

T H E
Merciful Assizes:
O R, A
P A N E G Y R I C

On the Late
Lord Jeffreys
Hanging so many in the *West*.

W I T H
The Lives, Characters, and Dying
Speeches of the many Hundreds that
were Converted by his Lordship's Sen-
tence.

A S A L S O
Some SECRET MEMOIRS relating to
the *West*, never Publish'd till now.

In a LETTER to Madam *H*— who had a
BROTHER Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd at
TAUNTON.

PILATE—took Water, and washed his hands
before the Multitude, saying, I am INNOCENT
of the Blood of this just Person; see ye to it, Mat. 27.24.

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West of England. An. Dom. 1701.

To my Friend the Author,
Upon His
Surprizing BOOK,

ENTITLED,

**The Merciful Assizes : Or, A
PANEGRIC upon the Late
Lord Jeffreys, for Hanging so
many Hundreds in the West.**

A Panegyrick! And on Jeffreys too!
*My Friend, what is't you Undertake to do?
Bless me! Thought I: Can there within our Isle
Be found a Man to praise a Wretch so vile!
Through what Alimbeck was't, you cou'd Distil
A Panegyrick from a Theam so ill?
That Actions the most vile that e'er was done,
Or Perpetrated underneath the Sun,
Shou'd thus the Subject be of Jeffrey's Praise,
Is that which does my Admiration raise:*

On the Author's Book.

*This Daring Task since you have Undertook,
(And Justify'd your Title, by your Book)*

*Shews, you that Great Elixir have obtain'd
(So often sought for, but scarce ever gain'd)*

*Which by a Secret Taction, as we're told,
Transmutes the Basest Metals into Gold:*

*For you must needs know Nature's Mystick Pow'rs,
That from a Dunghill can Extract such Flowers.*

*Go on, my Friend; for since you've got this slight,
Let none despair to wash the Blackmoor White.*

G. L. S.

A Panegyric

ON THE

Late Lord Jeffrey, &c.

In a Letter to Madam H—

Madam,

Tis easy to prove, that none live so happy as those that Live in a Cell; for Fortune o'er looks our Humble-Cottage; we are not pain'd with Riches, nor so Slander'd as those are who are set on the Pinnacle of Honour. Then it is no small Happiness to live there, where a man can converse without Detraction, and persevere faithful till Death; and this is best done in Solitude; he that wou'd advance in Piety, must esteem himself as a banisht Man and a

Pilgrim

'Tis no small Happiness to live where a Man can converse without being Slandred.

*Pilgrim on Earth, not that a Plain Habit, or a Retreat from the World &c. contribute much, but the change of Manners and the intense Mortification of our Passions; 'tis these make a Religious Man, for he (either in a Private or Publick Station) that seeks any thing but purely God (and the good of his Soul) shall find nothing but trouble and sorrow—We shou'd leave Curiosities, and withdraw our selves from wandering abroad; for all the time we can get in Private, is little enough to prepare for Heaven; and for that Reason the greatest Saints avoided the Company of Men, as much as they cou'd, and chose to live in secret with God (Heb. 11. 38.) I return'd less Man (said one) as often as I was amongst Men; who-
soever*

What 'tis
makes a
Religious
Man.

All the
time we
can get in
Private is
little
enough to
prepare
for Hea-
ven.

er therefore pretends to Spiritual things, ought to withdraw himself with Jesus, from the multitude.

—If we desire true Contrition of Heart, we shou'd enter into our Closets and shut out the *Tumults of the World*; as it is written, Be Contrite in your Closets, in silence and quiet the Devout Soul, gains Spiritual Profit, God, *with his Holy Angels* will draw near to him, who withdraws from this vain World: It is better for a Man to lye hid and *take care of his Soul*, then neglecting himself to be Lord of the World—what great Peace and Quietness does he possess, who seeks not after Transitory Honours, nor busies himself with the things of this World, but (*in a Retreat from it*) only thinks of Heaven.

'Tis better for a Man to take care of his Soul, then neglecting himself to be Lord of the World.

We

*Curiosity,
Ambition,
or Cove-
tousness
draw us to
rove
abroad.*

*Honour
and Riches
are
snatch'd
from us
either by
a Natur-
al Death,
or the
Villanous
Gallows*

