Answer.

The Men then in Power preserv'd King Charles the Second's Prerogative, by opposing such unjustifiable Proceedings, and those in Authority now are ready to do the same by King William's: and if they take the same Measures, they do but follow a good Copy, which render'd their Predecessors Fame of a Loyal Savour, and will deduce their own to Pesterity, without any other Assistance than its own Merit for it Conveyance.

These Measures that were taken to run down this Right of the Subject, and to subvert the Constitution of Parliament, together with the Displeasure conceiv'd against some Men of great Posts in the Law, and Figure in the Civil State, for acting Illegally, and giving pernicious Councel (as the Commons were pleas'd to term it) to his Majesty, occasion'd very warm Votes and Resolutions in the next Parliament, which, after many Proroguations, sate on the 21st of October, 1680. and continued sitting to the 10th day of January following.

Within six days after their Meeting, (viz. O80-ber the 17th.) immediately after they had agreed upon an Address to his Majesty, wherein they express'd their Resolution to pursue with a strict and impartial Enquiry the execrable Popuso Plot, they proceeded to Votes about Petitions. Then, as I ob-

serv'd before, 'twas

"Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted Right of the Subjects of England, to petition the King for the calling and sitting of Parliaments, and redressing Grievances.

" Resolv'd, That to traduce such Petitioning as " a Violation of Duty, and to represent it to his "Majesty as Tumultuous and Seditious, is to be-"tray the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes "to the Delign of subverting the antient legal "Constitutions of this Kingdom, and introducing "ARBITRARY POWER.

"Order'd, That a Committee be appointed to en-" guire of all fuch Persons as have oftended against

"these Rights of the Subjects.

The next day (October the 28th) Sir Francis Wythens, as I have obterv'd before, being found Guilty in this particular, they voted him a Betrayer of the Undoubted Rights of the Subjects of England, and order'd him to be expell'd the House. The City of London, having petition'd the House against Sir George Feffereys their Recorder, and it being referr'd to a Committee, they pass'd this

Vote on the 12th of November following,

"Resolv'd, That this Committee is of opinion, "That by the Evidence given to this Commit-"tee, it does appear that Sir George Jeffereys, Re-"corder of the City of London, by traducing and "obstructing Petitioning for the sitting of this Par-"liament, hath betrayed the Rights of the Subject. To which the House agreed, and 'twas order'd, "That an humble Address be made to his Majesty "to remove him out of all publick Offices". They farther Order'd likewise, That the Committee should enquire into all such persons as had been advising or promoting of the late Proclamation, stilled, A Proclamation against Tumultuous Petitioning. The Grand-Juries of the Counties of Somerset and Devon having expressed their Detestation of such Petitioning, the House on the nineteenth of November order'd that the two Foremen of the said Juries, and two others, should be sent for in Cultody of the Serjeant at Arms, to answer for Breach of Privilege (as they called this Abhorhorrence of Petitioning) by them committed a gainst the House. The next day they voted, That one Thomas Herbert Esq. should be sent for in Cussionly, for prosecuting John Arnold Esq; at the Council Table, for promoting a Petition, and precuring Subscriptions. To them they added two others upon the same account, whom they call'd, Betrayers of the Liberties of the Subject.

Answer.

Measures were not taken to run down the Right of the Subject, but to assert that of the Prince, who was of too gracious a Nature to thirst after an Exorbitancy of Power, and of too Fatherly a Disposition, not to have a tender regard for the Welfare of his People; and an Impartial Enquiry will inform us, that the Cry of the House at that time was against every one that was in Favour of his Prince as a Betrayer of his Country, and an Enemy to that Soit of Government they were desirous of introducing. So that it's no wender that Sir George Jeffereys, for advising the Citizens, as it was his Duty, not to Petition, and Sir Francis Wythens, for his Abhorrence of Tumultuary Proceedings, fell under the high Displeasure of the House. But I cannot but take notice that the House in those Times of Reformation imprison'd (that is, order'd Mr. Herbert in: Custody) one that was not a Member, which is a sufficient Precedent for what has been done of the same nature in this Parliament.

On Wednesday the fifth of January, the Commons order'd an Impeachment against Sir Francis North, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir William Scroggs, Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench, Sir Thomas Jones, one of the Justices of the same Bench, and Sir Richard Weston, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. Sir Francis North's Crime was, That he (as appear'd by the Confession of the

Attorney-General before the House on Wednesday the 4th of November) was, Adv sing and assisting in drawing up and peffing the Proclamations against Tumultuous Petitions. Against Sir William Scroggs and Sir Thomas Jones there were a great many Complaints, which occasion'd many Resolutions of the House, and Votes against them. One of the great Complaints was, That when the Grand-Jury which serv'd for the Hundred of Ossulston in the County of Middlesex, attended the Kings-Bench with a Petition, which they desir'd the Court to present in their Name to his Majesty, for the sitting of that Parliament, the Chief Justice said, he would dispatch them presently; That they took it ill to have a Petition offer'd to alter the King's Mind contrary to his Proclamation; That when there were several Presentments against Papists and other Offenders, they discharg'd the Grand Jury four days before the end of the Term, which was never done before: This Act they voted Arbitrary, Illegal, and a high Misdemeanour, several days before this Impeachment was order'd. One of Mr. Baron Weston's great Crimes was, That, in an extraordinary kind of Charge given the Atlizes before at Kingston (in the County of Surrey) he inveigh'd very much against Farel, Luther, Calvin and Zuinglius, condemning them as Authors of the Reformation: Which was against their Princes Minds; and then adding to this purpose: Zuinglius set up his Fanaticisms, and Calvin built on that bleffed Foundation: and to speak Truth, all his Disciples are sea-Son'd with such a sharpness of Spirit, that it much concerns Magistrates to keep a streight hand over them; and now they are restless, amusing us with Fears, AND NOTHING WILL SERVE THEM BUT A PARLIAMENT. For my part, 1 know no Representative of the Nation but the KING; all Power centers in Him. Tis true, he does intrust it

CALLED THE SECTION OF CHARLES AND ADDRESS OF CALLED

with his Ministers, but he is the sole Representative; and if aith he has Wisdom enough to intrust it no more in these Men. who have given us such late Examples of their Wisdom and Faithfulness. These Words (which were witnessed by several persons, some of whom put them immediately in writing) made the Committee before whom they were provid come to this Resolution, "That the said Expressions in the Charge given by the said Baron "Weston, were a Scandal to the Resormation, in derogation of the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments, and tending to rise Discord between his Majesty and his Subjects,

Answer.

Their Impeachment of the Judges is much of the same Complexion with their Treatment of those last mentioned; and Petitions against Proclamations look so very like a Desiance of the Designs of 'em, that it was wholly necessary to suppress'em, in order to keep the Publick Peace. But we have a more clear Indication of their Tempers as well as Religion, from their Vote, That it was a Scandal to the Reformation for Mr. Baron Weston to call Zuinglius his Principles Fanaticisms, and to say Calvin and Luther built upon the same blessed Foundation, since they were altogether very distant from the Articles of Religion profess'd in the Church of England by Law established.

Two days after that the Commons agreed upon Impeaching these Great Men of the Law (who every one came under the publick Censure for appearing Abhorrers of Petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament) they sell into other Votes, which shew'd what it was they wanted a Parliament for. Upon a Message sent to them from his Majesty, they came to these several Resolutions sollowing:

" Refolv'd,

"Refolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this House, "That there is no Security or Safety for the Pro"testant Religion, the King's Life, or the Well"constituted and Establish'd Government of this
"Kingdom, without passing a Bill for Disabling
"James Duke of York to inherit the Imperial
"Crown of England and Ireland, and the Domini"ons and Territories thereunto belonging: And
"to rely upon any other Means or Remedies
"without such a Bill, is not only insufficient, but
"dangerous.

