sent to the Tower as well as so many others. All consented. Duke of Bolton ask'd why? lord Nott. said, there was informations against him; and more, his own letters to sir John Cochran: upon which all said, a warrant should be drawn; but when it came to be signed, duke of Bolton would not; and hindered lord Devon by a whisper, and his son by a nod. Lord Montague would not sign it neither. If this be usual I can't tell, but methinks it ought not to be so. Upon this I must tell you that lord Monmouth came to Sir W. Lockhart, who told it me himself, and was very earnest for lord Rosse's being secured, as well as further discoveries about Fergusson; that he wondered how lord Melvill, who all the world knew had been in the Dissenters interest, would now go, and do any thing against them; that he ought in honour and conscience to hide their faults, and not discover them; and more to this purpose. He told me that he believed if sir James Montgomery came up, he would certainly endeavour to confound us by some lies, for he was very cunning and very malicious, and delighted in mischief (these were his words); and therefore he was confident, that instead of making useful discoveries, he would accuse persons whom he thought might do his party a mischief, though there was no likelihood of their joining. Last night lord Marlborough came to me, and made me an offer from lord Shrewsbury, lord Montague, lord Godolphin, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Jepsen, to raise 1200 men immediately at their own charges, so I would but give my word they should be reimbursed when it was convenient. He desired me I would propose it this morning at the committee, without naming the persons; but after I had had time to think upon it, I told him that I did not think it proper to tell things to the committee so by halves; they would ask how they could advise without knowing the persons; that many had offered, while all were unwilling to accept. He told me he had considered

dered it himself since, and found they could not be ready under six weeks, in which time either you would come yourself, or send some troops, and the danger would be over; so we resolved he should give them many thanks for their offer, and give that for a reason, and the only one of not accepting it. But I told him plainly that I did not doubt but you would approve of trusting any such thing in lord Shrewsbury's hands, yet I did not know if all else might be employed. I confess I did not like lord Montague, so he said indeed there were persons he believed you would mistrust, and named him. I said I could not tell particular persons, for I did not know them myself. He said they did not desire to have this known, and therefore he did not know if I would take notice of it to them; but he believed I would do well to do so to lord Shrewsbury. I was of his mind, and resolve when I have an opportunity for it to do so. I hope you will not disapprove of this, being my own act; I am most concerned; I need say nothing to you of the particulars of what was done this morning. Lord Nott. will tell you all, only I must say that I hope there is no harm done in stopping 25 of the 70,000 which was going to you, since it is so very necessary here; and I hope to have it made up before it can be wanted there. I was extreme loath to consent, but I must submit to others judgment; and in this I believe I was in the right to do so, though my inclination to do just what you would have me, is ever stronger. I have no more at present, and believe this letter is not so long as it is, though I have shortened it all I can, by saying as little as I possibly could upon each subject. You don't know how I please myself with the thoughts of seeing you here very soon, but I must tell you that it is impossible to be yet awhile at Kensington. Your closets here are also not in order, but there is no smoke in summer, and the air is much better than in another season. Pray let me have your orders, if not by yourself, then tell lord Portland, and let him write. I see I can hardly end, but I must force myself without

saying a word more but that I am ever yours, more than ever, if that be possible, and shall be so till death.

Queen Mary to King William.——Want of money.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{22}{12}$, 1690. at 11. at night.

YOU will excuse me from answering your letter I received yesterday morning, which was writ on Sunday last, when you know that I have been this morning at Hampton court, and back again by noon, and ever since have had one or other to speak to me, of which I will give you an account when I have more time; now I shall only tell you, that things go on there very slowly; want of money and Portland stone, are the hindrances, and indeed in a time when there are such pressing necessities I am almost ashamed to speak about it, and yet it is become so just a debt that it ought to be paid. I mean the privy seal which you passed long ago. Sir Ch. Littleton has sent to me to offer to give up his commission which I expect now, and am glad of, for reasons too long to tell now: Pray send word who shall have the government, for it is judged necessary to be filled up as soon as may be. I fancy the joy at St. Patrick's church was greater than can be expressed, and wish I had been with you. But though at a distance, none ever praised God so heartily for many reasons, chiefly that of your wonderful deliverance, upon which event the Q. Dowager sent lady Arlington to compliment me. I am now in my bed having bathed; and am so sleepy I can say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to King William.——Expects him over.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

IAM in so much hopes of your coming hither that I must flatter myself by the time this comes to you, you will be ready to leave Ireland; all my fear is the French

French ships which are going to St. George's channel, and are already at Kinsale; if those should hinder you what will become of me? I think the fright would take away my reason; but I hope the express which goes this evening to sir Cl. Shovel will come time enough to prevent any surprize, and I hope may do good; and that I may soon see you here, which is what I long extreamly for. This morning I received yours of the $\frac{1}{9}$ by which I am extream glad you still approved of what had been done. I have said nothing to Mr. Russell (indeed I have not seen him) nor don't intend to speak till I have your answer to my letter upon the subject, though I don't think what I write will make you change your mind, yet then you will be determined in your choice, and I shall not lose my labour. I have writ to day to Ad. Evertzen to desire him to come up, for I hear he makes difficulties to send his ships up to be repaired. I fear Mr. Harbord will have but ill success in his negociation by what you write. I told lord President what you bid me, and read part of your letter to him; but he is still of the same mind that the French have a design upon Portsmouth. I am the most impatient creature in the world for an answer about your coming, which I do hope will be a good one, and that I shall see you, and endeavour myself to let you see, if it be possible, that my heart is more yours than my own.

*Queen Mary to King William.——Scotch affairs.——
Her concern for religion.——offered 200,000 l. if she
would dissolve the parliament.*

Whitehall, July the $\frac{25}{15}$, 1690.

I HOPE I shall not be disappointed in my hopes of seeing you quickly, and indeed I do so flatter myself with it that I can hardly resolve to write any thing, believing it labour lost; yet now I must do it for fear, and it is better I should venture the writing to no purpose, than that I hazard your not knowing what I

have promised to acquaint you with; first, from Sir Wm. Lockhart, who begs you to consider the want there is of horse upon the borders of Scotland. He says M. G. Mackay is in the highlands, and will have work enough to do there, so that he can spare none to keep them in some order, who want it very much. I have the most lamentable letters in the world from Lord Melville; I suppose you have so too; but I fancy he takes more care to hide his fear to you than me. I have been also desired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools, to instruct the poor Irish; for my part, I must needs say that I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there; and indeed, if you give me leave, I must tell you, I think the wonderfull deliverance and success you have had should oblige you to think upon doing what you can, for the advancement of true religion, and promoting the Gospel.

I had yesterday an offer made me of two hundred thousand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand, that it should be paid as soon as the parliament gave money, but it was only on this condition, that the parliament should be dissolved; I told Lord Monmouth, who made me the proposition, that was a thing I could not promise, it being of that consequence, that though all the lords of the great council should unanimously agree to, yet I would not venture upon it without knowing your pleasure; therefore, unless they would lend some money (which is really most extremely wanted) upon other terms, I must go without it; for I would not by any means engage for what I could not perform: we had besides this, much discourse, all which would be too long to trouble you with, only that he began to speak of Lord Shrewsbury (who by the way is gone to Tunbridge); he said he saw he was concerned as well as his friends at what he had done, and he believed would be very glad to serve
you

you again; that he himself had observed you were unwilling to part with lord Shrewsbury; and now desired to know if there was no way of restoring him. I askt if he had any to propose, but he said he had no commission to speak this: he said many extraordinary things in this discourse, which I reserve to tell you. I never write but what I think, others do not; so I shall do now, and must tell you I had writ to admiral Evertzen (by advice, as you may believe) to come up; he has been with me this very night, and though he will say nothing positive, nor blame lord Torrington, yet he says so much, that as unequal as the fleets were, had the English fought like the Dutch, they should at least have so shattered many of their ships, that they must have left the sea for their own safety. Lord Nott. I suppose will let you know the good answer we have had from Holland. They have engaged me to go to Hyde-park, to see the militia drawn out next Monday. You may believe I go against my will. I still must come back to my first saying, which is, that I do hope and flatter myself that you will be come back, if it can be with safety; I'm sure if that can't be, I shall wish you may rather stay where you are, tho' I long never so much to see you, than that you should venture your dear person, which is a thousand times more so to me than my own self, and ever will be so while I breath.

Queen Mary to King William.—expecting him over.

Whitehall, July $\frac{26}{1690}$.

LORD BELOMONT torments me to write by his brother, which I do, though I have nothing to say more than what I wrote last night. I am always glad of an opportunity of putting you in mind of me, tho' I hope 'tis not absolutely necessary. All the news of the town yesterday, was, that you were landed at Chester, pray God it were true, tho' I think there is no likelyhood of it, yet I thought it pleasing, and the more, because they have really said several

things which have come to pass. I hope it may be so in this. I will not say more now, but that the bishop of Salisbury has made a long thundering sermon this morning, which he has been with me to desire to print, which I could not refuse, tho' I should not have ordered it, for reasons which I told him. I am extreme impatient of hearing from you, which I hope in God will be before I sleep this night; if not, I think I shall not rest; but if I shou'd meet with a disappointment of your not coming, I don't know what I shall do, for my desire of seeing you is equal to my love, which can not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to King William—his and her opinion of discords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{27}{17}$, 1690.

EVERY hour makes me more impatient to hear from you, and every thing I hear stir, I think brings me a letter. I shall not go about to excuse myself; I know 'tis a folly to a great degree, to be so uneasy as I am at present, when I have no reason to apprehend any ill cause; but only might attribute your silence to your marching farther from Dublin, which makes the way longer. I have stay'd till I am almost asleep in hopes; but they are vaine, and I must once more go to bed, and wish to be waked with a letter from you, which I shall at last get, I hope. Till I know whether you come or no, I can not resolve to write you all that has past this day, till which time I thought you had given me wrong characters of men, but now I see they answer my expectation of being as little of a mind as of a body. Adieu, do but love me, and I can bear any thing.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William.——Discords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{28}{18}$, 1690.

COULD you but guess at my impatience for a letter, you would be able to judge of my joy at the receiving yours from Timolin. I hope by to-morrow to have such an answer as we all desire to those by Mr. Buttler. At present I shall say nothing to you, but that I have at last seen the council in great heat, but shall stay till I see you to tell you my mind upon it. Lord Nott. will send you the account the commissioners have brought from sea, of the assurance of the fleet being ready Wednesday next. Lord Lincoln was with me this afternoon no less than an hour and half, reforming the fleet, correcting abuses, and not shy of naming persons; he talk'd so perfectly like a madman as I never heard any thing more in my life; he made me the extravaganteſt compliments in the world, but was by no means satisfied that I would do nothing he desired me. He had an expression that I have heard often within these few days since it is wanted, which is, that I have the power in my hand, and they wonder I will not make use of it: and why should I stay either for your return, and whether I should lose so much time as to write you word or no, is doubted; that is, when they must stay till an answer can come. I shall tell you more of this when I shall be so happy as once more to see you, or when I can write a longer letter, for I have taken the vapours, and dare not to-night; but you know whatever my letters are, my heart is more yours than my own.

Queen Mary to king William.—The council split about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, $\frac{1 \text{ Aug.}}{22 \text{ July}}$, 1690.

LAST night I receiv'd your letter from Wels with so much joy, that it was seen in my face by those who knew the secret of it that you were coming. I will not take up more of your time with endeavouring to tell you what is impossible to be express'd; but you know how much I love you, and therefore will not doubt of my delight to think I shall soon see you. I will not this time tell you any thing that can be writ you by others, but I must let you know that when I spoke to Mr. Ruffel, he answered me at first almost the same thing as this morning, till which time he took to consider. He assured me there was nothing he would not do to serve you; but he does not think himself proper for to command the fleet in such a time as this. He says your meaning of saying sir R. Haddock should be under him, can be no other than in commission, wherein himself should be the first; no other way sir R. H. can possibly go. He tells me, not only the eye and expectation of all England, but all Europe, especially Holland, is upon this choice: that he does not think there is a man in England capable at this time to do it alone; that his opinion is, it ought to be in a commission of no less than three. I told him that was your intention if he would not go with sir R. H. He excused himself from all, as believing it might be for your service; and told me he thought it should be put in the hands of two seamen and a man of quality: the man of quality he thought should be lord Pembroke, if he desired it; but himself rather wished for lord Shrewsbury, of whom lord Marl. writ you word some time since; he begg'd of all things it might not be the duke of Grafton, saying he knew only enough to make him ungovernable, and is of so rough a temper, it could

could never suit with the seamen at all : there was another he feared yet more, which is lord Monmouth, and indeed I believe nobody would speak for him : some thought lord Steward would offer himself, and that was to be fear'd. Upon the whole I consulted lord president, but had at first desired lord Nottingham to talk with lord Pemb. and hear whether he would desire it. Lord president told me lord Monmouth had asked his advice, who as a friend had counsel'd him not to ask it alone, not judging any one man fit for it : t'other pretended to thank him, but in a passion begg'd not to be named as one who would go in commission ; so that was over. While we were talking, came lord Nott. who told me lord Pemb. would not ask it or desire it, nor would not be willing to go. 'Tis too tedious to tell you their discourse (which was only as from lord Nott. himself) but lord Pembroke disapproved having a man of quality to go, saying it was only to send him to be knock'd of the head, without the hopes of having any credit of what was well done. Upon which lord president offered to go himself : I put that off with compliments, and said, I thought the best would be to name the two seamen, which could be no other but sir R. Hadock and sir J. Ashby, being now the first in the fleet, and leave the third person to your naming, who certainly will be here before it can go out, which I said was a reason to be given the committee, who knew of your coming. The rest of the world should only know the third was not yet named, and need not be informed if it should be a man of quality or a seaman. This I said I thought would serve the end for which it was thought pressing as to time, since these two could as well order all things necessary as if the third were with them. This lord president approved, and thought it best to tell the committee at once, that they might only speak their minds upon the two ; and I desired it might be so, to prevent lord Steward's offering himself : and indeed though I did not tell them nothing of lord Shrewsbury, yet I had told Mr. R. and lord

Marl.

Marl. who approved it upon that account, because they hoped when you came you would name lord Sh. which they thought would find opposition now from lord president and lord Nott. I confess remembering what I have heard you say ; and your wishing so earnestly he had not been out, makes me apt to think you will employ him ; and Mr. Ruffel assuring me it would be of so general a satisfaction, makes me wish it. This was done this afternoon in the committee, all generally approving the two men, and that the third should stay your coming, only lord Monmouth, who was silent and uneasy. Lord Nott. and Mr. Ruffel had severally wish'd to me alone that Killigrew might be one, but durst not propose it, because of what happened yesterday in the great council, as you will hear. I thought this business had been over, but was surprized at my return from Kensington to find lord Pemb. with the whole admiralty, except Mr. Ruffel and captain Prifman ; they told me, they came to let me know the inconveniency they believed it would be to put this business in commission, and therefore to desire that Mr. Ruffel might have the sole command. Sir T. Lee was very earnest in it, and indeed almost the only speaker, though for form sake lord Pemb. began ; lord Carbury spoke once and no more. I told them it was according to your directions in a letter to me myself, seeing Mr. Ruffel had excused himself, and that I did not know what more could be done ; writing to you again, after you had writ your mind so plainly, was loss of time, which I thought might be prejudicial to your affairs at present ; but they would not be satisfied. I desired time to consider ; 'twas late when they went from me. Lord president was gone home ; so I sent to lord Nottingham to have the committee appointed to-morrow morning extraordinary upon this, and have sent to Mr. Ruffel to come to me first. Lord Nott. and lord Marl. who was here, told me it was sir T. Lee's hatred to Haddock. I think it will be to no purpose to refer the thing by letter to you : you will be here yourself before

an answer, and I don't know if this long letter will come to you ; at least I hope 'twill meet you upon the way. After this long letter I must tell you, that 'tis impossible for Kensington to be ready for your first coming, though I will do my best you shall not stay long for it. When you are come, I will make my apology for the matter when I see you. I shall now only tell you I am in great pain till I know if I have done well in this business or no. I am almost fast asleep, for 'tis very late. Pardon all my faults, and believe I will commit none willingly ; and that I love you more than my life.

Queen Mary to King William.—Heats about the command of the fleet.—The admiralty disobey her.

Whitehall, ^{Aug. 3,} 1690.
July 24,

THOUGH I hope in God you will come quickly, and that I flatter myself you may be come away yesterday or this day, yet I cannot rest without sending this express, in case any accident might happen, or some retardment, as many are apt to believe by lord Portland's letters, which may make you longer a coming ; so that it is fit you should know what happened yesterday. I writ you word how those of the ad. had been with me the night before to recommend Mr. Ruffel, and the answer I gave them, as also that I had spoken to lord Nott. to call the lords together next morning which was yesterday ; they came accordingly, but I first spoke to Mr. Ruffel, who was still of the same mind, and assured me he could not go any way, even though he had those with him who could help him with their advice. He said the blame must still fall upon him, if any thing happened, though merely accidental, yet he said the minds of all men were so exasperated now, that it would be his ruin ; you may believe I could not press him after that, nor indeed at all, as the comm. of the ad. would have it, since in both your letters,

letters, by which you may be sure I should only go, you said Mr. Ruffel and sir R. Hadock under him : so Mr. Ruffel and I parted, he very well satisfied as I thought with the two before named, I still in hopes you would chuse lord Shrewsbury for the man of quality, though he owned he did not so much care for sir R. Hadock. When the commitee met, I desired lord Pembroke to tell them what the ad. had said to me the night before, that I might have the advice of the lords, which he did ; and I saw none that thought there could be any change made, Mr. Ruffel having repeated all his reasons again to excuse himself. Lord Mon. was the only person who was silent ; so the comm. of the ad. were sent for ; when they came, lord President told them what the resolution was. Sir T. Lee grew as pale as death, and told me, that the custom was that they used to recommend, and they were to answer for the persons, since they were to give them the commission, and did not know but they might be called to account in parliament ; I shall not repeat all that was said : Lord President argued with them ; at last sir T. Lee came to say plainly, Hadock was the man they did not like. Lord Pem. spoke for him, so did sir J. Lowther. Mr. Ruffel was gone out. Pristman spoke against it, so did lord Carbury, and sir R. Ansløe ; at last sir T. Lee said, it could not be, I might give them a commission if I pleased, but they could not ; and when I saw he talkt long, and insisted upon their privilege, I said, that I perceived then the king had given away his own power, and could not make an admiral which the admiralty did not like ; he answered, No, no more he can't. I was ready to say that then the king should give the commission to such as would not dispute with him, but I did not, though I must confess I was heartily angry ; it may be I am in the wrong, but yet I cannot think so. Lord President after more discourse desired them to retire. When they were gone, I saw all generally agreed I was to persist, especially since the man they found fault with was he you had named now, and

as I was assured by all, was the person you had resolved upon, when lord Torrington would not go; and every one approved of sir J. Ashby, and concluded nothing but Killigrew could hinder him, and his absence was the main thing that made him not be thought of by most, though some were against him, upon the account of suspicions they have, which don't seem to be well grounded. Upon this it was resolved, the commissioners should be called again, and told positively they might prepare the commission, and so we parted; but sir T. Lee, lord Carbury, and sir R. Ansloe sent to me to excuse their not signing: I asked lord President what answer was to be sent, for he brought me the message: I told him I was much surprized; he was very angry, and talkt at a great rate; but I stopped him and told him I was angry enough, and desired he would not be too much so, for I did not believe it a proper time; he said, the best answer he could give from me was, that they would do well to consider of it. I desired he would add that I could not change my mind, if it were proper to say so much; he said it was rather too little: what passed at the great council you will hear; but as to this, I saw Mr. Russel this morning, and found him very much out of humour; excused sir T. Lee, and would not believe he had said such a thing as I told you, I said indeed that had angered me very much, but he endeavoured to talk it over, and said sir R. Hadock was not acceptable to them, because they believed lord Nott. had recommended him, and they did not like that: I saw he shifted off the signing the commission, by saying there was not a compleat board this morning: he began again to find difficulties of precedency between Hadock and Ashby, and indeed I never saw him out of humour before: there was company by, so I had no fair opportunity of saying more to him; he only prest the naming lord Shrewsbury for a third, as the best means to allay all these things. But as I had not time nor convenience to say more to him then, I was fain to leave off the discourse at a place I would have said more upon,
which

which I had the opportunity of doing this afternoon to lord Marl. who came to me about the same thing. I told him I was resolved to send away this express in hopes of a speedy and positive answer, and I told him why I should be unwilling to name Shrewsbury myself. I thought it would not be proper for me by any means to name a person who had quitted just upon your going away; though I was persuaded you would trust him, and had a good opinion of him, yet for me to take upon me alone (for we concluded none would be for it but these two who are only trusted with the secret, I mean lord Marl. and Mr. Ruffel, and lord Cham.) for me I say now so to name him without being assured of your approbation, I thought not proper; therefore I desire you will be very positive in your answer; for I begin to fear lord President may be in the right, that you cannot possibly be here so soon even as yourself thought; and if not, pray send an answer to this third person, and likewise to the behaviour of the commissioners of the ad. I pray God send you here quickly, for besides the desire I have to see you for my own sake, (which is not to be named) I see all breaking out into flames. Lord Stewart was with me this afternoon from sir T. Lee to excuse himself to me. He said the reason was, because he saw this was a business done between two or three, a concerted thing, and that made him he could not consent. I told him he himself could have assured sir T. Lee it was your own orders in your letter to me, at which he shook his head; I askt if he or sir T. Lee did not believe me; he said sir T. Lee thought he was, that is sir R. Hadock, was imposed upon the K. I said I did not believe that was so easy; I mean, said lord Devonf. recommended by persons who they don't much like. Indeed, my lord, said I, if they only dislike sir R. Hadock, because he is recommended by such as they don't approve, it will confirm me in the belief he is a fit man, since they can make no other objection against him: I confess, said I, my lord, I was very angry at what sir T. Lee said yesterday;

yesterday ; but this is to make me more so, since I see 'tis not reason, but passion, makes sir T. Lee speak thus : upon which we fell into discourse of the divisions, which both lamented, and I think we both were angry, though not at one another. He complained that people were too much believed that ought not to be so, and we could not agree. I should never have done, should I say all I hear upon such matters, but what I have said I think absolutely necessary for you to know : if I have been too angry I am sorry for it : I don't believe I am easily provoked, but think I had reason now, and if I may say so, I do not think people should be humoured to this degree. Mr. Ruffel again desired the d. of Grafton should not be in ; and lord Nott. who was one of those who mentioned him before, desired me to let you know he is concerned at it, having since been informed how unfit he is. One thing more I must desire to know positively, which is about Kensington, whether you will go there, tho' my chamber is not ready. Your own apartment, lord Portland's, Mr. Overkirk's, and lady Darby's are done, but mine impossible to be used, and nobody's lodgings else ready. The air is now free from smoke, but your closet as yet smells of paint, for which I will ask pardon when I see you. This is the true state of your two houses, but if you will go lye only at Kensington, for I suppose your business will keep you here all day, pray let me know. You may be sure I shall be very willing to suffer any inconvenience for your dear company, and wish I could suffer it all, for I deserve it, being something in fault ; tho' I have excuses which are not lyes. I hope this long letter will meet you so near, that you may bring your own answer ; if not, if you love me, either write me a particular answer yourself, or let lord Portland do it for you ; for you see the necessity of it for the public ; do a little also for my private satisfaction, who loves you much more than my own life.

