

LONDON IN 1689-90

BY

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PART V.

CHURCH AND STATE.

Schism.

The ministers of England who will not swear to King William, *alleging* the benefit of the Indulgence, begin to preach in conventicles and private houses, which may create another sub-division and schism from the church in a nation swarming with dissenters already.¹ But it cuts off all such that every party must swear before they can make use of the Toleration. Even Quakers might declare for King William in preference.

Popery.

If Britain and France joined for Popery the Protestant interests in Christendom would quickly become weak, now that France copes with so many nations alone.

Moderation.

If dissenting Presbyterians acted towards the *episcopal clergy* suitable to their own arguments against the dissenting Independents and Sectaries, all would be agreed.² But officers of state and ministers of the church act over these same things, when themselves govern, which they enroll as grievance intolerable under the government of others, to see what interest and partiality will do in blinding of men. Montanists will say of the Episcopalians: "spare none of the foxe's breed, they will be of the nature of foxes still." But may not Episcopalians retort the same metaphor on them when themselves are upmost, and allege as concludingly? both of them supporting a lame two-faced argument to support their cruelty. I can abhor no protestant; all such ought to unite interests. Their mutual spites, cruelty against one another, and ensnaring oaths in unconstant ambulatory matters, are our national, government sins, provoking God to prolong our wars and woes. Any one minister of the gospel ought not to be evil spoken of, nor insulted over by another, when even Egyptian pests were spared.

Battle of Dunkeld.

If King James had landed in Scotland when he went to Ireland; or if the first victory at Athole had been pursued to Edinburgh dispersing the Counsellors, he had made a far better game.³ Dundee's death and the uncertainty of King James' success in Ireland, has occasioned the Highlanders to disperse, till they hear further. An alarm of Major General McKay's coming up, caused the Highland army to disperse at Dunkeld, together with the burning of the town about them, and not the fierceness of the opposition (as is said). Fear of the English to pour down on them, and want of a General to command worthily and skilfully, was another reason.

The Presbyterian armies in Scotland were always, as well as under General McKay's management, undervalued by the English for men of no spirit or courage in a good cause and against a vigorous enemy. But the magnified reports of Lord Angus' regiment, its prowess at Dunkeld, has kept life in the Presbyterian concerns in Scotland, Lord Melvin, secretary, suffering nothing to be done that may reflect on that party.⁴

Oath of Allegiance.

Discussing with a learned English divine D. H. about the safe giving of an oath of allegiance to King William,⁵ while King James is yet in the field asserting his right, whatever freedom, his subjects would have if he were dead or in a monastery and wanting lawful issue. His return was: That allegiance was defined by moderate Lawyers to be a sincere obedience of the subject, in all things lawful, to the Supreme Governor for his protection and government according to the fundamental laws of the place and nation.⁶ So as (1) when protection fails, allegiance fails. (2) Before any tie given to a king every member is tied to the community he belongs to, and its safety and due support. (3) King's titles are abstruse things to dive into. Few have just titles *ab origine*, and an error at first though confirmed is but a continuation of error, as being in the first concocting. (4) King William came in a manner to England by way of conquest, though by consent of a part; for one conquers if his enemy fight and lose, or if he flee. (5) Every private subject, who hath neither hand in removing one king, nor in introducing of another, but purposes to live quiet, ought not to suffer injury for any public miscarriages of others, and therefore may engage to swear to be quiet and obedient, and no way active to dispossess the sovereign magistrate, so long as he is able to protect him (in this the English Parliament has declared they are no further bound in allegiance to a king), so as the peaceable subject may oblige himself to many kings in their turns and changes. If any say it was hard measure to cut off the head, the answer is that all the particular acts in great

revolutions can never be approved. Let the actors account for it. But there was here only a transferring of the disease to France and Ireland. Though the King lost his kingdoms, yet not his life; and that the English have more to say for themselves than the Scotch or Irish, for swearing to King William, because there was some form of government left there, but here King James abandoned the government, left none to manage; took away the seals, threw them in the sea, and were found again cast up by the tide near Battersea.