*'Tis the
Part of an
Honest
Man, to
set every
thing in a
True
Light.*

We shall find that in a Cell, which we often lose Abroad. But tho' 'tis easier to stay at home, then to demean our selves well in Publick, yet our Curiosity, Ambition, or Covetousness draw us to rove abroad, but when the Hour is past, what Carry we back, but a great deal of **HONOUR AND RICHES**, which are snatch'd from us either by a natural Death, or the Villanous Gallows. The late **LORD JEFFERIES** is a famous instance of this nature; and therefore seeing 'tis the part of an honest Man to set every thing in a True Light, I shall now Undeceive the World, and instead of **SATYRIZING** (as others have done) write: **The Merciful Affuzes; Or, A Panegyrick on the late Lord Jefferies Hanging so many**
in

in the West.] I have seen the 4th. Edition of a Book, Entitled, **The Bloody Assizes**, wherein Lord *Jeffreys* is made a very *Cruel Man*. — I shall now change the Scene, I shall turn that **Bloody Assizes** into a **Merciful Assizes**, and prove Lord *Jeffreys* a quite other Man than he was taken for, and let none be surpris'd, that I make him the Subject of a *Panegyrick*: For, there's a Witty Author has writ in the Praise of *Julian the Apostate*; another has defended the *Bloody Nero*; a third has extoll'd the *Persecutions of the French King*; and of late, a Learned Gentleman has Publish'd *An Apology for the Failures of Dr. Walker*: And with the same Design that these

The
Bloody Assizes turn'd
into a
merciful
Assizes

My Lord
Jeffreys a
Nonsuch
Man.

Gentlemen writ, shall I venture to Praise that NON-SUCH Man, George Lord Jeffreys.

To praise him seems to reflect upon King James.

But perhaps your Ladyship will say, I can't write in Praise of my Lord Jeffreys without Reflecting upon **King James**; and 'tis scarce decent for a Private Man to meddle with Crowned Heads; besides, should you ever be call'd to Account, it might force you to discover me, and therefore you were betier let my Lord **Sleep in the Tower**, (where his Friends had leave to bury him) than to disturb his **Aches**: If he has done well, his works praise him in the **Gates**; but if Ill things, to praise him much is the highest Satyr.

A Cat may look on a King.

To this I answer, **A Cat may look on a King** and
(blessed

(blessed be God) we live in a Reign where speaking the **Truth**, does not pass for **Treason**,—Not but I am of the **Coblers** mind that Liv'd in *Holborn*, in *King James 1st* Time, when **Gondemore** the *Spanish* Embassador was passing by in His Chair, the Sedan Men happening to Stumble and fall, and the *Embassador* being on the Ground, multitudes of People came Running at this accident, one of which Cries to the **Cobler** to come out of his Stall and help up the Embassador: The **Cobler** Replis, *not he, for he wou'd not meddle with State Matters.*

A Pleasant story of a *Cobler*, that wou'd not meddle with State Matters.

Madam, the **Cobler** kept to his last, and I am as little as he for meddling with Crowned Heads. When the

Governors Rule according to Law (and are so *Just and Merciful* as our present King) but I don't think there's a Good Man in the World that scruples to call *Nero a Crowned Villain*; and the Truth is that Man deserves to be thought a *Jacobite* (which is the greatest Scandal can be thrown upon him) that's afraid of speaking the Truth of the last Reign, because *a Thousand Years hence* he may be call'd to account for his Courage; and therefore if my Head don't ake till I am sent to *Newgate* for writing a *Panegyric on my Lord Jeffreys* (for being true to a, King, whose Life was one continu'd Conspiracy against the Protestant Religion) it will neve take till the Day of Judgment. When *Ames* was invited to be

King
James's
Life was
one con-
tinu'd
Conspira-
cy against
the Prote-
stant Re-
ligion.

Pro-

Professor at Franeker, *Episcopus*, then at *Leiden* in his Lectures, in the Schools spoke against *Ames*, who hearing of it, sent a bold Challenge that he would come to *Leiden*, and before the University, answer *Episcopus's* Arguments, and oppose his Determinations if he pleas'd; but *Episcopus* wisely refus'd it, knowing that he had an ill Cause to defend — I know not why Truth may not be as bold as Error. But suppose there's a Man in the World so Vile and Shameless, as to appear against this Panegyric, yet still Madam, there's no Danger of your being discover'd, for I have that Respect to your Sex, and Regard to my Lords Honour, that I'd lose as many Lives as there be Stars in the Sky, before

Ames
Challenge,
to *Episco-
pius*.

Truth
may be as
bold as
Error.

I Pro-
mise ne-
ver to dis-
cover the
Lady to
whom
this Paneg-
yric was
sent.

fore I'd discover a Lady that was so Couragious and kind (which none ever was before) as to write a *Panegyric on my Lord Jeffreys*, and I hope by your Ladyships inserting what I omit in our *Panegyric on this Great Man*, We shall present the World with such a *Picture of the last Reign*, as may Oblidge the Lovers of their Country, to disperse some Thousands of 'em at *Winchester, Salisbury, Taunton, Exeter, Frome, Wells*, and those other Towns, where my Lord is so much admir'd.

Madam, it must be confest 'tis a very invidious thing to defend any *Action, or Life*, which has had the publick Stream and Cry long against it; with which even *Men of Sence, and sometimes Religion*

igion too (though Pride or shame perhaps seldom let's 'em own the very Truth o'nt) are commonly hurry'd away as well as others ; and therefore, I foresee with what Prejudice this Essay will be read, especially by Captain Hicks, Madam Jenkins, Mr. Hamling, and those others Persons who lost either a Father, a Son, or a Brother in the West: But least of all, can I expect your Ladyships Pardon, as your Eldest Brother was Sentenc'd to Death, by the Lord Jeffreys, and afterwards Hang'd, Drawn and Quartered, at Taunton. But I must praise his Lordship for this: For Madam, there be many things that look Barbarous, which upon a Review, appear to be the Effects of Justice, Mercy, and a Con-

Captain Hicks and others are prejudic'd against Lord Jeffreys.