Queen Mary to king William—about Hampton-court.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 5.}}{\text{July 26,}}$ 1690,

LAST night I received yours from Benit-bridge, by which I find you designed to summon Waterford last Monday, I beseech God give you good success, and send you safe and quickly home; there was order taken yesterday in council for the proroguing the parliament for 3 weeks. I have been this evening at Kensington, for tho' I did believe you would not be willing to stay at Whitehall, yet I confess what you write me word, makes me in a million of fears, especially since I must need confess my fault, that I have not been pressing enough till it was too late. The outside of the house is the sidling work, which takes up more time than one can imagine; and while the schafolds are up, the windows must be boarded up, but as soon as that is done, your own apartment may be furnished; and tho' mine cannot possibly be ready yet awhile, I have found out a way, if you please, which is, that I may make use of lord Portland's, and he ly in some of the other rooms; we may lie in your chamber, and I go throw the council room down, or els dress me there; and as I suppose your business will bring you often to town, so I may take such times to see company here, and that part of the family which can't come must stay here; for 'tis no matter what inconveniencys any els suffers for your dear sake; and this way I think the only one yourself will have, will be my lying in your chamber, which you know I can make as easy to you as may be: our being there will certainly forward the work. I hope this letter will not come to your hands, but that you will be upon your way hither before this. My greatest fear is for your closets here; but if you will consider how much sooner you come back than one durst have hoped, you will forgive me, and I can't but be extreme glad to be so deceived. God in his mercy
send

send us a happy meeting and a quick one, for which I am much more impatient than I can possibly express.

Queen Mary to King William.—*The divisions continue about the command of the fleet.*—*Expects he is to be in London in a day or two.*

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 9.}}{\text{July 30.}}$ 1690.

YOU will not wonder that I did not write last night, when you know that at noon I received yours, by Mr. Butler, whose face I shall love to see ever hereafter, since he has come twice with such good news. That he brought yesterday was so welcome to me, that I won't go about expressing it, since 'tis impossible: but for my misfortune, I have now another reason to be glad of your coming, and a very strong one, if compared to any thing but the kindness I have for your dear self, and that is the divisions which, to my thinking, encrease here daily, or at least appear more and more to me. The business of the commission is again put off by Mr. Russell; for the day before yesterday the com. of the adm. were again called upon; and, for any thing I see, can give no good account for their slowness: they were again desired to hasten all they could, and sir J. Lowther saying it was necessary Ashby should have help, gave occasion to ask why the commission was not signed, for which they could give but ill reasons; the lords all agreed they should be again ordered to do it, and that immediately, which they went away for. Mr. Russell was not here, but when he came to the adm. board, he desired it might be put off till an answer of a letter he writ to Killigrew could come. Yesterday morning lord President told me of this, before I went to the cabinet council, and I saw then was very much out of humour, which I shall reserve till I see you. Mr. Russell himself spoke to me of it, and said he believed I would not find it reasonable to venture at this time the losing such a man

as Killigrew, and so gave it a very handsome turn, tho' I think he has no mind to Hadock. I told him I was not so unreasonable as to find fault with deferring this matter upon that account; but that I could not bear with sir T. Lee's way. He went to excuse him, I said that I must own to him, that were I in your place, I would not have borne his answer; but when he had in such a manner refused to sign the commission, I should have put it into such hands as would have done it. Mr. Russell said, he hoped I would not think of it now: I told him no; he might be sure in your absence I would not think of any thing of that nature, especially not without your orders for it; and when I told Mr. Russell the reasons sir T. Lee had sent me, which were, that he had nothing so much against the man as against those who recommended him, he said indeed that was an ill argument: when the cabinet council did meet, this business was left thus, at Mr. Russell's desire; but he himself and all agreed, that lord Nott. should send for sir R. Hadock, and tell him he was to go, that he might prepare for it; but still there is some difficulty about the precedency between sir J. Ashby and him; for I hear that last night Mr. Killigrew's answer came, who would rather be in his own station than one of the three. Thus the matter is, and thus you will find it, for since you are so near coming, I think it will not be proper to do any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and when you do come, you will then be the best judge of the whole matter. At my coming from the council, I was told of Mr. Butler's being come, who soon brought me your letter, and tho' I was in hourly expectation, yet being sure you were coming did really transport me so, that yet I hardly have recovered it, and there is such a joy every where, that it is not to be express. I went last night to Kensington, and will go again by and by: they promise me all shall be ready by Tuesday next, and this is Wednesday; that is the night, by Mr. Butler's reckoning, with a fair wind, you may be here, tho' I think,

think, by your dear letter, it is possible you may come a day sooner; at most, if you lye here two nights; the third you may certainly, if it pleaseth God, be at Kensington. I will do my endeavour that it may be sooner; but one night I reckon you will be content to lye here. I writ you word in my last, how I thought you might shift at Kensington, without my chamber, but I have thought since to set a bed (which is already ordered) in the council chamber, and that I can dress me in lord Portland's, and use his closet. M. Neinburg is gone to get ready other rooms for him: thus I think we may shift for a fortnight, in which time I hope my own will be ready; they promise it sooner. This letter will, I hope, meet you at Chester; it shall stay for you there, so that if there be any thing else you would have done, do but let me know it by one word, and you shall find it so, if it be in my power. I have one thing to beg, which is, that if it be possible, I may come and meet you upon the road, either where you dine, or any where else, for I do so long to see you, that I am sure had you as much mind to see your poor wife again, you would propose it; but do as you please: I will say no more, but that I love you so much it cannot encrease, else I am sure it would.

Queen Mary to King William.——Disappointed upon his delaying to return.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1690.

UNLESS I could express the joy I had at the thoughts of your coming, it will be in vain to undertake telling you of the disappointment 'tis to me that you do not come so soon: I begin to be in great pain lest you had been in the storm a Thursday night, which I am told was great (though its being a t'other side of the house hinder'd my hearing it) but was soon delivered by your letter of the 29th from Ch. I confess I deserve such a stop to my joy, since may be it was too great, and I not thankful enough to God, and we all

here apt to be too vain upon so quick a success. But I have mortification enough to think your dear person may be again exposed at the passage of the Shannon, as it was at that of the Boyne: this is what goes to my heart; but yet I see the reasons for it so good, that I will not murmur, for certainly your glory would be the greater to terminate the war this summer, and the people here much better pleased, than if they must furnish next year for the same thing again. Upon these considerations I ought to be satisfied, and I will endeavour as much as may be to submit to the will of God and your judgment; but you must forgive a poor wife, who loves you so dearly, if I can't do it with dry eyes; yet since it has pleased God so wonderfully to preserve you all your life, and so miraculously now, I need not doubt but he will still preserve you; yet let me beg you not to expose yourself unnecessarily, that will be too much tempting that Providence which I hope will still watch over you. Mr. Russel is gone down to the fleet last Thursday to hasten as much as may be all things there, and will be back a Monday; when there is a great council appointed. I don't doubt but this commission will find many obstacles; and this naming Killigrew among such as don't like him will be called in question, as well as the other two; and I shall hear again that 'tis a thing agreed among two or three. I will not write now no more than I used to do what others can; and indeed I am fit for nothing this day; my heart is so oppressed I don't know what to do. I have been at Kensington for some hours quiet, to-morrow being the first Sunday of the month; and have made use of lord Portland's closet as I told you in my last I would. The house would have been ready by Tuesday night, and I hope will be in better order now; at least it shall not be my fault if 'tis not. I shall be very impatient to hear again from you, till when I shall be in perpetual pain and trouble, which I think you can't wonder at, knowing that you are dearer to me than my life.

Queen Mary to King William.—Joy that he has approved of her conduct with regard to the admiralty.—
People discontented whatever he does.

Whitehall, Aug. the 1⁵, 1690:

LAST night I received yours of the 3d July, and with great satisfaction that it was so plain; your approving my anger is a great ease to me, and I hope may make things go on the better if it be possible; though there are great pains taken to hinder the persons named either from serving at all, or from agreeing, but I hope to little purpose. They now begin to engage Mr. Citters in the business, and tell him stories which will be worth your hearing when you come back; and sir R. Hadock is now said to rail at the Dutch, of which he has, I think, cleared himself. Positive orders were given lord Pembroke this morning to have the commission immediately signed, but sir T. Lee is again at other ways to oppose it: yet Mr. Ruffel being come back this night from the fleet, to-morrow morning they will have a full board, and so no excuse. Lord Torrington has writ to the officers that they should make an address in his favour; and takes great pains by letters among them; but this is a secret: as for his trial, the only thing can be done is the admiralty's giving a commission for it, which they have already orders for; but that, as all things else with them, goes very slowly; and many disputes and niceties themselves find about it: for my part, I must confess I should think if he were now acquitted, it would be worse both in regard of Holland and the business here, than if the preparations are made, and the going out of the fleet hinder it being put in execution for a while. I should not write you this thought of mine, if I did not find several of my mind, which makes me apt to believe I am not quite in the wrong; but that you know better; and you may believe I shall do as much as lies in my power to follow your directions in

that and all things whatever, and am never so easy as when I have them. Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour, and the kind way you express it in, is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence : what other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it : I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for : I am sure 'tis so great a mercy that I can never forget it : we have received many : God send us grace to value them as we ought ; but nothing touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree ; that would be too much happiness, Lord Nott. will give you an account of all things, and of some letters which by great luck are fallen into our hands. I have been at Kensington this evening, and made it now so late that I am very sleepy, and so can't say much more : I shall only assure you that I take all the pains I can. Kensington is ready ; that had you come this night as I did flatter myself you would have done, you could have lain there ; that is to say, in the council chamber, and there I fear you must lie when you do come, which God grant may be soon. I must needs tell you upon the subject, that when it was first known you intended to come back, 'twas then said, What, leave Ireland unconquered, the work unfinished ! now upon your not coming, 'tis wondered whose council this is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in our danger ? Thus people are never satisfied ; but I must not begin upon the subject which would take up volumes ; and, as much as I was prepared, surprizes me to a degree that is beyond expression. I have so many several things to say to you if I live to see you, that I fear you never will have patience to hear half : but you will not wonder if I am surprized at things which though you are used to, are quite new to me. I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon ; that passage frights

me.

me. You must excuse me telling my fears; I love you too much to hide them, and that makes all dangers seem greater it may be than they are. I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth, first before we meet in heaven.

If I could take more pains to preserve your kindness, that which you write would make me do it; but that has been ever so much my desire, that I can't do more for you, nor love you better.

Queen Mary to King William.—Scotch affairs.—Difficulties in England.—Complains of whig party.

Whitehall, Aug. 17, 1690.

I BEGIN to grow extreme impatient to hear from you again, and till I do shall have little rest; for the passage of the river runs perpetually in my head. God grant I may hear good news. As for what passes here, the commission is at last past, but only four have signed it; which was lord Pembroke, Mr. Russel, sir J. Lowther, and captain Priftman, which it seems makes a board: these have always been ready to do it, and the other three continue obstinate. The commission for the trial of lord Torrington was also press'd extremely, and ordered yesterday in council that the commission of the admiralty should make one of such officers now in service, though they were not in the fight. I was desired yesterday to let you know that though Mr. Castairs be gone to Ireland to press you that the parliament in Scotland might sit, yet that the inconvenience would be so great to have the forfeitures now look'd into at this time, that you are begged to consider of it. I must not name the person; he desired me not by letter, but when I see you you will know all. I have likewise been desired to tell you an imperfect story of the ill condition of the treasury. I desired it might be sent you exactly from thence, which they promise to do. I find people make so many new difficulties every day in every thing, that 'tis a melancholy business to think of it. God only

can cure such matters, and I trust he will, though we don't deserve it. I will not trouble you with a longer letter at present; God give you quick success, and a speedy return, are my constant prayers with due submission. I am unreasonable upon this subject, loving you too well to be at any ease till I hear again from you.

As I had finished this, lord Nott. and lord Marl. comes to tell of a project they have, which I think lord Marl. is to write to you; for which reason an express is sent. And that gives me the liberty of telling you 'tis sir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to consider the matter concerning Scotland. He says he must ever speak what he thinks most for your service, and has spoke with lord President about it, who is to write to you of it; but sir Wm. hopes he shall never be known in the matter, because of lord Melvill. Mr. Hampden is the person who tells such sad stories of the treasury, which I fear will prove but too true. We have had to-day a great dispute about the parliament, whether you should not call a new one or no. They would have me do it, but that I think improper for me. I think I writ you word of this before, that lord Monmouth prest me much in it, and offered, as I am confident you have heard from me, a loan of 200,000l. upon that condition, and 'tis certain that party have done all they could to hinder any money at all coming in; and lord President is of opinion they will leave nothing untryed, but he thinks it will not have the effect they seem to desire, but that the same persons will go near to be chose again. I find I am like to hear a great deal of this matter; but I have your absence to answer it with; I wish I had not that any longer, but that you were here to do it for yourself. 'This is meer self-interest, longing of all things in the world to see you here again.

Queen Mary to King William.——Her anxiety about his passing the Shannon.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{12}{9}$, 1690.

I HAVE had no letter from you since that of the 31st, from Chapelford; what I suffer by it you cannot imagine. I don't say this by way of complaint, for I do believe you write as often as 'tis convenient or necessary, but yet I can't help being extremely desirous of hearing again from you. This passage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night nor day; I have a million of fears, which are caused by that which you can't be angry at, and if I were less sensible I should hate myself, though I wish I were not so fearfull, and yet one can hardly go without t'other; but 'tis not reasonable I should torment you with any of this. Lord Stuart desires me to let you know he has had a letter from M. et Mad. de Grammont, about her brother Mr. Hamilton; they desire earnestly he may be exchanged for lord Mountjoy. I told lord Devons. that I knew nothing of this Mr. Ham. faults (which I see he is very apprehensive the parliament will take into consideration, if he be not out of their power) but that upon his earnest desire I would let you know it. I would have had him write it you himself, but he begs me to do it. As for lord Mountjoy, I hope you will consider if any thing can be done for him. I can never forget that I promised his son's wife to speak to you, and she really died of grief, which makes me pity her case; his family is in a miserable way, and I am daily solicited from his eldest daughter about him: if you would let lord Portland give me some answer to this, I should be very glad, for I can't wonder at people's desiring to know some answer, though I am tormented myself. The business of the commission for lord Torrington's tryal sticks still at the admiralty, who are appointed Monday morning to meet the civilians at council. I have staid till I am ready to go to bed, and now
can

can put off sealing my letter no longer. I pray God give me patience and submission ; I want the first exceedingly, but I hope all is well, especially your dear self, who I love much better than life.

Queen Mary to King William.———*Whigs want a new parliament.*

Whitchall, Aug. $\frac{22}{2}$, 1690.

YOU cannot imagine the miserable condition I was in last night ; I think had not your letter come as it did, I should have fallen sick with fear for your dear person ; but all that trouble made your news of the French having left Limmerick the more welcome, I will not say your letter, for those are ever so. I am sure this news affords new reason of praising God, since I hope it will prevent any more fighting. You speak of your coming back now in a way which makes me hope not only that it will be quickly, but that you come willingly, and that is a double joy to me, for before I confes, I was afraid to have seen you dissatisfied when you were here, and that would have been very unpleasant ; but now I hope in God to see you soon, and see you as well pleased as this place will suffer you to be, for I fancy you will find people really worse and worse. Lord Stuart was with me this afternoon, with whom I had a long conversation, which will be worth your knowing when you come ; but he has made me promise to write you word now some part of it, which is, that he begs you to consider if you will not have a new parliament, for this he is sure will do no good ; this he says is his opinion. I see it is a thing they are mightily set upon. Lord President methinks has very good arguments to try this first, but of all this you will judge best when you come. I can't imagine how it comes to pass that you have not received my letter of the 26th of July ; I am sure I writ, and that you will have had it by this time, or else there must be some carelessness in it which must be lookt after. I have had this evening

lord

lord Anandale who is to tell all, and then I am to procure a pardon from you, but I think I shall not be so easily deceived by him, as I fear lord Melvill has been by sir James Montgomery; but these are things to talk of when you come back, which I pray God may be very soon. 'Tis the greatest joy in the world to hear you are so well. I pray God continue it. I hope this will meet you upon your way back, so it goes by an express that it may not miss you. I can't express my impatience to see you; there is nothing greater but that which it proceeds from, which will not end but with my life.

I have seen Mr. Hop, and Mr. Olderson, but have time to say no more.

You will have an account of the business of the admiralty from lord Nott.

Queen Mary to King William.—Disputes begin in council about naval promotions.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

THOUGH I have nothing to say to you worth writing, yet I cannot let any express go without doing it; and Mr. Hop, it seems, believes the business of the Sweedish ship too considerable to stay but till to-morrow. The commissioners of the admiralty have resolved to come to me to-morrow, with some names for flags: Mr. Russell recommends Churchill and Ellmor, because he says nothing has been done for them, tho' they both were trusted when you came over, and have been ever very true to your interest; but I think, if it be possible, to let them alone till you come, though Mr. Russel seems to think it cannot be delayed; I shall hear (if it must be so) what the other commissioners think, and do as well as I can. I have been this day at Kensington, which looks really very well, at least to a poor body like me, who have been so long condemned to this place, and see nothing but water or wall.

I have

I have received a letter from lord Dursley, who I suppose will write of the same thing to yourself, and therefore I shall not do it. I am very impatient for another letter, hoping that will bring me the news of your coming back; 'tis impossible to believe how impatient I am for that, nor how much I love you, which will not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to king William.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{24}{14}$, 1690.

I ONLY write for fashion sake, for I really have nothing in the world to say, yet I am resolved never to miss an opportunity of doing it while I live. Tomorrow I am to go to the great council, where my lord mayor and aldermen are to come to be thanked for their two regiments, and released of them; when that is over I go, if it please God, to Hampton-court, which I fear will not be much advanced. It has been such a storm of wind and rain this whole day, that I thank God with all my heart you could not be near the sea. I hope the ill weather will spend itself now, that when you do come you may have a quick passage. I have seen Mr. Zulestein to-day, who is so tanned he frights me. I was heartily glad to see him, believing you would not have sent him here, but that you resolved soon to follow. Adieu; continue to love me and I shall be happy, and 'tis the only thing can make me so.

Queen Mary to King William. — Lord Annandale's confession.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{26}{18}$.

THIS time I write with a better heart than the last, because it goes by an express, which must find you out, which it may be the common post may not so well do; there was then nothing to write: this time I have a paper to send you, which lord Nott. is to copy, which

which is what lord Annandale has made sir William Lochart write, because he was not willing it should be seen under his own hand. I think I writ you word, or shou'd have done, that he sent by his wife to sir Wm. he wou'd surrender himself, if he might be sure not to be made an evidence of; upon which sir Wm. drew up conditions, that he shou'd tell all, and then he should be made no evidence, and has my word to get your pardon. I think I writ you this before, but to be short, he is come in, and I have spoke twice with him; the second time was last night, when he gave me that paper, and seems to be in earnest: he told me, that after the time the papers were burnt, wherewith this ends, sir J. Montgomery proposed sending a second message by the same Simson, but he rejected it as much as he durst, but was afraid to tell him plainly he wou'd not; so having a mind to get out of this, he pretended business at his own house in the country; but his coldness made sir J. Montgomery the warmer in it, and assure him he would spend his life and fortune in that interest: thus they parted, and he knew no more till lord Breadalbine came to see lord Annandale, in his way to Chester, when he went to meet you; he told him sir James had certainly sent another message, but that he was not engaged in it, and believed nobody was besides, but lord Arran, tho' he cou'd not be positive if lord Ross were not likewise in: this he told me last night, and desires to be askt more questions, not knowing but that he might yet remember more than at present he can think of: thus he seems to deal sincerely; but to say the truth, I think one does not know what to believe, but this I am certain of, that lord Ross did not keep his word with me, much less has sir J. Montgomery with lord Melvill, for he has been in town ever since this day was sevenight, and I have heard nothing of him, which is a plaine breach of the conditions. I hope in God I shall soon hear from you, 'tis a long while since I have; but I am not so uneasie as I was last time, yet enough to wish extremely for a letter.

D'long

D'hone is to send lord Portland, by this post, a copy of a letter from Mr. Priestman, in which you will see what need you have of that divine protection, which has hitherto so watched over you, and which only can make me easy for your dear sake. The same God who has hitherto so preserved you, will, I hope, continue, and grant us a happy meeting here, and a blessed one hereafter. Farewell; 'tis too late for me to say any more, but that I am ever and intirely yours, and shall be so till death.

Queen Mary to King William.———Contrast between the sentiments of the Dutch and English with regard to them.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{29}{19}$ th, 1690.

LAST night, when it was just a week since I had heard from you, I received yours of the $\frac{20}{10}$ th, after I was a-bed: I was extreemly glad to find by it you had past the Shanon, but cannot be without fears, since the enemys have still an army together, which, tho' it has once more run away from you, may yet grow desperate, for ought I know, and fight at last: these are things I can't help fearing, and as long as I have these fears, you may believe I can't be easy; yet I must look over them, if it be possible, and force myself to talk, or presently every body thinks all lost. This is no small part of my penance; but all must be endured as long as it pleases God, and I have still abundant cause to praise him who has given you this new advantage. I pray God continue to bless you, and make us all as thankfull as we ought; but I must own the thoughts of your staying longer is very uneasy to me. God give me patience, I hope you will be so kind to write oftener; while you are away, it is really the only comfort this world affords, and if you knew what a joy it is to receive so kind a one as your last, you wou'd by that, better than any thing else, be able to judge of mine

mine for you, and the belief that what you say upon that subject is true, is able to make me bear any thing. When I writ last I was extream sleepy, and so full of my Scotch business, that I really forgot Mr. Harbord; he wrote to sir R. Southwell, as he told me, but he has a great deal to say: he pleased me extremely to hear how much people love me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in being so kind to me; that they are so to you 'tis no wonder, I wish to God it was the same here; but I ask your pardon for this, if I once begin upon this subject, I can never have done to put it out of my head. I must put you once more in mind of the custos rotulorum for lord Fitzharding, he thinks his honor depends much upon it, having been so long in his family. I did once tell you, that he did not desire to be lord lieutenant, but now some gentlemen there in the country have wrote to him about it, which makes him desire to be it; if you think it for your service, I suppose you will do nothing in it till your return, 'tis only that you may remember it, and not be engaged before he speaks. Lord Marl. is also very earnest with me to write to you what has been done to-day, and the commissioners of the admiralty have been here in a body, at the cabinet council, to name 4 persons, out of which they desired me to chuse two flags. Lord Marl. desired me to name 'em to you in order, which is Churchill, Aylmer, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it's but too plain in other things, how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the commissioners myself, that I hoped you wou'd be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter shou'd not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if
it's

it's possible, but cou'd not refuse my lord Marl. nor indeed myself, the writing you the matter as it is, tho' he expects I should write in his favour, which tho' I would not promise, yet I did make him a sort of compliment, after my fashion. I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to see you, you are kind enough to be perswaded of both, and I shall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cause to change your opinion of me, no more than I shall my kindness for you, which is much above imagination.

