

THE

CHEVALIER'S

H O P E S.

*O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus, O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum.*

Hor.



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THE

GENERAL INQUIRY

INTO THE STATE OF THE

REVENUE OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND

IN THE YEAR 1826

BY THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Houses of the Oireachtas

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 CHEVALIER'S
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AN affair of great Importance is no sooner undertaken by any one, than all Persons and Parties, according as they are more or less concerned in the Event, become, in proportion, solicitous to Enquire, what hopes he may have of Success; some, because they affect his Cause, others, because they hate it and fear him; and not a few, who are little influenced by the justice of any cause, would however be glad to know the Strength of his, that they might the better Judge on which side to seek for their own safety or Advancement.

There are, no doubt on't, many persons, who know much better than the writer of this Pamphlet, what reasons that young Man, who is now making War in North *Britain* on one of the most powerful Monarchs in *Europe*, may have to expect Success; but there is a far greater Number equally concerned, yet totally ignorant of those reasons, who by means of that Ignorance may be tampered with on this occasion by designing Persons, and in the End undone. For their Information, and with an honest View to their real Welfare, the Hopes of this bold Adventurer, are as fairly and fully set Forth in the following Paper, as can be expected from one, who is not of his Privy Council.

In the first Place, as his Majesty King *George* is engaged in a War with *France* and *Spain*, his Forces on the Continent give no inconsiderable ob-

struction to the Ambitious views of the House of *Bourbon*, while his Arms at Sea, are daily cutting off from it the Sinews of War, and ruining its Trade: To rid itself of these obstructions, no method so promising presents itself, as to set us together by the Ears, and find us Work at home, and for this Purpose, no Instrument is judged so proper as that Pretender to the Crown of these Kingdoms, whom *France* and *Spain* have so long despised and renounced in recognizing his present Majesty's, and his Father's Title to the aforesaid Crown, not to mention that of *Queen Anne*, King *William* and *Queen Mary*. The King of *France* thus reasons with himself. If I can, by means of the Chevalier de *St. George*, raise a civil War in *Great Britain*, altho' that War should End in his Ruin, yet in the mean Time it will oblige my Enemy to withdraw his Forces from *Flanders* and leave me the remainder of that Country an easy Conquest in the Spring; it will also force him to recall his Fleets to defend his own Coasts, and once again open the Seas to my Merchants, that is, to my Factors; and if for this purpose I employ the Chevalier's Son, perhaps as he is descended from a Polish Family by the Mother's side, the attempt in his Favour may be made use of with the Diet of *Poland*, to hinder that Nation from espousing the *Austrian* Interest next Campaign. But in Case the Chevalier should by my Assistance succeed and mount the Throne of *Great Britain*, I shall then have what Terms from him I please, his Protestant Subjects will render his Possession so insecure, that without my Support he will never be able to maintain it, he must therefore not only reimburse me all my Expences, and Pay me for all my Services in the most ample Manner, but he must give me all the Advantages in Trade I shall ask, my Wines must pass into all the British Isles free from Duty, their Wool must be suffered to fall into the Hands of my Manufacturers at my own Price, and in an unlimited Abundance. They must not pretend

tend to Rival my Subjects in the Fishing Trade or that of the *East Indies*, or the *Levant*. *Cape Breton* must return to me Gratis and of Course. As the Seeds of endless Feuds and Wars will by these means be sown in the kindly Soil of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, I can with little Trouble keep them up and Foment them, 'till those Countries being ruined by their own Animosities and my Practices, shall like an Horse broken and tamed by my Rider the Chevalier, take me on their backs, and instead of defeating all our Schemes, as they have for many Ages done, shall Trample down the Liberties of Europe beneath me: It is true I have long treated the Chevalier with Neglect, but the Prospect of a Crown, which he can never hope for but by my Assistance, will make him a ready Tool to my Designs.

THE Queen of *Spain*, who wants a Kingdom for another Son, and finds that the *English* Fleet renders her Designs on *Italy* very precarious, is ready to lend any Assistance in her Power to an Attempt, that must embroil these Kingdoms, that must either recall our Fleet from the *Mediterranean*, or hinder it's being properly supplied and reinforced, that must also make it infinitely more easy to bring home the Treasures of the *West-Indies*, without which *France* and she are undone, and unable to buy the Assistance or Neutrality of needy Princes, of corrupt Ministers, of States devoted to no other God, but Money, and to make War on their Neighbours with due Force and Perseverence. Beside the Chevalier is a good Catholick, our King and we are detestable Hereticks, and therefore all the Assistance she can spare is at the Service of the former.

THE Pretender knows all this full well, and as he is weary of being only a titular King, he is willing to become a Viceroy of the House of *Bourbon*, rather than be any longer Burthensome to his Holyness, and support a Mock-Majesty at *Rome* upon Contributions, in some hopes however of at length being able to shake off by some means or other the Yoke of *France*, than which nothing can be more airy
nor

nor vain, because the disturbances of *Great Britain*, should they continue for any Time, will give *France* an opportunity, and she will not fail to lay hold of it, to put it out of the power of all her Neighbours to give the least check to her Designs.

His first hope therefore is founded on the Assistance of *France* and *Spain*, which may prove as Fallacious as those of the late Emperor, to whom the Friendship of the House of *Bourbon* was worse than open Enmity, and in the Sequel became fatal.

His next in the *Pope*; that holy Father of the Church is deeply concerned to see three Kingdoms Rent from the only Church, in which there is any Chance for Salvation, and Exerting their strength not only in defence of their own Heresies, but also in Opposition to all his Ghostly endeavours for the Recovery of other Nations, as much bewilder'd in Errors, and Alienated from God and him, as themselves. He sees (and we may presume it is with some small Regret) the vast Tracts of Land in these Kingdoms, formerly enjoy'd by Monks, and Nuns, and Romish Bishops, together with the ample Revenues, that before the Reformation, flowed from hence into the Exchequer of *Rome*, and were employ'd in most Pious uses, now apply'd to the Support of Heresy, or at least enjoy'd by Hereticks. To recover this Wealth to himself, as well as the Souls of those that now wickedly Riot in it, to the Church, may possibly be an object of his Holyness's wishes. The Pretender hath spent time enough at *Rome* to inform himself, whether the *Pope* hath any hankerings after Money or not, and whether he would be willing to make him his Farmer here, in hopes by that means to put Things on the old happy Footing.