"Refolv'd, That his Majesty in his last Message "having assur'd this House of his Readiness to "concur in all other Means for the Preservation of "the Protestant Religion, this House doth de-"clare, That until a Bill be likewise pass'd for "Excluding the Duke of York, this House can-"not give any Supply to his Majesty, with-"out Danger to his Majesty's Person, extreme "Hazard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaith-"fulness to those by whom this House is en"trusted.

"Refolv'd, That all Persons who advis'd his "Majesty in his last Message to this House, to in"sist upon an Opinion against the Bill for Exclu"ding the Duke of York, have given pernicious "Councel to his Maiesty, and are PROMO"TERS OF POPERY, AND ENE"MIES TO THE KING AND KING"DOM.

After these General Resolutions, they ran into severe Votes and Resolutions against Geo-ge E. of Hal--x, H-ry Mar-qs of Wor--er, H-ry E. of Cla--on, Law--ce H-de Esq; Le-s E. of Fev--am. A Motion was also made for an Address to his Majesty to remove Ed-rd Sey-r Esq; from his Majesty's Council and Presence, but it was adjourn'd to the Monday sollowing, which was the day on which the Parliament was prorogu'd.

The reason perhaps why they did not press this Motion, was because they had agreed upon Articles of Impeachment against him, upon other scores, just twenty days before.

. Answer.

After they had, as it were, quarrell'd with their God, in the Vindication of false Doctrines, and what was dissonant to the Liturgy of these Nations, it was but natural for 'em to fall upon their Prince, and wound his Honour in the Person of his Royal Brother and Successor. The Bill of Exclusion was a thing to be agreed upon in return to His Majesty's most gracious Message, and the celebrated Names that bear the Royal Unfortunate Company, amongst whom is the pre-Jent Earl of Rochester, now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his present Majesty's Uncle and Councellor, were to be Sharers with him in his Misfortunes and the Loss of his Inheritance. Oh the Effrontery! (to make use of his own words) none but a Calvinist would write in behalf of such shameless Endeavours, and none but a murmuring Puritan would defend'em.

Their warm Proceedings, and their infifting upon that particular Method to secure the Protestant Religion, occasion'd not only the Prorogation of this Parliament on the 10th of January, but of the following Parliament likewise at Oxford, which met the 21st of March, and was dismiss'd on the 28th as soon as they read the Bill of Exclusion brought in there. On the 10th of January the House of Commons knowing that they were to be prorogu'd, before the Prorogation came to several Resolutions, two of which I shall here take notice of.

i. "Refolv'd,

"i." Resolv'd, That whosoever advis'd his Ma"jesty to prorogue this Parliament to any other
"purpose than in order to the patsing of a Bill for "the Exclusion of James Duke of York, is a Betray-"er of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of "the Kingdom of England, A PROMOTER "OF THE FRENCH INTEREST, "AND A PENSIONER TO FRANCE. 2. "Resolv'd, That the Thanks of this House "be given to the CITY OF LONDON, for "their manifest Loyalty to the King, their Care, "Charge, and Vigilance for the Preservation of "his Majesty's Person, and of the Protestant Reli-"gion". This Care and Concern which the City of London shew'd for the Protestant Religion, in that time of imminent Danger, appear'd in many Instances, and in two particularly, which the House thought did then deserve a grateful Acknowledgement, first in petitioning the King for the Sitting of that Parliament; secondly, in voting an Address to his Majesty to declare their Loyalty; and to petition him that the Parliament might sit until Protestantism was secur'd.

Answer.

Their warm Proceedings in those days were not so much the effect of their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, as their Hatred for the Person of the Duke of York, who, if any thing could have gain'd upon their Resentments, or abated their Displeasure, was at that time accounted one of the finest Princes in Europe, (notwithstanding his late Degeneracy) and had done things for the Publick Service, which had the Acknowledgments of all Christian Princes, and would have work'd upon any bodies Temper, but the minds of some men that were prejudic'd and embitter'd against him: And the two Resolutions, One of Censure, by which we may see they were of the same Stamp with some that would govern in the House now, from their being said to PRO-

PROMOTE THE FRENCH INTE. REST, as PENSIONERS TO FRANCE, while they were serving their Country; and the Other of Thanks, by way of Acknowledgment to the City of London, for their great Loyalty to the King, while they were excluding his only Brother from his Right of Inheritance, and the care they had for the Security of Proteitantism, at the same time as Defamatory Pi-Aures and Libels were handed about to traduce the Hierarchy, and depretiate the Esteem which was had for the Sacred Order of Bishops. Thanks be to God, the Tide is turn'd once more in our days, and honest Men have the satisfaction of seeing a Majority in the Court of Aldermen that are true Sons to the Church of England, and the Lieutenancy in all probability will in due time be so settled, that it may be said of our London Episcopal Churches, The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against 'em.

Having given this Account of the Proceedings both of the Courtiers and House of Commons, the one to run down, the other to affert the Subjects Right of Petitioning in those days: I must crave leave to take notice of what passed afterwards, because 'twill be of use to us in the matter I am

now treating of.

After the Dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, the King publish'd a Declaration, wherein he vouchsaf'd to declare the Causes and Reasons of his Actions to his People. It might very well be imagin'd, that after the People had so universally petition'd for a Sitting of the last Parliament at West-minster, to secure their Religion and Liberties, which the Conspirators were now attacking with the utmost vigor, they were more than a little alarum'd to see that and the succeeding Parliament at Oxford so soon dissolv'd, and that deny'd them which they thought the only Security for their Religion. He begins therefore with telling them,

That 'twas with exceeding great trouble that he was brought to dissolve the two last Parliaments. 'Twere well that those who in their Votes concerning the Kentish Petition, shew'd that they have not forgotten the Spirit of the Courtiers at that time, as to their Abhorrence of Petitioning, had remember'd their other Resentments, express'd in this Declaration, as the Reasons for Dissolving that Parliament.

Answer.

His Majesty, as a Wise and Indulgent Prince, that had a Fatherly Concern for his People, and a Tenderness of Nature that was deriv'd from that August Family which he ow'd his Being to, was loth that his Subjects should interpret his Actions otherwise than they were design'd, and put an evil Constituction on what was intended to promote the Publick Tranquility: He therefore issued out his Reasons by way of Proclamation, and the indispensable Necessity he lay under of Dissolving that Parliament, that so despightfully used the Royal Authority, and set at nought the Desires and Requests of God's Anointed; and what was urged in behalf of his Proceedings, carry'd such convincing Proofs with it, at the time of its being made Publick, that it settled the Minds of those that were wavering in their Duties, and was attended with such good Effects, that Addresses came to his sacred hands instead of insolent Petitions, and the most thinking part of the World was satisfied from his Majest'ys Actions that he postpon'd his own Profit to their Advantage and Ease.

One Complaint is, That the Commons made ar. bitary illegal Orders, fer taking Persons into Custody for matters that had no relation to Privilege of Parliament. Was it at that time arbitrary and illegal to take those degenerate Wretches into Cultody, who publish'd under their Hands Abhorrences of Parliaments, and of those who in humble and lawful Manner petitioned for their Sitting in a time of such extream Necessity; and is it not now so to imprison and confine Men for doing their Duty to their King and Country, no otherwise than the Law prescribes? Is it a greater Breach of Privilege to shew a Letter written by Sir Ed--rd Se--r, than, in compliance with a strange arbitary illegal Proclamation, to run down the Subject's Right of Petitioning; and thus, in effect, to strike at Parliaments themselves, and endeavour to wound the Constitution? What would Mr. Bo--n have faid to this? Surely he must have blush'd to see his old Friends, whose Interest he then serv'd, in running down the Commons Power of imprisoning, exercise such Acts of Power as were never heard of in England before. Tom Sheridan, who labour'd in the same Cause, and wrote against that Power of the Commons, which he felt in his own Person, with as much Warmth as twas possible for Bo--n to do, did he see these things, wou'd be able perhaps, to behold them with little astonishment. He knew the Frailty of Human Nature, and carried much of it about in his own Body; for after he had taken a great deal of Pains (as also the Royal Scribes of those times, and his Religion did) in decrying Fanaticism and Republican Principles, in crying up Episcopacy and the Church of England, and rescuing the Minds of Men from those groundless Fears of Popery, which were running them into Measures pernicious to the Duke his Maiter's

Master's Interest; he saw, poor Man, Popery rampant, and a Popish King in England; he saw the Bishops, and (which he could not but wonder at) was glad to see them, in the Tower; and, which must be the greatest wonder of all to such a zealous Churchman as he was, he saw himself a Papist. It wou'd therefore be now the less surprising to him, to see his old loyal Friends turn'd downright Republicans, and as violent in the House of Commons for illegal and arbitrary imprisoning, as they were against that, and all other Power in the Commons.