He swore to Hang up the damn'd Fanaticks!

Concern for the Publick. We have a notable instance of this in *Manlius Torquatus*, who to maintain the Discipline of his Camp, Hang'd his own Son— This *Manlius* aim'd at something to be done more August and Glorious than the soft Effeminacies of Fond Parents, and our Pious *Jeffreys* (to his Praise be it spoken) had a Passion more strong and severe, than to defend and Patronize his Bowels (his Kindred) or any thing that oppos'd his Master, to whom he Swore to Hang up (as he call'd 'em) the Damn'd Fanatics, and he had a Nose fit for this Great Service, for he tells the Jury at *Taunton*, that he cou'd smell a Presbyterian Forty Miles. I can't say *Jeffreys* ever Built any

Jeffreys
cou'd
smell a
Presby-
terian Forty
Miles

Mr. Benj-
min H—
Was
Hang'd,
Drawn
and Quar-
ter'd, at
Taunton.

any *Hospitals*, or that he Thun-
 dered much against *Bribery*,
Drinking, *Whoring* (which his
 Enemies call his beloved Sins)
 But tho' I can't clear him of
 these, vices, yet I dare say he
 hop'd to Compound for 'em, by
 shewing a Mighty Zeal, to bring
 Men o'er to the Church of
England: And to do him Justice,
 he was more Furious to *Convert*
Dissenters (by Fines and Impri-
 sonments) then e'er a *P—Fold*
Smith, or *Balch* of 'em all—But
 need I praise him, for disturb-
 ing of Meetings? or for dra-
 gooning Phanaticks out of
 their Houses? when he has o-
 ther Vertues that so Croud upon
 me, that I can scarce get to the
 main *Theam* I intend, which is,
 To Write a *Panegyric* on
 his *Hanging* so many in the
West; but that I may omit
 C none

He
 hopes to
 Compound
 for several
 Sins, by
 shewing a
 furious
 Zeal a-
 gainst
 Protestant
 Dissenters

none of his due Praises, I'll trace him in all his Vertues, from his Birth to his *Western Circuit*, (where he did such Eminent Service) and from thence to the *Tower*, (where being sick of Honour) he barks Jack-Ketch in a Hoghead of Brandy.

Lord *St. John*
was
Born in
1702.

First as to his Birth, being Born a *Welsh-Man*, you may be sure he was Born a Gentleman—From a mean obscurity, he rear'd to the Lofty Pyramid of Honour, where he continu'd, till by the sudden change of Fortune, he dropt Headlong, and lost at once his Grandeur and his Power, to let Mankind see how little trust there is to be given to the smiles of Flattering Greatness—His Father gain'd a Wife of a good Family, nor had they liv'd together

gether any long time, before God was pleas'd to bestow on them, the Person who is the subject of this *Panegyric*; He was Baptized by the Christian Name of *George*, whether he had *God Father*., &c. It does not occur, however he appeared to all that *Studied* him of a very *Prompt* and ready *Wit*: Striving for *Prebeminence*, even among his *Compeers* in his *Tender Age*, which made his *Father* often clap him on the *Back*, and say—*Ah! George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy Shoes and Stockings on*—He was first put to a *County School*, where his *Natural parts* set him off to that great advantage, as he was soon remov'd to the *Free-School at Westminster*, where he profited

His Father fears he will die with his Shoes and Stockings on.

He
Dreams
he shou'd
come to
be the
second
Man in the
Kingdom.

much, and being soon inabled
to understand the *Languages*,
or at least so many of them as
were necessary for the *Study of*
the Law, which above all other
things he aim'd at, and some
say he was the rather incited
to it, by a Dream he had
whilst a Scholar, *that he shou'd*
be the chief Scholar in that School.
'and afterward shou'd enrich
'himself by Study and Industry,
'and that he shou'd come to be the
'second Man in the Kingdom—
Being enter'd into the *inner*
Temple, we find him call'd to
the Barr, earlier then had been
usual, Leaping over the
Hheads of elder Graduates—
Thus Flush'd with Success, he
now thought of nothing more
than *how he might Climb*; nor did
he want an opportunity, for
the

the next Station we find him in, is that of *Common Serjeant to the City of London*— Having Climb'd thus high, in the *slippery Starr of Honour* to raise himself yet higher, he Courted a *Brisk Widow* (Daughter to *Sir Thomas Blountworth*) and soon after their Marriage, he had the Pleasure to behold *the Fruits of her Labour*, for he was in as great hast for a Son (I speak this to the *Praise of his Manhood*) as he was to be *Lord Chancellor of England*: And therefore twas that once, telling a Lady in Court, that she was very *Quick* in her Answers; she reply'd, *As Quick as I am, Sir George, I wa'nt so Quick as your Lady*— A Month after the Birth of this *Early Son*, He was chosen *Recorder of the Hon-*