Court Politics.

The present politics of the court, anno 1689, is to keep all designs, contrivances, and deeds done, that are not favourable to the government under a veil and undiscovered, and so let each feed himself by his own conjectures, which not being known, none will bandy into conspiracies hazarding their life and fortune.

King James and Flatterers.

Many courtiers, divines, and writers flattered King James with passive obedience, non-resistance, absolute power without reserve, dispensing with the execution of laws to all their ruins. But now they hold that the subjects have got a share of the government, in taking cognisance of mal-administration of both the monarch and ministers of state, and they purpose to keep fast since they are assured that even the Lords spiritual and temporal of England gave advice heretofore to Queen Elizabeth to assist Rochel against their King, and the Low countries against theirs of Spain, as supposing it the privilege of subjects everywhere not to endure being enslaved, so that there be no distinguishing character of one protestant kingdom from another.

Moderate Church Party.

The moderate church party or trimmers⁷ think that the more zealous clergy love profane Tories best to be in Parliament, because they will be hard on dissenters, not mediate, nor make laws that will reach the profane, negligent, or ignorant part of the clergy. Innumerable clergymen have 40 ss. stg. of land rent and so have a vote and influence for Parliament men.

*The Seven Bishops.*⁸

The seven Bishops instead of the oath of allegiance were offered their places on giving security to be loyal to the government.

Bishops and Prince of Orange.

The Primate and six Bishops signed the declaration for the Prince of Orange's assistance in obtaining a free Parliament to secure laws, religion, and government. Did they judge that King James had

deserted and abdicated? Or would they prescribe and force King James to his duty, and yet not adhere to it now, when all is done to their hand without them? Every withdrawing is not a desertion (desertion disarmed), but clears King James to have truly deserted.

Oaths.

The oath to King William is not thought inconsistent with the sincere doctrine of passive obedience. A tyrant ought not to be resisted when he actually reigns, but if, by chance of war or any other accident (without our fault), he be dethroned, as Nero by the Roman Senate, the primitive Christians did not, nor are we bound (say they) to defend him, or revenge such a king's death, in which heaven has a hand for other's example. Christians never used to trouble themselves with king's titles and rights; let Providence and the civil regiment rule the world. If such as Constantine (as well as the Senate) had destroyed Nero, would Christians rather be persecuted by Constantine, than submit to him. Apply it to King William and King James.

Parliament.

On Monday, January 27, 1690, the Parliament excepting many from the indemnity and going about to petition King William not to venture for Scotland or Ireland (many unfriends and republican men there), he prorogued it to April 2. It occasioned also, the proroguing of Parliament, the seeking by a new test to impose the oath of allegiance on all above 18 years of age; and the republican men being as numerous, who having granted a supply of money, would be but tampering with many dangerous but unnecessary points; their favour for any king but *clavem clave pellerere*; their hold and unusual talk being also that a throne either finds a man a knave, or makes him so, and that the only way to guide a knave is to keep him poor.

A Conqueror.⁹

Even a conqueror cannot still rule by fear as a tyrant, but endeavouring to gain the favour of the people by their representatives the 3 estates, he stipulates to protect their persons and govern them by the ancient laws and with amendments made by public consent of a duly elected Parliament, which if he violate and become as a conqueror and arbitrary tyrant preying on the lives and estates of his subjects, the relation fails (say some casuists), and the people are in their ancient place again, and he may be opposed as a new invader come from abroad, since he ceases to be that man they swore allegiance to, who was to be a king ruling by the laws, and not a tyrant.

*Taxes and Irish War.*¹⁰

Many of the people say boldly they love their money, before they paid such taxes. Duke Schomberg lay loitering, and their men dying like dogs in Ireland, they had rather the devil came to be king, be he James or William. So very few are levied by tuck of drum for fear also of the Irish disease and flux. There is also a defect in that they send not a show of encouraging officers along with the drum, which amuses much the vulgar.