Answer.

The Complaint had all manner of Justice in its side, since it was certainly a diminution of the Regal Authority, and destructive of the King's Prerogative, to imprison those faithful and affectionate Subjects, that had made a tender to him of their Allegiance and Services; and the Declaration could not be illegal, since it was His Majesty's Right to issue it forth; nor arbitrary, because it contain'd nothing in it that promoted such violent Methods, and was the result of the King's Will and Pleasure, in conjunction with the Advice of his Privy Council, according to Form, and the standing Rules of the Land: therefore the compliance with it could not wound the Constitution, or strike at the Honour of Parliaments, when the ill Offices that were done to Sir Edward Seymour in relation to the Letter he makes mention, was a manifest Breach of Privilege, and highly injurious to the Dignity those he represented had intrusted him with the preservation of.

Another Complaint in the Declaration, and a Reason given for dissolving those Parliaments, is their strange illegal Votes, declaring diverseminent Persons to ve Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and desiring to have them removed from the King's Council and Presence, without any Order or Process of Law, any Hearing of their Defence, or any Proof for much as offer'd against them. The Persons here pointed at in the Declaration are very well known, so is the Crime for which they are Declar'd Enemies to the King and Kingdom. Time has thewn whether those Parliaments had reason to express their Resentments against those Men who adher'd to the Duke of Toks Interest. Had they been less warm for him, they had perhaps, been kinder to their Religion and Country. 'Tis certain hat extraordinary Artifices were made use of to Support his Interest. Such I may call this very Declaration, which thought it was reckon'd for very good Reasons, to be contriv'd by a great French Minister, tho it came not out under the Great Seal, and was only subscribed by Francis Gwyn the Clerk of the Council. yet was read publickly in the Churches. Such I may reckon the Addresses contrived and sent up by Men of the same Leven with the former Abhorrers: Wherein some ascribe it to his Majesty's W. sdom and Soveraign Authority, that we are not relapling into the Mijeries and Confuliens of Treamy and Ulurjation, by the subtil Artifice and Cunning Contrivances of the OLE NEMIES OF THE MONARCHY AND THE CHURCH. Others, That it is the Kingdom's Interest to continue the Succession in its due and right Line; and take upon them to thank his Majesty, for its unalizerable Resolutions to preserve the Crown in its due and legal Cowfe of Descent z and undertake to sacrifice their Lives to prof roe the King's Heirs and langue Successors: And offer their Live.

and Fortunes to his Majesty's disposal for this purpose. It must be astonishing as well as surprising in those Days, that when Petitions had been not only difcountenanc'd, but forbidden by Proclamations, Addresses should so soon after be encouraged and promoted; especially when we consider that the Petitions were in reference to matters which every Body understood, and in relation to things v. herein the Law justified the Petitioners: Whereas Addresses respected Matters which very few understood, and which the Law no way authoriies private Men to meddle with, and which none save a Parliament have Power to decide or determine. If change of Parties in St. Stephens Chappel make it not astonishing to us now to see a H-----feof Com-s treat Gentlemen so severely as this has done for presenting a legal Petition, when another House has called others to account for expressing their Abhorrence of Petitioning; yet it must feem a little strange, to see those who promoted Addresses to the King to secure the Interest of a Popish Successor, imprison so many Gentlemen of Worth and Note in their Country, for addressing them, and praying in the most difficult Times we ever fell into, that our Religion and Safety may effectually be provided for, and that a King, who under God has preserv'd the Protestant Religion, may be enabled to affift his zillies, and confequently preserve our Religion and Liberties. But if nothing of this be strange, is it not a little amazing to compare some Mens Proceedings against others, with those Remonstrances to the Nation publish'd in the Houses of God, where they complain of Eminent Persons being voted Enemies to the King and Kingdon, and address'd against to have them removed from the King's Council and Presence, without any Order or Process of Law, any Hearing of their Defence? Were such Votes and Addresses greater Hardships in the Reign of a King who made

made it his Rule to heap Favours on those who were under the Displeasure of the House of Commons, than they are under a Prince, whom the Commons reckon oblig'd in a manner to comply with them in all their Desires?

Answer.

Tho' it could not be arbitrary in the King to issue forth a Declaration according to Law, 'twas a high Presumption in the Subject to declare divers Eminent Persons to be Enemies to the King and Kingdom, Ge. for adhering only to His Majesty's Interest, and the due Succession of the Royal Family. The Case of those Noble Peers was hugely distant from that of the Lords lately Impeached, who had Articles in due Form and Course exhibited against 'em for high Crimes and real Misdemeanours, not those that were fictitious, and not prosecuted for want of Evidence; and any one that has any remembrance of King CHARLES the Second, and calls to mind his Clearness of Wit, and Vivacity of Expression, can never think he stood in need of a French Orator to dictate to him, or a Foreign Amanuensis to put bis Words in due Form for him. As for the Charge be lays upon those Worthy Gentlemen who could not have committed the Kentish Petitioners without a Majority, I dare affirm that Ten of 'em never sate in the Oxford Parliament; and if the Commons of England have oblig'd his present Majesty in the Grant of All, at least the Chiefest of his Desires, it is but a reciprocal Obligation that lies upon Him to gratifie them with a Compliance to their Requests, that are not detrimental to his Kingly Authority.

From what I have said it appears when, and upon what account the Subject's Right of Petitioning was run down. As the Petitions offer'd by the People were for the Sitting of the Parliament, and that, to have their Religion and Liberty secur'd in a time of great and manifest Danger: So were the Abhorrences of those Petitions set a foot, four Parliaments dissolv'd, the King's Declaration containing the Reason of it publish'd in Churches, and the Thanksgiving Addresses to his majesty afterwards procur'd to defeat the Measures then taken for the Preservation of our Religion and to secure the Duke of York's peaceable Succession to the Crown. If there be any who consider, That those who have a concern for the Protestant Religion, must apprehend at least as much Evil from K. J. or his Family's returning now, as from his Succession at that time, and that as it is of as great Importance to the Affairs of France to have him on the Throne, or Confusion in England, as then it was; so Count Ta---rd must be as industrious in taking Measures to serve his Master, as Mr. Bar---on was in those Days: It must be a very melancholy Reflection to them, to think how differing the Temper of the Co---ns of England now is from what it was then: And to see the Power in their Hands, who were in all those Court-measures which, I'm afraid, have not yet had their worst Effects.

Answer.