He is
chosen
*Common
Serjeant*

He is
made *Re-
corder of
London*

Honourable City, by which means being become as himself declar'd—*The Mouth of the City*—and as 'twere *Capital Judge* in the *Guild hall*, he found his *Ambition Enlarge*, and he next endeavours to become a *Court Favourite*; nor was it long before, an opportunity offer'd it self to make him to be taken Notice of; for so it hapned, that some Persons had Imprinted a *Psalter*, and Intituled it (the better to shadow the Injury done to the *Company of STATIONERS*) the *King's Psalter*, which Occasioning a Dispute, it was refer'd to a hearing before the King and Counsel at White-Hall, where *Jeffreys* being Counsel for the *Company of STATIONERS*, He had this

Ex.

Expression — *They have Teen'd with a Spurious Brat, which being Clandestinely Midwiv'd into the World, the better to cover the Imposture they lay it at your Majestys Feet, &c. — Tho' the King might have taken this as a Reflection on his Royal Person, he only said (to one of the Lords that sat next him) This is a bold fellow I'll warrant him) and the STATIONERS had by his good Pleading, the Matter declar'd in their Favour — About this time the Popish Plot being discovered, by Dr. Oats and Mr. Dangerfield, &c. He Tack'd about to the Court Party; and tho' by this he lost his place of Recorder, yet he advanc'd so fast in the Kings Favour, that by his Advice a Quo Warranto, came*

He Tack'd about to the Court Party.

came down against the Charter
of London: And now ———

*Next place we find him in, was Justice Chair,
Who fled away, because she found him there.*

He is
next Ad-
vanc'd to
be Lord
Chief Just-
ice.

But She did not fly to affront Sir
George, but out of Respect to his
Future Greatness, for she saw he
could rise no higher if She kept
the Chair, and it fell out accord-
ingly: For She was no sooner
fled, and the Charter Surrender'd,
but he's made Lord Chief Justice
of the Kings Bench: and now

*When Jeffreys on the Bench, Ketch, on the Gibbet Sits;
Some take ev'cn them for Courages and Wits.*

He bri's
the Popish
Lords out
of the Tow-
er.

And well they might, for Jeffreys
being advanced to this High Sta-
tion; he had the Courage (which
none ever had before) to Bail
the Lords out of the Tower;
and

and to fine Mr. Best the Hop-Merchant in a Sum of 500 l. for only saying *he desired his Service might be remembered to my Lord Jeffreys.* As this matchless Courage fixt my Lord in the King's Favour, so he was no less Famous for his *Witty and Biting Jest*— I shou'd not exceed in his Praise, if I shou'd say his *Jesting on Men in Distress*, out-does all the *Scogings Sommers, and Archees of 'em all*: What was his telling *Father Peters* (their ghostly Adviser) he was going into the West to tell the *Rebells their Fortune*, but a *jesting on the shedding of Protestant Blood*; but there is *Good Wits Jump*; and my Lord *Jeffreys* being a Man of a mild Nature, his being boldly retorted

D upon

His
witty
Jests

Hee's
banter'd
by a
Country
Gentle-
man.

upon, has often squeeze'd Tears
from his Tender Eyes: This
was seen in a Tryal, about
the Validity of a Lease,
where a Gentleman using se-
veral Law Terms; as *Lessee*
and Lessor, Assignee and Assignor;
and his Evidence being direct-
ly against Sir Georges Client; to
take him off, and daunt him,
Jeffreys said, you there with
your Law Terms, of your
Lessee and your Lessor, and of
your Assignee and your Assignor,
do you know what a *Lessee* or
a *Lessor* is? &c. I don't believe
you know that, for all your
Formal Evidence: To which
the Gentlemen Answered,
Yes, *Sir George*, but I do, and
I'll give you this Instance of it,
if I *Nod* to you, I am the *Nod-*
der, and if you *Nod* to me then,
you

He de-
lights not
in the
praises of
Men, and
cares as lit-
tle for
their A-
buses.

you are the *Noddee*. This Witty Answer put the Court into a great Laughter, but so disturb'd Sir George, that he *Plainly Wept* at the Gentleman's Boldness — He was also seen to *put Finger in Eye*, at the Rebuke he had from the *Learned Maynard*, for this great Lawyer having spoken against Sir George's Client, Sir George told him he was grown so Old, he had forgot the Law; to which *Maynard* replied, Yes Sir George, I have forgot more Law, than you ever learn't; which Witty Re-*pa-tee* so Bauk'd Sir George, that he *meerly* cried to Revenge the Affront: But they need not have taken this pains to have *humbled* Sir George, for he that *knows himself* well (as Sir George did) is contemptible to

himself, and delights not in the *Praises* of Men, and cares as little for their *Reflections*: Sir George knew well enough (tho' he cou'd not forbear *Weeping*, at bold *Affronts*) that 'twas good for him sometimes to be *contradicted* (to be thought *Evil* and *Imperfect*) and that too, *when he did, and intended well*; for these things he knew wou'd further his *Humility*, and defend him from *Vain Glory*: Then (Madam) do we better seek God for our *inward Witness*, when outwardly we are *banter'd by Men*, and little *Credit* is given to us; so that Sir George grew still better, and better, by these *biting Jests*, for they not only drew *Tears* from his *Eyes*, but made him *enter into himself*, that he might know **himself**