The English-Irish may probably go with King William 10,000 men and endeavour to recover their own lands, though they settle there and go not after to France. Where there is money there will be men. London advanced £800,000 stg. to pay 14,000 Dutch soldiers for 8 weeks, for which time they procured the English crown for the Prince of Aurange. The English paid the price, and gave the crown too. But King James endeavouring to disinherit the Princesses of Aurange (say they) was the occasion of all.

French King.

The French King's aim has been these many years to be universal monarch, by the numbers of his subjects and the greatness of his treasures, which has raised the jealousies of other kings and princes and made them combine and confederate against him.¹¹ As Mr. Coleman, the Queen's Counsellor, has said, France and England's Kings together might make shrewd attempts to extirpate the northern heresy (of protestants).¹²

Reducing Ireland.

The Churchmen (citizens of London) having offered King William £400,000 stg. for carrying on the reducing of Ireland and the dissenters before having refused him it, hath occasioned it hath created a great respect to the one party and a distrust in the other as wavering and unconstant.¹³

Cromwell's Time.

In Oliver Cromwell's time the English and French having won Tangiers, the French would possess it, which Cromwell being informed of by his General there, he taketh pen and paper and writes these few words over to Cardinal Mazarina (Regent of France in this King's minority): I protest before the eternal God if you do not immediately render Tangiers to my General there, I will come to Paris with an army of English and tear you out of your master's bosom. He bid his messenger not stay for an answer. However, another brought an answer and the garrison was quickly delivered.¹⁴

Parliament and Bishops.

Not a few will have it that the Parliament was dissolved to prevent the deprivation of the 6 Bishops and imposing further oaths as universally among the subjects, which might unite the dissatisfied parties in knot against the government, and become another fatal conspiracy; and to preclude their combined endeavours to fine or secure all the church of England nobility and men of trust who had any hand in King Charles II and King James' reigns, for prosecuting, fining, punishing, and imprisoning the separatists.¹⁵

*King James's Tyranny.*¹⁶

It cooled the hearts of many who wished well to King James, his endeavours to erect popery, arbitrary power, which they call tyranny, and in order to it, the dissolving the whole authority of the laws by dispensing power, prerogative and liberty of conscience to all. For thereby the most regular man was not secure, and the most erroneous and vicious obtained as much trust and authority as the best and orthodox. With all his intimacy with the French King and learning his methods he like the French King would be as an universal civil monarchy, such as the pope by priestcraft hath obtained an universal ecclesiastic. Therefore he takes the same methods of King craft by giving great promises and obligations on sham treaties. But all is dissimulation without any performance, only made use of as a coy-duck to attack them in surprise.

Parliament.

Other reasons for raising of Parliament: (1) Lawyers advised that they having been but a convention of estates framed into a Parliament by a new king whom themselves created, its acts might be judged invalid, as not having many precedents unless confirmed by a succeeding Parliament called by summons and elected. (2) This republican Parliament were upon an act to establish the militia in the people's hands under lieutenants for term of life, holding that power in their districts which was thought so derogatory to a king as to unking him of all power. This short work made Lord Halifax demit his place; Lord Delamere sullen as neglected, being all republican Lords and on the dissenters' side.

Plots.

Tis said, that surely the papists, in contemplation of the Duke of York being king, who with the French King might ruin the whole protestant interests, not out of love for their religion, for neither of them lived good lives, but aspiring to the glory and profit of so great an achievement: that they set fire to London anno 1666,¹⁷

plotted against King Charles anno 1678. But that the Presbyterian plot was for no man's life, only the nation being highly fermented into a jealousy of prevailing popery by the early managements of the Duke of York, the peers began to consult him to prevent it by the Bill of Exclusion and other restrictions of hindering the repealing of the Test and penal statistics, etc. Yet this displeased the Court and minions so much that they got Irish and infamous men (say some) that this counter plot against popery and slavery was a direct plot against the King's life and Duke's. And so many chief patriots of their country and obstructors of the grand design and arbitrary government were brought to the scaffold, Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, Justice of the peace, Earl Essex, Lord Russell, etc.¹⁸ Thus searching all other's charters by the City of London by warrants and finding some presuming illegal flaw against some of its clauses and reddendos, the two judges of Westminster decreed a forfeiting for some omission done since William the Conqueror's days, and thereby the king named the sheriffs and got juries to his mind that would give sentence against any.