The Commons of England have afted this last Sessions so little favourably to King James his Interest, that howsoever industrious Count Tallard might be for His and his Master's Service, he met with very ill Success; which convinces me that he was not so lavish of his Louis-d'Ors as our Author would

would intimate, who seems to be altogether in the dark, and as foreign from the knowledge of that Minister's Golden Negotiations, as any man breathing. And the King of France has other Fish to try in the Spanish Territories about the Succession, than to be at liberty at this time to affert a Prince's Title he has already relinquished in the late Articles of Peace, and declar'd to be of no Force by his owning King William. Monsieur Barillon's Industry to serve his Malter was at a time when the eyes of all our Europe were fix'd on the Inclination of this Court, and other Princes waited to take their Measures from the Discoveries that could be made of which side England would take, that of France or Spain: and the French Minister of a later date employed his Artifices to bring over some Courtiers to his side, who were neither honest enough to refist Temptations, nor had Love enough to their Prince and Country, not to forward the Interest of another Monarch by the Treaty of Partition. But as for Engagements made with Senators, or Gifts distributed to draw over the Country Party to his Master's side, not a Resolution made during this whole Session of Parliament has given the least grounds for such a Suspicion, but on the contrary, has made appear to all Christendom that the Exorbitant Greatness of France was an Eyefore to them, and they unanimously voted such Measures to be taken as might strengthen our Alliance with our old Friend and Confederate the Emperour, and in Conjunction with the States of Holland, enable bim to make good his Pretensions to the Dominions of Spain, which had been in the Austrian Family for some Ages, and were fraudulently usurp'd by a Young Prince of the House of Bourbon.

Good-natur'd People, who are as far from being suspicious of others, as they are from evil Designs themselves, do, I know, judge those Men too severe in their Censures, who think that in the Treatment of the Kentish Petitioners there were the same Regards and Designs that were formerly in their Abborrences and Addresses: Or that this was done to gratify Count Tu--rd, and, by striking a Terror, to prevent the People from running universally into Petitions and Addresses, and conjuring up a Spirit in the Nation which might be very prejudicial to his Master's Affairs. Tis true indeed, they do, and must own, that 'tis hard to account for the Severity of their Proceedings: That when the Law has in express Words provided that People may petition the Parliament, they shou'd place such an Affront on the County of Kent (I shou'd say the whole Kingdom of England) and to imprison their Delegates after the manner they did. If every Part of the Petition was not so nicely worded as they wou'd have it, wou'd it not be sufficient to reprove them for it? Wou'd no less Punishment than Imprisonment do? If any of their own Members be at any time tax'd for speaking amis, they are suffer'd to explain themselves; why should not they allow others to do the same? If there was any thing in the Petition which the House thought a Reflection, one of the Gentlemen told Sir The--us Ogl--rp, they wou'd declare at the Bar of the House that 'twas what they did not design, and wou'd ask Pardon for it; but nothing wou'd serve that Plenipotentiary's turn but to have them declare that they were forry for presenting the Petition, which they never wou'd do.

Answ. Whatever he means by good-natur'd People, it is not my Business to explain, but I dare

affirm that any Person of less Simplicity than a mere Natural, with half an Eye can find out the same Pernicious Designs, as were in the Petitions to King Charles the First, and might have had the Same Consequences in creating a Misunderstanding between King and People, had not the Prudence of our Senators timely prevented the spreading of the Disease, like Skilful Surgeons that make use of Painful Remedies, such as Amputations to stop the Progress of the Gangrene--- Ne pars sincera trahatur, lest it should diffuse it self amidst the Vitals, and occasion the Death of their Patient. The Abhorrences in King Charles the 2d's Time did not aim at the Diminution (or rather Suppression) of the Legislative Authority, but were for the Advancement and Increase of it, they made the Prosperity of the King, the Success of the People, and interwove the Prerogative with the Immunities of the Subject; when that which is now brought as an Instance before us was for placing the whole Authority in the People that sent it, and impudently assum'd the Liberty of Advising those whom they should seek Advice from, as they did in a manner declare War, and cry out, To your Tents, O Israel. Now the Question is, whether Count Talard's Lovis d'O'rs had taken their Progress into Kent, instead of making a Visit to St. Stephen's Chappel (as our Author would perswade the World) for it's as clear as the Light it self, to be the only way to set the Nation together by the Ears and create Intestine Divisions, was to advance a Proposition that - one Third of 'em did not think advisable for their Safety; and sound the Trumpet for a War, when they were yet languishing under the Effects of it, and were so far from being recover'd to their former State of Health by a Peace, that the present Tranquility we enjoy, must have some Years continuance before me san be perfectly able to tall the Smeets of it.

That which gave offence was, calling their Addresses Loyal: If they were Loyal, it could be no Reflection to call them so; if they were not, they had Reason I confess to think it a Jeer, and at the same time they ought to confess that 'twas what they deserv'd. It is most certain, that the Design of the Gentlemen who sign'd that Petition, was to serve their Country by it, which they did essectually: the Methods then that they made use of must be such as they thought properest for that end; wherefore the Goodness and Sincerity of their Intentions must silence every thing that can be said against their way of expressing themselves.

Answ. Men are apt to make a Judgment of the Sincerity of People's Intentions from their Expressions, and where undutiful Words are made use of, there, we may presume, are some Designs of falling from Obedience. The Epithet LOYAL was given to the Parliament Addresses by way of IRONY, not as if they were not actually so, and shew'd the Design of the Kentish Petitioners was to defame 'em, by saying as much as, their Hearts were open and ready to make His Majesty a Tender of their Obedience, but their Purses were shut, and contradicted their fair Speeches by refusing to give him Assistance. If this be not an indecent Reflection upon the Honour of Parliaments, let the Pamphleteer tell me what is, and if he can produce an Instance of so contumacious a Nature amidst any of those Reverential Addresses which he call's Abhorrences, I'll fairly own my self in the wrong, and subscribe to the Truth of what he lays down for unquestionable Verity.

The Censure of the Commons is very severe, they tell us the Petition is scandalous, insolent, seditions, tending to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and subvert the establish'd Government of this Realm. By the Harshness of the Expressions,

a Man wou'd think that this Petition were an Address to a King, or a Remonstrance that charg'd him with a felonious Conspiracy, or making a Treaty in its own Nature unjust. How can it be scandalous or insolent for so considerable a Branch of the English Nation to present an humble Petition to their Delegates, and pray their Attorneys (as Members were formerly call'd) to take care of the Business they intrusted them with? How can it be seditious to shew an extraordinary and unparalleli'd Zeal for the King, to pray that he may be enabled to asfift his Allies, and that God may long continue his propitious and unblemish'd Reign over us? How can it tend to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and subvert the establish'd Government of this Realm, to pray to have those things done, which are absolutely necessary to prevent our falling into the hands of those Enemies who will certainly destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and subvert the establish d Government of this Realm. The last Westminster Parliament in the Reign of K Charles II. Resolv'd, Nemine Contradicente, (as I observed before) That to traduce Petitioning as a Violation of Duty, and to represent it to his Mijesty as tumultuous and seditions, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the Design of Subverting the antient legal Constitution of this Kingdom, and introducing Arbitrary Power. This Parliament resolves, that the Kentish Petition tends to destroy the Constitution of Parliaments, and to subvert the established Government of this Realm. 'Tis very itrange that to traduce Petitioning, and to petition shou'd both tend to subvert the Constitution.

Arsw. The Resolution of the Commons in Reference to the Petition was so necessary at that juncture, that it could not be tax'd with Severity, since it prevented the Nation from entring into

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Plots and Parties, and confederating for each others imaginary Security; and the Expressions in it are much more unblameable, than what was made use of in the Remonstrance it Censur'd; and the County of Kent have made themselves so inconsiderable a Part of the Nation by the Presentment of it, that it was requisite those Gentlemen who represented the Whole shou'd let'em know it. It's a warrantable thing to pray for his Majesty, but it's certainly unjust and unmannerly to revile the Representatives of his Subjects, it cannot be seditious to send up Entreaties to Heaven to preserve the establish'd Government, but it looks like something of the same mutinous Complexion, to give Hints in a Petition as if it were in danger, and disquiet the Minds of the People by acquainting 'em, that Matters were not fairly carried, when the Session has concluded with all imaginable Advantage to the Publick, by the Prudent Management of our Wise Representatives.