Queen Mary to King William——on the report of the loss of his artillery at Limerick.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{2}{11}$ th, 1690.

THIS is only to let you know that I have received your duplicate of the 14th, which came by Waterford, and got hither last night by 9 o'clock. There was no time lost in obeying your orders, but I have several remarks to make another time. Sir R. Southwel's letter speaks of a misfortune to the artillery, which he refers to your letter, that is coming by Dublin; I cannot imagine the reason 'tis not come yet, nor can I help being very impatient for it. The messenger tells an imperfect story, which makes a great noise in the town, and does not lessen the desire of knowing the truth; besides, 'tis such a comfort to hear from you, that I can't be blamed for wishing it. This is all I will say to-night; for should I begin to tell my fears, that you will not be back so soon as I could wish, I should trouble you, and write myself asleep; it being late. You know my heart, I need say nothing of that, 'tis so entirely yours.

Queen

Queen Mary to king William—upon his raising the siege of Limerick.—Great heats about naval promotions.—Opposition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingsale.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 1,}}{\text{Aug. 22,}}$ 1690.

THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin; and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poor heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Ruffel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: to this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew lord President and lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see lord

Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: he says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinsale. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but, among other things, he endeavours to frighten me by the danger there is of being so exposed, when the fleet and 5000 men are gone, which he reckons all the force; tells how easy it will be then for the French to come only with transport ships, and do what they will, but with all this, is very desirous to forward all things. You will have an account from lord Nott. what has been done this day and yesterday. I know you will pity me, and I hope will believe that if your letter had been less kind, I don't know what would become of me, 'tis that only makes me bear all that now so torments me, and I give God thanks every day for your kindness; 'tis such a satisfaction to me to find you are satisfied with me, that I cannot express it; and I do so flatter myself with the hopes of being once more happy with you, that that thought alone, in this world, makes me bear all with patience. I pray God preserve you from the dangers I hear you expose yourself daily to, which puts me in continual pain. A battle, I fancy, is soon over; but the perpetual shooting you are now in, is an intollerable thing to think on; for God's sake take care of yourself; you owe it to your own and this country, and to all in general. I must not name myself where church and state are equally concerned, yet I must needs say, you owe a little care for my sake, who, I am sure, loves you more than you can do me: and the little care you take of your dear person I take to be

be a sign of it: but I must still love you more than life.

Queen Mary to King William.—State of her own mind.—Opposition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingsale.—Her dislike of lady Marlborough.

Whitehall, ^{Sept. 5,} 1690.
_{Aug. 26,}

YESTERDAY I was very much disappointed when lord Nott. brought me a letter from you; to find it was only the duplicate to a former which brought your orders to lord Marl. So that I have now received three of yours of one date; you may be sure they are all extremely welcome, but I confess that which came yesterday would have been more so, had it been of a fresher date. I have been just now writing to your aunt, the princess of Nassau, in answer to one which she wrote, to let me know of her daughter being to marry the prince of Saxenschnach. I believe you will be glad for your cousin's sake, that she will be disposed of before her mother dies; and I ever heard it at the Hague that this young man was good-natured, which will make him use her well, though she is so much older: and for his good fortune, she has enough I believe to govern him more gently than another cousin of yours does her spouse. I can't help laughing at this wedding, though my poor heart is ready to break every time I think in what perpetual danger you are; I am in greater fears than can be imagined by any who loves less than myself. I count the hours and the moments, and have only reason enough left to think, as long as I have no letters all is well. I believe, by what you write, that you got your cannon Friday at farthest, and then Saturday I suppose you began to make use of them; judge then what cruel thoughts they are to me to think what you may be exposed to all this while. I never do any thing without thinking now, it may be, you are in the greatest dan-

gers, and yet I must see company upon my set days: I must play twice a week; nay, I must laugh and talk, tho' never so much against my will: I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me, at least 'tis a great constraint to myself, yet I must endure it: all my motions are so watch'd, and all I do so observed, that if I eat less, or speak less, or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery added to that of your absence and my fears for your dear person, that I must grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppress'd I can scarce breathe. In this I don't know what I should do, were it not for the grace of God which supports me: I am sure I have great reason to praise the Lord while I live for this great mercy, that I don't sink under this affliction; nay, that I keep my health; for I can neither sleep nor eat. I go to Kensington as often as I can for air, but then I can never be quite alone; neither can I complain, that would be some ease; but I have nobody whose humour and circumstances agrees with mine enough to speak my mind freely to: besides, I must hear of business, which being a thing I am so new in, and so unfit for, does but break my brains the more, and not ease my heart. I see I have insensibly made my letter too long upon my own self, but I am confident you love enough to bear with it for once: I don't remember that I have been guilty of the like fault before, since you went; and that is now three months, for which time of almost perpetual fear and trouble, this is but a short account, and so I hope may pass: 'tis some ease to me to write my pain, and 'tis a great satisfaction to believe you will pity me, it will be yet more when I hear it from yourself in a letter, as I am sure you must if it were but out of common good-nature; how much more then out of kindness, if you love me as well as you make me believe, and as I endeavour to deserve a little by that sincere and lasting kindness I have for you: but by making excuses I do but take up more of your time, and therefore must tell
you

you that this morning lord Marl. went away; as little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compassion on wives when their husbands go to fight. There has been a great debate this morning in the cabinet council, whether the commissioners of the admiralty should be trusted with the secret. Mr. Russell thought it was no matter if the whole town knew it; lord President thought the whole success depends upon it being a secret, and would not have the commissioners of the admiralty told it by no means: most were of his opinion, especially lord Monmouth; but 'tis too tedious to write more of this: you will have an account from lord Nott. of all that has been done besides to-day. If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except lord Nott. being very much against it: lord President only complying because it is your order; but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard. There would be no end should I tell you all I hear upon this subject, but I thank God I am not afraid, nor do I doubt of the thing, since 'tis by your order. I pray God the weather does not change with you as it does here; it has rained all night and this day, and looks as if it were set in for it. Every thing frights me now, but were I once more so happy as to see you here, I fancy I should fear nothing. I have forgot to tell you that in the Utrecht courant they have printed a letter of yours to the States, in which you promise to be soon with them; I can't tell how many ill hours I have had about that in the midst of all my joy; when I thought you were coming home, it troubled me to think you would go over and fight again there. And now I am upon this, I must tell you, that Mr. Johnson writes that Mr. Danckleman has writ the Elector word, that you received the news very coldly that he was come to the army, which they say vext him: I have writ to him, 'tis already some

time ago, in answer to a letter I had from him, which I wish you had seen; it was full of so many extraordinary things, but so like him. I have had a present from him of an amber cabinet, which I think is not necessary to write. Now my letter is already so long, but 'tis as if I were bewitched to-night, I can't end for my life; but will force myself now, beseeching God to bless you and keep you from all dangers whatsoever; and send us a happy meeting again here upon earth, and at last a joyfull and blessed one in heaven in his good time. Farewell; do but continue to love me, and forgive the taking up so much of your time to your poor wife, who deserves more pity than ever any creature did, and who loves you a great deal too much for her own ease, though it can't be more than you deserve.

Queen Mary to King William, upon his returning from Ireland.—Her dislike to the queen dowager.

Whitehall, Sept. the 1st th, 1690.

LORD Wincheſter is deſirous to meet you, which you may believe I will never hinder any one. Whether I ought to ſend him out of form ſake I can't tell, but it may paſs for what it ought to the world, and to your dear ſelf at leaſt I ſuppoſe it is indifferent. Nothing can expreſs the impatience I have to ſee you, nor my joy to think it is ſo near; I have not ſlept all this night for it, though I had but five hours ſleep the night before, for a reaſon I ſhall tell you. I am now going to Kenſington to put things in order there, and intend to dine there to-morrow, and expect to hear when I ſhall ſett out to meet you. I had a compliment laſt night from Q. Dowager, who came to town a Friday; ſhe ſent it I believe with the better heart becauſe Limmericke is not taken: for my part I don't think of that or any thing elſe but you; God ſend you a good journey home, and make me thankfull as I ought for all his mercies.

One of lord Dartmouth's memorandums on bishop Burnet's history, Vol. II. p. 134.—Anecdotes of Queen Mary.

THE duke of Leeds told me, that King William, before he went abroad, told him, that he must be very cautious of saying any thing before the queen, that looked like a disrespect to her father, which she never forgave any body : and the marquis of Halifax in particular had lost all manner of credit with her for some unseasonable jests he had made upon this subject. That he, the duke might depend upon what she said to him to be strictly true, though she would not always tell the whole truth ; and that he must not take it for granted that she was of his opinion every time she did not think fit to contradict him. The earl of Nottingham, who was much in her confidence, told me, he was very sure if she had outlived her husband, she would have done her utmost to have restored her father ; but under such restrictions, as should have prevented his ever making any attempts upon the religion or libertys of his country.

In lord Hardwicke's manuscript of the memoirs of Byng lord Torrington, there is the following account of lord Torrington's motions before the battle of Beachy head.

“ **M.** De Tourville was joined at Brest, by the count of Chateau Renaud, who, in coming through the streights, had missed Killigrew's squadron, that was looking out for him, with a great fleet consisting of the largest and best of the French ships. M. de Tourville sailed from Brest, and coming into the channel, hovered on the English coast, expecting the effects of the designed conspiracy which was to break out about this time. The English and Dutch had not been long rendezvoused at St. Helen's, when the lord

Torrington received advice of the French fleet appearing on the back of the Isle of Wight, which surprized him, as not believing them forward enough to be out so soon; and therefore had sent no scouts to the westward to observe their motions. Upon this he immediately got under sail, and was joined the next day by admiral Evertsen, and several Dutch ships with him. When he made the French fleet, they were to leeward of him, and drawing into a line of battle, bore down upon them; but a thick fog coming on, the English and Dutch anchored, 'till it cleared up, when he saw the French fleet again, consisting in all of 100 sail. The lord Torrington then made the signal for the blue squadron to lead the van towards them, but when he was come within 4 leagues of them, it growing night, he brought to, and both fleets anchored.

In a council of war lord Torrington held upon this occasion, it was the general opinion they were too weak to engage the enemy, the sentiments of which he sent up by express to the queen. In the mean time both fleets, in sight of one another, weighed and drew into a line, but it proving little wind, they anchored again; but in the evening lord Torrington stood up the channel, and the French fleet was not in sight all the next day; and the day after, he came off Beachy Head, where he kept sometimes under sail, and sometimes at anchor.

While the two fleets kept thus in sight of each other, the court was very uneasy that the enemy should be on the coast while such a considerable fleet was at sea, therefore positive orders were sent to lord Torrington, not to let the French fleet go away unfought, which order he received the evening of the 29th of June, and immediately communicated them to the council of war, who were of opinion, that since he had such positive orders to fight the enemy, it should not be delayed while they had the wind of them: and that it would be best, when they attacked them, to go close up to them; the admiral of the Dutch joining with them

in the same opinion. So that lord Torrington got under sail the same evening, being three leagues off of Beachy Head."

In the same manuscript there is the following account of the French motions after the battle.

“**T**HE French continued their pursuit for four days, which had they done in formal line of battle, but every best sailor left to act, at least all the disabled ships of the fleet had been taken by them; but through this failure, and by not observing, or not being well acquainted with our tides, which the English fleet made such advantage of, that when they got off of Dover, the French, though in sight, were so far behind, that they desisted following it any further, as not thinking it adviseable to go after them, on the back of the Goodwin, and in amongst the sands towards the Thames, where the English fleet was retireing, and came to an anchor at the Nore in great confusion, and expecting that the French might attack them. All the buoys were taken up, and other necessary dispositions made, as soon as they got there.”

In the same manuscript there is the following account of lord Torrington's trial.

“**I**T was by a court martial held at Sheerness, on the 10th of December, in which he was unanimously acquitted, though it was thought by some it should have been the house of lords, as being a peer. It is supposed this was chiefly done as some satisfaction to the Dutch, who had much suffered in the battle. The only blame to be laid on lord Torrington, “ was
 “ his standing to the southward at the beginning of
 “ the engagement, and by not going nigher to the
 “ French with the rest of the fleet, as he had admo-
 “ nished all the other commanders to do, at the coun-
 “ cil of war held before the battle; yet though his
 “ Squadron,

“ Squadron, which was the strongest, had behaved as
 “ the rest did, it is unreasonable to think he could
 “ have obtained any victory over the French, whose
 “ strength was so much superior both in the number
 “ and quality of their ships, the enemy being 70 odd
 “ sail, and the English and Dutch only 50.” The
 Dutch admiral, who went very nigh the enemy, and
 behaved himself very bravely, committed likewise a
 mistake, by not going to the headmost ships of the
 enemys line, which had prevented their stretching a-
 head and tacking on him, which gave occasion to the
 ill consequences that followed. As these were the
 mistakes of the confederates during the battle, so was
 not the French without theirs after it; for had they an-
 chored at first, as the English did, they had not been
 so much to the westward of them, or had they weighed
 so early as them, it is thought the whole fleet might
 have been endangered, they being near twice as strong,
 after that of the Dutch was disabled. But the English
 gained so much on them, that they thought it in vain
 to pursue them further, and thereby lost the advantage
 of a victory they might have obtained.

The loss of this battle, and the apprehensions of a
 descent, and several risings in the country, occasioned
 a great consternation in the people. But from the
 queen's wise administration, and application to business
 during the king's absence, joined to her constancy of
 mind, prevented all their fears of danger: and the
 victory gained by the king at the battle of the Boyne,
 which happened on the very next day after that of
 Beachy, put a sudden and effectual stop to all the de-
 signs of the discontented party.”

Lord Shrewsbury to lord Carmarthen.—Offers to take the command of the fleet upon the defeat off Beachy Head. In King William's box.

My Lord, Southborrow, July the 12th, 90.

THIS place, as much as I can see yet of it, has as much the air of real solitude, as the most romantic grove you ever read of; whether it be my lord Torrington or Mr. Tourville's fault is not yet decided, but yesterday we met so many Dutch seamen upon the road, that that subject fills me with compassion, but at the same time leads me to what I sat down with intention to write upon, which I desire you will keep to yourself, unless you see a fit opportunity, and withal that you think my proposal neither too vain nor too foolish.

If I do not very much mistake Mr. Ruffel's inclinations, I think he is not very fond nor ambitious of undertaking this expedition at sea, not being, I believe, confident enough of his own experience to desire the command alone, nor yet willing to undergo so much trouble and danger as such a business requires, when he is only to share the honour with other commissioners. If he does not go, I conclude no other single man will be trusted with the fleet, there being objections against every body can be named, either for want of skill, or security of their inclinations to the government. If the fleet be commanded by commissioners, I imagine there will be appointed one man of quality and two seamen. If my lord Pembroke desires it, no body can dispute what is so much his due; but by several people I have spoken with, there appears too great a backwardness in every body to undertake the regaining this lost game, that I doubt whether any will offer themselves who are fit to be accepted: it is only in this case, and no other, that I think myself obliged to let you know, that if there should any such great want be, as that I could be serviceable (which is hardly credible) I would venture with all the readiness imaginable, and promise you, that as I should

be

be able to do little good, I would do as little hurt, which is all can be expected from the best you can send; if joined with two able mettled seamen, which I am sure are the only people can recover this disgrace.

I cannot help being so ridiculous as to be mightily picqued at the affront the nation has suffered, and think it so much concerns the interest as well as reputation of every man that calls himself an Englishman, not to suffer this domineering fleet to go home without a revenge, and call themselves ever after sovereigns of the sea, that I am very sollicitous to hear good men are named for this command, that it might be somebody's business who is sufficiently concerned in the success, to see this fleet equipped with diligence and care. This long letter is writ contrary to all orders of a regular water-drinker, and in great haste. If what I have offered be very wrong, I hope you will have the charity to conceal the follies of

Your lordship's

Most faithful, humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

In King William's box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.—Suspicious of lord Monmouth.

SIR, London, 16th June, 1690.
MY former of the 13th did not go as I expected, because I understood it would have no other conveyance than by the ordinary post, by which not only myself dare not write, but my lord Marlborow and others (who know less than I do of that matter) have declared publickly that they will not write but by expresses, having reason to believe that major Wildman has exact impressions of most people's seals, and that he makes use of his art.

He does now produce letters which he pretends to intercept every post, which are interlined with white ink, with the best intelligence which can be given of

Your

Your Majesty's councils and affairs: they are always directed to Mons. Coutenay, at Amsterdam; and I remember my lord Monmouth told me of such a direction above two months ago; but we never saw any of these till one about four days before Your Majesty's departure, and they are so much of one strain, that I cannot hinder myself from suspecting them to be sham letters, either to bring some of your council under suspicion of betraying secrets, or to put a value upon Mr. Wildman's great diligence in your service at this time.

I cannot but also acquaint Your Majesty with a private discourse of my lord Monmouth's to me on the 14th, which did much surprize me; but although I now believe there is no such danger, yet it is fit for Your Majesty's knowledge. It was that he did then believe we should in a few hours from that time hear that 5000 French foot were landed in Scotland, to which a great number of Scotch were joined by that time. I told him if he knew it to be true, he ought to acquaint the queen with it; which he said he would have done, if he had been very sure of the truth of it; but he was confident it would be found true in a few hours longer: but hearing nothing of it the next day, I asked him, why he had said so before? he answered, that the news had been brought by a man who came post out of Scotland in forty-eight hours, and had rid himself almost dead; but said he did not know the man; nor how to enquire after him: and upon further discourse he said; he had told Your Majesty that he would endeavour to get what intelligence he could out of Scotland for your service, and that he would endeavour to prevent all things there which might tend to your disservice, but that he would be torn to pieces before he would name any persons, and that you were contented to give him that liberty. In short—although I hope he wishes well to Your Majesty, I believe him to be abused by Wildman: and he was in as much disorder as ever I saw, when Ferguson's papers were searched,
and

and went about a dozen times to his lodging, where Wildman was all the time.

I say not this with any reflection upon my lord, (who in my conscience I do believe means well to your interest) but I believe he has been privy to more of the Scotch designs than he now wishes he had known:

In King William's box.

Lord Caermarthen to King William, upon the defeat at Beachy Head.—Presses him to return from Ireland.

SIR,

London, 7th July, 1690.

I WRIT so at large to Your Majesty yesterday; that I ought not to trouble you so soon again, were it not to congratulate Your Majesty's victory over your enemies at Drogheda, which I hope I need not go about to persuade Your Majesty of my rejoycing in as truly as any of your subjects. It is pity that so much bravery and greatness as Your Majesty shews in all kinds, should meet with any such repulse as you have done at sea; but I hope that may be repaired if those will do their dutys to whom it belongs.

However, as the present case is; without Your Majesty's speedy returne (besides many inconveniences here which would be prevented by it) I do to the utmost degree apprehend its being made impracticable, in some little time hence, for you to returne this summer, if you would, especially with any force, of which I think there is appearance enough that there will be need here, and yet how great soever that need bee, it seems unreasonable to desire troops from you whilst your person is there. Your great council do generally hope, that having lessened your enemies army, you will send back some troops, the fears here being very great, especially whilst the French fleet are about the Downs, where it is expected they will anchor this night. I will presume to trouble Your Majesty no further, but to beseech you to consider the importance of

of your return, whilst it is in your power. I am,
with all duty and esteem,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most faithful
and most obedient subject and servant,

CAERMARTHEN, P.

Since I had writt this letter, the cabinet council being met to consider about the fleet, and the debate giving occasion to speak of the general state of our affairs, it was thought of absolute necessity by them, to desire that some troops might be sent back out of Ireland immediately; and, upon the whole, it was agreed unanimously, that as far as it could be done with good manners, Your Majesty should be press'd to returne with all imaginable speed; all agreeing that it would otherwise be impracticable in a little time longer, and very unsafe both to Your Majesty's person and the nation, if you did not comply with our desires. Your Majesty will accordingly receive our humble requests by my lord Nottingham, with the state of our condition and motives for our requests, which I hope will prevail with you. Your Majesty will also find, that in hopes of Your Majesty's being of our opinion in this matter, we have ordered the squadron under Shovell to a station where he should not bee, but that we take it to be of the first importance to secure Your Majesty's passage to us. We have sworn one another to secrecy in this matter, and the admiralty thinks we have ordered Shovell's squadron only to prevent the design of the 28 Brest ships burning our transport vessels. Your Majesty will be pleas'd to send us the most speedy answer to this that is possible, and to keep it private as long as may be."

Marquis

In King William's box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William, on his returning to the army in Ireland.—Complaints of the admiralty.

SIR,

London; 19th Aug. 1690.

I THANK God, all things are so quiet here, that I have nothing to trouble Your Majesty withall, but to congratulate your happy progress, which the letter bring us an account of this day.

I am glad Your Majesty has been pleased to delay your return to this time; of which I hope you will find the good effects here, as well as in Ireland; unless we can be brazen-faced in our ingratitude, which I hope the very Mobile will not suffer us to be, what even our natural inclinations might otherwise dispose us to.

We have ordered an additional provision to be made, and sent both from Chester and Bristol a few days provisions for the army, from each place, for fear of any want, which is the only thing I can now apprehend in Ireland; for we dare not depend upon the Plymouth provisions coming in time, being liable to so many accidents to prevent it; and amongst the many other miscarriages of the board of admiralty, one hath been, the not sending those provision ships from Plymouth to Ireland, with sir Cloudesly Shovell, we having given them orders for it in due time, and was omitted thro' perfect neglect.

It is pity to take up any of Your Majesty's time impertinently, and therefore, with my prayers for your prosperity, I beg to be esteemed, as I most truly am,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and
entirely devoted subject and servant;

CAERMARTHEN, P.

B O O K VI.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.——Sad state of Ireland.——Offers to go lord lieutenant-general.——Discontents of people with government. In King William's Box.

SIR,

London, Feb. 20th, 1690-1.

I CAN say nothing of matters here, but what Your Majesty is informed of at large, by my lord Sidney; but your affairs in Ireland seem to be in so ill a posture, and so likely to be worse rather than better (unless some other course be taken than is now) and it is so certain, that your business in the next parliament will go better or worse, according to your success the next summer there; that I presume to give Your Majesty my opinion of the necessity of your sending somebody thither, as lord lieutenant, with the accustomed powers of that place, whose quality, as well as authority, may give a countenance to his actions, and may make him be more willingly obeyed than these lords justices are or will be.