As to the Assistance the *Pope* may lend him in order to his Ascending the Throne of these Nations, although at first sight it may seem but small, yet the Pretender cannot but think it more powerful than even that of *France* and *Spain*; for in the first places as he is a sound Catholick, he cannot but know

know that the *Pope*, being God's Vicegerent, hath the only Right to dispose of all Earthly Kingdoms, which he hath often insisted on, and being infallible could not be mistaken; besides he knows that the *Pope* is himself, and in a more peculiar manner, King of *England*, ever since King *John* of Pious Memory resign'd the Crown to him; on these two Accounts neither the Pretender, nor any Body else, could lawfully take any Steps towards such an Acquisition, without the *Pope's* permission and Deputation; and as the Pretender can derive no Right to the Crown of these Kingdoms, but from the *Pope*, so neither is it possible for him to succeed in his design, but by the Exercise of the *Pope's* Spiritual Weapons and power in their full Plenitude: His Holyness hath Weapons for all Purposes: But what are most wanted on such occasions as this, are Dispensations and Prayers.

As to Dispensations, they are most absolutely necessary, for as the Pretender cannot hope to succeed, without repeated and solemn Declarations, without even Oaths and Vows to preserve and protect the Protestant Religion, together with the Constitution and Laws of these Kingdoms, and whereas if he were always to Act in Conformity to these Vows, he would as little promote the Interests of the *Pope*, as King *George* himself, it is absolutely necessary, that while he carries his own Declarations in one Pocket, he should also carry the *Pope's* Dispensation in the other: The Pretender and his Sons are Men of great Religion and Devotion; it is therefore not to be expected of them, that they should meerly to get these three Kingdoms, which they Attempt not with any view to their own Interest, but purely out of Love to the Church and us, be put under the ugly necessity of making and over and over again repeating the most solemn Vows, every one of which at the Time of making them, they intend to break in every single Article, without his Holyness's ample Dispensation from the guilt of such deliberate and wilful Perjury. These

Dispensations

Dispensations would be also necessary to take away the guilt of Treachery in other more particular instances, and in all those Acts of Murder, Massacre and Cruelty which the Prosecution of such an Affair might require, they would be necessary too, to set the Hands of others at Liberty, as well as those of the Pretender and his Sons; and therefore we may take it for granted the young Chevalier did not part from *Rome*, till he was arm'd with Weapons enough of this sort to cut the ties of Nature, and dispence with all the Laws of God and Man.

As to Prayer, the other Spiritual Weapon in the Hands of the *Pope*, and the only true Church, the Pretender we may be sure depends more on that than even on his Dispensations; the latter can only procure him the Services of Pious and scrupulous Men, whereas the former is necessary to obtain the Blessing and Assistance of divine Providence, to which that Church alone hath access. Indeed it will require all her boasted Interest with Heaven to be heard in favour of such a Cause, and such a Scheme as the present disturber of our Peace sets out upon: And nobody but he who can dispense with all the Ties of Conscience, who can turn Wrong into Right, and the most Atrocious Crimes, of Perjury, Treachery, Rebellion, Bloodshed, Massacre, &c. into Services meriting even in the sight of God, is fit to pray for the Success of a Scheme that can never prosper without the Assistance of all these, which therefore he hath not only dispensed with, but authorized for that very purpose: As the Pretender cannot possibly carry his Design into full Execution, without being guilty himself of Perjury, and Treachery of the blackest Nature, without prevailing on the leading Men of these Kingdoms, the Commanders of Fleets and Armies, the Officers of the Crown, &c. to betray the Trust reposed in them, by a Country extremely bountiful to them, and to trample on their Honour, Promises, and Vows, without arming us against each other, and wading through an Ocean of Blood, without involving
Millions

Millions of Innocent and harmless People, in the general Desolation of three Kingdoms, as, I say, he can never hope to arrive at the Throne without this and a great deal more of the like nature, it cannot but seem strange to a Christian, that such a Scheme of means in order to such an End, should be dictated and blessed by the universal Father of the Church: It is a Mystery which Transcends our Comprehension, and is sufficient to try the utmost Resignation of a Papist, that the Pope, and all the Romish Clergy, should be now on their Knees, earnestly solliciting the Infinitely good and Gracious God to bless and prosper such a Scheme; that they should be praying to Christ (who with his own Mouth commands all his Followers to bless and Curse not) to Curse their Fellow Christians; to Christ who bids us pray for these who persecute us, to Intercede for a Scheme of Persecution; to Christ who by one of his Apostles assures us, that the wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God, to reclaim the Protestants by the Sword, by Fire and Faggot; to Christ, who by another, condemns the doing of Evil, that good may come of it, to advance the Cause of what they call the true Religion, by Perjury, Treachery, Murder, &c. Praying, in Short, to a God of infinite Truth, to bless and prosper Falshood and Treachery of the grossest Nature; to a God of infinite Justice, to bless the darkest Iniquity and the most outragious Violence; to a God of Infinite goodness and Mercy to bless a Scene of Bloodshed and Cruelty, which Neighbours, Relations, Brothers are to act on one another. Happy is that Church and great its Privileges, that hath a Right to sollicite God for such Favours, and to expect they should be granted! and wretched is the Case of poor Protestants, who are excluded from the Privilege of praying, or hoping for things in themselves Reasonable and just.