If it be the undoubted Right of the Subject to petition, 'twill be very easy to determin which of the two Resolutions is rightest; and if we compare the former Inclinations of a Party with their late Proceedings, 'twill be evident to us, how the last Resolution happens to be wrong. But 'tis said that there is some thing particular in the Petition, which justifies this Resolution; the Petition directs the House of Commons, and tells them what they shall do; this, they say, is insolent, and tends to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the establish d Government of this Realm. Very strange! Can any Man or Body of Men offer a Petition to others, that is not liable to the same Censure? Does not their Petitioning plainly lay, that they think themselves aggriev'd? Does not their Prayer direct those to whom they address, what they are to do? But how this Petition of the Grand

Grand Jury, Justices of Peace, and Freeholders of the County of Kent, can be said to tend to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the establish'd Government of this Realm, is

to me very difficult to conceive.

Answ. It's the Subjects undoubted Right to Petition, but not to make use of Words that shew him Superior to the Power he makes Address to, and derogate from their Authority whom he begs Assistance from. They were not Imprison'd for Petitioning, but taking the Posts of those Gentlemen the Petition was given to, and Usurping a Freedom of Speech which is not Tolerated in any Person that is not a Member of that Venerable Assembly. If their Representatives were not Wiser than themselves, Why did they Chuse'em? If they were not above being Directed, and Capable of making Provision for the Security of the Publick, Why were they Entrusted with the Preservation of their Liberties and all that was Valuable to Men, as Rational Creatures?

Had this indeed, which is an humble Petition, carry'd Authority and Power in it; had they pretended to a Right to command the House of Commons to do what they would have them, I cannot see how even such an assuming Address as this cou'd bring our Constitution into any great hazard. Shou'd the whole Freeholders of the County of Kem join unanimously in such an Address, yet - wou'd the Power and Authority of the Representatives of the Freemen of England, and the Constitution of Parliament, rest very secure in the Judgment of the rest of the People, who wou'd never justify such an Usurp'd Authority. An usurp'd Authority I call it, and must subscribe to that, as what I take to be very moderate and just, which Colonel Algernon Sidney says in that Discourse which cost him his Life; I believe, layshe, that the Powers of every County, City and BorBorough of England, are regulated by the General Law to which they have all consented, and by which they are all made Members of one Political Body--- Among us every County does not make a distinct Body, having in it self a Sovereign Pomer, but is a Member of that great Body which comprehends the whole Nation. Tis not therefore for KENT or SUSSEX, LEWIS or MAIDSTONE. but for the whole Nation that the Members choses in those Places are sent to serve in Parliament: And tho' it be fit for them as Friends and Neighbours (so far us may be) to hearken to the Opinions of the Electors for the Information of their Judgments, and to the end that what they shall say. may be of more weight, when every one is known nut to speak his own Thoughts only, but those of a great Number of Men; yet they are not strictly and properly oblig'd to give account of their Actions to any, unless the whole Body of the Nation for which they serve, and who are equally concern'd in their Reso. lutions, cou'd be assembl'd. This being impractienble, the only Punishment to which they are subject, if they betray their Trust, is SCORN, INFAMY, HATRED, AND AN ASSURANCE OF BE-ING REJECTED WHEN THEY SHALL A-GAIN SEEK THE SAME HONOUR.

Answ. But suppose this Humble Petition assumed a Power which did not belong to Petitioners (as it astually did) where was the fault of suppressing it? Suppose it had no such thing as Humility in it, but on the contrary was Arrogant and Presumptuous, and tended to the creation of Jealousies, amongst his Mujesty's good Subjects, why should it not be said to tend to destroy the Constitution of Parliaments, and to subvert the establish'd Government of this Realm? What has been done, may be done again, and there are some living that have seen a Civil War spring from the same Beginnings, and can witness such Humble Proceedings

as these have occasion'd such Insolence as is not to be Parallell'd in History, and such disrespect to Crown'd Head:, as to Condemn Sacred Majesty as the Vilest Criminal, and turn Decency and Order into the greatest Confusion. As for Algernoon Sidney's System of Government, it probably may please any one that is crept into the same discontented Republican Party, but what he says has little weight with me, I shall therefore only make this Observation, that it's no disgrace to a Cause, to have an Advocate for a declared Traitor who suffer'd the Pains of Death for his Treasons, write against it, but it makes for the Honour of the Proceedings in Parliament, that they run Counter to OCEANAS and Factious DISCOURSES OF GOVERNMENT.

But tho' a part of the Freeholders of England cannot impose their Commands on the Representatives of the Whole, yet may they represent any private or publick Grievance; nor can I see how the doing this can tend to destroy the Constitution of Parliament. The Meaning of those who tell us that it does, must be this, that some People's complaining in behalf of the Publick, may probably influence others, and thus occasion Petitions from all Parts of the Kingdom. What if it shou'd do so? What if far the greater part of the Freemen and Freeholders of England shou'd send Petitions, and represent publick Grievances; how can this tend to destroy the Constitution of Parliament? If there be any Law which forbids the People to address, or give any Instructions to their Delegates, the doing so must be own'd to be against Law; but itis not a Trespass, which (to speak in the Phrase of a certain Patriot) can pull up our Constitution by the Rocts.

Answ. If a Part of the Freeholders of England cannot impose their Commands on the Representatives of the whole, why should not the

County

County of Kent fall under the House's Displeasure for Attempting it, and if they Represent Grievances by way of Upbraiding their Superiors for not Redressing 'em, where is the Infringment of the Liberties of the Subject if they are Punished for so doing? But here were no such things as Grievances laid before 'em, they wanted a War that others might be Aggrieved, and were wearied with a Peace, that had kept 'em something more Honest than ordinary

for three whole Years.

But we are told, that by the Constitution of our Parliament, the Members are left to the Freedom of their own Debates, and are to act without Controul; they therefore who take upon them to intermeddle in their Buliness, invade that Freedom, and consequently our Constitution. They who tell us that the Representatives of the Freemen of England have such a Freedom as this, and are to act without Controul, cannot sure mean that they have delegated their whole Power to them, so that 'tis free for them to do whatever they please, without any regard to the Inclinations or Interest of those who employ them. Tis not to be suppos'd that he who takes what Servant he pleases, is oblig'd to suffer him to do what he pleases. The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesles, sent by the People of England to serve in Parliament, have a Trust reposed in them, which if they should manifestly betray, the People, in whom the Power is more perfectly and fully than in their Delegates, mult have a Right to help and preserve themselves. Were not this so, the Condition of those who act by Delegates, would be worse, and their Freedom less than that of other States; which I think is not so in the reckoning of Mankird.

Answ. The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, are sent by the People of England to secure their

Liberties in Parliament, and take care that the respe-Etive Places they are chosen for do not suffer in the Loss of their Immunities, or for want of a due Regard to their Customs and Priviledges. They are a sort of Champions that undertake our Defence, and espouse our Cause, and are as much Superior to those they assist with their Councils, &c. as he that makes the Law is to him that is directed by it, or a Person protected to him that give's him Protection, and whatever may be meant by calling them the Peoples Servants, 'tis certain they are the Peoples Masters by their own Act and Choice, and may keep'em under such Rules of Government as seem most adviseable to the guidance of right Reason, and the direction of Wisdom and Justice.

The Achaians, Etolians, Latins, Samuites, and Tuscans, formerly did, as now the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the Switsers, and Grisons do, transact all things relating to their Associations by Delegates; The Athenians, Carthagenians, and Romans kept, as the Venetians, Genoeses, and Luccheses do now, the Power in their own hands. These all, as the above-nam'd Honourable Author observes, were and are equally free. But 'twould, I think, be very improper to reckon them so, unless we suppos'd that the Power committed to their Trustees remain'd still

in them.