Notwithstanding all that is said usually for apology there were two plots anno 1678 and 1685, one to make the Duke of York king, another to make Duke of Monmouth, only some were deeper involved into these contrivances than others. Each thought it was to prevent the danger of his religion; that they were provoked thereto by the court methods. The actors' dying confession on all sides prove this much. But none of them owned the republican principle who were of the chief men. But some were papists, some aethists, on the first plot. Most Presbyterians and some church of England men were on the second.

Votes.

Many citizens or livery men and country electors of Commissioners to Parliament are for the established church of England, yet either decline or vote for a non-con-Commissioner, because they judge the dissenters give the court party least of their will, and maintain trade and property best, though they dislike their forward emulous profession or discipline as they call it.

Parliament.

Other reasons given, or rather conjectured are: (1) that (not to show royal power and prerogative) the Parliament was dissolved which elected King William because they were not active to settle the throne on sane and righteous foundations, letting see the necessity as well as justice of the change, and exclude all other pretenders for the present. (2) They set not on methods to unite protestants,

vindicate the laws and liberties, and promote the peoples' ease and increase trade. (3) They talk that of 500 members and 160 were against advocacy of King William and Queen Mary in their votes, and that the French gold did bribe some of them.

*Quakers and their Votes.*¹⁹

A Quaker liveryman though presumed to join with the dissenters, when asked his votes, answered: we counteract the King, who, raising the old, designed new members for Parliament, if we throw the old men in his teeth again.

The churchmen's votes prevailing, and the books being shut up for 14 days (that they might not be a precedent to the kingdom, and so to hinder the churchmen from prevailing in Parliament as much as they can) are answered at a Coffee house meeting in feast: Saints can do anything; another replies: except the right. This act is looked on as deceitful and malicious. Church citizens have written to their friends in the country that their vote prevailed by about 300 votes.

*Franchise.*²⁰

In London only liverymen (who give £20 stg. at their entry to the corporation whereof they are) vote or poll for Parliament men; in the suburbs all who contribute to the parish poor; in the country all free-holders, which a man of but 40 ss. stg. yearly rent readily is, for English abhor vassalage. Lands held free cannot be sold without consent of Parliament (the great Tutor of Minors), but copy-hold lands given by a Baron or Esquire at his court and transmitted, the owner may dispose of it, though the free-holder lands of King and Chancery cannot be disposed of to prejudice the heirs. A malefactor (or dumb man) who will not plead in a crime they are attainted with, their sentence is to press them gradually to death by imposing weights on their breasts, and so they escape being forfeited of their estates.

Crowned Heads.

All crowned heads being sacred, many judicious men wish the reformation of all, the restraining of some by laws and Parliaments, but the destruction of none by vigorous dealing. Once being a king by consent of the people, be who he will, if he be brought to contempt, it exposes all authority. So they say, tis to the interest of every king to maintain the life and honour (if not the state and grandeur) of another, because the people being privileged to despise one, will find an excuse, when they please, to reject all.

The Church.

All factions and parties of different persuasion in the church, broke off from it, by reason of some defect (real or pretended) in particulars of principles, worship or practice that sprung up to their great offence. Therefore a condescendence in the best church (for the main) is but a piece of reformation or justice.

Dissenters.

It has been the unchristian policy of all the dissenters united in a joint interest (as is told me and this instance makes probable) to bill and libel all such regular churchmen throughout the kingdom of England as they thought might be elected Parliament men, when any new Parliament was to be called, as now February 7, 1690, is adoin, fastening in a scurrilous way such crimes and vices to them as might make them contemptible and unfit to be chosen as representatives of any county or corporation for so solemn a council. This King William foreseeing sends an *express*, under highest pains, this February 7, to all printers in the city, not to print any such slanderous bills, which shows the genius of the court, as well as of the last republican Parliament, which they now propose to have amended, and those who stood by the church to meet condignly and not be overborne, but ply their work. For King William saw the Parliament was like to involve the most of the nobility and gentry into high crimes of compliance with King James, not fit to be searched into to create more excuses.