To consult with the Devil about a Scheme, and in concert with him, to pitch upon one of the most foul and Infernal that Author of Evil can invent;

and then gavelly to apply to God to second and prosper that Scheme, is a Species of Piety, which the Popes and the Church of *Rome* have claimed and enclosed to themselves, and I hope no Protestant Church will every think of breaking in upon that Pale, or making so free with Almighty God.

SUCH are the Assistances from abroad, on which the Invader of our Peace relies: He is not without Hopes of mighty aids from within ourselves: As to those the Highlanders have lent him, they are not to be numbered among his Hopes; they have already, to the eternal shame of two Regiments of Dragoons, gained him a Victory; it is however to be supposed, he expected to be joined by all the Inhabitants of the Scottish Mountains; but they are not all Mad, some of them have behaved with uncommon Bravery, and Fidelity to the Government; and it is to be hoped that most of those, who for his sake have ungratefully forfeited their Allegiance to a most indulgent King, will for their own sakes soon prove as untrue to their new Master.

His next hopes are in the Papists of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, especially the latter. It is natural to all Men to advance the Religion they have most at heart, and for that end to desire a King of their own persuasion. To attempt this by such Means as the Law of God, and a well informed Conscience will allow, is what no rational Man can blame them for, because it is what he himself in the like circumstances would or ought to do; but for such as have already the free exercise of their Religion, and are secure of it as long as they carry, as become good Subjects; for such as have their Lives, their Properties, their Liberties, ensured them by the same equal Laws with their Protestant Neighbours, for such as have all these Blessings maintained to them in the most ample Manner, after having so often with the blackest Treachery and Cruelty, endeavoured to ruin the Constitution, and cut the Throats of their indulgent Protectors, for such Men, so generously treated, so mercifully indulged, to betake themselves

selves again to Night-rifings, and bloody Massacres, which are all the Assistances they can at present lend the Pretender, is to act with the foulest ingratitude, and the most detestable Treachery, is, in short to act against all the Ties of Nature, and all the Laws of God. Great as the Influence of their Clergy may have been in darker Ages over the Consciences of that People, I can hardly think they will be able at this Time of Day to bring them into such horrid Measures. A thinking Roman Catholick cannot but be sensible, that the lowest Privileges enjoyed in a free Country, are infinitely Preferable to the highest, under an absolute Government. He who hath the least share of Liberty and among those who are free, is more his own Master, than the most dignified Slave. The Papists of *Ireland*, as they share in the gentle Discouragements the Island in general lies under, have fewer Privileges than those of *Great Britain*: And yet even they have more Liberty, more means of Enriching and making themselves happy, and of entailing that Happiness on their Posterity, than the Subjects of *France* and *Spain*, where the poorer People, tho' Catholicks, are under the Melancholly impossibility of ever rising above Canvas Cloaths, Wooden Shoes, and black Bread; and the richer Possess the Fruits of their Industry only at the Discretion of that arbitrary Power, under which they Groan; where those who are in best Circumstances only manage their Fortunes for the King, and these who have nothing but a Life, will never be able to call it their own, 'till their Kings and Queens have as much of the World as they and their Families can desire. Can the *Irish*, in the Service of the House of *Bourbon*, forget the Expedition to *Oran*, and the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, at the latter of which Places they served rather as Fascines than Soldiers, and suffered such Hardships as forced them to fly from their *French* Friends whom they had served at the Expence of Health, and the Peril of their Lives, to the *English*, whose Laws they had violated by entering into Foreign

Service, and whose Relations they had Massacred in 1641? So much safer is it to offend the Government of *England* than to serve that of *France*. Have the *Irish* at home forgot that *France* so lately treated their Countrymen in this Manner, when she stood in the utmost need of their Services? and do they expect better Usage from her, should she come to Lord it over them by her Deputy the Chevalier? Are they insensible of the treatment their poor Scholars get at *Douay* and *St. Omers*, where they are fed with scraps of bad Food, and worse Learning, where they are never encouraged to hope for the least Preferment, and from whence they are re-imported with no other Qualifications, than such as are necessary to keep a poor unhappy People in Ignorance, that they may be the perpetual Tools of *France* and *Rome*, as long as the Avarice of the one, and the Ambition of the other, shall have occasion for them. If those who are Tutored up to deceive them, were content to impose on their Understandings a set of subtile Errors, political and religious, it would be no wonder if they should not be able to see thro' them; but when nothing less will serve their turn, than persuading them to prefer Slavery to Liberty, to believe that Bread is Flesh, and Wine Blood, and that a God of Truth and Mercy will bestow Heaven on them for betraying and murdering their Benefactors; is it not astonishing that so gross an Imposition can be passed upon them, especially as they live among Neighbours more Enlighten'd, and may here have leave to read the Word of God? But it seems to be the severest Part of the Curse inflicted on them for the most unheard of Barbarities and Massacres, that they are given up to be deluded by the same Spirit of Infatuation, that produced those terrible Effects in former Times The highest and most powerful Subject in *France* hath nothing he can call his own, let his Loyalty be what it will: The lowest and poorest Subject in these Nations is at the defiance of the King, as long as he conforms himself to the Laws.

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The Subjects of *France* can have liberty of Conscience, altho' stipulated for by the most solemn Treaties, only at the Peril of their Lives. The Papiſts here may outwardly Profeſs, and publickly Avow that Religion, which ſo often ſhook the Throne, and ſheathed the Swords and Knives of its Profeſſors in the Bowels of their Benefactors: In *France*, *Spain*, &c. every Body is forced to be of one Religion, here thoſe may chooſe a Religion agreeable to their Conſciences, who think it any Privilege to have a choice in Matters of the higheſt Conſequence.