Answ. A Free State (as I take it) is a sort of a Commonwealth that is not Govern'd by a King, but is rul'd by Laws that are not Monarchical, such as Hamburgh and other Hans Towns, and was what Mr. Sidney drove at in his possilent Schemes relating to Government. Wherefore the Authorities be makes use of from the abovemention'd Author are not pertinent to the Business in Hand, since they are recited to Justify what they were not written in windication of, and are brought in to Assert what was never inicoded by them.

That the Power arises and is fix'd here, and that the Delegates reckon themselves oblig'd to follow the Directions of those who chuse them, is evident from the practice of other Countries, whose Governments had the same Origin with that of England. The Deputies or Procuradores of the several Parts of Castile, did in the Cortez held at Madrid, in the beginning of Charles the Fifth's Reign, excuse themselves from giving the Supplys he desir'd, because they had receiv'd no Orders in that Particular from the Towns that sent them; and afterwards receiving express Orders not to do it, they gave His Majesty a flat denial. The like was frequently done during the Reigns of that Great Prince, and of his Son Philip the Second. The same way was taken in France, as long as there were any General Assemblies of Estates; and if it do not still continue, 'tis because there are none. For no Man who understood the Affairs of that Kingdom, did ever deny, that the Deputies were oblig'd to follow the Orders of those who sent them.

Answ. If I chuse a Person for my Commissioner in any Affair, and resign up the management of my Interest entirely to his discretion, I invest him with the Power I had of doing Justice to my self, and have it no longer in my Breast to propose terms of Agreement, &c. I must stand by his Decision in the matter, and hold my self contented with what-Toever Judgment he shall make. I may indeed lay forth the hardship of my Case, and propose it to his Consideration, but I cannot enforce him to act altogether in my favour, and without any regard to Impartiality, decide the matter he is entrusted with, to my Advantage. The same may be done by Countys and Burroughs at the Choice of their Representatives, who may be reminded of the several Grievances the respective Corporations lie under;

but not by way of Command to redress e'm, but by way of entreaty, and in a dutiful manner that becomes Supplicants to petition for Favours they

stand in need of.

In the General Assembly of Estates held at Bloys in the time of Henry the Third, Bodin, then Deputy for the Third Estate of Vermandois, by their particular Order, propos'd so many things as took up a good part of their time. Other Deputies alledg'd no other Reason for many things said and done by them, than that they were commanded so to do by their Superiors. These General Assemblies being laid aside, the same Custom is still used in the lesser Assemblies of Estates in Languedoc and Brittany. The Deputies cannot, without the infamy of betraying their Trust and sear of Punishment, recede from the Orders given by their Principals. The same Method is every day practis'd in the Diets of Germany; the Princes and great Lords, who have their places in their own Rights, may do what they please; but the Deputies of the Cities must foilow such Orders as they receive. The Histories of Denmark, Smeden, Poland and Bobemia, testify the same things.

Answ. The General Assembly of Estates held at Bloys, are not govern'd by the same Laws and Customs as our Parliaments at Westminster, and in an Absolute Monarchy as that of France is, should there be any thing that look'd like Tyranny in the Prince it must be born with Patience by the People. Some Particular grievances in relation to the Corruption of his Officers might be laid forth in all Probability by Bodin, but they durst go no higher in Henry the 3d's Time; or take the Courage as the Patriots in our Days do of advising their Prince himself, and searching into the most secret Transactions of State, for the Security of the People: Their late Conference held with the House of Lords

in relation to the Impeachments, gives a noble instance of their Greatness of Soul, and shews that the Old British Courage is revived among em, and that they not only dare to stand up for the Rights of the the Commons, but persist in their Resolutions of opposing the Designs of those whose Power in former Reigns has been so exorbitant, as more than once to have treated Inserior Subjects like Slaves, and trample under Foot the very Prerogatives of Princes.

This appears to have been the Constitution of England. Formerly, says my Lord Coke, in the Writs to the Sheriffs for the election of Commons, the King signified that by the Advice of his Council be called them together about some weighty Affairs, that concern'd himself, the State and Defence of his Kingdom of England, and the H. Church, and required them to chuse such Men as would promote hose Affairs; that for want of such a Power, and y an improvident Election, the aforesaid Business eight not be left undone. The Bulinels that rewir'd their meeting was publish'd in the Writs. lat the Commons and Freemen might confider that they thought convenient to have done, nd that they might chuse proper Delegates, and frect them as they thought fit. This I take to e the Reason why 'twas always the Custom at emeeting to declare the cause of Parliament, which antient time, (lays he) was shew'd in the Chamr de peint, or St. Edward's Chamber: That e Persons elected being more fully inform'd of e Business to be transacted by them, might able to give their respective Countries timely formation of it, in order to receive their Diflions therein. In this Opinion we may be phrm'd by what that Great Sage of the Law sus in another place. When any new Device propos'd on the King's behalf, says he, the Commay answer, That tendred the King's Estate,

and they are ready to aid the same, only in this new Device they dare not agree without Conference with their Countries.

Answ. My Lord Coke in his Institutions by saying formerly things were manag'd so and so, does not Affirm matters ought to run in the same Channel now. Formerly Rebels dar'd Affront the Legislative Authority, take Arms against their King, and lay violent hands upon God's Anointed; but such Practices are out of door at this time of day, and ought not to be made use of as Precedents for tumultuous Proceedings. There is no reason because Ruffs and Farthingals were made use of in good Queen Bess her days, that the Ladies should dress themselves after that Antique Fashion now. Our Edwards and our Henrys had no Lewis the 14th to deal with, to oppose their Designs as soon as the were made known to him, and might let the Subjet know, by the Writ he was Elected by, what busines was to be done in Parliament; but Times are alter' since their days, and Politicks have quite another fort of Appearance. Our Senators are call'd no by His Majesty's Writ ad Consulendum in Ardi Regni Negotiis, to consult about Matters of by Importance, which are of too great moment to made Publick no otherwise than the Commons the selves at every Session shall think sit.

Since then in our Constitution the Delega of the People have reckoned that they had Trust repos'd in them by those whom they presented, and that they were oblig'd to make their Will the rule of their Actions; 'twill very hard to conceive how it can tend to stroy this Constitution, to pray them to have a gard to the Voice of the People. If they faith ly discharge the Trust repos'd in them by Country, 'twill be impossible at any time to cure a Petition signed by such a number of stemen as those of the Country of Kent, so

may any ways feem to arraign their Proceedings; but if their Management bring them under the suspicion of the Nation, the People, who have a right to preserve themselves, must be allow'd a Liberty, to let them know in civil and respectful Terms what is the Voice of the People, and what they think the Necessitys of the Publick. In such a case 'tis impossible for all to represent the Publick Grievances together; some therefore must begin, and they who address first, when there is a good reason for it, deserve the Thanks of the Whole. Twas impossible that such a considerable Body of Gentlemen as the Kentish Petitioners should conspire together to affront the House of Commons; they knew what they did was done in the Eyes and Face of the Nation, that such an Act of folly and madness must bring 'em into the lowest degree of Contempt with the People of England. They thought therefore what they did was a Duty which they ow'd their Country in that great and nice Juncture; whether it was so or no, will appear from

Answ. The voice of a Particular Community of People, or a select Body chosen out of a County, must not be understood as if the whole Nation joyn'd with them in their desires, or reckon'd the Voice of the People in General. Each Particular Member of the Hononrable House of Commons has a Trust repos'd in him, for the Preservation of the Rights which belong to each distinct County, City, or Burrough, and if the Inhabitants of the said Places think themselves aggriev'd, they ought to Address themselves only to those Knights, Citizens, or Burgelles, they have had the more immediate Choice of, not Petition, or (in more adequate Terms) complain against the whole House for their want of Forecast, in not preventing those Inconveniencies they fancy themselves threatned with. Mr. Meredith,

one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of Kent, told 'em the ill Consequences, and how it would be resented by the House, nay further, refas'd to deliver the Petition to the House, for fear of the displeasure of that August Assembly, and persisted in his Refusal, till he was threaten'd by one of the Petitioners as a Betrayer of his Country, and unworthy to be their Representative; and had it been their Duty to act in such a manner, such a Considerable Majority of the House, who had no Personal Enmity against either of the five Envoys, would bave scarce concurr'd in the Order for their Imprisonment; and His Majesty himself, whose Justice even the most presumptuous Arrogance cannot dispute, would never have given Command to have them struck out of the Lieutenancy, and Commission of the Peace, as Mr. Secretary Vernon told the House he had.

