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h.) THE

WHIGS

APPEAL TO THE

TORIES.

IN A

LETTER

To Sir T---H---

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT

CONCERNING

The Proceedings in P-----t.

LONDON:

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To Sir T--- H----

S I R,

A S all Partys are reconcil'd in the Opinion, that you are a Man of Honour and Merit, and whatever Side you are engag'd on will never do any thing against the Interest of your Country, so I take the Liberty by you, Sir, to address my self to all the Honest *Tories* in *England*, particularly those who at this important Juncture, have the Fate of *Great Britain* in their hands, and by a Vote may make us happy or miserable for ever. According to the present Humour of these unhappy Times, Sides are now distinguish'd by Peace and War, as they us'd to be by Protestant and Papist; Church and Fanatick, Court Party and Country, &c. So that should I declare my self against the Peace, that alone would determine me to be a Whig; tho in all other matters the *Torys* and I are of a Mind, that is, for Monarchy, Episcopacy, the Prerogative of the Crown, and only the just Liberties of the People; but because I am an utter Enemy to *France*, while she usurps any Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy, therefore, and for no other Reason, am I a Whig,

Whig, and consequently expos'd to all the Inconveniencies which attend that *clamorous and ruin'd Party*. As such a one, amidst the Ruin that we feel and fear, I apply to my brave Countrymen, who have more than once sav'd us from the Destruction that threaten'd us, and who have it now, more than ever, in their Power to acquire the immortal Glory of Patriots.

England has not been in any imminent Danger since the Restauration, but she has been deliver'd by the *Tories*. It was the Long-Parliament that put a Stop to King *Charles's* destructive League with *France*, and engag'd him to enter into an offensive and defensive onë with *Holland*. 'Twas the same Parliament who address'd his Majesty *To make no Treaty of Peace with France; whereby the French King should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Dominion than was left him by the Pyrenean Treaty*. Now if the *French King* is left in Possession of *St. Omer, Bergh St. Wynox, Luxemburgh, Cambray, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, Namur, Binch, Charleroy, Ipres, La Quésnoy, Newport, Dixmuyde, Furnes, Cassel, Bavay, Maubeuge*, and other Places taken from the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, or not restor'd to them pursuant to that Treaty: as also of *Traerbach, of Saar Louis*, and the Forts on that Side of the County of *Cerdagne*, on the Side of *Roussillon, Puicerda, Roses, Cap de Quers, Séau d' Urgl*, of the County of *Carolois* and the *French*

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County; of *St. Amour*, *Bleverans*, and *Joux*, in the County of *Burgundy*; of *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, on the Side of *Piedmont*, of what he holds in *Lorrain*, or of that Duke's, in the Three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, of *Triburgh*, *Brisac*, *Fort Louis*, *Stratsburgb*, *Hunningen*, and other Places on the Side of *Germany*: In a word, if he is left in Possession of any Part of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*, which were so solemnly renounc'd by him in that Treaty, we shall give him more, in the worst Circumstances *France* has been in since the Battel of *St. Quintin*, than that honest Tory Parliament would have given him when he was in the Height of his Power, and bid fair for the Universal Empire. Are not the Reasons of this wise Representative made more powerful, by the Condition we are in to compel him to our own Terms? And may we not hope, that his Grace the Duke of *Leeds*, who ever was an Enemy to *French* Councils, and was at that Time at the Head of those of *England*, will, by his Example, animate all the Noble Peers of *Great Britain* to reject any Proposals offer'd by *France*, contrary to an Address of Parliament in the worst of Times. It was that House of Commons who came to this bold Resolution: That If his Majesty thought fit to declare War with *France*, they would always be ready to assist him; Otherwise, they would take into their Consideration the speedy Disbanding of his Ar-

my. What they did afterwards for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, by prosecuting the Popish Plot, is so well known, it needs no repeating: 'Tis sufficient to mention that it carry'd them as far as an *Exclusion Bill*, and that ended in their Desolation, after they had sat almost Eighteen Years. Sir *Edward Seymour* was so warm in all these Matters, that when the next Parliament met, his Majesty thrice rejected him for Speaker: Let the following Five or Six Years of that Reign be forgotten on both Sides. Both were bubbled by the Papists and made use of alternately to destroy one another. Both have been their Tools; but let us be so no more. When our own Liberty and the Liberties of *Europe* are in Danger from the Artifices of *France*, it is time for all such as have a Concern for them to unite against the Common Enemy and his Adherents.