I confess the cure is difficult, because Your Majesty has no English subject who is fitly qualified for the employment, (and yet you can employ no other) but I do truly believe your affairs would do better in an indifferent hand of such quality, assisted with good counselors, and some good military assistants (although those were foreigners) than they can do by any commission of justices, as the present state of things are in that kingdom.

Now as I am of this opinion, so I think my lord Shrewsbury, my lord Chesterfield, my lord Pembroke, my lord Moulgrave, or my lord Godolphin, are capable of doing Your Majesty this service, if Your Majesty should approve any of them, and that they would undertake

dertake it. Nay, so absolutely necessary I think it is that something of this kind should be done, that rather than it would not, I do offer myself to Your Majesty for that service, altho' I am less fit than any of those I have named.—Your Majesty will easily believe that, my circumstances considered, I should not have named myself, but that I would rather perish in endeavouring to save this government, than live to perish with it, which (as infirm as I am) I may probably do, if Ireland should cost another year's war. Another reason why I offer myself is, because I think it yet to be prevented by an industrious care, and such provision made for it as is within Your Majesty's power.—What would certainly prevent this danger is Your Majesty's going thither in person: but I fear your other affairs (being wanted every where) will not permit you to do it this year; and no more time must be lost (the year being so far advanced) in fixing your resolutions about this matter; but if Your Majesty should approve of this method, your orders must be immediately sent to whoever you shall employ in that service.

I beseech Your Majesty to take this affair of Ireland thoroughly into your consideration, being what the whole prosperity of your government depends upon in these kingdoms; and forgive me for telling Your Majesty so bold a truth as it is, that men's affections to the government do apparently decrease amongst all parties; and nothing but a more vigorous conduct of affairs can retrieve it, the effects of which must appear this next summer, either at sea, or in Ireland, or both; and a miscarriage in either will be probably fatal to the chief commanders (how innocent soever they be) and deeply prejudicial to Your Majesty.

Although I have writ all this to Your Majesty as my own opinion, I find it to be also the opinion of all the thinking men that I converse with, and it is such a daily discourse (even amongst us who are of the committee for Irish affairs,) how impossible it is for things to succeed in Ireland under the present conduct of them, that

I believe

I believe it to be the reason why we can so seldom get a number sufficient to make a committee, of which my lord Sydney and I are always two, and commonly fir Hen. Goodrick the third; (but which is yet worse) if any others do chance to come, they seem to act like pyoneers, for pay, rather than by inclination. If Your Majesty shall think all this impertinent, I hope you will take no notice it was ever writ, but forgive;

S I R,

Yours, &c.

CARMARTHEN, F.

Lord Caermarthen to King William ———— Complains of In King William's box.
Mr. Hampden.

SIR,

27th Feb. 1690-1.

I AM glad I have but little to trouble Your Majesty withall from hence, all things going on very well as to the fleet, which is our principal concern. The city loane also, of 200,000l. (which we were sent to borrow) is in a good forwardness, notwithstanding the discouragement given them by Mr. Hampden in parliament; who there said, that those had lent Your Majesty least who had lent you most upon former loanes; but the common council did only take notice of it, with a declaration that it should not hinder this loane, and that they would not for the future be obliged to pay their money to the chamberlaine of the city, but that every one would lend in what manner they pleased, and did desire to have a list out of the chamberlaine's books, who had been the former lenders upon each fund, and what sums every man had lent; to which my lord Maior gave them no answer:

As to the affairs of Ireland, Your Majesty will have received a large pacquett by the last post, from the lords justices and lieutenant generals. Ginkle and we are doing all we can to send over oats and other provisions;

but all credit being lost, and nothing to be bought but with ready money, the want of that delays things very much; and I find that Your Majesty's clothing of the army yourself will turn but to an ill account to Your Majesty, as well as to the soldiers, both being much abused as it is now done.

In King William's Box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.—Account of council.

Feb. 27, 1690-1.

THE displacing major Wildman is all the discourse of the town, and generally people are very well satisfied with it, and so they are with the choice the Queen hath made to succeed him. It would have been for your service if it had been kept secret till these gentlemen were ready to take possession of the office, but somebody among us could not keep counsell, and so it was all over the town before sir Rob. Cotton came to it. Mr. Frankland is a great way off, and cannot be expected in several days: I do not much know him, but he hath so good a character, that I do not doubt his deserving the favour that is show'd him. I find my lord President does not approve of the choice, and his chief objection is, because one is a Whig and the other a Tory, which he saith is the most destructive method Your Majesty can take. I confesse I cannot agree with him in this opinion; but besides, this is not the case, for they are both very moderate men. He hath been of late very peevish, and continually complaining; I am not his confident, and he hath almost told me that he would retire in a very little time. My lord Marlborough behaves himself much better than he did at first after Your Majesty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and seldom fails the committees. My lord Godolphin comes not often, but he hath a good excuse for it, which is the treasury.

Lord

Lord Godolphin to King William.———*Lord Godolphin's bad opinion of the marquis of Caermarthen.* In King William's box.

March 20, 1690-1.

SIR Rob. Howard was last week very like to die of the gout in his stomach; the reversion of his place is granted by patent to the present earl of Danby. This patent I have often been told is not good in law, and I believe it; besides, sir Rob. Howard has two offices in the exchequer, whereof one only is grantable by the King, and the other is in the gift of the treasury. I take it for granted that Your Majesty, unless you were obliged to do it by law, would never chuse out the earl of Danby, of all England, to fill that officer's place, thro' whose hands all your own revenue, all the public money of the kingdom, and all the accompts of both the one and the other are to pass; and for these reasons, if the case does happen, I shall think it my duty to refuse to admit him (as far as it depends of me) till the right of the patent be determined, unless Your Majesty should be pleased to signify your pleasure, that you would give the place to him, tho' there were no patent in the case, which, I confess, I think you would no more do than you would make him a bishop.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to King William.———*Complains of the opposing party.* In King William's box.

22d May, 1691.

WHILST Your Majesty is contriving schemes how to save us, and exposing your person for us, some are no less busy here in drawing their schemes to put all things in disorder when a parliament shall meet, and their principal designs are to lessen your power and increase their own; insomuch that without such a success as will be valued here, it is already apparent that our condition will be very deplorable: but I hope the same providence which hath conducted Your Majesty through

through so many great actions, will help you to surmount all difficulties, and make you as happy and great as is most truly wisht by, Sir, &c.

In King William's box.

Lord Brandon to King William.—Complains of having been neglected.

SIR,

WHEN I consider how true an affection I have ever had for Your Majesty's person, and how early my zeal was shewn to settle and support your government, I cannot but think myself very unhappy never to have received the least mark of Your Majesty's favour. I am the more uneasy under this neglect and discountenance of Your Majesty, since it has been the occasion of my losing my rank in the army, where I think I should be most capable to serve you. I know not how I was misrepresented to Your Majesty at your first coming into England, but sure Your Majesty could not think the worse of me for being faithfull to a king to whom I owed my life, and whose commission I therefore believed I ought not to refuse when 'twas offered me; but this I thought myself obliged in honour to be true to my trust: both my principles and my inclinations were always on Your Majesty's side; and when King James was gone away, I am sure no man came to you with a more sincere intention to serve you than myself; what discouragements I have met with since, I desire not to remember, as I hope Your Majesty will please to forget any mistake I may have made in the way I have taken to carry on your service and promote your interest, which has been at all times my design, how much soever I may have misapprehended the manner of doing it. Not to trouble you, sir, too long, my great ambition is to serve Your Majesty in the army, because I think I can there do you most service; and if Your Majesty would not have me believe I am quite lost in your thoughts, I humbly desire Your Majesty will please to place me there in such a post as is suitable to what I may

may justly pretend, of which I shall desire to make Your Majesty, who is the best able to be so, the sole judge. I suppose, sir, Your Majesty knows I have served abroad under the prince of Condé; that after that I was first a lieutenant-colonel, then a colonel 13 years ago; that no man except my lord of Oxford, and sir John Lanier was colonels before me. I do but just mention my pretensions to lay them at your feet, and to submit them wholly to you; and as I cannot but expect all kind of right from Your Majesty's justice, so I do assure Your Majesty, when I am once by Your Majesty's favour placed in the army in such a rank as is proper for me, I will never ask Your Majesty to raise me higher till Your Majesty shall yourself judge it for your service to do so. I am with the utmost respect and duty,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, and
most obedient humble subject
and servant, to command,

BRANDON.

Lord Sidney to King William, about the second conspiracy.—Pen's confession.

In King William's box.

S I R,

Feb. the 27th, 1690-1.

ABOUT ten days ago, Mr. Pen sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Lowther, to me, to let me know that he would be very glad to see me, if I would give him leave, and promise him to let him return without being molested; I sent him word I would, if the queen would permitt it: he then desired me not to mention it to any body but the queen; I said I would not: a Monday he sent to me to know what time I would appoint; I named Wednesday in the evening, and accordingly I went to the place at the time, where I found him just as he used to be, not at all disguised, but

in the same cloaths, and the same humour I formerly have seen him in : it would be too long for Your Majesty to read a full account of all our discourse, but in short it was this, that he was a true and a faithfull servant to King William and Queen Mary, and if he knew any thing that was prejudiciall to them or their government, he would readily discover it ; he protested in the presence of God that he knew of no plot, nor did he believe there was any one in Europe, but what King Lewis hath laid, and he was of opinion that King James knew the bottom of this plot as little as other people : he saith, he knows Your Majesty hath a great many enemies, and some that came over with you, and some that joyned you soon after your arrival, he was sure, were more inveterate against you, and more dangerous than the jacobites, for he saith there is not one man amongst them that hath common understanding. To the letters that were found with my lord Preston, and the paper of the conference, he would not give any positive answer, but said if he could have the honour to see the king, and that he would be pleased to believe the sincerity of what he saith, and pardon the ingenuity of what he confessed, he would freely tell every thing he knew of himself, and other things that would be much for his Majesty's service and interest to know, but if he cannot obtain this favour he must be obliged to quit the kingdom ; which he is very unwilling to do. He saith he might have gone away twenty times if he had pleased, but he is so confident of giving Your Majesty satisfaction if you would hear him, that he was resolved to expect your return before he took any sort of measures. What he intends to do, is all he can do for your service, for he can't be a witness if he would, it being, as he saith, against his conscience and his principles to take an oath. This is the sum of our conference, and I am sure Your Majesty will judge as you ought to do of it, without any of my reflections.

The displacing major Wildman is all the discourse of the town, and generally people are very well satisfied with

with it, and so they are with the choice the queen hath made to succeed him.

Part of the marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William, on the same subject.—Lord Preston's confession.— In King William's box.
Political use to be made of it.

3 Feb. 1690-1.

MY lord Preston hath, since his last paper, made some addition to his confession, though not very considerable; viz. that sir Edward Seymour told him that king James was betrayed by James Porter, and that lord Nottingham had said a peace would be made with France exclusive of king James. That lord Weymouth was with him, together with sir Edward Seymour, and that both of them knew of his going into France. That lord Annandale and sir James Montgomery had been at his house in their way to Scotland, where they spoke very discontentedly against your government. That he met Neale Paine in his way to Scotland, who told him he had commissions for divers persons in that kingdom from king James. The said Paine told him that Ferguson had his pardon, and managed things for them at London; and that Wildman was a well-wisher to their cause. That duke Hamilton had his pardon, and lord Argyle was their friend; and I think said he had his pardon, but I am not certain, having not yet seen his last confession in writing. This being what my lord has said already, and that perhaps he may yet recollect more, I submit to Your Majesty whether it may not be more for the service to continue him (as he now is) till further order, without any reprieve, till the meeting of parliament; where his declaration of these matters will break the teeth of sir Edward Seymour, but of that whole party, from doing your business any harm in parliament. It will also be an ingredient to put a parliament into an humour for your service. It will also shew the designs intended in Scotland, and Paine's negotiations

gociations there; and you may reserve what part of that matter you shall think fit.

He is also the only witness both against my lord Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, and Pen, whereas by his execution you disappoint all these ends; and in my opinion it will not be to Your Majesty's disadvantage, if you should think fit to shew your clemency, rather than draw any more blood on this occasion.

In King William's box.

Lord Nottingham to king William.——Crone and lord Preston's confession.——Opinion of judges taken.——Political use to be made of the confessions.

S I R,

MR. Crone has made oath of the truth of all that is contained in the papers of which I lately sent copies to my lord Sydney: and Mr. Attorney has made his report of what persons are accused by my lord Preston or Crone, and of the nature of their several crimes, which is high treason in all, except my lord Halifax, whose offence is only misprision.

Against the earl of Clarendon, Mr. Grahme, and Mr. Pen, there are two witnesses which are sufficient in law to convict them; but against the lady Dorchester, the lord Dartmouth, Layton, Lawton, and the bishop of Ely, there is but one witness, which is not sufficient to convict them of treason, no more than my lord Halifax of misprision; but Mr. Attorney added, that they might nevertheless be prosecuted for misdemeanor, which last is a point of so great importance, being never known before the case of Mr. Hampden, in the late reign, that the queen thought fit, by the advice of the committee, to require the opinion of all the judges upon it; and this morning my lord chief justice acquainted her majesty, that four judges (of which himself was one) were positive in their opinion, that a person accused by one witness only of high treason, could not be indicted for it as a misdemeanor; two judges more, though doubtful, inclined to the same opinion;

one

one was altogether doubtful; and the other three declared themselves in the affirmative: hereupon her majesty does not think it adviseable to revive a method of prosecution which in the late reign was look'd upon as odious, though the then judges called it legal. Since therefore they cannot be proceeded against for treason for want of another witness, nor for misdemeanor because their crime is treason or misprision: the next consideration was whether they should be seized and committed: this is not a question of law, for 'tis clear they may, but of prudence: and the committee inclines for the present at least, 'tis better not to do it; because 'tis certain they cannot be brought to a trial; and after some time, and an ineffectual attempt to bring them to it, they will be discharged; and none of the considerable persons, except the bishop of Ely, are running away, or like to do so, and therefore may at any time be arrested, and so will be, if any such misfortune should happen to Your Majesty's armies or fleet as might encourage an insurrection: but if Your Majesty thinks it more useful to the service to have all or any of them seized, your orders shall be immediately obeyed: but I beg leave to offer one thing to Your Majesty's consideration, which I have mentioned to the queen only, and it is, that probably some of these may design to obstruct and disturb your affairs in parliament; but this they will not dare to do while they are under apprehensions of being prosecuted themselves, which they will no longer be after they have been confined, and find there is no matter or no proof against them; and since people do expect to see great fruits of my lord Preston's discovery, they will be very much disappointed to see it reduced to so narrow a compass, and that so little can be done upon it; and for this reason it may perhaps be better to keep it secret a little longer, and this may also keep others in awe who know themselves, though we do not know them, to be guilty.

As for Grahme and Pen, against whom there are two witnesses, Mr. Attorney has orders to prosecute them to

an outlawry, by which they will be attainted, and though the late bishop of Ely be accused by one only, yet there being some material circumstances against him, and it being likely that he will not dare to appear, he will undergo the like process too.

But the committee thinks it will be best to delay the trial of my lord Clarendon, not only for what I humbly offered to Your Majesty in my last, but because there past a vote in the House of Lords, that a peer cannot be tried out of parliament, which though it be illegal, and can never be supported in the matter or form of making it, yet may probably influence many lords, who were zealous for this vote, to decline attendance at his trial, which would be very prejudicial to your service: and this may prove an occasion of reversing this vote, which will be more useful than the present prosecution of the earl of Clarendon.

I humbly wait Your Majesty's commands in these matters, and am, with great duty and submission,

Your Majesty's most obedient, and
most faithful subject, and servant,

Whitehall,
June 26, 91.

NOTTINGHAM.

In King William's box.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermartben to king William.—More of the conspiracy.

11th Sept. 1691.

I SUPPOSE my lord Nottingham gives Your Majesty an account of some intercepted letters, which shew what tampering there is betwixt some Scotchmen and some English for promoting the late King's interest; by which it is to be seen that some men are not to be made honest by obligations.

Sir

Sir Robert Howard to King William.—*A sudden attack* In King William's box.
to be made in parliament upon his prerogative.

May it please Your Majesty,

IT has been a great affliction to mee, that by soe long a fitt of the gout I have been hinder'd from waiting on Your Majesty; but while I live, the affection and duty I have to your person and government, shall never faill of their attendance, whenever any occasion requires it.

That which now happens to be the cause of givinge Your Majesty this trouble I have communicated to my lord Godolphin, with whose approbation and opinion I humbly present it, and to whom I have committed this, to be safely convey'd to Your Majesty.

The businesse (which I have received from very good intelligence by particular friends of mine) is a design carry'd on by a very great party, that the war both by sea and land should be managed by a committee of parliament, and this intelligence seems to be made good by the manner of the proceedings of the commissioners for accounts, who act soe unlimited, and in many things exceedinge there pow'r, that it seems plainly to be a method in order to such a designe; and as formerly an abjuration of any other pow'r has been refused, this seems an abjuration of Your Majestys.

I am likewise informed, that the same partys will make all the strength they can to oppose the givinge of excises, and this present parliament has appeared very refractory in that matter, without which 'twill be very difficult to carry on the war, or to discharge the debts in peace.

I humbly submit it to Your Majesty's consideration, whether a new parliament may not be a prevention of such designs, and probably proceed sooner to the businesse of mony than this, where the contrivance is already lay'd for many things to preceed the giving of it.

I hope

I hope I need not beg Your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, since you have been ever pleas'd soe graciously to receive the testimonys of the sincere duty and servise of

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and
most obedient subject,

July the last, 1691.

RO. HOWARD.

Among lord Nottingham's memorandums, in Doctor Percy's hands, there is the following :

FROM Paris 'tis said there is an account that the king of Fr. told the late queen, she must excuse him if he no longer gave any account of King James his affairs, only of his health she should be informed; but that advice was sent to England, and that he could lay his finger on some had done it, tho' he would not name them; however, 'tis said such hints were given that my lady Sophia Buckley is under an arrest, and some say put in the Bastile, for holding correspondence with my lord Godolphin. There are others who give other reasons, and say, la. Sophia was very curious in prying into all that past at St. Germain's, and sending accounts of all to Ireland.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards secretary Stair, to the duke of Hamilton.—Beginning of differences between the duke of Hamilton and lord Stair.

May it please your Grace, London, May 18, 1689.

IHAD the honour to receive your grace's, though I came here on the Wednesday, yet my brethren went without me to Hampton-court, where they delivered the letter and what else was committed to us; and now I understand, by what was moved in the convention, that this was premeditated, though not approven in the house.

Secretary

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—*Respectful to the duke; yet insinuating the suspicions entertained of him.* In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

May it please your Grace, London, May, 30, 1689.

IHUMBLY acknowledge the honour of your second; the letter from the committee gives no satisfaction here. It is understood that your grace did moderate the forwardness of some in the convention; but the very proposals insinuate diffidence in the king's management. The consequences of mistakes at this time, when our deliverance is not perfected, may be fatal. These sent here, seeing the king is determined, have looked about for a balance in our government, and to take their own shares. I do not believe it in the power of your grace's enemies, or malice itself, to prevail with the king to neglect the services you have done, and are capable to render him. I confess it's hard to receive instructions at second hand, but I should be heartily sorry, both upon the account of the publick, and your grace's interest, if any thing should induce you to mar so fair a work; it might justify the surmises your grace points at, and gratify those who insinuate, your grace had more regard to yourself than the publick, should you stop upon the resentment that you have not been advised in the disposal of the publick offices or trusts. This session cannot be long; the king and the world must be sensible, that none besides your grace, can bring this session to a happy and peaceable conclusion, upon which very much depends: for my father he lives in the country very abstract, and yet I see some still retain their humour against him. For myself I have taken occasion to signify very little. But I am sure, I did not fail to avouch the sense I had of the great service your grace hath done to the crown, and your country, in the convention, and how well you did acquit yourself there. I cannot doubt when your grace attends the
king,

king, all your concerns will be adjusted to your satisfaction, which shall be welcome to none more, than to,

May it please your grace, &c.

In the duke of
Hamilton's
possession.

*Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.——The king's
sentiments of toleration in Scotland.*

Hague, Feb. 13, O. S. 1690-1.

May it please your grace,

I HAVE sent the doubles of two letters from his Majesty for your grace's use. We were at first surpris'd here, when the notice came, that the commission of the general assembly did sit during his Majesty's absence, and that they had depos'd five ministers at the first down-fitting. Now we do understand that the king's pleasure ament their adjournment, was not intimated to them, so they cannot be blamed for their disobedience; but I wish they may consider for the future, what they must see to be the king's sentiments, that they do unite with such of those who formerly served under episcopacy, and are worthy to be retained in the ministry.

In King Wil-
liam's box.

*Part of the marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King Wil-
liam.——Lord Caermarthen's sentiments on the same
subject.*

27 Feb. 1690-1.

I HOPE Your Majesty has true informations of things from Scotland, and if you have, I doubt not but you will give speedy directions to put a stop to the giddy proceedings of the commissioners of the assembly against all the episcopal clergy of Scotland at one blow; who are to be turned out of doors with their families, unless they will renounce prelacy, to which they are sworn, so that they are not to keep their livings unless they will preserve them by perjury.

I have given my lord Sidney a memorial, which I have received from two Scots ministers who were sent to
Your

Your Majesty by a great number of the episcopal clergy, but they came here after your departure, by which Your Majesty will see, that the commissioners were to begin their progress the first of March, guarded with two troops of horse; but they cannot be gone so far in their work, before Your Majesty's orders may reach them, but if you please they may be ordered not to proceed further in that matter till Your Majesty's pleasure be known; and truly I believe that the speedy doing of this may be of no less consequence than the preventing a rebellion, and at a time when nothing but the folly of clergymen would have put it to a venture.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—*Apology for his behaviour to the duke in the convention parliament.* In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

May it please your grace, London, Jan. 13, 1691:

MEN are oftentimes carried by their circumstances beyond their intentions or interest. It's undeniable I have both received and given your grace cause of resentment and complaint. As I frankly forgive whatever I got of that nature, so I humbly ask your grace's pardon for what injurys I have offered you, which never went beyond words. I do believe it on your grace's part, and I dare say for myself, these were not the effect of malice or design, but sudden emotions arising from the different apprehensions of the ends or methods we did then pursue; and the office of king's advocate did oblige me to challenge every body without distinction, that had not our word.

Lord Drumlanrig to King William.—*The State of Scotland.*—*Great heats.*—*Complains of the King's ministers.* In King William's Box.