The third and last Member of this Discourse, which is to shew what Reasons those Gentlemen

had to petition.

Twas notorious to them, and all the World, that our Affairs were at that time in a very dangerous and melancholy Posture. They knew that France has a long time aim'd at the Universal Monarchy: That as she has Maxims in her Government which are very well calculated for such great Designs, so by her carrying on a Ten years War against the powerful States confederated against her, they saw that she has Force to support her in her Enterprizes. If her Power was formidable when she match'd us only in her own Strength, it must be very terrible to see her strengthen'd with the Union of no less a Power than that, which two Ages before grasp'd likewise at the Empire of the Universe. Tis true indeed, those Dominions were not bequeath'd to her; but being given to one of the House of Bourbon, who must live under the GuarGuardianship, be protected by the Power, and govern'd by the Councils of France, she must necessarily and of course have the same command over their Wealth and Force, that she had over her own. This was an early Essect of the Spaniard's Will; for tho' in the beginning the French Party among us endeavour'd to make us believe, that France would be in no better Condition than twas before, because the Duke of Anjou would forget his Father's House, and be govern'd only by Spanish Councils; yet the contrary was evident at the Time those Gentlemen deliver'd that Petition.

Answ. Having very methodically consider'd, or in his own words deliver' dehis Opinion concerning the two first Parts of the Text that has fall'n under our Observation, he apply's himself to make out the Third with the same Clearness and Perspicuity of Thought. Twas notorious, says he, to them and the whole World, that France had a long while aim'd at the Universal Monarchy, &c. Why then did not the whole World rise up in Arms to oppose it? Where was the Necessity that we alone of all the Christian States should first take an Alarum at ber Designs, and break those Tyes of a perpetual friendship which we were engag'd in by the late Treaty of Peace to the most Christian King? Were we more in danger than those upon the same Continent with him, or less Powerful to prevent his Designs than some Princes of Germany, whose nearest Concerns was to make Provision against any possibility of such Enterprizes? The Emperor indeed had some rea-Jon for making Armaments, and endeavouring to perswade other Princes to enter into Alliances with Him; He was more immediately related to the late King of Spain, was of a Family which had given Soveraigns to that Great Monarchy for several Years, and thought himself highly injur'd by a Will, which if genuine, was made against his Interest and

the most strict Agreements between the most Catholick King and himself, if sictitious, was a Violation of the Right of Kings. But we had nothing to do with the Quarrel, we were well assur'd we had no Legacies left to us, and no Pretensions to make on our Parts, we were secur'd by our Fleets which are the Bulwarks of the Nation; and the Parliament had been liberal in building of Ships, and supplying His Majesty to Man the Royal Navy, that tho' it was not our Business to begin a Rupture, it was in our Power to defend our selves, secure our Navigation, and Trade, and maintain the Rights of Commerce

with all Parts of the Earth.

They saw that the Milanese was deliver'd up to her; that the strong Holds of the Spanish Netherlands, which we have a long time reckon'd the Bulwark of England, and have spent vast Treasure and Blood to keep them out of her Hands, were all in the possession of her Troops: And not only so, but that the Administration of all the Affairs of Spain were given up to her. Besides this, they saw how great a Breach has been made in the Protestant Religion since the beginning of the last Age: That the Kingdom of Bohemia, which was almost wholly Protestant, is now intirely Popish: That in Poland, Austria, and Moravia, the Protestants who were a Moiety of the People, are utterly destroy'd: That their Destruction is almost compleated in Hungary: That the Newburgers from zealous Protestants, are turn'd deadly Enemies of the Protestant Religion: That the Palatinates are wasted with Persecution, and the Saxons their Neighbours are so far from being able to succour them, that they are in danger from their own Prince: That in France where they were powerful enough to carry on several great Civil Wars; and in Piedmon where their Numbers were much greater in proportion

portion to the Countries; and in Flanders, Baravaria, Bamburgh, Cologn, Wartzburgh, and Worms, where they were very numerous, their Religion

is totally extinguish'd.

Answ. The Milanese are so far from being posses'd by the French, that they will not as much as permit a French Garrison in any one Place, and the Capital of it has lately given such an Answer by its Senators to Prince Vaudemont, that it will rather be at the Expence of raising the Militia, than ever it shall. It's true indeed, the Town of Mantua has a French Governour in it, and the Duke of that Name, is apparently in the Interests of that Kingdom, that the strong Holds in the Spanish Netherlands, are Garrison'd by the most Christian King, but his Troops are to withdraw upon his Royal word, as soon as the said Towns shall be put into a Posture of Defence, and the Spanish Army compleated and made Capable of preventing any Insults on their Frontiers. As for the Affairs of Religion, things are in the same Condition in Poland, Austria and Moravia, as they were before His present Majesty King William's Accession to the Throne, and since no noise was made on our side in Relation to the Persecution in the Palatinate before the King Spain's Death, why should we bring that in as a Reason for War, especially at a Time when it is known that the Elector Palatine has declar'd for his Imperial Majesty's Interest. If he had not forgotten the Disgrace at the Island of Rhe, he would never have made mention of the Protestants in France, we have often times attempted their. Relief to our Cost, and our Enterprizes in Favour of the late King of Bohemia, have been attended with such a series of Misfortunes and such pernicious Consequences, that might oblige us to give over our Designs of interfering with other Prince's Affairs, and wholly apply our selves to our own.

All this was a very melancholy view; and that which made it more so, was to consider that France (which out of regard to her own Interest, the greatest and indeed only Obliga. tion in the World to her, was oblig'd by all means possible to destroy the Northern Heresy, The having made this the Foundation on which she built her Hopes of Universal Monarchy) was now in a new Friendship and Alliance with the fiercest Zealots of the Church of Rome; the Spanish Clergy, Men whom twas her business to gratify, and whom she could not gratify more than by conrriving severer Methods

to torture and destroy Hereticks.

Answ. The Prospect is Melancholy enough, that's certain, and we ought to commisserate the Sufferings of our fellow Creatures, but did any of the reform'd Church in Poland, Austria or Moravia, come to our Assistance in the many Dangers our Religion has extricated it self from? Did the Newburgheis fend us any Ships or Forces in the Spanish Invasion, er the Hugenots in France rife up in Arms when their Ling was Arming against us, and in conjunction with the late King James, was advising what Measures to take in order to rob us of our Liberties, and all that was dear to us? The Spanish Clergy, tis own'd, are great Bigots and Devotees to the See of Rome, but the present French King is not jo destiful a Son of the Church as to give his Implieit obedience to that Holy Mother, where it is net for his Interests; and since there is no Inquisition in France, and by his own Words, French Cultoms are likely to be Introduc'd into Spain, in all Probability the Inquisitor General vill lofe his Office, and there will be no such Court beld in Philip the 5th Dominions. Which supposition may already seem to be verify'd in the Inquisitor General's being Disgrace at the Court of Madrid, for his Contederacy with the Emperor's Party, who is known

to be the greatest Bigot to the Romish Superstition

of any Prince in Christendom.