*Dr. Sherlock.*²¹

Dr. Sherlock, who was suspended for not taking the oaths, preached at St. Dunstan's the last Lord's day, February 2. So did all others under suspension. He made this apology for appearing there: That what he did was by the advice of the best lawyers and assent of his superior (it seems the bishop). Others preached that day that such as swore to King William were perjured (as some say). The reason given for this, as yet, is that their first sentence being only pronounced by Parliament, without consent of the convocation of clergy (which is the third estate), was not valid; and they were not judged by their peers; and now Parliament being dissolved; which was only a convention of estates electing the Prince of Orange, King, and he in requital constituting them into a Parliament. The sentence of the next regular Parliament may be more favourable. Others say that the act reaches not facturers; others that they are deprived of benefice, but not of office.

The truest reason of Dr. Sherlock's preaching after being deprived by sentence of Parliament is, that the Lectureship being no salary

by law established, but a gratuity collected by the people, and the ministers not deposed from their office, they continue preaching to as many as will be pleased to hear them.

What "Conceity buffoons" said.

Some conceity buffoons call the present complying clergy partial, cowardly, and perjured. They call those suspended and keeping their principles Mr. Passive Obedience, etc. But duly pondering Mr. Passive Obedience is as good and honourable a man as Mr. Rebellion; and Mr. Non-Resistance as Mr. Treachery, perjury, plot, and Mr. Killing-no-Murder. Such sedition, defection and inconstancy, weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, are not as just, charitable, self-denied, and christian as is patience and martyrdom.

Church of England's Power.

When religion grows powerful and wealthy, prince and church made use of each other to enslave the world and persecute such as dissented. But where moderate laws and wise managers were, a national well-endowed church is a beauty and a bulwark to religion and learning (the great profit and decorement of the world). By this mildness and prudence churchmen will have such influence (accompanied by honour and power) that themselves will prove the centre of unity among all protestants; in every controversy relied on.

Deprived Clergy Preach.

They report of the clergy deprived for not taking the oaths to King William, that they preach in other churches without salary as do the deprived ministers in Scotland, they being turned out of benefice, not office.

To Renounce Episcopacy.

Must a minister now in charge formally renounce episcopacy, quit his present charge and cure in, by a new call of the people, to another place? However, tis fit to crave a delay until some government be established in the church, and then try narrowly if the terms of commission proposed be consistent with justice and integrity, ask how far the compliance, and see if money save an oath. Must a minister declare an assent to both alterations of state policy and church government in Scotland?

The Church and Dissent.

Tis a shame that any of the dissenting parties, being so few in the world, they yet should pen up the catholic church and confine it in every age only in their own party. And there being so many factions makes any that excludes others to be the more suspicious as not sound themselves. Therefore the wise, looking on all that agree in fundamentals as of the true church, do not shun communion of any such as not a church, but as less edifying and would join

with any before they wanted; especially the Church of England, publicly declaring in their liturgy book that their ceremonies are indifferent and alterable, that they bow for reverence and not adoration, that the soul of superstition is in the idolater's notion of the mind, not external gesture, otherwise civil bowing to a king were idolatry. But lest any should miscontrue the matter in things of religion persons are admitted to communicate as they please, sitting or standing. Therefore there may be more superstition (say they) in opposing the ceremonies than in using them, only cross in baptism, kneeling at communion and bowing to the altar giving most offence, and being indifferent might be parted with. For in essential duty of christians, which is to endeavour union with all the orthodox, if this will not gain them over all rational people will forsake them and throw the blame of schism entirely upon them.²²

Presbyterians and Other Dissenters.