SIR,

TO have written sooner to Your Majesty, had been with less certainty, and therefore I delayed

it till now. I have taken pains to discover the condition of Your Majesty's affairs here, whereof in so far as I can learn I shall now give a just account. I find this country mightily divided, not so much for or against Your Majesty's interest and government, as about the methods of serving you, and the persons employed therein: for the first, the too precipitant and hard procedure against the clergy has disoblged very many, and the misery those men so turned out are under, increases their compassion for them, and thereby their dislike at those who they look upon as the authors of it: besides this, the government is not in very good hands, they being generally men who never before were in business, and the weakness both for interest and parts of most of them, lessens their authority, so that, it's thought, what trouble Your Majesty meets with from this kingdom, is in a great measure to be ascribed to their mismanagement; when I have the honour to wait upon Your Majesty, I shall be more particular about this and other things, if you think fit to command me. The club, as it's called here, are extremely diligent, and seem very confident to carry the plurality in this parliament; Your Majesty's commissioner and those with him, seem not to be out of hopes to carry what their instructions bear, only I can assure Your Majesty if they do, it will be with struggling. I have spoke fully to my father in Your Majesty's concerns, and to be impartial and free with Your Majesty, whose interest I prefer to all things in the world, I must tell you, that I find him much disoblged, thinking himself under the feet of those in the government; he uses greater reserve with me now than formerly, the reason of which I will make bold to acquaint Your Majesty with, when I have the honour to kiss your hand: by what I can understand, he is not yet determined whether to go to the parliament or not; but if he goes, I am afraid he will differ with your commissioner and his party, about the model they have put your affairs in here; he protests to me that it's out of respect to Your Majesty, and concern for your service, makes

him

him do so; however I will appeal to Your Majesty's commissioner to bear witness for me how much I have laboured to beget a good understanding between him and those you are pleased to entrust at this time, that your affairs at present suffer not by their differences, but all is like to prove ineffectual, which makes me wish to be gone from this place. I have not seen any of Your Majesty's forces here, except those in this town; they are not well clothed, and do promise very little; I am told they are all of a piece. The Danish troops which I saw in their way to Ireland, are well mounted and in good order. Forgive, sir, this trouble; I presume rather upon your pardon for it, than be wanting in my duty to contribute all in my power for your information at this distance. I am, with all duty and respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Ed^r. March most faithfull, most humble, and
29, 1690. most obedient subject, and servant,
DRUMLANRIG.

Lord Melville to King William.—On the same subject.— In King William's box.
Great heats.—Complains of the opposers of the ministers.

May it please Your Majestie, 20 March, 1690.

IN obedience to Your Majesty's commands in your letters wherewith you honoured me, I called a council yesterday, where Your Majesty's letter for adjournment of the parl. was read, and a proclamation ordered for adjournment until the 15th of April, there were but few contrary votes, Yester was not in council, nor the earls of Annandale, Dundonald, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery and one or two more, the council was very full: this adjournment hath occasioned a great consternation, and such who are not desirous of a settlement, endeavour to make a very bad improvement of it,

and to abuse the people; at first they represented me as the author of the adjournment, and that it was concerted before I came from London. When they see that would not take with rational men; they now would lay it at my lord Stair's door, at whom the great speat runs, not so much from reason, as out of pike and humour; but I wish he were so wise, as willingly to lay himself aside, though this would not satisfy some; but there seems an infatuation upon people, for we are neither thankfull for mercies; nor sensible of our danger as we ought.

I question not but Your Majesty has had very weighty and good reasons that moved you to this adjournment, and I partly see them. But I was very hopeful, and on very probable grounds, I had carried your affairs in parliament if it had sit, to Your Majesty's satisfaction, notwithstanding all the endeavours and big talk to the contrary: what effects this prorogation may have, I cannot yet give Your Majesty any account; but shall be laying myself out to the uttermost, to prevent the inconveniencies like to follow upon this emergent, for some ill-minded men have been at great pains to inflame the country, and those most affectionate to your service, and to misrepresent Your Majesty to them, under the worst characters, and to persuade them that all the favours pretended and offered to them was but a sham; that there was never a design the parl. should sit, &c. and now they make use of this adjournment as a confirmation of what they formerly asserted and suggested: this poor country is at present in the most confused and distracted condition that a nation can be in, not actually to be all in war. The Jacobites, as they call them, are very numerous and barefaced; the presbyterians, as they are termed, (at least the common people of that sort, who are not fit judges to distinguish betwixt realities and fair specious pretences) are alarmed, and abused by false reports and running insinuations, by men who love to fish in troubled waters, and are but making
tools

tools of them to serve their own designs: there is an army without pay, the country poor, and grumbling, and yet in the opinion of all who wish well to Your Majesty's service, there is an inevitable danger of disbanding it at this time and without pay, even though they be not so well appointed as were to be wished: lieut. gen. Douglass professes to be fully of this opinion, and not to be satisfied with his brother the duke Q. so does his son, and often said they can say nothing for him, so I shall say nothing concerning him: He is desirous now to confer with my eldest son. What passes, or shall be the result, I shall acquaint Your Majesty with. I see well enough the designs of both the dukes and of some of the ring-leaders of the club, who are in some concert, as also of their being so likewise with some of the jacobites, who have heretofore shown themselves dissatisfied to Your Majesty's government; and severals of them who stood out formerly, were come to attend the parl. and resolved to swallow the oaths, as I am informed, out of no good design. It's in Your Majesty's power, not so much in mine, to frustrate their designs, but in my humble opinion, it were fit you should make both the dukes know you are not satisfied with their carriage as to your service, nor that you will not be forced to make use of men against your will. I shall forbear to insist on this head, lest I should be thought partial. I have sent some additional instructions to be superscribed and subscribed by Your Majesty, as also a letter for the parliament at it's opening; and if you think fit, two letters to the two dukes: but this I leave altogether to yourself. If Your Majesty thinks it any ways convenient, you may cause my son transcribe them; the others would be hastened against the down-sitting of the parliament. Though I dare not propose it, yet I think it were very useful to Your Majesty's service to let this regiment of Danes horse stay in this country, and take more of ours in lieu of them to Ireland, for it's scarce to be imagined

the bad condition this poor kingdom is in at present, for many seems to be infatuate. I humbly beg Your Majesty's excuse for this confused and bad writing, having but little time; and wish you all health and prosperity. I am,

May it please Your Majesty,
 Your Majesty's most humble, faithfull, and
 Edinb. 20 March obedient subject, and servant,
 at 3 in the morning. MELVILL.

In King William's box.

Lord Melville to King William.—Great heats—Presses the King for presbytery.

May it please Your Majesty,

27 April, 1691.

I HAVE received yours, wherewith Your Majesty hath honoured me with additional instructions, which be carefully and faithfully observed, in as far as in my power, and consistent with Your Majesty's service. Affairs here have altered much of late, but it's only what was covered over before, now more openly appears; there is nothing of it new to me, though it be to others: sir William Lockhart, or my son, will give Your Majesty an account of the proceedings in parliament yesterday, and how affairs stand here. There was never a nation, or people I believe, more infatuate than we seem to be at present; the jacobites being joined with the club, have brought in all their strength to the parl. except a very few; some three or four noblemen yet scruple the oaths. If they had done this last year in the convention, the throne might have been yet to declare vacant, as to K. Ja. Whether they will be able to out vote us or not, I know not, but hopes not; but they gained ground by the adjournments, which I know Your Majesty did on weighty considerations, though it had bad effects here. There was but one vote past in the house yesterday, and your friends carried by a great many; it's true three or four of the club

club went along when they see it going. I touch't the act 1689, rescinding the act 1669, concerning the supremacy; by this time, however it may be misrepresented, (which I lay my account with) Your Majesty looses nothing which I am confident you would desire: the reasons which forced me to give the royal assent to those two votes past a day or two sooner than Your Majesty mentioned was, because, if it had been delayed, it had given the opposite party great advantage, and we had loosed many of our own, and would have increased the jealousies of the people to that height, that it might have been difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve: All the wit and malice of men, I may say of hell, seems to be set at work to do mischief, and with letting things go on too long, by reason of Your Majesty's affairs in England, and my being restrained for a time, the combination is become strong, that I do not think it safe at present to follow these methods which otherwise might have been fit and convenient; not so much that I fear their strength in itself, though the party be numerous, but because, by lies and forgeries, they had much abused the people. Duke Hamilton was the first proposer and presser, that this act concerning the supremacy, should be touched; he also was the first proposer, that an act might be brought in for liberty of speech. I shall make no inferences on this, but I like not the smell of it; and yet to stop it, will make a great noise in England.

I am persuaded of a correspondence betwixt some here of different parties, and some in England; and it's not only expectation from Ireland and France, but that intelligence which helps to keep up people in opposition to Your Majesty's interest, and settling of the country.

I am sorry for the limitation Your Majesty gives, on your own account, and not out of bigotry; but I shall endeavour to observe what Your Majesty commands. I am straitened how to find a way to make a breach upon

another head rather than this, for this would do Your Majesty an irreparable prejudice, and give your enemies an extraordinary advantage ; so I leave it to Your Majesty's serious consideration what to do in it : for my part, I see no remedy, if Your Majesty do not speedily satisfy your people, but all must go in confusion. Sir, I know I am in hazard to be extremely misrepresented in giving this advice, and that if I did not serve the best master in the world, I might ruin myself by doing it, especially if any thing displeasing should follow it ; but I speak my true sentiments as to what I think Your Majesty's interest, abstracted from all parties and persuasions as in the sight of God Almighty. You know I use not to be so ; but I am very positive in this, if all the statesmen in Britain should be of another sentiment, that it is truly Your Majesty's interest at this time not to displease the people on this head as to their church government ; for nothing else can satisfy. I am displeas'd enough with many of that profession, and they are prejudging themselves ; but Your Majesty need not apprehend, what I find, by Mr. Carstairs, you do. You have enough in your hand to restrain all exorbitancies ; the affair is mightily misrepresented in the world, and but by few understood. I am, notwithstanding all this, as little for the pragmaticness of churchmen as any man in Britain. I think they often need a bridle : I look upon their work as relating to the souls of their people ; that they are to use persuasion and no coercion : it's in the magistrate's power, notwithstanding their general assemblies be granted them, to keep them within their bounds ; and it is the better for themselves they be so. I might say enough to clear further this, and take off what Tarbat, sir George Mackenzie, and several others often say in this affair, but it's most prejudice and bias moves them. But I weary Your Majesty, and I am not to justify churchmen's miscarriages. You brought two from Holland, one of one persuasion, and one of another,

has

has done more mischief than thousands : but I say this only, though there were greater ground to apprehend prejudice than there is, it seems altogether necessary to give way to it at this time if the people press it, even though Your Majesty were inclined to alter all. If the country were once come to a settlement, men will change in many things. I beg ten thousand pardons for this presumption, but the weightiness of the affair presses me ; for to lose the people whom you can only confide in, when you have none to trust beside, were of very dangerous consequence.

Remark.] The two clergymen here meant were Burnet and Ferguson. Carstairs was the friend of lord Melville.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to king William.—*Presses to settle moderate presbytery.* In King William's box.

S I R,

I HAVE written fully to the E. of Portland how things passed in parliament since the 1st of May : now that the act concerning committees is past, and that committees are resolved to be chosen upon severall motions, as the settling of the church, the supply to be raised for the army, and the freedom of the members of parl. the strength of our side appears so considerable, as puts it out of doubt, that Your Ma. and these who cordially serve your interest and the nation's, have matters in their hands, to dispose of them to the best advantage : The happy victory got over Your M. enemies in the north upon the 1st of May last, and the advantages we had this day in the house, have so animated friends, and so damped enemies and violent or irritated spirits, that the first are almost freed from fears, confiding in God and in the comfort and support which they expect from Your Ma. yet our opposits are so pertinacious in their mischievous pains, that now they busie themselves

themselves in spreading reports, upon pretended accounts from England; that Your Ma. will not settle the church government here, being apprehensive of the power of generall assemblies, but will put a long adjournment upon the parl. There is no way in the world so apt to make the multitude best affected to Your Ma. to startle, as this is; therefore whatever may be suggested to Your Ma. about that matter, I shall here lay before you both what is intended, and what I doubt not shall be got accomplished, if Your Ma. allow this parl. which is now so well fixed to your interest, to continue sitting and acting: 1^o, The design in the church settlement is, that no general assembly have any power legislative over the liedges, this being solely in the hands of the King and parl. but that their power shall only extend in the way of judicature in judging and sentencing those of their own communion, in reference to doctrine and discipline, and their sentences to take no civil effect either against one's person or goods; only to debar, or at most cut off from their church communion: 2^o, That the King have power to call generall assemblies upon emergent occasions, if he think fitt; and that in generall assemblies, whether called by the King, or convened by authority of the church, the King, if he so please, may have his commissioner to sitt with them, to see to their diligent and orderly deportment and procedure: 3^o, That all sort of persecution upon church differences be prevented and secured against: If these things be provided for in the church settlement, it is hardly possible that the government in the church keeping within these bounds, can ever clash or interfere with the civil policy and government of the nation; I am perswaded Your Ma. needs not, upon any such jealousie, delay to finish the establishing that forme so much desired by your good people, and which will so unite their hearts to your service: Indeed, if Your Ma. affaires there necessarily require a delay of those things here, it is a misfortune for which I am

heartily

heartily fory ; but if it be unevitable, I beseech Your Ma. to let your commissioner know it timeously, and I wish my selfe also to know it, that according as may be possible, the best may be made of it, which I am affraid may be bad enough ; but the utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to fitt and accommodate all the requi-
sities of Your Ma. affairs there or here : as to the sup-
ply of money, I hope it shall be brought to a conside-
rable pass, yet more as a fond of credit, than a present
sum in cash ; for it will take some time to raise that,
therefore, as I wrote last to my lord Portland, if
some money could be furnished, for the present need,
from thence, it would be of great use : and I am con-
fident, in a short space, we shall have this kingdom in
a condition, that Your Ma. may well reckon upon it as
a considerable stay to rest upon, in reference to all your
affairs both at home and abroad ; but I shall trouble
Your Ma. no farder at this time, only praying for
Your Ma. long life, happiness, and prosperity. I re-
main,

Please Your Ma.

Edinbourg,
8 May, 1690.

Your Ma. most obedient subject,
and most faithfull servant,

PAT. HUME.

*Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to
King William.-----State of parties in Scotland.*

In King Willi-
am's box.

S I R,

I HAVE hitherto delayed writing to Your Ma. (save
one petition which I sent) since our parlement mett,
knowing that accounts were given by the commissioner.
Now I conceave it necessary to lay before Your Ma.
what I do evidently discern in your affairs here, and of
the pretenders to your service. The house of parlement
divides in two parties ; the one is made up of about 52
of these called addressers, and 43 others that joined not
in that address, in all about 95, who go one way with
Your

Your Ma. commissioner in what concerns your service and the publick good : the other party is made up of about 20 of the addressers and 46 others, who are esteemed the favorers of the late king, in all about 66. In reality all these, to the exception of a few, not exceeding 20 at most, are such as either have too great kindness for the late king, or too little for Your Ma. and the country. There are among these some men able and crafty, who leave no means untryed to run this kingdom in confusion, which has given good men much labour to counterworke : they have prevailed with almost all the Jacobites to come in to the parliament, and to swallow down the oath of allegiance, that they may be capable to mar what is designed for Your Ma. interest. The whole pack, whatever is in their hearts, pretend to be the patrons of the kingdom's liberties, and beyond others zealous for the presbyterial government in this church ; they would have Your Ma. commissioner, and these who go along with him, believed to be reconciled to prelacy and to arbitrary government also, provided it be put in Your Ma. hands : While we labour for a true and moderate presbytery, consistent with the civil government, they call that a minceing, and cry up that which, by the acknowledgment of all moderate men, had deborded unto great excesses, as the government in the purest times, as the best curb to the exorbitancies of monarchy that can be : while we plead for maintaining and paying the army, they say grievances must be first redressed. In the mean time, your Ma. may guess by whose means rumours are spread, that there is no intention of settling the church, of redressing any grievances, but when money is got to dissolve this parliament. These things have put us in great difficulties. Indeed Your Ma. commissioner and many others have been at much pains, and by the jealousies raised by that party, in much difficulty till now, that the giving the royal assent to the act rescinding the ecclesiastic supremacy, and to that
restoring

restoring the outed ministers, which the Jacobite party pressed earnestly, thinking it would not be granted, has much satisfied the people, and removed the jealousy as to the church government. I cannot think but all Your Ma. affairs will carry strongly here, if you are pleased to trust your commissioner, who is as cordially concerned as I think any man can be for Your Ma. interest, with instructions and trust ample enough for occasions that may fall in. I must say he takes my opinion much in all things; I hope Your Ma. service shall not fare the worse; he can tell Your Ma. what part I have acted; I will say nothing of that, but shall study to be as good as my word to Your Ma. This is what I have to say in general, and I shall very soon give a more full and particular account. Now I presume to kiss Your Ma. hands, as,

Please Your Ma.

Your Ma. most obedient subject,

Edinburgh,
25 April, 1690.

and most faithful servant,
PAT. HUME.

Lord Tarbat, afterwards earl of Cromarty, to King William—on the state of parties in Scotland.

In King William's box.

May it please Your Majesty,

I HAVE not heard from col. Hill, since he went North, nor could he so soone have any returne from any of these cheefs, and untill I heare from him (for by him I did writ to them) I can say nothing of importance as to that matter.

I need not tell how unexpected successe Your Majesty's commissioner hath had hitherto in this parl, it hath astonished those who were opposite to Your Maj. service, and yett I cannot say that they have given over there designs, for he hath as great difficulty to retaine those he gained, as in the gaining of them at first; for these presbiterians are so bigotted and hott in there humor,

humor, as that no middle thing will please them: his first stepp was of necessity to touch the act rescinding the act of supremacy, 1669, or to losse a great number, who had weell neare joined the clubb, on his demurring on it for a day. That of rescinding the articles, was the next condition of their adherence. And by these hitherto he hath not only caried the plurality by many, contrare to a confidence in his opponents, but also he hath discouradged, divided, and brought over severalls of the other side. But, Sir, until he establish presbitry to a great height, he cannot affirm them as sure to Your Majestie's service; for his adversares are incessantly raising jealousies in them, as if this were not designed; and if it be not, it's like they will cary over him what is yett to be done for Your Maj. service: and I am apprehensive they will likewise have the patronages of churches taken away.

It's true, Sir, these are great concessionnes; but as matters are now stated, there may be exceeding danger in disoblieging them; for what course so violent a people may take is not easily foreseen; and some who in that case will lead and influence them, are, I fear, of no principle, sufficient to regulat ether there ambition or malice; and if once these hot people be stirred, they are with ease driven to excesses and extravagances, tho' to their owne ruine.

And at the samne time the Jacobines are not only numerous, but very much increased; and will not misse to make use of these dissatisfactions in the presbiterian party, to hurt Your Maj. interest. So Your Ma. may be pleased to weigh the inconvenience of haveing the major part of the parl. as yett to go off from your commiss. and the evils that will follow on that, whilst yow have no other party assured to yow, wherby yow will gett none or litle money to pay your army; the course that the discontented will take is uncertaine; and Your Maj. enemies will be encouradged and strengthened; with the the evils on the other side, by quitting perhaps
 necessare

neceffare prerogatives of the crowne, and giving too loofe reins to a clergy, both which may be retrived, when Your Maj. great effaires are in better circumftances, and when yow get a confiderable part of the powerfull nobility and gentry of this nation to joine cordially in your interefts ; and it is not to be doubted, but that the commiff. will grant as little as is poffible, without loffeing them ; and he is now indeavouring to bring over fuch noblmen and gentlmen as will give any propable affurance of fidelity to Your Maj. tho' hitherto they have fhewed too indiscreet diffatisfaction, tho' they deny it to be from any attachment to K. James, which a little tyme will more discover. In this I am employing my felf, for except to be in parliam^t. when alleadgance was given to Your Maj. I have not been in it, both becaufe the leffe I appeare with the comm. the more it pleafes feveral of the hotter heads ; and alfo becaufe I nether would concurr in the refcinding of the fupremacy or articles, nor will I concurr in eftablifhing the defignd prefbitry, nor takeing away of patronages, as I told Your Maj. when I had the honor to wait on yow, and as yow then allowed me, tho' I heare fome of my good friends wold even in this mifrepresent me. But I feare no malice, fince I reft confident in Your Majeftie's favour to me and my fidelity to Your Majefty and your royall intereft.

Sir, I doubt if the commiff. can tell definitely what he could have your warrand for, the humors he hath to doe with is fo uncertaine ; fo that a latitude is neceffaire for him, if you doe not resolve to have the parl. rife in diffatisfaction, which at this tyme, and when Your Maj. hath fo little affurance of the other fide, were ane advice that no faithfull man dare give.

I find the D. of Queensberry, E. Lithgow, E. Balcares, E. Broadalbin, and feveral others, much changed to the better ; and fome of them have this day employed me to indeavour an understanding betwixt the comm. and them : he is cautious, and on good grounds, for
there

there are many of the weaker people who now joine, and make his number in parliam^t. who would desert him, if they thought he would associat with wicked us: but he hath allowed me to try it quietly; and as their ingenuity appears, so he will move: but if on the one hand he cary the parliam^t. and on the other he bring off severall considerable perones, both from the Jacobines and clubb, I will adventure to say, he hath served Your Maj. above what was possible for any other to doe (that I know) in our present state. His sonne the lo. Raith hath resolved to lett his commission of treasurer deput ly for some tyme, lest it give umbrage to any in this criticall tyme, unless he find it usefull for Your Majestie's service, to publish it presently; for if people be constant, the comm. hath enough of plurality; and this generosity in Raith is the more, that he could not be perswaded to declare it now, least it should losse one vote to Your Maj. albeit all of us thought he might owne it.

Your majesty's command for giving this kind of trouble raised a boldness for dooing it, in,

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty's most humble,

Edinb.

most faithfull, and most obedient

13 May, 1690.

subject and servant,

TARBAT.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to his father.—The duke has taken offence because not made chancellor.—Warns him against differing with secretary Stair.

London, 12 Dec. 1691.

I DOUBT not but you have heard of great changes that were made in the Scotch affairs, and particularly that there was to be a chancellor. I took occasion to speak to the king upon it, and told him that I heard he was going to make such alterations in his affairs in Scotland, which would put your grace out of all

all condition of serving him any longer in the government, if it was true that I heard, of his going to make a chancellor. He told me he had taken no such resolution, nor was resolved yet upon any thing; and upon some things that I was saying to him of ill offices that some people did your grace, he thought I meant the secretary Staires, and told me he had always found him very much your friend. I answered that I was sure that the difference betwixt you did his Majesty's interest no good; and for my part, I would always do what lay in my power towards it. I cannot believe but you wrong that man extremely. I shall not pretend to know much of Scotch affairs, but I cannot see by all I can perceive here, that there is any body in the government you would have had better quarter with than him. I believe his credit here, as yet, is as great as any body's, though I hear that Tarbat gains ground every day. To tell your grace the truth of all the parties that are here, I find very few that do not their endeavours to make a government without your grace. You know the proverb, Out of sight out of mind. I shall strive to give your grace an account by the next post of what is the king's thoughts as to your particular. In the mean time I wish your grace would not exclaim at present, nor be so violent against Staires and his son.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton—on the same subject.