I HOPE the Roman Catholics of *Ireland* will rightly Underſtand the above Expreſſions, by which the Author is far from intending to Reflect on them, conſidered meerly as a People. I know no Nation under the Sun more naturally Humane and averſe to Blood, and, when left to themſelves, more grateful and faithful than the native *Iriſh*: What then muſt we think of their Religion, which we ſee is Capable of Transforming them into the moſt outrageous Savages, into the moſt treacherous and bloody Aſſaffins? Nay, what muſt their own good natured Hearts teach them to think of it, were they allowed to think at all? Divines may attack the Church of *Rome* with a thouſand ſcholaſtick and technical Arguments about Tranſubſtantiation, about Supererogation, about the worſhip of Saints and Images, about Praying in an unknown Tongue, &c. but theſe ſurely are needleſs, ſince it is impoſſible that Religion ſhould come from God which inſpires Rebellion on Principles, which lays it as a Duty on the Conſcience to break Faith, commit Murder, or do any thing that God and Nature abhors, or the Devil can tempt us to. What need further Arguments? is it poſſible a rational Creature ſhould ſwallow ſuch enormous lumps of Error and Wickedneſs for true Religion? No, but the devotees of that Church are firſt taught to renounce their Senſes and their Reason, and then in that
Condition

Condition even such Impositions as these are not too Gross to go down.

THERE is this difference between the Spirit of Popery and the Reformation, that where Papists have the Power, they Persecute and Destroy, without the smallest Provocation, all such as are forced by their Consciences to Dissent from them. Whereas, in Countries, where Protestants have the upper Hand, they tolerate, nay protect the Papists after the most grievous Provocations, and knowing the dangerous Tendency of their Principles, which they still avow, treat them as if they thought them fit to be trusted. Let him, who hath but the smallest share of Sense and Reason, judge which of the two follows the Example of Christ, who would not call down Fire from Heaven to consume those who refused to receive him, who died healing and praying for his Persecutors. But what avails it to plead the Example of Christ, or to urge his Precepts? Were Christ now to appear at *Rome*, he would not be deem'd a Christian; he would be treated as an Heretick, he would find a new Sanhedrim in the Inquisition, he would be Excommunicated from his only True and Catholic Church, and that not by a written Form, not by a meer Bull or Anathema, but by a Form called Fire and Faggot. He would in short be not only shut out of the Church, but Expelled the World, and sent again to his Father in the Chariot of *Elijah*; and all this for speaking against the Spirit, and acting against the Interest, against the Power and Credit of the Roman Catholics, that is, the particular universal Church.

SHOULD our Papists rise in favour of the Pretender, let them remember that as the Protestants are great in their Mercy and Forbearance, so are they great also in their Courage, and love of Liberty, let them consider that the present Protestants are the Offspring of those Men whom their Fathers, armed, enured to War, and supported by greater Heads and higher Powers, never faced in 1641 nor 1688, but to their Shame and Ruin; let them consider that

that as in such a Case their Adversaries are to sell their All, they will infallibly sell it at the highest Price; and let them also consider with Terror, that should a noble Spirit, exert to the utmost for a glorious Cause, make them once more victorious, how is it to be supposed they will treat a People, whom they have so often found Perfidious and Bloody? What Terms are a conquered People to expect, whose religious Principle it is to keep no Terms nor Measures with others? If this Paper should be read by any of that deluded and unhappy People, let them seriously weigh what hath been said above, and take this timely Caution from a Real and most affectionate Friend, whose Heart trembles and bleeds for them on this critical Occasion.

LET them not think their Cause of rising more Just on a national Account, and because they had a Prior right to this Land we live in, and be by that Means vainly induced to hope for the Assistance of Almighty God; for it was God, who for wise Ends mixes the Nations of the World, sometimes by Commerce, and sometimes by Conquest, that sent the *English* into *Ireland*, as he did the *Normans* into *England*, and the *Romans* into *Gaul*, to civilize a barbarous Nation, to quash their continual Intestine Wars, to introduce Arts, Sciences, and Learning, and thereby prepare the Way for sound Religion and good Laws; besides, upon their own Principle, they themselves must quit the Country, for they were neither the Aborigenes, nor first Seizers of the Land: But there is no Country now known to us possessed by the Race of its first Inhabitants. God often sends the Sword to chastise Barbarism, and Vice, and to introduce the Pen; insomuch that it was happy for many Nations, that they were conquered or forced to make room for others. Had not the *Irish* been persuaded by Foreign Priests and Politicians, who Practise on them for their own Ends, to shut their Eyes against the Light that shines so clearly and diffusively over their Country, they had not been so many hundred Years behind the

the rest of *Europe* in Improvement; they had been long since Qualified for, and advanced to the most honourable Places their Country hath to bestow; nay, had they even retained the whole of Popery, excepting such Principles as tend to Treason and Rebellion, they had still been the Makers of their own Laws, they had still been at Liberty to administer them to themselves. It is not the Reformation, nor the Constitution, nor the Laws in being, that exclude them from places of Trust and Honour; it is their own false Principles, that gave birth to the exclusive Laws, and still continue to rivet them to the Earth in Ignorance and Obscurity. If he who might have shone in Parliament or the Government, is now condemned to wield a Spade or wait on Sheep, let him thank his good Friends in *Italy* and *France* for it, let him thank the untoward Genius of his Religion for it, nay, let him thank it for his Exclusion from infinitely higher Promotion in the Kingdom of that God, who is Truth and Love itself, and of those benevolent Beings who abhor the Traytor and the Murderer, whose Robes far from being dyed in the Blood of their Fellow Creatures, have been whitened in the Blood of the Lamb.

THE present Papists of *Ireland* scruple not to say, they detest the Perfidy and Cruelty of their Ancestors, and would rather represent the Spirit that prompted them to it, as a national than an ecclesiastical Spirit: But we know the good Nature of the *Irish*, and the recorded Cruelty of Popery too well, to be mistaken in this, altho' the Spirit of Popery hath not for a Century past, shown in Bonfires made of Protestants Bodies, it was only for want of Power and Opportunity. An unerring Church cannot Change her Principles, nor must her Sons pretend to dispute them or her Commands; whoever does, tho' it were to save the Throat of his Protestant Father or Wife, becomes by his heretical tenderness a Protestant and an Heretick himself, and as such must expect to be damned: Altho' the Volcano

cano hath made but two small Eruptions, viz. at *Thorne* and *Sallyburg*, during the last hundred Years, yet may we still see its Smoak, and smell its Brimstone, and concluding from thence it is by no Means extinguished, expect from it another Flood of Fire and Devastation.