The Whigs have boasted much of their Zeal for the Publick Welfare, and would engross that Merit, forgetting what the Tories have always done when they thought there was any just Grounds for our Fears, and how we have all been sav'd by them; when nothing else could have sav'd us but their Courage and Vertue. The Whigs have been bold when Dangers have been distant. The Tories in the midst of the worst, and will they now give up the Glory they have so justly acquir'd? Now, when our Dangers come only from a Conquer'd Enemy, and

we have a Prince to protect us, whose Affections to her People will encline her always to embrace those Councils that are most for their Safety, who has no Interest but theirs, and is the Guardian and Ornament of the Protestant Religion. It is in most of our Memories, how near we were to Popery and Slavery, when King *James* the Second had crush'd the two Rebellions in *England* and *Scotland*, when he was flush'd with Victory, warm'd by Zeal, and inflam'd by Revenge. Could the Whigs have then given a Check to his Arbitrary Government? Would they not willingly have compounded for a precarious Enjoyment of their Lives and Estates? Were they so daring as to think of Liberty, or to oppose the Incroachments of a Popish King? Yet the Parliament, who were then sitting, address'd his Majesty, and told him, his *Popish Officers could not by Law be capable of their Employments, that the Continuance of them would be taken to be a dispensing with that Law; the Consequence of which was of the greatest Concern to the Rights of all his Majesty's Subjects, and the Security of their Religion; &c.* 'Twas then almost Treason to talk of *Subjects Rights*; and the King answer'd them, that he did not expect such an *Address from them*. It was this Parliament, as much Tory as it was, and never was one more so, that refus'd to reverse the Attainder of the Lord *Stafford*, neither would they ever consent to the two first *Projects of the Court*,

Court, the Persecution of Dissenters, and the extinguishing the Belief of the Popish Plot; for which King *James* grew weary of 'em, and soon after dissolv'd 'em. What a Stand the Tories made afterwards against Arbitrary Power, we can never forget. The Revolution was almost entirely owing to them; and tho' some hot designing Men have been out of Humour with it since, the Bulk of that Party maintain their Integrity, and at the same time that they abhor licentious Principles of Government, are for the Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown, for no no more Changes in the Succession, than are of the last necessity; yet they have ever shewn a due Regard to the Liberties of the People, and a Veneration for the Memory of King *William*, who secur'd them chiefly by their Assistance and Councils. Intriguing and Tricking Men have been found in all Times, who to mend their decay'd Fortunes, to flatter their Ambition, or satiate their Revenge, have invented plausible Pretences to engage the Well-meaning and Unwary. By these means Party's were kept up all that King's Reign, and *France* found ways to feed and foment our Animosities. Hard Names sharpen Men's Tempers against one another, and our Enemy has not fail'd to make his Advantage of our Folly. Is it not Time that our Eyes shou'd be open? And surely we shall never be *Dupes*

to him in the Cabinet, whom we have beaten out of the Field. If the Torys will exert themselves at this Conjuncture, and by vigorous Resolutions throw him back to his late Despair, theirs will indeed be the Conquest of *France*, and *Europe* will owe her Liberty to the Firmness and Honour of the *British* Parliament. Alas! 'tis plain that the Whigs can do nothing. How can they approach her Majesty with their most dutiful Countels? Far be it from any good Subject to invade the least Branch of her Royal Prerogative; Peace and War are her's. We own she has gone thro the War with more Glory than ever King or Queen of *England*, or any other Nation cou'd boast of in a much longer Period. May not we wish that the End of it may be as glorious? and that cannot be, but by an Honourable Peace; which we cannot have, but by keeping firm to our Alliances, and gaining what we fought for. Do not we all know, how Unanimous the Torys were in their late Addresses for the House of *Hanover*? and shall not his Electoral Highness's Concern for us, prevail on us to be concern'd for Him, for the Securing the Succession to his most Serene Family, and vindicating the Honour of the Nation for the Indignity the *French* King put on us, in owning that outlaw'd *Creature* of his, the Pretender, as our King? You are to advise her Majesty
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and not direct her, but since out of her Royal Goodness she always has been Graciously pleas'd to follow the Advices of her Loyal Parliaments, we cannot have so impious a Thought, as that she will not do it, in this so Important an Affair, wherein her Majesty's Honour, as dear to all good *Britains* as their own Rights and Liberties, is so highly interested. To say we cannot carry on the War, is to make wretched Politicians of us, and that we cannot do with Trade and Victory, what *France* does with Indigence and Defeats. To say the Landed Interest is most loaded, is as groundless; Land has never rais'd above a third Part of the Charge, and the War has kept its Product at twice the Price; nor were Rents ever so well paid in the boasted Times of Peace. Are we in a worse Condition than when Monsieur *de Torcy* was at the *Hague*? or did the *French* King ever think of *Spain*, till he was almost in Despair for *France*? These, Sir, are Considerations your own known Discernment will vastly improve, and for God's sake let us not trifle about petty Matters, when our All is at Stake. What shall us do for the Safety and Honour of the Church, for the Interest and Character of the Clergy, let it be done; let Fanaticism and Heresy languish under a cruel Indulgence, and let the Church have all she can Demand for the preserving, and, if you please, for enlarging her Prerogatives.