In the duke of]
Hamilton's
possession.

London, 19th Dec. 1691.

THE Master of Stairs complains extremely that your grace should be so much, upon all occasions, doing of him all the ill offices lies in your power. I know not if I be imposed on by him, but I am sure he has convinced me, that he has done your grace no ill offices to deserve your anger; and that Tweedle's being chancellor is none of his making, if it should be so.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession. *Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father. — The duke affronted by the appointment of a chancellor.*

London, 5th January, 1692.

I AM sorry I cannot give your grace so full an answer to your long letter of the 29th of December, as I intended, for I could have no time with the secretary, he is so busy; but I hope by the next post to give your grace a fuller account of all our Scotch affairs; though, I am afraid, not to either of our satisfaction; for the E. of Tweedle is certainly chancellor, and his patent signed to-day. I asked the king to have spoken to him, but he shunned it; for he doubted what I had to say, and I believe had not an answer ready. I shall not say much at this time; but my opinion is, that whatever the king does, you should not show any resentment, nor write of your demitting, till you hear more of it; and really I think the best you can do, would be to go to the country at this conjuncture, and not be in town. I hope your grace will pardon me, if I put you in mind of patience at this conjuncture, for I am sure there is need of it; and whatever happens, I am sure it will be to your advantage to take it rather so than otherwise. I have spoke to lord Carmichell, and asked him about his being of the opinion of the necessity of there being a chancellor, and against your being it: he protested he never either said, or thought any such thing; and indeed, I must confess, I have always found him very friendly, and I believe he has been very just to your grace since his coming hither. He told me he never heard you mentioned as to that place; and that he had obeyed your commands in telling the Master of Staires, that if there was a chancellor put over your head, you would not continue in the government any longer.

Lord

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father. — Entreats him not to shew his sense of injuries. In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

London, 12th January, 1692.

I HAVE had your grace's of the 5th of this month. I shall not deny but I am very little acquainted with what passies; but if I have no greater reason to complain of the Master of Staires than the not knowing of the adjournment of the parliament till the 5th of April, we shall agree very well. I saw my lord Carmichell to-day, who told me he hoped my lord Lothian will have convinced your grace how much both of them were wronged by those that told your grace they were against your being chancellor. I cannot write your grace any further account of things than I did by my last; for I do not hear there is any thing more resolved as to our affairs: and I having already told the king of my going to Scotland, and that I waited for nothing but to know from him what I should say to your grace upon this conjuncture, I know it is needless to be pressing: for I am persuaded, that till they are at more certainty how things will go, I shall get no answer; they say they are at such uncertainties, that they change every day, and know not where to fix. I know nothing I can say to your grace more upon this head, only that most people are of the opinion, that you should not be rash of what you resolve; and though things be come to that length, that you are at present not satisfied with; yet it is thought you ought rather to absent yourself than to declare yet; and I hope you will do so, till I have the honour of seeing you.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father, to the same purpose. In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Loo, 10th April, 1692.

SINCE my last I have spoke to E. Portland, who told me, that it was true that your grace had the
Q 2 admiral's

admiral's place given you. I told him that I had seen it in the Gazette, but that I heard nothing of it from your grace; so I did not know whether you would accept of it or not. He answered, that you would be very much in the wrong to refuse it, for he believed it was only a place of honour, and had nothing to do with the affairs of state; so that, whatever you do as for the rest, you ought not to refuse this; for this brought you under nobody; so that having no correspondence with the other difficulties, he hoped your grace would not refuse it. He spoke more favourably this time concerning you, than I have found him.

In my last I wrote to your grace, that Mr. Carstairs was not here, but that evening I found I was mistaken, for I saw him at night; but, not seeing him before, made me believe he was not here. I told him what your grace had wrote to me, and desired he would represent things to my lord Portland. He told me he had not had an opportunity of speaking to my lord yet, but he would endeavour to do it before the post goes, and give me an account what passes, which if he does, I shall write it to your grace. I find he is much for your grace's not quitting the government for all that is done, and he says he is very sure that things will come to your hand; but he having spoke to you himself, I need not say any thing more of it, nor do I know really how to say any thing to your grace about it, for I am as sensible as is possible of the hard measures you meet with; but I am sure that all that your enemies desire is, that you should retire—that they may say, you do it to countenance the discontented party of the country, and that you have always been an opposer to all kings, and will ever be so. I do not say this, that it has been said from any body to me, nor have I heard any thing of that nature; only I am afraid that, if you do retire, it will be the construction your enemies will put upon it.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke.—The duke refuses the place of lord admiral of Scotland.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Hague, 7th of May, 1692.

THE talk of King James coming over, with all the Irish and some French, makes a great noise. But I do not hear yet, that the king will change those measures he has already taken. I see a letter of your grace's to-day, to the secretary here, with the absolute refusal of the being admiral of Scotland; the secretary has not seen the king yet, so I know not how it is taken here: but so soon as I do, I shall write to your grace.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father.—Has defended the duke against suspicions.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Since my last from Breda, I have seen Mr. Carstairs, who told me he would write to your grace; he says that your enemies begin already to say, that the reason why you are so abstract from business, was that you would not meddle till you see the effect of this campaign. I told him, that could but show malice, and not do you hurt with any reasonable body, for you had dipped your fingers too deep in the pye, to begin to juggle now; besides, it is not your humour.

Brussels, 19 May, 1692.

Mr. Fletcher of Salton's spirited letter to the duke of Hamilton.—Presses him to forget his own injuries, and defend his country.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Edinburgh, 29th of April, 1692.

May it please your grace,

I KNOW you will be surpris'd to receive a letter from me; but my writing to you in such an exigence, shews the high esteem I must have of you; and

of the true love you bear your religion and country. If, laying aside all other considerations, you do not come in presently, and assist in council, all things will go into confusion, and your presence there will easily retrieve all: The castle has been very near surpris'd, and an advertisement which secretary Johnston had from France, and wrote hither, has sav'd it. When things are any ways compos'd, you may return to your former measures, for I do approve of them. I do advise your grace to the most honourable thing you can do; and without which your country must perish.

Your grace's most humble servant,
(Signed) A. FLETCHER.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession. *Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—Their animosities.—Vindication of the treaty with the Highlanders.*

St. Gerard, Aug. $\frac{27}{17}$, 1691.

May it please your grace,

I HAD the honour to receive a letter from your grace last post. It's needless to fall again into a subject which is out of the field; but I must say, where there is little confidence, mistakes easily arise: and really I believe I had been as little hasty as your grace, though I cannot but observe, what hints were at me. But they have not hit, and I am not haunted with resentment.

I have sent your grace a copy of the concessions to the Highlanders; the application of the money is by buying in from my lord Argyll, and from Mackintosh, those lands and superiorities, which have been the occasion of trouble in the Highlands these many years.

When your grace does consider, that the expence comes not from us, that the apprehensions of danger were great when it was begun, and that the king could not restle, with the ease we may have of two or three regiments which we cannot pay, and that the French

may

may be the more earnest to get a footing in Britain, that they are likely to lose Ireland, I hope your grace will find the settlement not so ill, nor so ill turned, as to be either dishonourable to the king, or useles to the country, at this juncture. I wish the affairs of our kirk were as well settled, and then I shall hope for some quiet to our poor country.

In King William's box there are letters from lord Tarbet to the king, concerning the execution intended against the Highlanders if they should not take the oaths. In one of them to the king, without a date, but appearing to be written in the year 1691, Lord Tarbet tells him that the last Highland campaign had cost 150,000*l*; that it would not be the work of two or three years to force the Highlanders to peace; and gives an account of the measures taken to treat with them. In another, also without date, but written about the same time, he gives a farther account of negociations with the Highlanders, and adds, "Colonel Hill informed my lord commissioner and me frequently of these proceedings; but the major general was then near, to be in readiness for a Highland expedition, and he was not for capitulation, since he doubted not to reduce them by force; and the earl of Argyll was against such condescensions as would prejudice or lessen his expectations; and several of Your Majesty's counsellors did think it dishonour to treat with them; and all these concurred to think it better to root them out by war, than to give them any favour."

In the possession
of the earl of
Breadalbane.

*Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Trusts in his conduct
of the treaty with the Highlanders.*

From the camp at Approbiax, June $\frac{23}{1}$, 1691.

My lord,

I CAN say nothing to you, all things are as you wish, but I do long to hear from you. Do not trouble yourself with any discouragements you may see designed against you. By the king's letter to the council you will see he hath stopt all hostilities against the Highlanders, till he may hear from you, and that your time be elapsed without coming to some issue, which I do not apprehend; for there will come nothing to them. D. Berwick is here, and if it will not do, I am sure you will return quickly to give the account of the negotiation, to testify you have done your part, both for their Majesties interest, and for your friends: but if they will be mad, before Lammas they will repent it; for the army will be allowed to go into the Highlands, which some thirst so much for, and the frigates will attack them: but I have so much confidence of your conduct and capacity, to let them see the ground they stand on, that I think these suppositions are vain. I have sent you your instructions. My dear lord, Adieu.

In the possession
of lord Breadal-
bane.

*Secretary Stair to the earl of Breadalbane.—Presses him
to conclude the treaty.—Suspensions of lord Argyll's
loyalty.*

Nancour, Aug. 24, O. S. 1691.

My lord,

I HOPE this comes to your hands well at London, where I doubt not my lady will soon dispatch you, that your journey in return do not fall in the winter. I came that night I saw you last, to this place, and here understood you had passed this way. I did regret I had not so much more of your company. The more
I do

I do consider our affairs, I think it is the more necessary that your lordship do with all diligence post from thence, and that you write to the clans to meet you at Edinburgh, to save your trouble of going further: they have been for some time excluded from that place, so they are feign, and will be fond to come there. The sooner the king shall know of their anticipating the time for taking the indemnity, and oath of allegiance, it's the better for his resolutions, both in relation to the settling the civil government, and the ordering of the army. I join my entreaties with my lady's to you, to hast back as soon as you can, by the first of October. If you can see and fix Argyll, it would magnify you, though that cannot be required at your hands. I am sure you are able to make him sensible, considering what the king knows, that his part of the terms are very kind and advantageous; and it must make clear to the world his engagements elsewhere, if he does obstruct his own convenience, and the king's service in this settlement. I know it will need no more to satisfy all your people, but to see them; therefore, my dear lord, let it be soon, and short, that we may have you again. Farewell.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane, on his being accused of double-dealing in the treaty.

In lord Breadalbane's possession.

My lord,

Loo, Sept. $\frac{18}{8}$, 1691.

I HAVE been vaguing these three last posts. I got yours from London, as soon as the charge given in against you, which is still with the secretary of England's baggage. So the king hath not seen the principal letter, but we have, and know the contents. No body believes your lordship capable of doing either a thing so base, or that you could believe there could be any secret in your treaties, where there were so many ill eyes upon your proceedings; but the truth will always hold fast. The king is not soon shaken, and this attempt

tempt against you is so plain, that it will recommend and fasten you more in his favour, when the issue clears the sincerity of your part. And I hope it's not in any body's power to deprive you of the success to conclude that affair in the terms the king hath approved. But it will require more pains and dispatch. To return, the king will be over the beginning of October, and I hope to see you before it end; and I have heard there are endeavours using to make the Highlanders either own these base terms, as promised by your lordship; or else to declare their peaceableness did not proceed on your account, or for your negotiation, but because of the endeavours of others. I am not ready to believe these projects will have great effect. Let not any thing discourage you, but believe all these devices will tend to magnify your service, when you finish your undertaking. It's represented that the Highlanders do not intend to take the allegiance, but that they come down to the low-lands to debauch people, and make parties, during the interval till the 1st of January, which is too long. I see what advantage will be made of this. But these who are not ready, or presently willing to take the oath, should keep at home in their own country, till they be going to take the oath: for it were not fair, nor proper, that any man who hath been in rebellion, should go to Edinburgh, and appear there, and do what he pleases, till the first of January: and then to be uncertain whether he will take the oath or not. The best cure of all these matters is, that the chieftains do take it as quickly as can be, which will take off the tricks, or suspicions against the rest. I doubt not it will be minded that my lord Argyll should not meddle with the garrisons of Mull, or that men should be desired to render upon the prospect of being prisoners, in case they take not the oaths: They should once be free, and have the time allowed to deliberate; but in that space should not be used to insult the government, or to act against it in the mean time. I think

think you have brought this matter so good a length, that I doubt not the rest, and then I believe the king will forgive bygone arrears of cesses to these, so soon as he hears they are coming in frankly.

My dear lord, adieu.

I wrote to my lord Atholl as I said.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane. — Difficulty in the treaty. In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

My lord,

Deeren, Sept. $\frac{30}{20}$, 1691.

I HAD your's from London, signifying that you had not been then dispatched, for which I am very uneasy. I spoke immediately to the king, that without the money the Highlanders would never do; and there have been so many difficulties in the matter, that a resolution to do, especially in money-matters, would not satisfy. The king said they were not presently to receive it, which is true, but that he had ordered it to be delivered out of his treasury, so as they need not fear, in the least, performance; besides, the paper being signed by his majesty's hand, for such sums so to be employed, or the equivalent. There never was any body that could say the king had failed in his positive promises, and therefore I hope these people will not suffer themselves to be abused; nor will your lordship consider the retardments put in your way to hinder you to effectuate so good service both to your sovereign and country: they see all the rest that they fear depends very much upon the success of this, and I know I need not prompt your lordship to finish what upon many considerations is so necessary. There wants no endeavours to render you suspicious to the king, but he asked what proof there was for the information? and bid me tell you to go on in your business; the best evidence of sincerity, was the bringing that matter quickly to a conclusion. We now would fain fancy the time is too long, and that it will be abused in the interim by these who

who intend not to take the allegiance, but to come down to debauch the low countries, and insult the government. I wrote to you in my last, that they should keep at home till they are clear to take the benefit of the indemnity, in the terms proposed. I did expect the king's answer to the council might have determined that matter so, but there is yet no answer, nor will be this post; in which time I hope your lordship shall not only keep them from giving any offence, but bring them to take the allegiance, which they ought to do very cheerfully; for their lives and fortunes they have from their majesties. It will be about the tenth of October before the king be at London. By that time some will be wearied, and I hope others will be there about that time. I need not tell you how much it concerns you, both in your honour and interest, to get evidence you both have dealt sincerely, and are able, in despite of opposition, to conclude the Highland affair.

My dear lord, adieu.

In the possession
of lord Breadal-
bane.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Treaty breaking off.

My lord,

London, Nov. 24, 1691.

NOT hearing from you so long after your conference the 10th past, I conclude things have not answered your expectation. Now I do believe our public matters shall be settled before we hear any thing from you of the success of your negotiation; perhaps they will be pretty right. I fancy more endeavours are tried to retard you, as if all did depend on your success. No, my lord, you serve a prince not so hard as to consider nothing but success, nor not so little penetrating as not to observe it was not your want of faithfulness, but of others who did serve him, that hath delayed the conclusion of that affair. I must say your cousin Lochiel hath not been so wise as I thought him, not to mention gratitude; for truly, to gratify your relation, I did comply to let his share be more than was reasonable; there

there was no pleas betwixt him and Argyle to be bought in, and I well know he, nor Keppoch, nor Appin cannot lie one night safe in winter, for the garrison of Fort William. I doubt not Glengarry's house will be a better mid-garrison betwixt Inverness and Inverlochy, than ever he will a good subject to this government. I am glad it hath not failed on the king's side, for all his success; but I shall advise your lordship to keep up the remissions, and let them stand as fast as they please (though in this I have no peremptory command from the king). But I am satisfied that clan deserves no favour, and that having used you so, and slighted the grace offered, they are an easy and a proper object of his majesty's severity and justice. This is only to advise you, that neither your own thanks, nor the public settlement, depends on them, and that you do not too far press or engage yourself: for I apprehend my next will be to found the retreat, and leave these honest wise people to their own politics; for though nothing you have done will be retracted, conform to your orders, yet not one deserves to be added to these who could import no more, but their unwillingness, by their lingering. The fairest way to let this matter fall will be your returning to Edinburgh, or hither, except you do find your lordship fixed in a post in the government there. You will allow me to change with those circumstances, though never to you who I doubt not have done your part; but I wish you had written oftner. Since the ninth I had nothing from you.

My dear lord, farewell.

Though Lochiel were as he should have been, yet he must to the bargain dispoise that moor that lies nearest to Fort William, for a place constantly to provide fuel to that garrison.

Secretary

In the possession of lord Breadalbane. *Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Preparations for execution.*

My lord,

London, Dec. 2, 1691.

YOUR's of the 16th past was very uneasy ; it's a little qualified by that of the 19th.—I know not by what I was moved to write to you eight days ago; as if I had known what these letters brought me; and though what I wrote then was only to hasten matters, the lingering being of ill consequence, yet I never thought there was danger in the miscarrying of it. I confess I was desirous of your return, upon the finishing of your negociation; but without that, or the having prevailed with one man, is what I never wish to see. I am convinced it is neither your fault, nor can prejudice arise to their majesties service by the change of measures, but only ruin to the Highlanders; but yet at the present settlement it would do yourself and your friends no advantage. That person you suspect to have blown up the M'Leans, hath great access, and wants nothing but such an occasion to introduce him, and to make him in a manner necessary to do what you cannot. I doubt not all will come right; but though it is necessary you do seem to come hither, that they may rue, yet you had not best, in my opinion, leave it; and here you cannot be before our settlement, as I apprehend, is in readiness. I shall not repeat my thoughts of your doited cousin; I perceive half sense will play a double game, but it requires solidity to embrace an opportunity, which to him will be lost for ever; and the garrison of Inverlochy is little worth, if he can either sleep in his own bounds, or if he ever be master there. I repent nothing of the plan; but what account can be given why Argyle should be forced to part with Ardnamurchan, to which Lochiel hath no more pretence than I? You cannot believe with what indifferency the king heard this matter,

ter, which did alarm and surprife us all, and confirmed the bold assertions of others againft you. I hope you will be able to document fir Ewen's and Mr. John M'Lean's commiffions, which are neceffary for your vindication. Lieut. col. Hámilton, deputy governor of Inverlochý, is a difcreet man, you may make ufe of him. I fhould be glad to find, before you get any pofitive order, that your bufinefs is done, for fhortly we will conclude a refolution for the winter campaign. I do not fail to take notice of the franknefs of your offer to affift. I think the clan Donell muft be rooted out, and Lochiel. Leave the M'Leans to Argyll. But before this, Leven and Argyll's regiment, with two more, would have been gone to Flanders. Now all ftops, and no more money from England to entertain them. God knows whether the 12,000*l.* fterling had been better employed to fettle the Highlands, or to ravage them; but fince we will make them desperate, I think we fhould root them out before they can get that help they depend upon. Their doing, after they get K. J. allowance, is worfe than their obftinacy; for thofe who lay down arms at his command, will take them up by his warrant. Be affured no papift will be exempted from this oath of allegiance; and in Ireland they muft take it, by act of parliament now made, fince the fupremacy is out of it. You may affure yourfelf, in our fettle- ment of government, you are not forgot by your friends, though I muft tell you fome are again embol- dened, who had given over to object againft your being affumed.

My dear lord, adieu.

*Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Desires his mauling
fcheme.*

My lord,

London, Dec. 3, 1691.

THE laft poft brought letters from Glengarry, or from his lady, and Rorry upon a message. Glen- garry had fent to him to Edinburgh. This hath fur-
nifhed

nished him with opportunity to discourse the king on all these matters. He tells me he hath vindicated you ; only the share that the M'Donalds get is too little, and unequal to your good cousins, (really that's true) and he would have the money given to Glengarry, and leave Argyll and him to deal for the plea. He thought his share had only been 1000*l.* sterling. I have satisfied the king in these points, that his share is 1500*l.* sterling, and that he nor none of them can get the money, if Argyll consent not ; for that destroys all that is good in the settlement, which is, to take away grounds of hereditary feuds : to be brief, I'll assure you that I shall never consent any body's meddling shall be so much regarded, as to get any of your terms altered. By the next I expect to hear either these people are come to your hand, or else your scheme for mauling them ; for it will not delay. On the next week the officers will be dispatched from this, with instructions to garrison Invergarry, and Buchan's regiment will join Leven's, which will be force enough ; they will have petards and some cannon. I am not changed as to the expediency of doing things by the easiest means, and at leisure, but the madness of these people, and their ungratefulness to you, makes me plainly see there is no reckoning on them ; but *delenda est Carthago*. Yet who have accepted, and do take the oaths, will be safe, but deserve no kindness : and even in that case, there must be hostages of their nearest relations, for there is no regarding men's words whom their interest cannot oblige. Menziès, Glengarry, and all of them, have written letters, and take pains to make it believed, that all you did was for the interest of K. James. Therefore look on, and you shall be satisfied of your revenge. Adieu.

Lord

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke.——Execution is to proceed. In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

London, 9th Jan. 1692.

I KNOW not if the news of the Highlanders taking the oaths will put a stop to the marching of the troops that were designed for that purpose; but I believe it will not; but that the orders for their campaign will still go on.

Proposals concerning the Highlanders, by lord Breadalbane. In lord Breadalbane's possession.

THE last opinion given to Your Majesty, concerning the settling of the Highlanders, having had good success, by their submitting to your government, laying down arms, and taking the oath of allegiance; it remains now to propose to Your Majesty, how to make them useful and serviceable to you, and to take up arms for Your Majesty in case of any insurrection at home, or invasion from abroad, or that Your Majesty think it fit to use some of them in foreign parts.

1st, The law obliges the nation to rise in arms when required; and to continue in arms forty days.

2d, That Your Majesty, by virtue of this law, ordain all the Highland landlords and chieftains to have such a proportion of men ready, as their estates and interest may easily raise and provide, without making the levy too heavy for them, which levy may be, according to the calculation made thereof, four thousand good and effective men.

3d, That these men, both officers and soldiers, be enrolled, and thereby ready to be called for when required. And to that end,

4th, That Your Majesty give commission to some principal man in the Highlands, to have the charge of raising, enrolling, and bringing them to the field, and placing of fit inferior officers over them, according to the number that every tribe sends out,

5th, That this principal person have the pay of a general officer, but that only when he is employed, to defray his expence; who is to receive his orders from Your Majesty, or your government, or from the commander in chief of your standing forces in that kingdom.

6th, That Lochzeal, in respect of his experience and skill, and his interest in the other clans besides his own, may have the next command over this militia, and have the pay of a colonel while he is employed, in regard he is ambitious to serve Your Majesty, and is a protestant.