IF the Papists of *Ireland* would be thought to have laid aside the black infernal Spirit, I have been speaking of, why do they not croud to the Magistrates and take the Oath of Allegiance? But methinks I hear them objecting, that such a Conduct would gain them no Credit with the Government, inasmuch as it will still be supposed, they expect to be released from that Oath by the *Pope's* Dispensation. Unhappy People! who as they cannot be tied like other Men, so neither can they be believed or trusted: All they have left is to be Quiet and Loyal, that their Conduct may vouch for them what they cannot effectually utter, either by Oaths or Declarations, and by that Means come in time to merit Indulgence.

THE next Hope of the Chevalier is founded on the Presbyterians. He looks upon those of them in *England* and *Ireland* to be so chagrined at the Test-act, and their Brethren in *Scotland* so dissatisfied on their Account, and because of the Union, as to give him a good Chance to be joined by the greater Number of them, and to obtain a Neutrality from the rest, in this he hath found himself almost wholly mistaken, having as yet got nothing from the Church of *Scotland*, but its sweepings, consisting of a dissolute and desperate Rabble, who ought never to be reckoned to any Church: As this Adherence to that Church could give no Credit to it, so neither ought their defection to Reflect on it: The Presbyterians are firm Protestants, and loyal Subjects, and fond of Liberty. In all these different Respects, they are incapable of promoting any Scheme recommended from *Rome*, abetted by *France* and *Spain*, and calculated to extirpate all civil and religious Liberty: They have their dis-

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contents,

contents, the Merits of which I shall not here pretend to Discuss; but they are only the discontents of Brothers, which will never hinder them from arming against a common Enemy, and following the Example of their Fathers in the late Revolution, whose aversion to the Church of *England* was greater than that of their Sons, and yet they drew their Swords in her Defence and their own, with such an Heart and good Will that they were felt to the Quick at every blow: Some hot-headed People among them, it is true, may perhaps speak like Malecontents, but this is not to Characterise the whole Body, the Sense of which we are to take from their loyal and affectionate Addresses, and their importunate call for Arms to defend the Protestant Cause. The common Enemies of us and all that is dear to us, do all they can, to revive old Grudges and sow the Seeds of new; but they will find that Protestants of all Denominations have too much Sense to be caught with such Chaff, and understand themselves and their Adversaries too well, to let the Enemies of the Reformation gloss the Sentiments of the reformed Churches to one another. It is not a Papist, nor a Rebel, that will be permitted to tell the Church of *England*, what her Sister of *Scotland* think of her, nor to carry back the Answer. All our unhappy Divisions have hitherto taken their rise from Artifices of this Nature, or drawn their Poison from them: But God be thanked they are now seen thro', and become so stale, that hardly a Child is to be ensnared by them: The Dissenters of *England* and *Ireland* are not to be told the difference between their Condition and that of their Brethren in *France*; they have Sense enough to see a less glaring Disparity, and while they behold the *Hugonots* flying every Day from Popery and Tyranny into these happy Countries of Liberty and Reformation, it will be hard to persuade them to fly quite the contrary Way, to Popery and arbitrary Power; from the Arms of a limited and Protestant Government: As to their Causes of Discontent

tent, than which nothing among us is more to be lamented, there are those who if our common Enemy were once removed, would lay a Scheme before the Legislature, which may possibly satisfy all Parties. This Hope of the Pretender is so ill grounded, that it needs not a further Refutation; it ought indeed to be treated only with Scorn and Silence.

THE next Hope of his which I shall take a short Notice of, will, I trust in God, prove as airy and idle as the former: He hopes to be assisted by many of our Nobility and Gentry, and of those who preside over our Fleets and Armies. As to the first I need only say, that Men who live in Ease and Opulence are not apt to wish for Changes, much less are they likely to be the active Promoters of Revolutions, in which their Fortunes are to be staked at a very uncertain Game with those who have none: However, there are Bubbles in this sort of Game as well as that of Hazard; I will by no Means promise for all our Estated Gentlemen, that they will have Sense enough to consider the difference between a certain and a very precarious Fortune, which latter is, all they can hope for upon the Promises of the Pretender, in Case a Revolution should take Place.

As to the Commanders and Officers of the Fleet and Army, they too have all they can desire, and more a great deal than they could expect by a Change, tho' it were of their own making. Should they take Money for Treason, what could they do with it in a ruined Country and under an arbitrary Power? is it to be supposed they will listen to Promises of Promotion from one, who comes out of the very Mint of Dispensations, or that they can hope to be trusted by a Person to whom they have betrayed their former bountiful Master?

As to both the Gentry and the Officers, they have long eaten the Bread of a delightful Country, and enjoyed in it a Series of golden Days, is it to be supposed they have no Gratitude, no love for such a Country, no desire to continue in so happy a Condition? or is it to be supposed they have no

regard to their Honour, or the solemnity of their Oaths? The Pretender, in expecting any Assistance from them, makes them the Compliment aloud to tell them, they are the most despicable of all Fools, and the most low and detestable of all Knaves. But I hope he will find in every single Man of them the great Soul and the heroic Spirit of Colonel *Gardiner*, who like a good Man, and in that I comprehend a wise one, chose to fall in the Cause of God and his Country, rather than to protract a wretched Life, made infamous by the Character of a Coward and a Traitor, till some Fever or worse disorder should put an End to it with the Agonies of a Month or a Year.

BUT if thro' the extreme decay of Religion in all Sorts and Orders of Men, Honour alone, as it usuall happens, should prove too slender a tie to keep the Conduct of such Men within the bounds of Duty, it affords a melancholly Satisfaction to foresee, that they themselves must reap the first Fruits of their own perfidy.