gatives; but let *France* be humbled, and the *French* King not only reduc'd to his due Bounds, but be incapacitated for Transgressing them again. Cheerfully will we pay whatever you lay upon us, nor will we be afraid of ill Management of the Publick Treasure, or Weakness, or Corruption in the Administration, but joyn all to make her Majesty's Government as easy as it is glorious 'Tis in you to consider, what his Electoral Highness has already represented, and from her Majesty's Piety and Wisdom, we may hope for a quick Deliverance from the Suspence that all *Europe* is in by some Steps that have been taken. Thus will Posterity owe to the generous and honest Torys the Invaluable Blessings of Religion and Liberty, which will be in as great Danger as ever, if *Spain* be given to a *French* Prince, who early declar'd his good Will to the Pretender he left behind in *France*. You may see, Sir, what you and all Men of Disinterest and Worth are to expect from the Insolence of a Mercenary Faction by the Affront put on a very Noble Lord in *Roper's* Post-boy of the 6th Instant. The first Advertisement in his Infamous Scroll, alluding to a Wise Peer's generous Resolution to Vote for the Continuance of this just and necessary War, till we have oblig'd *France* to give up her Usurp'd Acquisitions in *Spain* and the *Indies*. For this is that Honourable Person represented as
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an Apostate from the Church ; that Faction having dexterously interwoven their own base and paltry Interest with the pure and sacred one of the Church. A Name every good *Englishman* has in the highest Veneration, and will always be zealous for the Defence of her Orthodox Constitution. But it has of late been scandalously abus'd by the most flagitious Hypocrites, and prostituted to the vile ends of Men of the lewdest and most abandon'd Characters. How can *France* serve our Protestant Church but as she has done her own ? Is not the Pretender likely to make a rare Defender of our Faith ? What, and whose are the Views that have produc'd this sudden Friendship between us and the *French* ? Let that be well weigh'd. Her Majesty never declar'd her Royal Pleasure in this matter to her People. We must all submit to that ; our Duty, our Gratitude oblige us to it, in return for so gracious and so happy a Government. But may we not expostulate with our Fellow Subjects, why things are so much worse with us now than they were two or three Years ago ? Why our Credit is not yet so well restor'd as we could wish ? Why our Reputation does not shine in *Europe* as it did then ? and we who were the Terrour of our Enemies, are on a sudden become their *Hope* and their *Joy* ? Her Majesty's Glory and the Honour of this Nation, are worthy of the Protection of the most loyal and most noble Patriots. The Whigs can
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only do it with their Prayers; Confound them with Generosity, and lay an Obligation on them, which they must be worse than *Abel* Paints them, if they ever forget. That will be the best way to put an end to the odious Names of Whig and Tory; it will make us all good *Britons* and good Subjects, and then we shall have no Distinction among us, but that of Enemies or Friends to *France*. I write to you as to a Friend to *England*, and an Enemy to him that is not. As is

8th of Dec. 1711.

Your, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IT will be perceiv'd by the Subject and Occasion of this Letter, that it was intended to you before last night's Vote, and the memorable Resolution of the Lords, who have in all Times been so jealous of the Honour of this Nation, and given us so much Reason to rejoyce at that most Honourable part of our Constitution. And we have no reason to doubt, but that you and all true *Englishmen* will consider not only the Justice of their Resolutions, but the great Inconveniences that must arise from a Division at Home, whereby all our Allies will be left in perpetual Doubts and Fears, and the Progress of her Majesty's and their Victories meet with Discouragements; which will Spirit the Common Enemy, and make him hope from his Tricks and Chicanes, what he despairs from