Presbyterians and other dissenters are esteemed (by many of different persuasion) as malapert with the King of kings and irreverent and undervaluing towards all inferior kings and magistrates and causes of government: that they can solicit and bribe to advance their cause and shift a matter against law and promises: that they use a Quaker-like rudeness to all persons by a remarkable insolence and impudent arrogance and over-weening of themselves: that they talked broadly of King Charles II as one who ruled not according to the laws. Then he using them severely, conform to some lately established laws, and they thereupon using all means to have sheriffs at midsummer and Lord Mayor at Michaelmas terms elected by the livery men out of the dissenting party, they forced King Charles (when he perceived these judges and masters of all attachments and prisons to free always the dissenters) to search out their original charters, and find therein some clause that made out some illegal exactions on them, and so cast them from their places, and occasioned the surrender of many evidences and rights of cities when they were threatened and charged to do it upon a forfeiting.²³

Dead-weight Bishops.

Bishops called dead weights in King James' time for voting against the laws for taking the penal laws away.

Preaching.

Apostles were sent rather to preach than to pray, yet lazy sons of Jeremiah, make-bates, would call preaching only the mechanic part of a minister's office.

Anti-Popery.

At the reformation the Pope was driven in such haste from England that he left some of his toys behind him, viz. ceremonies, say dissenters.

In King James' time, as in Micalah IV¹⁰, by idolatry we escaped idolatry, straining nothing unpleasant too far. Our first step at reformation was to cleanse from idolatry, the next we hopt to be from imposing of ceremony, but leaving it free. Now since law makes dissenters' meetings regular, not agoing from Jerusalem's temple to profane Jericho, most painful preaching will carry away people to Presbytery if ceremonies be not removed. Let indifferences be held as indifferent, or May poles, but none be obliged to play with a post that has beat out so many brains already. The sharpest pang precede deliverance.

Ceremonies be chains. The hotspur supporters that fear censure are breathing atoms of dust in the air, soon blown aside. Furies may be charmed. Many fiery churchmen, as the electors of Parliament men, would give the man King James his mace again. Would they favour papists?²⁴

There be 20,000 clergy in England, and 10,000 parishes and 3,000,000 people. 240 souls ought not to be exposed for one pastor's humour. Papists would feign lap in protestant blood. Shall we again encourage it? Pope Julig in 7 years slaughtered 200,000; Paris massacred 100,000; Waldenses died 1,000,000; by Jesuits to anno 1580 900,000; D. Alba 36,000; inquisition in Spain for 30 years 150,000; Irish rebellion 300,000; French lately 150,000. A devilism to wage war against their reason, pouring wine into men, keeping awake children from breast, beating kettles over them to outweary and beset.

NOTES.

1. Macaulay, *History of England*, es. Ch. Firth, Vol. IV, pp. 1709-33 and pp. 2001-13.

2. G. N. Clark in *The Later Stuarts* (1934), pp. 148-9, writes to the same effect: "The Nonconformist sects were unable to effect any reconciliation among themselves. Negotiations for this purpose in the 1690's failed, and this in itself shows that the Anglicans are not to be blamed for the failure of the attempt at comprehension."

3. See Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, IV, pp. 1552 onwards.

Dundee attended King William at St. James's and then was allowed to return to Scotland, where he consolidated the Jacobite Party in Edinburgh. He left the capital and retired to his country seat, but his arrest was ordered and so he fled to Macdonald's camp at Keppoch. Next he raised an army for James II and surprised Perth. His efforts to discipline his army were not too successful and soon his troops dispersed; to be collected once again for his advance southwards. Possibly the reason for Jacobite failure in Scotland was what Macaulay calls "the most wonderful specimens of both extremes of human nature." On the one hand were the Puritans with their inflexible pertinacity, their pugnacity and their stout hearts; who would hear of no compromise, and who thought that all who recommended prudence and charity were traitors to the cause of truth. On the other hand were the men of the school of Lauderdale, utterly destitute both of shame and morality.

4. The Cameronians were in garrison at Dunkeld, though Mackay disapproved, as he knew how unpopular and undisciplined they were. But their courage was undoubted and they were well led. Cleland and Henderson fell, but the recruits held out for four hours, till their last flask of powder was in sight. While they were planning to retreat into the Marquess of Athol's house and burn it over their own heads, they saw that the Highlanders were retreating. Then, writes Macaulay, "the drums struck up; the victorious Puritans threw their caps into the air, raised, with one voice, a psalm of triumph and thanksgiving, and waved their colours, colours which were on that day unfurled for the first time in the face of an enemy, but which have since been proudly borne in every quarter of the world."