AGAIN, the Pretender reckons to his Party, and not without reason, the bulk of those who are dissatisfied with the present Administration. There are in all Communities, tho' never so well governed, Numbers of People who are not so near the Head of Affairs as they could wish, nor promoted according to their own Opinion of their Abilities: Others who are well enough pleased to see our Trade enlarged and protected, and our Enemies humbled, are nevertheless not so well pleased to share in the necessary Expences previous to the doing this, as in the Profits arising from it; and therefore not only grumble at all sorts of Taxes, but have a thousand Objections to the application of the Funds arising from thence; they would have a great deal done; but they would have it done for Nothing.

THESE Economists, in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, made a prodigious out-cry about the Expences of that glorious War she carried on with *France*, and at length prevailed so far by their Representations,

tions, as to procure us a separate Peace, which saved us indeed the expences of another Campaign, but left us to pay ourselves about sixty Millions, and an Ocean of Blood expended on that War, which *France* must have paid us, had we gone on but another Summer, and given us a much better Peace into the Bargain.

As all Men are Politicians, every one passes his Censure on what is a doing by those at the Helm ; and without understanding in the least, either the Posture of our Domestick and foreign Affairs, or the Springs and motives of the publick Conduct, are seldom satisfied, unless things go to their own Minds ; it is true continual prosperity and success are all they desire from their Governors : But they do not consider how much their own meddling Humours, and clamours contribute to frustrate their Expectations, how often accidents, which there was no foreseeing, and the contrary pursuits of our Allies, whom on some occasions there is no reducing either to our Interest or their own, make the wisest Measures, the very worst that could have been employed, these sort of Political Maggot, are always engendred in the greatest Numbers, where the Sunshine of Freedom is warmest. No Country ever swarmed more with them than our own, in which there are crowds of hireling Writers, who Scribble in the pay of *France*, and feed them with Pamphlets and Weekly Seraphs of disaffection, which they purchase for more by the Year than they pay in Taxes, as Suicides buy Poyson from the Apothecary for their own use. They may be justly compared to Men in a Fever, who ascribe that uneasiness which arises from within themselves, to the Bed or the posture they are in, and therefore can never be a moment quiet, but are always turning from side to side, and always find themselves less at ease in every new situation, if these Men, by the Assistance they are disposed to lend the Pretender, should enable him to new Model our Affairs, they will find themselves, to their unspeakable disappointment

ment, in the same condition with those, who in the Days of *Cromwell*, being unable to endure the Government of a good King, plotted and fought till they had given themselves a Tyrant: After whose Death, having an opportunity of trying their own skill in the Art of governing, they soon became more impatient of their own Tyranny, than they had been of his, and were forced to call home the King.

As to the Nonjurors, who sacrifice, all to Conscience, altho' on Political considerations, they may think themselves obliged to stand on the Pretender's side, yet when they consider that this cannot be done, without helping to introduce Popery, if they have not totally devested themselves of all regard for the Reformation, they will hardly desire to set so rigid a Papist on the Throne, but if their consciences are only Political and so little regulated by Scripture as not to obey the Powers that be, that are ordained of God, they will join the party of the Pretender, to which however for our comfort they will add but little weight or influence, for they are few, they are poor, they are but Parsons.

'Tis no small Cause of Satisfaction to all, who regard either our Country or our Religion, that no Man can be of the Pretender's Party, without at the same time declaring against common Sense or common Honesty. It is to be the Sink of other disappointed Pretenders to Places, which no one but themselves ever thought them fit for, of Villains who could not get leave to rob the Nation under the shelter of its Constitution, of Bankrupts who have no other Way to pay their Debts but by Revolutions, of Thieves and Vagabonds, who hope under him to rise from picking of Pockets to plundering of Houses and Cities, of Felons spued out of their Country by Transportation, and returning like Evil Spirits to haunt the House out of which they have been exercised by the Law, of Murderers who were forced to fly for Blood, which having lasted, their infernal Minds are a thirst for more, of Deists,
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and Atheists, and Rakehells, who having made a wild waste of Conscience, Character, and Fortune, fly to Popery to salve the first, and to Rebellion, to repair the other two, of the Tools in short of *France*, of *Rome*, of Tyranny and superstition who have no views nor Interests to push at, but such as they share in with the Author of all Evil. Such is the goodly Muster about the Standard of the Pretender, from whom an honest Man would be ashamed to accept of even a Kingdom, if they had it to give: But I hope this Rebellion will prove only a purge to our Body Politick, and work out the Noxious, but latent humours, which the Law was not able to throw off.

WOULD to God I could say, that the next and last hope of the Pretender, which I shall take notice of, were as ill founded as those I have already considered! Altho' he hath no reason to hope for Success from the Merits of either his Title or his Party, which summed up all together, amount to nothing, yet from our Demerits, from our Corruption both in Principle and Practice, he hath but too great cause of hope. We have, it is true, a form of Godliness, a Reformation of Religion, established among us by Law; but (tremble when I utter it) that form and that Reformation are hardly to be found, but in Books and on Paper. Look into Men, and you will find it either, generally speaking, contemned or hated. It is a Lamp in a deserted Path, where few or none care for walking. It is a Treasure of Coin no longer current, for the Image and Superscription it bears, is now esteemed of little or no value, and the Metal is regarded as base or counterfeit. In the name of common Sense, what do they mean who talk as if they feared the incroachments of Popery, and the Abolition of our Religion, altho' they are, or may be sensible they have no Religion to lose, nor any inlet for another? I see much said in general terms by the present occasional Writers, about our Sins against God, and the necessity of a speedy Repentance: But no Man ventures

tures to point particularly to those Sins, and to our national Vices. This is a deadly Symptom, and looks as if we were so sore and tender in all parts, as not to bear a touch, nor to be able to state the Case of our own disorders, or hear them traced to their true Causes.