7th, That there be forty captains set over the four thousand, of such as every tribe may have one of their own to command them, and these to have a gratuity at their return home, after they are dismissed, as they behave themselves, and do keep their men in good discipline; and this gratuity to be bestowed by the advice of Your Majesty's government, the commander in chief of your forces, and of the person who has the principal command of the Highlanders. That as soon as Your Majesty settles your government of that kingdom these two commissions be given, that they may immediately thereafter go about the enrolling of the men, according to the proportions to be charged by proclamation on every landlord and chieftain, to be ready when called for.

8th, As this establishment will encourage the Highlanders to be faithful, and serve Your Majesty, being commanded by persons of themselves, and in whom Your Majesty may confide; so it will extremely discourage such as design to give disturbance to the peace of that kingdom, and to embarrass your government there, when they find that Your Majesty has engaged a formidable force of Highlanders ready to fall on them, contrary to their expectation, and endeavours of keeping them from coming in.

9th, Your

9th, Your Majesty has these forces without any charge, except for a few officers, and that only when employed, and that but for a short time, which will discuss any commotion can be in that nation; and it may be asserted, that there cannot be better militia men than they are.

10th, Your Majesty has not a fund in that kingdom, nor can have, to maintain above three thousand standing forces, which are so few, that it is a great encouragement for all ill designs, especially in Your Majesty's absence. But this addition of four thousand Highlanders will alter the case exceedingly, will strengthen your government, encourage your standing forces, and disappoint your enemies: for they may be so ordered as to be ready to march on few days advertisement.

11th, It will be fit there be a major or two in constant pay, for attending and looking after these forces, and to serve as adjutants for raising, bringing them to the field, and to keep them from prejudicing the countries.

12th, That in pursuance of this diligence, and that the discontented disaffected parties in that kingdom may see that Your Majesty will trust and employ the Highlanders, (if these force you to it) Your Majesty will be pleased to dispatch Lochziel home, contented, and obliged to Your Majesty's royal bounty: it is but a small sum he pretends, and Your Majesty will find it very well bestowed.

13th, In case Your Majesty, at that time, think it fit to employ a regiment of Highlanders abroad, they may be detached out of this body of men; and in that case, it is humbly offered to Your Majesty, that they be allowed to use their own apparel, and their own arms, and to be disciplined in their own fashion, and to be commanded by persons having their language, and who have interest with them.

*List of chieftains to which the proposals relate*In lord Breadal-
bane's possession.

	Men.
The earl of Seafort,	200
The viscount of Tarbat,	50
The lord Lovitt,	150
The earl of Sutherland,	100
The lord Rhea,	50
The laird of Ballingoun	100
The laird of Fouls,	50
The laird of Straglass,	20
The laird of Glenmoriston,	30
The laird of M'Intosh,	100
M'Pherfon of Clunie,	
The laird of Kilravock,	150
The laird of Grant,	200
The laird of Balmdaloch	20
The duke of Gordon,	300
The earl of Mar,	200
The marquis of Atholl,	300
The laird of Ashintullie,	30
The laird of Weem,	50
The laird of Garntully,	50
The laird of Strowan,	20
The earl of Perth,	150
The earl of Murray,	100
The earl of Monteth,	100
The marquis of Montrose,	150
The laird of Lufs,	50
The laird of Macfarlane,	30
The earl of Argyle,	500
The earl of Breadalbane	250
The laird of Calder,	100
The laird of M'Lane,	100
The laird of Locheal,	150
The captane of Clanronald,	100
Sir Donald M'Donald, of Fleet,	100

The

	Men.
The laird of M'Leod,	100
The laird of Glengary,	100
The laird of M'Finzone,	30
M'Donald of Keppoch,	50
The laird of Appine,	50
The tutor of Appine,	30
The laird of Lochbouy,	30

One of the Highland chieftains commissions to treat.

In lord Breadalbane's possession.

I Col. MacDonell of Keppoch doth hereby, in my own name, and in name of Ranald M'Donell of Insh Ronald, M'Donell of Froets, Donald M'Donald Coldonarge, Æneas M'Donell of Bohurtmy, Æneas M'Donell of Killbrihonatt, Æneas M'Donell of Tulloch, Alexander M'Donell of Inveroy, Neil Kennedy of Kearu : than, Alex. M'Donell of Tirnoderish, and the rest of my kinsmen and friends, earnestly desire and request, impower and commission, at the Right Hon. John earl of Breadalbane, to treat and conclude with the present government, for procuring to me and my foresaid friends such lending and concessions as he may obtain from them ; hereby promising, upon my oath, in my own name, and for them, that I and they shall stand and adhere to such terms as his lordship will procure for me and them. In witness whereof I have written and sealt this presents, the twenty-fourth of June, 1691.

COLL. MACDONALD.

One of the Highland chieftains obligations to keep peace.

In lord Breadalbane's possession.

I Coll. Mack Donell of Keppoch doth for myself, and on behalf of Ronald Macknonald of Insh, Ronald M'donald of Fensett, Alexander M'Donell of Inveroy, Donald M'Donell of Cleonaige, Æneas M'Donell

M'Donell of Bohuntine, Æneas M'Donell of Killiehonat, Æneas M'Donell of Tulloch, Neil Kennedie of Leonurhane-more, Alex. Kennedie of Leoruthanbeig, Alex. Mac Donell of Firnadrofs, Æneas Mac Donell of Auchnacoichine, and all the rest of my kinsmen, friends, and followers, engage, on my faith and word, that I and they shall submit to the present government, live peaceably, and commit no acts of hostility nor depredations, nor join with any forces from abroad, or within the country, to commit any such acts until the first day of September next, providing that such proposals and terms as shall be made by the earl of Breadalbine to the present government be granted to me and those abovementioned, against the foresaid day : providing also, that no act of hostility or depredations be committed against me, or any of my said friends or kinsmen, before the abovesaid first day of September next. To these conditions I do hereby oblige myself to stand and adhere : In witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents, the twenty-fourth of June javry, and ninety-one years.

COLL. MACKDONALD.

[There is a tradition, whether true or not I know not, that when lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to lord Breadalbane to account for the 12,000*l.* which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he answered the letter in these words : *My lord, the Highlands are quiet : the money is spent : and this is the best way of accounting between friends.*]

B O O K VII.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—*Unhappy about an accusation made against him by sir John Guise.* In King William's box.

S I R,

THIS evening an officer is come to let me know, that the five regiments from Flanders are in the river, so that as soon as the treasury will give money for the regiment of guards, I shall take care to send them according to Your Majesty's order. You will pardon me, Sir, that I take the liberty in saying that I have been extremely fretted at a thing that has been told me since you went, which is, that sir John Guise should tell you, that he knew by merchants, when I came out of Holland, that I left 30,000*l.* there, and that Your Majesty should answer him, that when you came back you would inquire into it: I do assure you, that there is not any thing true of what sir John Guise has told you, and if Your Majesty find that I had one shilling there before the 6500 guineas that I sent over by my lord Portland, and afterwards 4700*l.* to Shulenburg, I then beg you to believe me the last of men: but I have troubled Your Majesty too much on this subject, but beg leave to assure you, that I shall ever endeavour to serve you faithfully, so that I no way doubt of deserving Your Majesty's favour and protection. I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,

June 17th, 1690.

MARLEBOROUGH.

In King William's box,

Lord Marlborough to King William.—Complains of lord Caermarthen.

S I R,

I Here fend your Majesty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits; I must, at the same time, take leave to tell your Majesty, that I am tired out of my life with the unreasonable way of proceeding of lord President, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits, and every thing else as to a soldier; so that, when I have given such as I think necessary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters into the business of tents, arms, and the office reckonings, which were all settled before your Majesty left England, so that at this rate business is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreasonable prejudice he has taken against me, which makes me incapable of doing you that service which I do with all my heart, and should wish to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government to prosper; I hope it will not be long before your Majesty will be here, after which I shall beg never to be in England when you are not. The wind is now westerly, which will carry the men out of Ireland into Flanders, where I should be glad you would now permit me to send my equipage, being desirous to be there myself a month or six weeks before the campaign begins. I am, with all imaginable respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject, and servant,
Whitehall,
Feb. 17th, 1691.

MARLBOROUGH.

Part of a letter from lord Sydney to King William.—— In King Wil-
Suspitions of lord Godolphin. liam's box.

March 6, 1690-I.

I MUST now go to another business, and tell your Majesty that my lord Godolphin's quitting your service is now no secret, for my lord Halifax told it me the other day, therefore your Majesty must think of a new model for that office; I have prepared one for you, which you may receive or reject, as you think good; what my lord Godolphin does in the treasury, I cannot tell, but I see his proceedings in other places are not with that zeal for your service, as might be expected from him; he scarce ever comes to counsel, and never to the committees upon the taking of several ill-affected persons, and at the examination of them he never was present; what the reason of it is I cannot tell.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—— *About lord Godolphin's resignation.* In King Wil-
 liam's box.

Jan. 27th, 1690-I.

I DO let no day pass without speaking to lord Godolphin about what you commanded; nor will I be rebuted in it, although I do not find that I prevail much on him, any otherways than that I find it makes him melancholy: That which I urge most to him is your personal kindness to him, and I find that has weight with him, so that I beg you will take all opportunities of writing kindly to him, and that before your return you will in a kind letter tell him, that you have so much personal kindness for him, that you deserve better, than that he should abandon you, at this time, when you have most need of his service. I am with respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject, and servant,

MARLEBOROUGH.

Par

In King William's box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.—On the same subject.—Lord Godolphin is to resign on his wife's account.

Feb. 3, 1690-1.

THE cabinet counsell I believe the queen tells your Majesty is very thin, and at the committee for Irish affairs there is no body but my lord President, lord Pembroke, and myself; sometimes sir Harry Goodricke: what the reason of it is, I will not go about to determine. Since I had the honour to write to your Majesty, I have had some discourse with my lord Godolphin, and particularly about his own affairs. I find him much resolved to do, what he said he would to your Majesty; he lays it most upon his wife, and saith it will not be convenient for a man of business that is not very young, to bring a wife near the court: upon the whole matter I see plainly he will not stay long in your service, and your Majesty must take your measures accordingly, and consider who is fittest to serve you in that station.

In King William's box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—On the same subject.

Feb. 13, 1690-1.

I AM humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 6th, and the great goodness you are pleased to express in it as to my particular; as it is no surprize to me who have already received so many proofs of your Majesty's kindness to me, so I hope you will be pleased favourably to consider the impossibility I am under, with regard to my present circumstance, at this time, to depart from the humble request which I presumed to make to your Majesty before you went away, and that you will have so well considered into what hands to put the care of your business in the treasury, that my absence from that place shall rather

rather prove an advantage to your Majesty's service there, than bring any farther difficulties upon it. How long my natural temper and inclination will suffer me to remain in the retirement I propose to myself, I cannot be answerable for, till I have tried it; but this I know, that in all places and in all conditions, I shall still retain the same duty and gratitude for your Majesty, and the same sense of your favours to me, as if I were every moment under your own observation, and had the honour to continue always near your Majesty.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—*On the same* In King William's box.
subject.

Feb. 13, 1691.

MY Lord Godolphin showed me your Majesty's letter to him, which was so full of kindness that I hope the more he thinks of it, the better it will be, although I must own to your Majesty that he has not as yet altered his resolution; but he writes to you at large on this subject, so that I shall give you no farther trouble, but assuring you that I will lose no occasion of letting him see the obligation he has, in return to your Majesty's kindness, to spend his life in your service, which I do with all my heart wish for, being, with all imaginable duty,

S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—*On the same* In King William's box.
subject.

Feb. 24, 1691.

I AM sorry to tell your Majesty that lord Godolphin continues very obstinate, so that I have no hopes but your own prevailing when you speak with him. I am with respect, S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

Lord

In King William's box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—Is desirous to resign.—Complains of getting orders that he does not like.

March 13, 1690.

THE queen has been pleased to lay her commands upon us at the treasury, in two particulars, to neither of which I could ever have given my consent at this time, nor have set my hand to them, were it not for the consideration of my own particular circumstances, which do not leave me at liberty to be stubborn in any thing, though never so reasonable, for fear your Majesty might think I would take a pretext, from any occasion of that kind, to procure a freedom to myself, which I am much more desirous to owe to your Majesty's grace and favour only.

The two particulars are, 1st, My lord President's pension for twenty-one years upon the post-office, certainly, to say no more, is very unseasonable at this time, and perhaps more unseasonable for him than for any body else; but for that, there is a French proverb, *chacun sait ses affaires, ou les doit savoir.*

The other particular is the finding of 16,000*l.* towards my lord Bathe's arrears, which perhaps might also have been as well forborn, till the reign of the commissioners of accounts had been expired; the powers of their commission are very large by the act of parliament, and I do not find but that they are willing to carry them to the utmost extent.

In King William's box.

*Part of a letter from lord Godolphin to king William.—
On the same subject.*

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1691.

YOUR Majesty will forgive me, if upon this occasion I humbly observe to you, that you may see the business in the treasury can be as readily, and as carefully, dispatched in my absence, as when I am there;

there; and therefore I hope Your Majesty will be the less surprized at your return, if you find me persist in my humble request, that you would then be pleased to dispense with my further service there, especially since I can never hope by these waters, or by any thing else, to be so freed from the distemper that troubles me, as that the attendance upon business must not always increase it, and consequently be extremely uneasy to me.

Part of a letter from lord Sidney to king William. — In King William's box.
Suspicious of lord Godolphin.

July 12, 1692.

I HAVE been with the lords of the treasury, and told them the necessity of having some money for Ireland; they received me very civilly, but as soon as I was gone, they never thought more of it, and I see plainly some of the treasury don't care how any thing goes. My lord Godolphin is angry upon my lord Marlborough's account, Mr. Hampden upon his nephew's, sir Edward Seymour is out of town, sir St. Fox yields to my lord Godolphin in every thing, and Mr. Mountague saith nothing: I have troubled Your Majesty enough in money matters, and have little to add of any importance. Every body here is taking their pleasure as much as they can, but I must needs say that I believe the club (Your Majesty knows who I mean) are framing some designs that are not for your service; whether my lord Godolphin be in it or no, I cannot tell, but he hath put off his journey to Tunbridge, which he was fond of a month ago, and that gives me some suspicion. I hope their designs will come to nothing, and that your undertaking may be as prosperous as the humblest of your servants does passionately wish them.

Admiral

Admiral Ruffel to king William.——Complains of ill usage, and reproaches the king with his services.

S I R,

SINCE the accidents of war may possibly put it out of my power of having the honour to see Your Majesty again, I beg, with all imaginable submission and respect, you will give me leave to lay some things before you, which truly my bashfulness would not permit me to do by word of mouth, when Your Majesty was in England. I am sensible, Sir, with how little justice I can pretend to any share in Your Majesty's favour, having never in any kind deserved the favours and honours you have pleased to show me, nor am I conscious to myself that I have ever been troublesome, or importunate with Your Majesty, for any thing that might better my own condition, unless it was for the grant of Rigate, which I as soon desisted in, as I found Your Majesty backward in granting, concluding from that time Your Majesty did not think me deserving of a small favour, when at the same time you was pleased to bestow, on several others, great gifts. But that which afflicts me, sir, is, that I should have a brother who appeared one of the first in your interest and service, who chose rather to lose all his appointments in the late king James's service, which was very considerable, than not show a zeal for his country's service. It was not two years before that he gave a considerable sum of money, by the then king's command, to be in the bed-chamber, with assurances he would speedily make that up again to him. I durst not have said thus much in his behalf, had not Your Majesty been pleased to tell me he had done his duty in Ireland, like a good officer and a brave man; but, sir, a lieutenant colonel of horse will not keep him; his expences in Ireland, to appear as he ought, have made him in his own fortune so much a worse man, that he has been forced to quit the service, and seek a subsistence by marrying an old

old widow, rather than spend all he has, and run the hazard of wanting afterwards. And really the several voyages at sea Your Majesty has commanded my services in, have been so very expensive to me, that notwithstanding the place of three thousand pounds a year I hold through your favour, and my own little fortune, have not been able to hinder me from contracting a considerable debt, which makes me incapable of giving him that assistance my inclination leads me to. I have, sir, a sister who, during king James's reign, never failed of being paid her pension, though I think not any of our family was ever very serviceable to him; but since Your Majesty came to the crown, she has never received any thing of it, though she is informed several others have received from Your Majesty that grace and favour, when they were only gifts of grace; her's, I am sure, was for a valuable consideration, a debt, to provide for her younger children, without which they can have no portion, this being the provision Mr. Cook their father made for them in his will. These things have given me great mortification, that you are pleased to show the world my family is less deserving of your favours than others. It was my luck to be so favourably thought on, when the design was laid of Your Majesty's coming over, by most people that were able to do service or to obstruct, I mean the military men both by sea and land, that they believed me in what I said, and depended on the credit I had with Your Majesty to render them service when God was pleased to settle you here; but such has been my ill fortune, that I have not been able to recommend them to your favour, and most of them are in a worse condition in point of income than in the late reign: it has convinced them how little regard Your Majesty has for what I say in their behalf; and they see great places and rewards given to men, who gave you what opposition was in their power, while themselves, who were the chief instruments of your meeting no stop while you

marched

The princess Ann to king William.—On the same subject. In King William's box.

SIR,

Tunbridge, Aug. 2.

I HOPE you will pardon me for giving you this trouble, but I cannot help seconding the request the prince has now made to you, to remember your promise of a garter for my lord Marlborough; you cannot certainly bestow it upon any one that has been more serviceable to you in the late revolution, nor that has ventured their lives for you, as he has done ever since your coming to the crown: but if people will not think these merits enough, I cannot believe any body will be so unreasonable to be dissatisfied, when it is known you are pleased to give it him on the prince's account and mine. I am sure I shall ever look upon it as a mark of your favour to us; I will not trouble you with any ceremony, because I know you do not care for it.

A N N E.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke of Hamilton.—Account of lord Marlborough's disgrace. In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

London, Jan. 21, 1692.

I BELIEVE your grace will be surpris'd to hear that my lord Marlborough is out of all his employment, and the manner was very disagreeable to him; for in his waiting week, which is this, after having put on the king's shirt in the morning, before twelve o'clock my lord Nottingham was sent to him, to tell him that the king had no further need of his service, and that he was to dispose of all his employments, besides forbidding him the court. Every body make their guesses what are his crimes. Some say that

he was endeavouring to breed division in the army and to make himself the more necessary, besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence betwixt the princefs and the court, but every body have their different thoughts; but this being late yesterday, all the matter is not well known, but I believe a few days will bring all to light; so I shall not guess any more, but by my next give your grace the best account I can, and trouble your grace no more at present.

*Part of lord Devonshire's letter to king William, inclosing
sir John Fenwick's confession.*

Aug. 14, 1696.

THE inclosed is the paper given me by sir John Fenwick on the 10th instant, written in his own hand, which he made me pass my word should be communicated to Your Majesty only; and I believe Your Majesty, when you read it, will not wonder he exacted that promise from me. I may truly say I should have been very glad not to have been trusted with this secret, being very unwilling to believe what is there suggested of persons, for whom I have a great respect, and which, as Your Majesty may please to observe, is for the most part hearsay. All that I can say is, that whether Your Majesty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and in consideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, some of them being in places of the highest trust, and in all appearance very firm to your interest now, I humbly beg leave to assure Your Majesty, that whatever part of this paper you would have kept secret shall remain so inviolably for me.

Sir

Sir John Fenwick's confession.

In King William's box.

AFTER king James returned to France from Ireland, there was a select number of his friends intrusted by him to manage his affairs here, who held a constant correspondence with him, and his then secretary of state, by his command, who used all methods possible to advance his interest, by engaging men in places of trust in the government, fleet, and army, to his party, and by the accounts they gave from hence to move the French king to attempt his restoration, but with little success; for till the year before the business of La Hogue, we knew only of my lord Godolphin (concerned in this government) who held a correspondence with him from the time he went over, in whom king James, as he had often expressed in his letters, had an entire confidence. This winter my lord Middleton came to town, who had often been desired to go over, believing it would be great service to king James to have him there in his business; he alledged he could do little service by going, unless he could engage and settle a correspondence here before he went (which he was endeavouring and hoped to effect in a little time) with some men in this government, who had power in their hands, and were the only men capable to serve him; for his friends, being out of all employments, could make him little help: that he had entered into this affair with my lord Shrewsbury, and my lord Godolphin already, and there were some others who he believed he should gain, and then he would go. Soon after captain Floyd, a groom of the bed-chamber to king James, was sent over to him from my lord Marlborough and admiral Ruffel, with an assurance from them of their interest in the fleet and army, which they did not doubt but to secure to him, if he would grant them his pardon for what was passed. At his

S 2

return,

return, which was within a month, he acquainted me with some things king James had ordered him, and told me he had no difficulty in Mr. Ruffel's affair, but the answer to my lord Marlborough was; that he was the greatest of criminals, where he had the greatest obligations; but if he did him extraordinary service, he might hope for pardon: and a little after he did a considerable piece of service, of which we had an account by one sent on purpose by king James. Captain Floyd went again for France, and came to king James at La Hogue, with an account of the fleet, that we could not put out thirty sail before the latter end of May, which he carried from Mr. Ruffel. My lord Middleton, having settled this correspondence, went over in March following. After he arrived, king James writ that, upon the assurance he had brought of this man being engaged in his service, the French ministers had espoused his interest, and he hoped now the French king would lend him such an assistance, as he should see us in a short time. My lord Middleton then pressed king James to put out the declaration which they had drawn, and sent over before he went, but was not approved of, it being a general pardon for all should be done, till his landing, which exposed his friends in the mean time to all severities: he had sent to us before to send him the heads for one we thought would be most acceptable to the people, in which there were some exceptions; but my lord Middleton prevailed for the other, pretending it was absolutely necessary to make it a general pardon, for the security to the great men for their lives and fortunes; that it would draw many people to his party, and strengthen their interest so much as they did not doubt but with a little help from France, to restore him soon. This declaration being published, and finding no performance of the great promises made for it, and that these men were engaged with a commonwealth's party, we advised to take care of trusting them too much, and that we
doubted

doubted they had procured that declaration more for their own security, whenever he should be restored, than any service intended to him. Soon after this, my lord Shrewsbury, who had laid down his employment, at the time he first treated with my lord Middleton, came into his place again, which gave great apprehensions that what had passed during this time would be betrayed to this government: we expressed our fears to K. James of it, but was answered, not to be dissatisfied, for it was with his consent he came in, that he was more capable of doing him service, and took off all suspicion of the correspondence he held. A little after he came in, capt. Floyd was sent hither to know what proposals K. James might make to the French king, upon the assistance he might expect from them: the answer he had was, that they could do nothing till the king here was removed, which we understood to be his next going into Flanders, and thought it too slight a ground to move the French King to take any measures upon, for an attempt here: upon this, it was thought fit a considerable man should go over, to lay the danger before him, of depending too much upon these men, whose party were enemies to all kings, lest they might engage him in some undertaking which might prove his ruin. At his coming there, he desired he might not see my lord Middleton, his business being of that nature as was not fit for him to hear, because of his correspondence with this party. King James told him he must see him, but he would give him an opportunity to discourse his business in private. When he returned he acquainted us with this; and that he had fully discoursed him in all he was entrusted with; that he found he reposed an entire confidence in them, said they were the men could do him the best service; that they were grown weary of this government; and the promises he had made them of honours and employments would bind them to him; that he would try what they would do, whenever the French king had

an opportunity to attempt his restoration; but desired we would still continue to advance in interest; and whenever he returned, he should know how to value those who had been always firm to him. From this time, great endeavours were used by this party to remove my lord Melfort, and we supposed this man's going was one great occasion my lord Middleton not being acquainted with his business. After he was out, we were ordered to write to Mr. Carrill, who gave us little encouragement any thing would be soon done from thence, the French king's fleet being gone to the Streights, a famine in his country, and a false calculation made of his money, which had forced him to reduce his army; and ordered us to keep ourselves quiet, for he must take his measures from this party for the time of his coming, on whom he must now depend. In spring, last year, one Crosby, a secretary under my lord Middleton, came over, who had been several times sent to this party before, and had engaged some men in the assassination, who he asked at his coming, if they had received the commission for levying war, and seizing the King, which commission they had desired as a security for themselves, against King James, for this undertaking: they told him it was not come; he affirmed he saw it signed by King James before he came away; the thing all that time was prevented, nor did that commission he mentioned ever come. These men believing they were imposed upon by Crosby, one of them resolved to go over to know the truth; before he went he acquainted some of King James's friends with it, who detesting so base an action, told him it would be a great service to inform him what an infamy Crosby had thrown upon him, and that he ought to be severely punished, to prevent any such thing for the future; he affirmed to King James, before Crosby, what he had said; he reproved him, and told him he should be no more employed in his service. We had few letters after this, and those ordered us, as before, to keep ourselves quiet,

quiet, and not meddle in any thing, for measures were taken from other people. The last letter we had from King James himself, dated the 4th of February last, their stile, said the Toulon fleet would sail the 22d; but what they would do next he could not tell, which was all material in it: and the only hopes we had, something would be done when it arrived. This attempt of the assassination then broke out, with which we were all surprized, and found ourselves exposed, without having the least notice given us, so much as to take care of ourselves, and which we believed was the measures taken to restore King James.