5. G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 150, writes about "those who had scrupulously avoided going beyond passivity in their opposition to James, and who now held that they would not be justified in taking the oaths to William and Mary which Parliament prescribed. They gave up their offices, and formed a little community of their own . . . six bishops and about four hundred of the lower clergy. Their secession had not the historical importance of the secession of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662."

6. The question of oaths is argued at length in Macaulay's *History of England*, ed. Firth, IV, pp. 1707-18. One very interesting point which was made was that Christ's answer to the question of the tribute money asked whether the coin "came from Cæsar's mint; in other words, whether Cæsar actually possessed the authority and performed the functions of a ruler." Another argument brought forward was that the members of the early Church "lived to see four Emperors pulled down in little more than a year," while during the third century the "supreme power was claimed by twenty or thirty competitors."

7. G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 174, writes that the Tory Party "accepted the new sovereign but could not transfer to him the old reverend for Kingship." The Church Party which comprised the Tories was unfavourable to Catholic and Protestant disciples alike.

8. See Macaulay, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 1709-33 and pp. 2001-13.

9. The constitutional settlement is clearly set out in G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-43, where he remarks that the transactions that led up to the Declaration of Rights, "full of the spirit of compromise and even evading some of the more thorny questions, have a very different complexion from the doctrine of the Revolution which was accepted as orthodox in the eighteenth century."

The theory of what had happened "was explained moderately and cautiously by John Locke; . . . it was regarded as a masterpiece of political wisdom. . . . It was the Glorious Revolution and it became the object of almost superstitious reverence."

10. The Patriot Parliament in Dublin proposed drastic changes. Irish ship-building and coal-mining were encouraged, tithe was to be paid by members of each confession to their own clergy, which would have left almost none for the Anglicans. Protestant ascendancy was to be destroyed by repealing the Act of Settlement and by prescribing 2,000 persons to death and to confiscation of their estates. These measures alarmed the Protestant landowners, and scattered the Catholics from James II's army in their desire to take possession of their recovered estates.

Schomberg landed in Ireland with a nominal army of 20,000 men, but lack of supplies, heavy rains, disease and the difficulty of the country prevented his effective advance. See G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-5.

11. Pomponne, *Mémoires: État de l'Europe* (1868), p. 548, says of the rivalries in England: "This perpetually agitated state of England is that which suits us best. So long as she is divided within herself she will be little equal to making herself considerable abroad and to holding that balance which seems to lie naturally in her hands among the contentions of Europe." Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

12. With regard to the Protestants, it is interesting to notice that, although there was persecution in several countries which led to a sense of common danger, the saintly Pope Innocent XI was opposed to the persecution of the Huguenots, because he wanted to prevent the revival of religious strife and to unite Europe against the Turks.

13. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 168. In order to deal with the financial situation, the Customs were raised before they were voted, and the City of London offered a loan.

14. Cromwell's foreign policy is summed up in Sir Charles Firth, *Cromwell, Heroes of the Nations*, Ch. XVIII: "Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad," wrote Clarendon, and Burnet approved of the boast made by Cromwell long before Palmerston, that he would make the name of Englishmen as great as ever that of Roman had been. Pepys commended Cromwell's policy in comparison with the sycophantic relation of Charles II to the King of France.

15. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 175, writes that the Convention Parliament "began little attacks on those of the ministers who had held office under the last two kings. It also promoted a new corporation bill declaring that borough charters could not be forfeited and excluding from municipal office all those who had been concerned in the recent surrenders. The King avoided this renewal of the party struggle for control of the electoral machine by dissolving the Convention."

16. The various steps by which James II gradually alienated his supporters are set out in Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-21.