He grew
still better
and better
by the
Affronts
he met
with.

to be but a Man (*tho' a Non-such Man*) and not be putt up with too much Praise, or Trust to any thing in this World; I cou'd name Forty Instances of his crying, and Sobbing, when he was curb'd, but I shall only mention that one more, of Sir Rich. Weston—The Jest was this, *Jeffreys* telling him *he did not use him like a Counsellor*, checking him in the managing his Breviat &c.—To which *Weston* repli'd— ' *Ha! Since the King has Thrown his Favours upon you, in making you Chief Justice of Chester, you think to run down every Body, if you find your self agreiv'd, make your Complaints; here's no body, cares for it*—To which *Jeffreys* Wittily, repli'd ' *Twas not his businels make Complaints, but*

to

Hee's so
Tender
hearted
as to weep
in a Court
of Justice.

so pardon those that were made —
for which being commanded to
hold his Tongue, he sat down
and *Wept for Grief* — They talk
of his *Hectoring*, and *Proud
Carriage*, what cou'd be *more
Humble* and *condescending*, then
for a Man in his great Post to
Cry and Sob, in a Court of
Justice? — Should I run o're all
the *Jocular* and good Natur'd
part of my *Lord Jeffreys Life*,
twou'd Swell this *Head* as big
as the *Cambridge Jest*s, for be-
sides the *Jests* in his ordinary
talk, there was *his Jest*s on the
Leather Doublet — on the *Bag-
pipes*, and *Recorder* — On *Mea-
suring* of *Consciences* by long
Beards — On a *Country Squire*,
whom he call'd *Rogue* and *Rascal*
(as they had agreed he should)
to prevent all *Suspition* of *Bribery* ;
His

His reaking Evidence about the Birth of the Prince of Wales (for that is his word in the Depositions) is a Jest that I Blush to repeat after him; and his Purchasing Mr. Pits his House (with only paying a Pepper Corn for 99 Years) is a Jest will live as long as there's a Knave in the World.

I might further prove, what a Jocular and facetious Person my Lord Jeffreys was: The Truth is, he was such a *Fetch and Carry*, to the *Tory* Interest that his whole Life was—*A continu'd Jest*—Or if he was ever so Ill Natur'd, as to be in *Earnest*, it was in his Zealous Prosecution of that Great Man, *William Lord Russel*—Neither was he less Angry in shewing his *Aversion to Perjury*, by endeavouring

His a-
version to
Perjury.

deavouring to Prove (two innocent Persons,) Dr. Oates, and Mr. Dangerfeild Guilty of it.

‘About this time, the Duke
 ‘of Monmouth Landed at
 ‘Lyme, and the Earl of Argile
 ‘in Scotland, but being both defeat-
 ‘ed ; the next Remarkable thing
 ‘in my Lord Jeffreys Life, was
 ‘his Hanging of Monmouth’s
 ‘Friends—Argile, and the Duke
 ‘of Monmouth, being now safe
 ‘in their Graves! (Tho’ to this
 ‘Day, some in the West wo’nt be-
 ‘lieve a word on’t) King James
 ‘was so puffed up with a Petty Victo-
 ‘ry over a few Club-men, and so
 ‘wrought up with a Conceit he had
 ‘now Conquer’d the whole Nation
 ‘(so that believing himself Impreg-
 ‘nable) he resolves to be Reveng’d
 ‘on the Western People, for sid-
 ‘ing with his Capital Enemy;
 Mon-

King
 James
 Victory
 over a
 few Club-
 men.

Monmouth — *And to that purpose* (after the Duke was beheaded) he sends down his *Trusty Executioner* (my good Lord *Jeffreys*) not to decimate according to the *Heathen way* of Mercy (for I shall prove anon he was Merciful in Hanging so many) but with the *Be-son* of his *Pious Sentence*, to sweep the Country before him — This looks Barbarous but that's all — for first as to the speedy Execution of the *Duke of Monmouth*, none can call him a **Bloody** or **Cruel Man** for hastening that, for the *Duke*, cou'd expect no other, when he **DECLARED** at the Head of his Army.

They are Try'd by my Lord *Jeffreys*.

An Abstract of the Duke of Monmouth's Declaration.