All this time endeavours were used by our friends to make an interest in the fleet, but found it to little purpose to engage private captains, for unless all their men were of their mind, which was impossible, they could do no service. Captain Bottome and capt. Carter had both promised to go in that year as I remember my lord Torrington commanded; the first was killed in the attempt, and the officer who commanded the landmen on board him mutinied, seeing his design; the other broke his word, and fought that day, and was killed; the officers commanding in chief were therefore applied to, and that year the fleet was commanded by commission. Sir Ralph De la Val and Killigrew were both engaged to serve King James: their opinion was asked of Shovel; they said he was not a man to be spoke to: the service they promised was, to sail the fleet out of the way, and let K. James pass by, and declare for him when he was landed. I saw the account was sent to King James of it, and his answer, wherein he returned his thanks, with promise of rewards and employments when he was restored.

As for the army, K. James depends upon my lord Marlborough's interest, who can do what he pleases with most of those who served in King James's time. At their going into Ireland, major-general Kirk and Maine, and some other inferior officers, had promised

to go in, but none performed : since that time there was no opportunity of making any application to them ; those left here, lying in the country, and being changed every year ; and the main army always abroad, where the only service they could do was to desert to the French, who would not receive them : it was therefore thought the best service to secure some of the garrisons here, of which there was four ; Plymouth by my lord Bath ; Berwick by Billingsly, the deputy-governor, who was generally upon the place ; Sheerness by Crawford ; and Langerfort by the governor, if it be the same that was two years ago, whose name I have forgot. King James had an assurance of their service, that they would declare for him whenever he landed."

In King William's box there is the following further confession of sir John Fenwick.

" I N the year 1695, the beginning of that week the parliament was prorogued, I was walking in the Court of Requests, and there came to me sir Wm. Perkins, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Charnock, and asked me, If I did not know of an order come from King James, directed to those who had been general officers under him ? I answered them I knew nothing of any order from him, and asked for what purpose it should be. They told me they had for some time expected a commission from King James to seize King William, and that Mr. Crosby was newly come over, and enquired of them if they had not received such a commission : they told him they had not : he said he wondered at it, for he saw it signed before he came away from St. Germain's, and also an order to the general officers to be aiding and assisting to them.

I told

I told them, I believed what Crosby said was false ; that it was a scandal upon King James, and I was sure he would never give any such commission or order for so base an action ; that they could intend no less by seizing of the King than to murder him : upon which sir Will. Perkins said, the parliament would be prorogued on Friday next, and then the King would be gone for Flanders ; that Saturday was the only day they had left to do it, and though the commission was not come, they would not lose that opportunity of attempting it, as he returned from Richmond that night, and swore he should never go out of England alive.

Mr. Porter and Charnock said they were resolved of it, and though the commission was not yet come, Crosby assured them it must be upon the road, for it was come away before him.

I used all arguments against it, and told them what injury they would do King James, and bring a certain ruin upon all his friends here ; that if it was upon the road, as Crosby said, it might be here by Saturday ; and with much persuasion prevailed with them to dine with me that day at 12 of the clock, at the Fountain tavern, by the Temple gate, and got them to promise they would do nothing in it till they met me there that day.

We met accordingly, and I kept them there, discoursing upon the business, and showing them the baseness of the action and the impossibility of their succeeding, for none of King James his friends would back them in it, till it was too late for them to make any such attempt. The King went for Flanders next morning early. This I attest for truth ; for this reason I suppose they did not acquaint me with their last design.

J. FENWICKE."

In King William's Box.

Extract of the examinations and confessions of Peter Cook, son to sir Miles Cook. He was condemned for the assassination-plot, but afterwards pardoned.

“**H**E gives an account of his having been in France several years ago; that he went on my lady Philips her business, but being there, was introduced to King James, and carried over the compliments of several persons to the King; particularly from archbishop Sandcroft, lord Ailesbury, lord Montgomery, sir John Fenwick, lord Clarendon, lord Litchfield, lord Huntingdon, lord Weymouth, sir Edward Seymour, and others; he brought back messages to some of them, and was bid to see the marquis of Halifax, as being a man of honour, who received him very civilly; he brought over instructions from King James for the borrowing 6000*l.* they were directed to lord Ailesbury, lord Litchfield, and lord Brudenell, but they all excused it.

Mrs. Iron sent him advice of the la Hogue business, which he communicated to lord Halifax, whereupon he found him uneasy at his staying longer with him, and told him he knew what he had to do.

He says at that time, there was a meeting at a tavern in Holbourn, where were the lord Brudenell, sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, sir Francis Windham, major George Mathews, Mr. Bruce, colonel Fountaine, one Holmes, and several others: they advised with one another what they should do upon that invasion; it was resolved those who had horses should rendezvous towards Cane-wood, and those who had none should get near the Tower, to join with sir John Friend's party. There was a regiment joined with yellow, which they were told they might depend upon.”

Lord Shrewsbury to King William.—*Denies sir John Fenwick's charge.*—*Owens intercourse with lord Middleton.* In King William's box.

S I R,

Whitehall, 8 Sept. 1696.

I WANT words to express my surprize at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of sir Jo. Fenwick; I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give Your Majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention, and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.

After Your Majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my lord Middleton, then he came and staid in town a while, and returned to the country; but a little before the la Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent for the nearness of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and ask'd if I would command him no service; I then told him by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself, or his friends service, and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it: in the condition he was then, he seemed shocked at my answer, and it being some months after, before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here, and had

had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England; I only bowed, and told her, I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.

Your Majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a king may forgive.

I am sure when I consider with what reason, justice and generosity Your Majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world; When such a base invention shall be made public, they may perhaps make me incapable of serving you, but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which Your Majesty has used me upon this occasion, shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.

My lord Steward being at the bath, nothing was resolved as to sir Jo. Fenwick's tryal till his answer returns. I am with all imaginable submission,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, dutifull,
and obedient subject, and servant,

SHREWSBURY.

In King William's box.

Lord Shrewsbury to King William.——Desires leave to resign the seals on account of the suspicion he is under.

SIR,

Eyford, 18 Oct. 1696.

I HAVE endeavoured to come to London to receive Your Majesty's commands and directions, but by what happened yesterday, I find at present is impossible for me, and in all appearance will be so for a long time. I am very sensible Your Majesty's affairs must necessarily receive great prejudice by the absence of one in my post; and since it is very doubtful whether

ther I shall ever so well recover this accident, as to be capable of serving in the station I have the honour to be in at present, and most certain it cannot be of a long time, I humbly and earnestly beg Your Majesty will allow me to return the seals into your hands: besides my incapacity upon this illness, I am sure, sir, you must think it impossible for any man to serve in so nice an employment as your secretary, that has the misfortune to lye under the suspicion though but of a few. I do not doubt but in my private capacity, I shall have occasions to demonstrate my fidelity and loyalty to Your Majesty. In the mean time I repeat my request, and beg leave to put you in mind of your promise at my receiving the seals, that I should be at liberty to return them without Your Majesty's displeasure, whenever I found the place uneasy: now, sir, that it happens to be impossible for me to execute it, and for your disservice that I should, I hope you will accept this tender as designed with all duty to yourself, and affection to your government; for inclination, interest, gratitude, self-preservation, every thing that is valuable to an honest or a reasonable man, oblige me, to what I sincerely am,

Your Majesty's most dutiful servant,
and faithful and obedient subject,

SHREWSBURY.

Remark.] Lord Shrewsbury was prevailed upon to take back the seals. If the story of his being obliged to do so by force be at all true, it may have been upon this occasion.

In King William's box there is the following scheme by lord Rochester upon the conduct of parliament; and of the war, after the battle of la Hogue, with notes upon the margin in lord Caermarthen's hand writing: as follows.

So far all I have spoke to, agree with him.

IT is with all humility represented to the king, that if his Majesty should not return into England earlier this year than he did the last, there may the like inconveniencies happen, which did then, by not having taken sufficient measures for the carrying on his business in the parliament; which as it did very much delay all the preparations for the last year, so it might perhaps to a great degree disappoint those that would be necessary for the next; if it be true what is generally apprehended, that the gentlemen are not like to meet in too good a humour; for the remedying of which it might be expedient, that though there be yet more than two months before it's probable the king would have the parliament sit, there should be no time lost in taking all the consideration that is possible, and making all suitable preparations for such measures as are likeliest to succeed when it does meet; for if it should prove necessary to make any alterations, it would take a good deal of time both abroad and at home to adjust every thing upon new schemes *. It were perhaps too confident a thing for any one body, and possibly for a great many, to pretend to say the parliament will or will not doe any thing whatsoever that may be proposed to them: but without doubt the being distrustfull that they will not meet with too great satisfaction in the transactions of this summer, is an undertaking they would not be displeas'd with any body that should presume to make it for them; the having given so very considerable sums of money

* Sir J. Lowther says, no body can know one day what a house of Commons would do the next, in which all agreed with him, and that makes him think it unnecessary to deliver any opinion now.

Lord Cornwallis says, had the parliament met when summoned this summer upon the victory at sea, they would have given any thing,

money without receiving more eminent advantages by it, will probably pass for such a sort of miscarriage, as will abate at least their zeal in giving on as they have done, especially since it may be feared very little can be said that hath not been already urged to give them hopes of better success for the future: Besides, if every body were in the best disposition imaginable, it must be allowed there would be almost insuperable difficulties to struggle with *, and if three millions and a half were so hard to be compassed last year (which by the way was even too narrow a provision for the services then designed,) it must needs be harder this next year to find that summe, and the seven hundred thousand pounds that are fallen short of the poll bill, which possibly the parliament may think fit to make their first care, because they have obliged themselves to make that summe good, and which though it be for the expence of the expiring year, must be had out of the product of that which is beginning, and will be a dead weight upon any new tax that might be thought on, after the additional excise upon beer and ale and the land shall have their new load for the service of the next year; it is plain by experience that by no methods hitherto practised such sums can be raised in one year for the service of that year, and the methods of new excises †, if people were as willing to fall into them, as they are generally averse from them, could not possibly, in the first year at least, turn to an account proportionable to so great an expence: this then seems to be the prospect of that matter relating to money from the opinion of those that think the calmest upon this subject, that so great sums are not to be had again this year, if every body were disposed to do what they could, which it's to be doubted is not the case neither: if this be the true state of this point, it must be submitted to his Majesty's

English people being puff'd up by success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool, so that consequently by this time it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence he thinks to your affairs.

* Lord Privy Seal Lord Nott. Lord Com. Trevor, Lord Cornwall, and Sir J. Lowther, thinks it can be given if they are willing; Sir Edw. Seym. speaks doubtfully, so does Lord Stuard.

† Lord Com. Trevor thinks even a general excise would turn to account the first year.

great

great judgment, whether it be not more adviseable for him to fall upon some new measures that may be less expensive to the nation, than to sett his whole strefs, and employ all his credit to pursue those were taken last year, when there is so little appearance of success; for then may they who probably wish ill to the government, find great advantages if they shall be able to defeat what is found to be his Majesty's chief design to bring to pass *. It is not forgot here, that the falling off from any preparations less than those made the last year, may dishearten the confederates, and make them who are possibly enough disposed to it, the more ready to think of providing separately for themselves; on which account all due care should be had to give them satisfaction, but if it should appear there is an impossibility to prevail for the like supplies as were granted the last year, sure the next best were for his Majesty to prepare the allies by degrees, and dispose his own affairs in good time, to fall upon things that it is more probable for him to succeed in: It would in all probability be for his Majesty's service here at home, and a great disappointment to the designs of his enemies, that it might be understood here in the parliament, that his Majesty is very sensible of the great burthens his people lye under; that he is not so much concerned for this or that particular way of carrying on the war, provided it be done in such a manner as may encourage and support his allies, and particularly if an army of so many thousand men (the pay of which to be in so great a proportion carried over and spent in a foreign country, is one of the greatest and most sensible grievances) be not suitable to the interest of England †, nor to be supported but by too great a wasting of their substance, they would in that case provide for encreasing the fleet, and let the expence the States

* Lord Privy Seal says, if the allies did suspect we were setting up only for our own defence, they would shift for themselves, and then we were all undone. That he thinks if the allies could make a defensive war only, and you make a great descent into France, the parliament would give any thing, or if that could not be done, that then you should let them know that you would take care the money should circulate as much as may be here, by buying bread, cloth; and all that was possible to be bought here at home.

† This proposal of the increasing the fleet in the manner, lord privy seal Nott. and Cornwallis say, is the most pernicious thing in the

States were at on that head, be turned to pay a proportion of the king's land forces; in a word, without entering into more particulars, if it might be understood in general, that his Majesty is willing and desirous to enter into any measures that are suitable to the humour and temper of the nation that can possibly support the true interest and greatness of it, that his Majesty's chief care and design is to bring it out of this very expensive war, into an honourable and safe peace by all the means he or they can think of, and by the hazard of his own royal person, without prescribing to them at this time the particular measures and expences they must be at in obtaining it;* ; this seems at present to be the best, if not the only way to disappoint a great many ill contrivances to discompose his Majesty's affairs, and to carry on the service for one year more, which is enough to be aimed at for the present †, all which being offered with sincerity and duty, it is hoped will need no other apology for a very well meant presumption: there is one word more to be added, which would not be done but that there is need of it from an opinion some men have taken care to publish, that the king does not take the people of England to feel what they pay, and that they could pay a great deal more, if they were well pressed to it: to which may be answered, that they never did yet in any time pay so much in a few years, and therefore it may be apprehended that a further pressing upon them might end in a general ill-will to the government, and an inclination to change it for any other they could meet with: WHICH GOD FORBID."

world—by laying the blame on you, as though you did it to favour the Dutch, besides the impossibility of it, as having not ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft trade; but I hear the first has a little changed his mind, which he is apt to do, and lord com. Trevor laughs at it.

* I can't help saying it seems to me like sitting still, and letting the French King take what he will; but I hope it won't be in the power of the parliament to make lord Rochester in the right in this, as he proved by Mr. Russell doing nothing, for he would at first have had those designs laid aside which have been frustrated by those who should have excused them.

† As lord Roch. means very well I dare say in what he writes, so I hope to be excused for this scribbling on it, but I could not help it, having in my mind as I read this over, what others had said to me; and I took this to be the shortest way of telling it.

Whitehall, Aug. 16, 1692.

I publish this last letter in justice to the memory of King William. He has been complained of for near a century past for having confined the war to the confines of Holland, and neglected the natural strength of England by not exerting it in a sea war against France. But one of the marginal notes to this letter shows, that if there was a fault, it lay at the door of his English ministers.

It is pleasing in perusing most of the above letters to King William, to observe the degree almost of equality, with which he who was conscious that true superiority consists not in trifles, permitted his subjects to approach him in their letters.

Although the following letter (which I found in King William's box) from the marquis of Normanby to him, does not lie within the period of time to which this Appendix is confined, I cannot help publishing it, because a reader will hardly know which most to wonder at, the spirit of an English nobleman who could write such a letter to his sovereign, or the generosity of the sovereign who could forgive it. Lord Mulgrave had been brought into court upon the promise of a marquis's title, a pension of 3000*l.* a year, a seat at the council board, and participation of the cabinet. King William kept the three first parts of the promise, but forgot the last. The marquis upon this wrote him the following letter, and immediately got redress.

The marquiss of Normanby to King William.

London, June 19, 1694.

“ I BEG Your Majesty’s pardon once more, for troubling you upon so trifling a subject as myself, though I must own a sacred promise from a king is of no small importance. But the occasion of my approaching Your Majesty again this way, after I held myself obliged to take my leave humbly for ever, is a discourse I had the honour to have with the queen yesterday, by which I find all my just grievance capable of being redressed in one word from Your Majesty, that I should meet with the keeper, president, privy seal, and secretaries when they are assembled. Now, sir, this very way of their meeting with myself, was my own proposal to Your Majesty, when you were pleased to advise with me about those methods, and when you were so partial as to think me so much more assiduous than the white-staves, as to leave them out at the same time; which I neither did or do desire, but only that I should not suffer on their account by an exclusion plainly contrary to your promise, as well as to reason and the nature of business; for how is it possible to advise the queen, without being acquainted with all things and letters communicated to that meeting? I did take upon me to propose that some more probable attempt should be made immediately on the French, and not let 40 ships and 6000 men lie idle; but when the queen asked me what; how could I answer, without being so well informed of all as others are? For though I believe very good proposals may be made, such as it were a shame to let slip; yet till I am let into the same knowledge with others, that which may now seem reasonable, may, for ought I know, be

ridiculous and unpracticable. Thus, fir, you see the inconvenience of the present method, which yet I submit to, if not excluded out of it : since it is a real cabinet without the name, nay called so generally now ; and there was no other in all the late King's times ; out of which too the privy seal, lord Anglesea, was ever excluded ; so that it does not go now according to places, since he is in it, without having a right, while I am out, to whom Your Majesty assured it most solemnly and frequently, once I remember with this expression, that we were composed better than formerly, and persons who could at least draw together in your business : whereas now instead of that, I cannot be thought one who draws, but one who is drag'd behind every body else. Your Majesty is and ought to be the master, to use me as you please ; but I beg leave to say with all due submission, that this usage, if continued, is not only below so great a king, to impose after all assurances to the contrary, by which I was brought to the council, because I depended upon them ; but it is even below me the meanest of your subjects, to acquiesce in farther than patience and my duty oblige me. I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most obedient
subject, and servant,

NORMANBY."

One quits the character of King William with reluctance. There was a simplicity, an elevation, and an utility in all the actions of his life. The last treaty which he signed, was the grand alliance ; the last act of parliament that he passed, was one which completed the security of the Hanover succession ; and the last message which he sent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between

two

two parts of the island, which too long had been divided. To him mankind owe the singular spectacle of a monarchy, in which the monarch derives a degree of greatness and security from the freedom of his people which treasures and arms cannot bestow upon other princes; and that, at a time, when a military government is extending its strides over every other part of Europe, there is still one country left, in which it is worth the while of a man to wish to live*.

It was the hard fate of King William, that to save liberty, religion, Holland, England, and all Europe except France, he was obliged to injure the relations of nature. Could his heart have been looked into, perhaps it might have been found that he felt the cruelty of this necessity much more than those who complain of him for not resisting it. I have seen an original letter from lord Portland to King William, after the peace of Ryswick, in which he informs him, that according to his orders, he had offered a pension of 50,000*l.* a year to King James; and this was at a time when it was far from being as certain as it is now, that that prince had not employed assassins to murder him.

King William received much bad usage from that nation he had saved. He bore it all, steady to the great general good, unfeeling only to the injuries done to himself. But it is dangerous to press too hard upon a virtuous prince, because then his very virtues become dreadful. A well vouched tradition reports, that once, though only once, King William lost his temper in government. After the peace of Ryswick, he sent a

* In the course of two years we have seen the constitutions of France, Sweden and Poland, overturned, and reduced to military governments. Perhaps the greatest strokes that were ever given to human nature in so small a space of time.

message to the house of commons, requesting as a personal favour to himself, that his regiment of Dutch guards, the companions of all his dangers and glories, should not be obliged to leave him. The commons refused his desire. When the account of it was brought him, he walked for some time silent through the apartment, with his eyes fixed on the ground, then stopped, threw them around with wildness, and said, "If I had a son, by God these guards should not quit me."

F I N I S.

ERRATA et ADDENDA.

Appendix to Review.

- Page. 118 Twelve lines from the bottom, for *grana* read *Grave*.
297. Twelve lines from the end, for *then*, read *thus*.
390. Eight lines from the bottom, for 77, read 67.

Part I.

- Page 75. Line 5 from the bottom, for *bis*, read *Prince's*.

Part II.

- Page 91. Line 13, for *Duke*, read *Marquiss*.
209. Line 2, for *General*, read *there*.

In page 16 and page 89, there is a memorandum and letter, said to have been lord Nottingham's. These are not in his lordship's hand-writing. My ingenious and polite friend, Doctor Percy, from whom I got them, gave me the following note concerning them :

“ From Remarks on Langbaine's Lives of the Dramatic Poets, in MS. by William Oldys, late Norroy King at Arms.”

“ In a note on page 171. *Dryden's Spanish Friar, &c.*

“ Remem. The curious letter I have in MS. of my lord Nottingham's, upon Queen Mary's disordered behaviour, and observable confusion at some stinging speeches in this play, &c.”—The above letter was in Mr. Oldys's possession.

“ These remarks are preserved in the British Museum, being left, among other books, to that library, by the late Doctor Birch.”

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