17. W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London* (1920), in Chapter XI, entitled, "Outcry against the Catholics," summarises the measures that were taken in 1666. Both King and Duke of York were accused of complicity and many absurd charges were made against Catholics of all ranks and nationality as well as against Nonconformists. Belland, the King's firework-maker incurred suspicion; while Robert Hubert, a French watchmaker, maintains that Catholics had bribed him to set London on fire. Although it was obvious that Hubert was not guilty, he was hanged at Tyburn. Clarendon wrote: "He was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it in this way."

18. The Popist Plot is adequately summarised in G. N. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90. Kirk gets muddled about the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, which was at the time attributed to the Catholics, and has always remained a mystery. G. N. Clark writes of his dead body found in a ditch near Primrose Hill: "How it came there no one knows. Medical evidence at the inquest seems to have proved that the sword was run through it after death. The coroner's jury found an open verdict of wilful murder. It is not impossible that Godfrey died a natural death, but that those who were with him when he died, whether papists or not, tried to clear themselves of complicity by staging a sham suicide."

19. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 148, writes that "James had been misled by organised addresses of thanks into thinking that his attempts at toleration were more welcome to the Nonconformists than was actually the case. . . .

Many of the Quakers both in England and Ireland were wholly with him and not only Quakers but considerable numbers at least among the Baptists and Independents."

20. Strype's edition of Stow's *London* (1720), V, p. 248. "When Members for the City were to be sent to sit in Parliament, they were chosen by the Liveries of the Companies. And everyone of the Liveries of these Companies were warned by several tickets delivered to the several Beadles of every Company who have Liveries, and to none other, with the Sheriff's Names subscribed to every Ticket: As, 'You are to warn the Liveries of your Company to meet at their Hall, and from thence to go together in their Livery Gowns unto the Guildhall, London, on Wednesday next the . . . of this instant July, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, for the Election of six fit Persons to serve as Members for the City of London, in the Parliament next following, to be holden at Westminster, etc. Dated the 8th of July, 1654.

Walker Bigo }
James Philips } *Sheriffs.*"

21. Sherlock was a great controversial writer, who was equally zealous against Nonconformity and Popery. He was against the reading of the Declaration of Indulgence, and yet was prepared to recall James II under restrictions. At first he refused to take the oaths, and was allowed, without molestation, to live in his official mansion close to the Temple Church. When Tillotson was raised to the See of Canterbury, Sherlock became Dean of St. Paul's amidst "a clamour made up of yells of hatred, of hisses of contempt, and of shouts of triumphant and half insulting welcome." He reconciled himself to taking the oaths and published, in justification of his conduct, a pamphlet entitled *The Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers*. The rage of the Nonjurors amounted almost to frenzy and the attacks on the Dean and his vindications would fill a library. Macaulay, *ed. cit.*, IV, 2012-14.

22. Macaulay speaks of their aversion to the Comprehension Bill, *ed. cit.*, III, 1397-1400.

23. Strype, *op. cit.*, V, p. 351, and Appendix I, pp. 16 and 17, comments on the *Quo Warranto* Writ: "In the year 1690, a Book was published in Folio, containing the Pleadings and Arguments, and other Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench upon the *Quo Warranto* touching the Charter of the City, with the judgment entered thereupon; the whole Pleading pretending to be faithfully taken from the Record." The occasion of the King's Displeasure against the City was a Petition made by the Aldermen and City, which the King regarded as seditious. Many of the Citizens, Strype relates, made sport of the loss of the charters, and "Songs were merrily sung at Entertainments in the City on this occasion." As one to the tune of *Packington's Pound*, that began thus:—

"You Freeman and Masters, and Prentices mourn,
For now you are left with your Charter forlorn,
Since London was London, I dare boldly say,
For your Riots you never so dearly did pay.
In Westminster Hall,
Your Dagon did fall,
That caus'd you to riot and mutiny all."

24. Macaulay comments on hatred of Roman Catholics as being a ruling passion in England, and the so-called Popish Plot certainly increased this feeling. He notes that Everard Digby's letters from the Tower to his wife had recently been published and showed that a pious Catholic justified the Gunpowder Plot. Even Tillotson and Locke, the most tolerant of their age, wrote fiercely against any toleration of Catholics.