THE Great-ones to whom God hath given a Sabbath every Day, while he asks but one in seven for himself, have refused him that, and deserted his House and Table; so that unless it is to Qualify for some Place of Profit, he seldom receives the Honour of a Visit from them: But this is not all, their Conversation and their Lives in general, speak an utter Contempt for all Religion; these are followed by the low Ranks of Men; so that Irreligion is now extending itself down to its own natural Station among the poor and ignorant: For a long time the Apostles for Libertism and Deism, sowed their Tares with great caution and Art, as it were in the Night, and even those who saw their Art, being glad to be deceived, sucked in with greediness their delicious Poison: At length their Principles having taken sufficient Root, they openly ventured to inculcate the Consequences, and have published Invectives against Christ and Virtue, which have been honoured with many Editions, and the Author's Pictures have found a Place in the Closets of the Great.

INFIDELITY hath also had its full share of Encouragement and Promotion: I believe it would be a strange thing when any considerable Place is filled in the State, the Army, or the Church itself, to hear it asked by the Promoters, whether this or that Candidate be a sound Christian or not: This is not enquired after as a necessary Qualification even in a Divine; by which Means many have got into high Places in the Church, who have made no other use of their Situation, but to propagate loose Principles, and lay by great Fortunes for their Families: A meer Market have been made of Holy Orders, and all the Emoluments to which Orders can be made

made a Stepstone: Our Creed Articles and Rubrick have been openly attacked by those who subscribed them and solemnly engaged at the Altar of God to Defend them; while others, who disapproved of this Conduct, have prudently winked at it, and like dumb Dogs stood silently looking on: The LORD that bought us, is openly denied by great Numbers, who yet are impudent enough to call themselves Christians, while CHRIST'S Honour is idolatrously given by the *Papists* to Saints and Angels, and those who are no Gods; it is profanely denied to HIMSELF by *Arrians* and *Socinians*! While all this is a doing, there are no Convocations to check the growth of Infidelity; nor do these Nations render God one public Testimony, by any single act of the Care for the Purity of His Religion. Our Conduct is such, as if we gave up the whole Christian Cause at once. If the Interest of Trade, or the Management of the Revenue were thus wholly neglected by the Public, what would become of the Nation? And is the Religion of the Country no National Concern? No Country under Heaven ever thought so but our own; or if any did, soon paid a dear Price for its Neglect.

I HAVE here in a few Words, touched on the general Cause of those enormous impieties and vices that reign over these degenerate Countries, and insult the Majesty of Heaven: We have within these few Years seen one Company of Gentlemen interrupting Divine Service on Sunday, and in the open Church with a game of Cards, and another Consecrating a mock Sacrament, and administering it to twelve Dogs, with a triumphant Impunity! Many Blasphemies here and in *England*, where they are not satisfied with Toasting the glorious Memory of *Oliver Cromwell*, but proceed to drink the *Devil's* Health, have sounded the heideous prelude to Atheism, to something worse than Atheism. These things are shamefully overl-looked as, Matters of little import; but I must take the Liberty to say, that those who have power to restrain such Practices

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for the present, and prevent them for the Future; but neglect to do it, are as much the Enemies of God, as those who openly bid defiance to him; and do but Blaspheme him with the impious Tongues of other Men: Perhaps since Men have given up the honour of God, the Time is drawing on, when he will Judge it proper to assert it himself, and be his own Avenger.

COMETS, some Philosophers hold, are sent to reinvigorate the springs of Nature, and rekindle the decreasing Heat of Planets, by certain præter natural Effusions: Who knows but the wise God, whose ways are past finding out, observing the genuine warmth of Religion almost extinguished among us, and Christian Zeal frozen to an Ice, is sending the Comet of Popery to visit these Kingdoms, in order either to give new Life and fire to the Zeal of Protestants, or to consume a People, who cannot be warmed by a milder or more genial degree of Heat.

BAD Principles never fail to beget suitable Practices. Thorns do not produce Grapes, nor Figs Thistles, but bad Principles, assisted by the most shocking Examples in those who lead the World, have given an assured Countenance and full range to all sorts of Vices in their most enormous Excesses. The Price of an Oath is as well known as that of any other Commodity: Justice is every where most grievously Perverted. The Publick is on many interesting Occasions sold and betrayed. No Man knows whom to trust; and no wonder, for every one being conscious of the infidelity of his own Heart, suspects those of his Neighbours to be as false and Faithless.

THERE are but a few left, who lament the sad and dangerous condition, to which we are reduced; and those few are despised as Euthusiasts, or hated as pretended reformers: Their Lives and Conversations are a standing rebuke to the abominable Age they live in, and therefore there is a general cry against them: It might be said of this or the other age that

it was wicked: But the peculiar Characteristick of our Age is, that it is wicked upon Principle, that is avowedly wicked.

MANY others there are, who because Liberty and Property are interwoven with the Christian Religion in our Establishment, shew in Conversation some seeming regard, and cold concern for that Religion: But it is too evident they wish it Prosperity only for its Brethren and Companions sake, because they do nothing for it; nay they sacrifice it on all occasions to what is falsely dignified with the name of Prudence, and to wordly Interest; they kiss it and sell it, as the first of their Class did its blessed Author. They call out for Repentance, but lend not a finger to that necessary work themselves, tho' if they look inward, they cannot but see, how mainly their own Conduct hath swelled the Sins of the Nation.