‘ That tho’ Government
 ‘ was *Originally Instituted by God*,
 ‘ and this, or that, form of it
 E ‘ chosen

' chosen, and submitted to by
 ' Men, for the *Peace, Happiness,*
 ' *and Security of the Govern'd;*
 ' and not for the Private Intrest,
 ' and Personal Greatness of
 ' those that Rule — yet *King*
 ' *James,* to the Violation of his
 ' OATH, as well as Rules, and
 ' Measures of Government, has
 ' broken *all the Boundaries of*
 ' *the Government,* and left no-
 ' thing unattempted, for bring-
 ' ing our limited Monarchy,
 ' into an absolute Tyranny,
 ' for he has Counter-min'd our
 ' *Religion and Liberties,* by Po-
 ' pish Councils, and Ravisht
 ' our Priviledges from us, by
 ' *Fraud and Violence;* and more
 ' especially the *whole Course and*
 ' *Series of the Life of the Duke*
 ' *of York,* has been one con-
 ' tinued Conspiracy, against
 ' the

' the *Properties Religion, and*
 ' *Rights of the Nation; Witness*
 ' his burning of London, his *Fo-*
 ' *menting the Popish Plot, in-*
 ' *couraging the Murder of Sir Ed-*
 ' *mond Bury Godfry, his Hiring*
 ' *Villians to assassinate the Earl of*
 ' *Essex, and suborning witnesses,*
 ' *to Swear the Patriots of our*
 ' *Religion, and Liberties out of*
 ' *their Lives* — The very Ty-
 ' rannies which he hath exer-
 ' cis'd, since he snatch'd the
 ' Crown from his Brothers
 ' Head, do leave none under a
 ' possibility of *flattering them-*
 ' *selves* with hopes of safety
 ' either in their Consciences,
 ' Persons or Estates — And be-
 ' sides this, he hath called in
 ' multitudes of *Priests and Je-*
 ' *suites*, against all Law; and
 ' hath Impower'd them to ex-
 ' ercise

' exercise their Idolatryes, and
 ' is himself Daily present at the
 ' Worship of the Mass—Neither
 ' hath he been more Tender in
 ' Trampling upon the Laws,
 ' which concern our Properties,
 ' seeing he has Commanded
 ' the Collecting of Customs and
 ' Excise; which was to expire
 ' with the late King's Death:
 ' Neither is it an Extenuation
 ' of his Tyranny; that he is
 ' countenanc'd by an Opinion
 ' of 7 or 8 suborn'd and forsworn
 ' Judges; but rather declaring
 ' the Greatness and extent of
 ' the Conspiracv against our
 ' Rights; and that there is no
 ' means left for our Relief, but
 ' by force of Arms. Which we
 ' take Heaven and Earth, to
 ' witness, we shou'd not have
 ' done, had not the Malice of
 ' our

‘ our Enemyes depriv’d us of
‘ all other means of Redress—
‘ Wherefore before God, An-
‘ gels and Men; we stand ac-
‘ quitted from, and do Charge
‘ upon our Enemyes, all the
‘ Slaughter and Devastations,
‘ that unavoidably accompany
‘ an *Intestin War*—Now there-
‘ fore we do hereby *Solemnly*
‘ declare and proclaim, *War* against
‘ James Duke of York, as a
‘ *Murderer and Assasin*ator of In-
‘ nocent Men, a *Traitor* to the Na-
‘ tion, and a *Tyrant* to the People
—‘ And we exclude none from
‘ the benefit of Repentance
‘ (*tho’ formerly concern’d in the*
‘ *enslaving their Country*) that will
‘ joyn with us in Retrieving
‘ what they have been accessary
‘ to the loss of—Neither will
‘ we give way to any *Treaties* or
‘ *Acco-*

' *Accommodation*, 'till we have
 ' brought *James Duke of York*;
 ' and all his Adherents, to un-
 ' dergo what they deserve, for
 ' the Violations of our Laws
 ' and Liberties; neither will we
 ' lay down our Arms, till we see all
 ' this accomplish'd, And till
 ' all the *Penal Laws against*
 ' *Protestant Dissenters*, be re-
 ' peal'd and even *Papists*, them-
 ' selves have nothing to fear
 ' from us, provided they do
 ' not joyn with our Enemies,
 ' and endeavour our Destruct-
 ' ion— Our Resolution in the
 ' next place is to *maintain all*
 ' *the just Rights, and Priviledges*
 ' *of Parliament*; and seeing many
 ' of the Miseries of the Nation,
 ' arise from *Corrupt Judges*, as
 ' appears by the Murdering
 ' of *Algernon Sydney*, and that
 ' *worthy*