from his Arms. — It is certainly the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to resolve on all matters of Peace and War ; and to direct her Majesty's Royal Wisdom, may seem unbecoming the Obedience that we are taught ; but since she has communicated the Advances to Peace to her Parliament, it appears by that she will in a great measure be influenc'd by their Faithful and Humble Advice. The Lords have given theirs with more Plainness ; the Commons with more Reserve. The one have nam'd the *Exclusion of the House of Bourbon from Spain and the Indies*, the other have not nam'd it. Room enough is left for a happy Conclusion of this Important Debate, and the Zeal of the Commons to carry on the War with Vigour, will facilitate a just, good, and lasting Peace, as much as the boldest Resolutions, which serve however to encourage our Friends, and to dishearten our Enemies, who can have no Heart in any thing but our Factions and Animosities. Those noble Lords who bravely broke thro' long Prejudices to declare freely for the House of *Austria* and the Safety of *Europe*, deserve the highest Acknowledgments from all that wish their Country well, and their Fame will be Immortal. His especially, who so nobly distinguish'd his Zeal in the Common Cause, whose weight turn'd the Scale, and as it ever has been and ever will be on the side of *the Church*, it can no more be pretended that to be for such or for such, is to be for *the Church*. Her brightest Ornaments,

Her boldest Champions and most dutiful Sons have espous'd that Cause to which they have been represented Enemies; and we have all the Reason in the World to hope, that by their Example her Name will be no longer made use of to promote the Designs of crafty and ambitious Men, nor will the Whigs dare to charge her with betraying our own Liberties, or the Liberties of *Europe*, since the highest Churchmen have prov'd the best *Englishmen*. And now it can no more be a Term of Reproach. What a fair Opportunity is given to all true Churchmen to put an end to that hateful Distinction for ever, by joyning heartily against *France* and the Pretender, and rejecting all Offers of Peace that do not make *Europe* safe from the one, and *England* from the other? As soon as that is effected, we have no more occasion of War. Till then, Peace can be no Blessing; and tho' it is charg'd upon some Persons that they desire War, because War is necessary for them, Is it not easy to turn that Argument? and is there any thing really more in this Dispute, that may prevent a good Understanding between Lords and Commons, which is the only way to a safe and an honourable Peace, and without these Epithets I desire never to hear it nam'd.

There's nothing that surprizes me more in the Transactions I have seen, than that Men of Good Estates, Merit and Capacity, shou'd so blindly give themselves up to a Party for the sake even of their Inferiors, as not to make use of their Reason or their Senses. Wou'd

not one think there was Witchcraft in it. When I see Men of contemptible Parts and Fortunes leading others of great Worth and Interest in the World, what can I impute it to but Infatuation? You can never be impos'd on by the specious Pretences which may deceive such as think there is no Honesty but in Ignorance, no Loyalty but in Slavery, no Religion but in Bigotry, no Wealth but in Dirt, and no Virtue but in *October*. The Judgment of Politicians of this Size will gain little upon Persons of Sense and Penetration; But yours and that of Men of your Abilities and Honour, will always engage us to pay an Homage to it. Is it not dangerous then for Passion, or Prejudice, to mingle with it? and will it not cloud the brightest Reason, and hinder the Operations of a sound Mind, and clear Understanding. Pique is a poor Sentiment of the Soul, and beneath one that has the good of Mankind for its Object; because I have been disoblig'd by this Man, or neglected by that, shall I Sacrifice the Welfare of Millions? What a terrible Revenge shall I take, and what an unjust, if I carry my Resentments to the Future, and make all Posterity miserable, because one Man in this Age did not serve, nor another love me? Yet how much of this will be found in the mighty Controversies of our Times? and how much do our Affections to Men direct us in our Opinion of Things? Who will examine his own Heart, and speak plain on this Subject? As for my own Part, I have done it,

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and do it now, in declaring on the Faith of a true Protestant, and an honest *Britain*, that I never had the least Benefit, or hope of Benefit from the late M——y, and am as entirely unknown to them, as to you; yet from what I saw done, and what I see doing, I cannot imagine why I should change my Mind, or be more for Peace without *Spain* now, than I was two Years ago. If I were, I should make my Court very ill to their Successors, as is too obvious to need any Explanation.

I have always had such a Deference for your Character, that I could not help speaking these Truths to you in this manner. I do not flatter my self, that your own better Sense cou'd not furnish you with much better Arguments, but as we are told, that to hear a dull *Parson* is our Duty, rather than to hear none, since he may, by refreshing our Memories, recover some Ideas that otherwise we might be willing to forget; so, if I have only given room to your own Thoughts to weigh these things, the Result of your just Reflections will do more than I dare pretend to, in obtaining the Ends of this Address, for which I humbly beg your Pardon.

FINIS.