AT such a Church and Nation as this, thus tottering with its own unsoundness, thus Self-subverted or inviting a subverter, the Pretender, is now pushing with a Power, that would be despicable if opposed to a Body less infirm: But as it is a miserable situation to be at Sea in a rotten Vessel, while most of the Sailors are drunk and the Winds a little too boisterous, so he hath some reason to be afraid, whose All depends on the Fate of a Country, made up of People so slenderly tied to that Country and to one another; for I must insist on it, that no tye but the tye of Conscience can afford sufficient Security in Times of such temptation to treachery, and of so great and general danger as the present. Religion is the great Band of Society, and when that hath lost its hold of most People, particularly of those whose Fidelity is of the greatest Importance to their Country, the honesty of the religious few is not sufficient to Cement the rest; and therefore there is hardly any other Community left than that of living near one another, which nothing but Necessity could make any Man prefer to absolute Solitude. If we consult the Nature of Things, we shall find that Civil dissolution and ruin must follow,

as the unavoidable Consequence of a general departure from the Principles of Honesty and Integrity, which are no other than those of Religion, for no Man is honest but he who is religious. And if we consult ourselves, whether we have generally fallen away from these Principles or not, I am much afraid we shall find ourselves too far gone, to have more than a very precarious dependance on one another. We are a wealthy, we are a numerous, and have hitherto been esteemed a brave People; what will our Wealth and Numbers now avail us, if we are capable of being turned into Traitors and Enemies to one another? Our own weight will only serve to throw us down, and dash us to pieces in the Fall.

If we have little Reason to trust in ourselves, I am afraid we have as little to hope for an extraordinary interposition of Providence in our Favour. How many and how signal have been the Deliverances wrought for us by the immediate and visible Arm of God, when nothing but that Arm, could have saved us! Not to recur to the providential disappointments of our Enemies Schemes in former Times, which are now forgotten, or only remembered as absolute Blessings, I shall just take notice of one, which, altho' it happened as it were but the other Day, is however already cancelled by its own antiquity: All Things were ready about this Time last Year at *Dunkirk* for a dangerous Invasion on *England*, which would have thrown these three Kingdoms into Convulsions. Our Fleets were not prepared to guard us against the Blow, we had no Force at home sufficient to repel it, and the *French* Fleet put to Sea; but before they could make the short passage intended, a most outrageous Storm fell upon them from the West, blew them back upon their own Shores, and those of *Flanders*, and for that Time defeated their Design. Was it the boasted Power of *England* that Parried this dangerous Thrust? No, we ascribed it to Chance and the Winds, and so went on in our wickedness: Where-

as nothing could be more manifest, than that it was a new and gracious act of Divine goodness, scattering our Enemies, and wooing us to Gratitude and Repentance,

How can we tell now after so long a contest between gross and shameful Ingratitude on our Part, and Mercy on the Part of God, in which it is hard to say whether His Love or our unworthyness was was most amazing, how can we tell whether his Compassion for us is not at an End? If we are to draw our Conjectures either from the present disposition of our own Minds towards God, which are far enough from affording any Hopes of an hearty return to him, or from the unexpected and signal Defeat of our Army in the first Engagement with the present Invader, we have little reason to conclude that God is any longer on our Side: We are not, it seems, to be overcome by goodness: What then is to be expected? We must feel the Rod, for he who governs the World will never suffer us to continue as we are. Such a Permission would be as inconsistent with his Mercy, as it is with his Wisdom and Justice; for we should only increase in impiety and wickedness, and entail both on a wretched Posterity.

On this Consideration the Pretender founds, or ought to found his chief Hopes, that tho' his Cause should not be approved of by God, and much less the Means made use of to support it, yet as the measure of our Sins seems to be filled up, he hopes God will desert us, and give us over into his Hands.

How then are we to render this Hope of his vain, and our own Fears needless? There is but one Way, to repent and return to God with all our Hearts, and with all our Strength, to renounce our infidelity and coldness towards our infinite Benefactor, to put away from before his All-seeing Eyes, the manifold and monstrous Provocations, which our bad Principles have tempted us to insult him with, to throw ourselves with unfeigned Sorrow
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and deep Humility before him, and in the anguish of Souls more concerned for their Sins than their temporal Dangers, to cry mightily to him for Pity and Pardon; for who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce Anger that we perish not; altho' the present disturber of our Peace, should be only sent to correct and to try us a little, and when that is done, should be driven out, yet, have we nothing afterwards to fear? Is there no other Instrument in the Hand of Divine Vengeance to chastise an harden'd People, whom neither Corrections can awaken, nor Mercies win? Yes, even we can be our own Destroyers; and I know no Judgment more severe, than to leave such a People to themselves.

IF we would not have that Liberty taken from us, which we have miserably abused, and turned into a shameless Licentiousness; if we would not have our Candlestick removed, and the Light of the Gospel, which hath shone so long and so glorious among us, extinguished; if we would not have those Riches, in which we have wonted at so wild a rate, rent away by a band of Robbers and Cut-throats; if we would not have that Peace and Security, in which we have corrupted ourselves, and settled upon the Lees of National and habitual Vices, to tally, subverted by a lasting War, and the most miserable Confusion, and put under an impossibility of being ever restored, but by absolute Slavery. Let us, in the Name of God, repent, and let our King, our Nobility, our Bishops, our Gentry, and Clergy lead the way. Their Example will work powerfully on the lower ranks of Men, provided it shines with due Lustre in their Conversations, in their Actions, in the Church, and at the Altar. So shall we once again become such a People, as God may delight to bless and dwell with. Then shall the Lord of Hosts, and the God of Battles go out with our Armies, and give us new *Cressy's*, and *Agencourt's*, and *Blenheim's*. Then shall the Winds and the Storms make new Alliances with
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our Fleets, to ruin those of our Invaders. No Enemy shall be able to disturb us at home, nor resist us abroad; and the many blessings we have long enjoyed, and had almost forfeited by our ingratitude, shall be entailed on us and our our Posterity, until we cease to insure them to ourselves, by our Piety and Vertue.

I KNOW there are few People who care to be troubled with such Thoughts as these; and of those few who will bear with me thus far, some will be offended and others will make a jest of what I have said; but I speak in the cause of God and my Country, and as I know every good Man must think and speak as I have done, so I shall little Regard either the Scoffs of Atheistical Fools, or the Rage of overwhining and Malicious Men.

F I N I S.