‘ *worthy Person, William Lord*
‘ *Ruffel; we will therefore*
‘ *leave it to the Wisdom of a*
‘ *Parliament, to settle some*
‘ *Way and Method, for the*
‘ *approbation of such as shall be*
‘ *advanc’d to the Degree and*
‘ *Dignity of Judges—And see-*
‘ *ing the Seizures of the Charters*
‘ *of England, have been Illegal*
‘ *and Arbitrary; we do there-*
‘ *fore declare the Old Charters*
‘ *(notwithstanding the New*
‘ *Ones, lately granted) to be*
‘ *good and Valid; and for the*
‘ *restoring the Kingdom to its*
‘ *Primitive Condition, of Free-*
‘ *dom and Safety: We will have*
‘ *the Corporation and Militia Acts*
‘ *repeal’d, and all Out-Lawries*
‘ *of Treason against any Per-*
‘ *son whatsoever (upon the*
‘ *late pretended Protestant Plot)*
‘ *re-*

‘reversed — And we will
‘have New Laws Enacted, for
‘placing the *Election* of
‘*Sheriffs in the Freeholders* of
‘the several Counties, and for
‘preventing all *standing Forces*,
‘except what shall be raised,
‘and kept up by Authority,
‘and Consent of Parliament—
‘And where as the *Duke of*
‘*York*, to hinder inquiry into
‘the *assassination of Arthur Earl*
‘of *Essex* hath *Poyson’d the*
‘*late King*, and thereby mani-
‘fested his Ingratitude, as
‘well as Cruelty to the World:
‘His Grace the *Duke of Mon-*
‘*moutb*, being sensible of this
‘Barbarous and horrid *Paricide*,
‘Committed upon his Father,
‘Doth resolve to pursue the
‘said, *Duke of York*, as a Mor-
‘tal and Bloody Enemy;
and

‘ and will endeavour as well
‘ with his own hand, as by
‘ the assistance of his Friends to
‘ have Justice executed upon
‘ him --- And the said James
‘ Duke of Monmouth (the now
‘ Head, and Captain General of
‘ the Protestant Forces of this
‘ Kingdom, assembled for the end
‘ aforesaid) doth not at present
‘ insist upon his Title, but
‘ leaves the Determination
‘ thereof to the *Wisdom, Justice,*
‘ *and Authority* of a Parliament
‘ Legally chosen, and acting
‘ with Freedom; and in the
‘ mean Time doth profess, and
‘ declare by all that is sacred,
‘ that he will in conjunction
‘ with the People of England,
‘ do all he can for the *Re-establish-*
‘ *ment of the Protestant Religion,*
‘ *and their Ancient Rights and*
‘ F Privi-

‘ Priviledges ; and he will con-
‘ sent unto and promote the
‘ passing into Laws, all the me-
‘ thods aforesaid, that it may
‘ never more be in the Power
‘ of *any single Person* on the
‘ Throne, to deprive the Sub-
‘ jects of their Rights——And
‘ whereas the *Nobility, Gen-
‘ try, and Commons, of Scotland,*
‘ are now in Arms upon the
‘ like Motives that we are ;
‘ we do therefore approve the
‘ Justice of their cause, expect-
‘ ing their, and promising our
‘ assistance, for carrying on
‘ that *Glorious Work*, we are
‘ jointly engag’d in——And
‘ we shall in a little time, Pub-
‘ lish a *larger Remonstrance*, of
‘ the *Grievances, Persecutions,*
‘ *Cruelties and Tyrannies*, we
‘ have of late lain under ; and
‘ there-

‘ therein, a more full and par-
‘ ticular Account, of the *un-*
‘ *parallell’d Crimes*, of James
‘ *Duke of York* — And we
‘ make our Appeal unto God,
‘ and all Protestant Princes,
‘ States and People, concerning
‘ the Justice of our Cause, and
‘ the Necessity we are reduc’d
‘ to, of having our recourse to
‘ Arms; and we are confi-
‘ dent of obtaining the utmost
‘ Aid and Succour, which they
‘ can yeild us with their *Power*,
‘ *Persons and Estates*, for de-
‘ throning the *said Tyrant* —
‘ And above all, our depen-
‘ dence and Trust is, upon the
‘ *Lord of Host*, in whose Name
‘ we go forth, and to whom
‘ we Commit our Cause, and
‘ referr the Decision betwixt
‘ us and our Enemies, in the
‘ F 2 Day

‘ Day of Battel—Now let us
 ‘ play the Men, for our People,
 ‘ and for the Cities of our God,
 ‘ and the Lord do that which
 ‘ seemeth good unto him.

James
 Duke of
Monmouth
 sent to be
 Crown'd
 in Heaven

This Declaration being chiefly Levell'd at the late King James, and such Precious Men as my Lord Jeffreys; they can't be biam'd for getting the Dukes Head off with all Speed; and if I don't mistake, He was be-headed two days after he was brought to London—Some said an Old Major intended, to rescue the Duke upon Tower Hill, but he never appear'd; and James Duke of Monmouth was there (after Five Chops) sent to be Crown'd in Heaven—And seeing his Declaration is what Thousands have never Read, 'tis here inserted, that the World may see

see 'tis the *Cause*, and not the *Axe* or *Halter*, that makes a *Martyr*: And as *Jeffreys* was thus hasty to send the *Duke* to a Heavenly Kingdom, so he was as kind to his *Friends* (*in the West*) for he sent them to him, as fast as he cou'd. But that I may do right to my *Lords Vertues*, and Justice to his *Enemies* too, 'twill be necessary to Insert more at large, what they *Object* against him; 'tis no wonder that my Lord had *Enemies*, as *his Rise was the fall of others*: Nothing so convulleth Man's Reason as *Interest*, tho' there is no Problem in *Mathematicks*, more demonstrable than that *all Strait Lines Drawn from the Center, to the Circumference, are equall*; yet (says *Hobbs*) if this did but cross any Man's *Interest*

'Tis the
cause, and
not the
Axe, or Hal-
ter makes
a *Martyr*.

terest ; it wou'd be disputed —
 And therefore to fet my Lord
 in a true Light 'twill be necessa-
 ry, to insert what his Enemies
 Object against him (as well as
 what I shall say in his Praise)
 and this can't be better done,
 then by inserting *the History*
they give of Monmouth's whole
 Expedition ; and this I insert,
 not only to oblige the *West Coun-*
try Reader, but as 'twas the *Pro-*
logue to that *Merciful Assizes*,
 that was to follow after it.
 And having done so Candidly
 by my *Lords Enemyes*, as
 to insert their Objections
 against him, I shall answer
 'em all, to my Lord's Honour.

Lord
Jeffrey's
 Enemyes

Their
 Objections
 against
 him.

The

The Account given by Lord Jeffreys Enemies, of his Proceedings in the West, after the Defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, &c. With the History of that whole Expedition.

THE Landing of *Argile* in Scotland (whose Martyrdom I shall speak of anon) was but like *Thunder* afar off, to what hapned soon after in the *West of England*: K. James was so apprehensive, not only before, but even after his *Ascension* to the *Throne* of the Duke of *Monmouths* designs against him ; that he used his utmost endeavours by his Envoy Mr. *Skelton*, in *Holland*, to get him *Secur'd*, and sent into *England*, which design cou'd not yet be carried so covertly, but that
the

King James In-
deavoured
privately
to secure
the Duke
of Mon-
mouth in
Holland.

The
History of
Monmouths
Expediti-
on.

the Prince of Orange came to the Knowledge of it: Who having more Honour and Goodness in him, than to suffer an Innocent, Follorn Man, to fall into the hands of those who had been the occasion of his Exile, and Misery, did not only give the Duke Notice of the Plot against him, but gave him Money to go privately to Brissells, with a farther assurance, that if he would go to the Campaign in Hungary, he would maintain him at his own Charge, with an Equipage Suitable to his Quality: But his Fate led him to return again privately from thence into Holland, where having concerted his Measures with such Refugiated English as he found there, May 24. Old Style, they left Amsterdam,

sterdam, about two of the Clock, being Sunday Morning, and in a *Lighter* sail'd for the *Texel*, their Vessels being sent before 'em, thither, but meeting with extreme *Cross-Winds* all the way, they arriv'd not till Saturday Night, and then went all on Board—Here their *Man of War* with about 32 Guns (where the *Dukes Person* was) was under an *Arrest*, by Order of the *States of Amsterdam*, on the complaint of our *Envoy*, they presuming they had bin clear, but they broke through their *Arrest*, and Sunday Morning at break of Day, set Sail for *England*—They had in all, three *Ships*; that of 32 Guns carryed most of their Men, the other two were for their *Ammunition*, they met
He sails for England with 3 Ships.

G

with

He arriv'd at
Lyme June
11th,
1685.

with exceeding Cross-Winds, most part of the time they spent on the Seas; and arriv'd not at *Lyme* till Thursday *June 11th*, so that from *Amsterdam* to *Lyme*, they wanted but two daies of 3 Weeks.

The Duke calls for silence and gives thanks to God for his Preservation at Sea.

They Landed without the least Opposition, and were received with all Expressions of Joy imaginable. The Duke as soon as he jump'd out of his Boat on Land, call'd for Silence, and then desired they wou'd joy'n with him, in returning God thanks for that wonderful Preservation they had met with at Sea, and accordingly fell on his Knees on the Sand, and was the Mouth of 'em all in a short Ejaculation, and then immediately well Armed, (as many as were) entered the
TOWN. Friday

Friday the whole Day was spent in *listing of Men*, which flock'd to 'em so fast, that they cou'd scarce tend them with Arms.

Persons
Flock to
him
from all
parts.

The like on *Saturday* also, and then about 10 of the Clock at Night, 200 of their Men were sent to *Bridport*, about 6 *English Miles* off, to Storm that Town betimes in the Morning, which they did accordingly, takeing many Prisoners out of their Lodgings; and had not their Soldiers been a little *too Eager of Plunder*, they had made a good daies Work on't; but there lying about a Wood, some of the Kings Forces, they were forc'd to Retreat; losing 2 or 4 Men, and Killing several of theirs, and taking 8 Prisoners:

Three
Hundred of
his Men
were sent
to *Brid-
port* to
Fight the
Enemy.

G 2 This