In such a Juncture as this, 'twas easy for a very weak Capacity to see what it imported England to do in order to secure her own and Europe's Liberties, and to prevent the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion both at home and abroad. 'Twas evident that France, which had made such Advances already, wanted nothing to make sure of the Universal Monarchy, but only to confirm her self in the Dominions of Spain; and as evident it was that every day she continu'd unmolested in her new Acquisitions, her strength must grow predictiously, so that in a little time it must be insupportable. In that Case she had leisure and opportunity to settle her new Dominions, to discover the Weaknelles of their Fortresles, as well as Policy, and to repair both; to learn the Temper of the several Provinces, and to confider how they might be secur'd, and by what Governours; to make the best provision that was possible for defending Milan; and (which has been a long time one of the high Reaches of her Ambition) to get into a quiet pessession of all the strong Holds in Fianders.

Answ. Weak Capacities generally have the best Thoughts of their Abilities, and over-look Dissiculties when they would have any Enterprize brought to bear. Any Person indeed may see things do not go well on his side, but it's not in every one's Power to rensedy what is amiss. Conveniencies are to be daid for, and Opportunities expected, to help forward our Designs in hand, and we are not to make use of open Viclence, till such time as sitting Expedients are found out, which may put us almost beyond the possibility of miscarrying. These were the prudent Thoughts of those whose Wisdom he upbraids, and tho' France has had time to provide against us

by way of Precaution, can fortifie her Towns and Garrison, the frontiers which are most exposed to the Insults of an Enemy; we have an equal Advantage likewise of providing our selves, and entring into such Negotiations with forreign Princes in the mean while, as shall totally secure us, and render us a Match for the most Christian King,

were he never so formidable.

oppolition:

Besides this, there was another inestimable Benefit which she reap'd by the Quiet that was indulg'd her. Whilst those who a long time check'd her growing Greatness, patiently endur'd this new Union of Power, what could the other Nations of the World think, but that this unconcernedness proceeded either from an inward Satisfaction that France had acquir'd such Power, or a despair of breaking it, and restoring the Ballance again? The natural Consequence of either Resection must be to resolve that 'twas their Interest to submit, and indeed to make their Court to a Power which was likely to meet with no

Answ. France had armid her self under the Present of making good the Treaty of Partition. had Troops almost innumerable, ready to take the Field upon the first Occasion, and was in a Con dition at the Decease of K. Charles the 2d o Spain, to have done what she pleased, in stight of all the Force of Europe, then in Reing: The Motion of the Germans is naturally slow, and requires Time to be perform'd in; the Italia Frinces were in general averse 10 a War, an hadintroduc'd too much Luxury into their severe States, to recover their old Martial Temper whice they were once Fumous for; and the Dutch we jo unprovided in their Frontiers against such is tent Neighboure as encompass'd em on every sia that a Delaration of War, had been an enti

Loss of the Liberty's of Europe, which in all probability may be preserv'd by the prudent measures that have lately been taken. Cunstando restituit Rem, was the Character of a Roman General, by a Cautious delay he restor'd Rome to her former Greatness, and made amends for the rash and precipitate Conduct of those that had almost ruin'd her; and who knows but our late Proceedings may deserve the same Praise, since it is not much to be fear'd but they will be attended with the same Success.

'Twas this that made the Spaniards, and the People of their Provinces tamely suffer one of the House of Bourbon which they hated, to take possession of their Dominions: 'Twas this made other States enter into Neutralities and Alliances, which they would have refus'd, had not the quiet and peaceable Conduct of others govern'd their Inclinations. Having once fix'd their Resolutions, 'tis to be fear'd we shall find them adhere too oblinately to what they have ingag'd to France, and resolv'd with themselves. If honour be not sufficient to influence them, and keep them steddy to the Side they have chosen, even Interest may help to do it now; for the Notions of that alter, when Men have new modell'd their Thoughts, and let their Heads run upon other Schemes.

Answ. The Treaty of Partition in all Appearance, not our improvided State, made the Spaniards take such Measures as they did, and occasion de the WILL in favour of the House of Bourbon, and our adhering to too precipitate Counsels, broke off that Considence which was mutually entertained between the two Nations. What was therefore the Fault of the Ministry, ought not to be imputed to the Parliamen, who to their lasting Honour

Treaty as ENEMIES TO THE FUBLICK GOOD, and great Contributors towards the Excorbitant Greatness of France. They gave away those Kingdoms which these would keep in their due Obeaience to Spain, and parcell down Large Trasts of Land to the Family of Bourbon, when it's as certain as truth it self from the Publick Votes, that these have Address d His Majesty to enter into a strict Alliance with the House of Austria, and other Confederate States in order to oppose the I offession of what they so easily made a Grant of.

In that great Juncture, when the Sealon was for making the earliest and best provision for securing the Liberties of Europe, the Eyes of the World were all fix'd upon England. 'Twas she who had always kept the Ballance; and she only having it now in her power to determine whether it should be preserv'd or no, other Nations were to observe her Motions, and take their Measures from her. None could doubt but that if the had enter'd betimes into a firm League with the Emperor and Holland, 'twould have prefently produced a Confederacy strong enough to humble France, which was grasping at things much beyond the reach of her Power, in that feeble and weak Condition she was reduc'd to by a long War and evil Conduct.

Answ. At the Death of the King of Spain, the Eyes of the World were fix d upon England, in order to knnow how they would relish such a Disposition that was made against the Interest of her Antient Confederates. But the Constitution of this Kingdom would not allow of such Measures as the Pamphleteer would have us take at

the very receipt of the News. His Majesty indeed might have declar'd a War as it was part of the Royal Prerogative, but he could not carry it on successfully without the Consent of his I'cople, the Sinews of it were wanting, Funds already given for the Service of the Publick Leficient, and the Nation nigh I wenty Millions in Debt. When the Parliament sat, they affed jo cordially for the Ireferention of the Peace at the same time as they were employed in finding cut Ways and Means to begin a War, that whoever will take the pains to examine their Proceedings, must needs conclude they have done as much for the People of England as ever their Representarives did, and have studied the welfare of our Ancient slites, as beartily as ever Men did.

Twas therefore undoubtedly the Bulinels of English Ministers to advise the calling of a Parliament immediately upon the news of the Spaniard's Death, and of the Parliament to address the King to make Alliances. Had this been done Portugal would have thought it her interest rather to enter into Alliances with them, than make her self a Party in establishing the Throne of the Duke of Anjos, who when he is establish'd and made one with France, will certainly set up his Title to Portungal The Duke of Savoy then would have consider'd that it was by means of the Equilibrium between the House of Anfria and France that his Ancestors preserv'd their Dominions; he would have consider'd likewise whether 'twas worth his while to make his Sons Beggars, or Soldiers of Fortune, for the sake of aggrandizing his Daughter. This will be the Acquisition of his Battles if they be successful; for when the Milancse, and both the Sicilys are in the hands of France, his Dominions will be necellary to her for Communication. Anfw:

Answ. What was the Effect of Evil and Corrupt Ministers Advice, ought not to be imputed to the Conduct of those that have arraign'd 'em for want of a due Forecast, or (what is worse) a stock of Honesty, but should be laid at the doors of the Contrivers. However the Parliament might have been call'd together before the Middle of February, and yet the King of Portugal mould not have resisted the Offers of France which were so much to his Advantage, and bound Spain to relinquish her Right and Title for Ever to the Lusicanian Provinces; The Duke of Savoy likewise was too nearly related to the French by the Marriage of one of his Daughters to the Duke of Burgundy, and more entirely devoted to his Interest by the Promise he made that the other should be Queen of Spam, and tho' the Equilibrium between the two Powerful Houses of Austria and Bourbon made his Ancestors preserve their Dominions, the Advantagious Proposals made to him on the Parts of Lewis the 14th, and Philip the 5th, made him certain of adding fresh Titles to his Family, and being the most considerable Prince in all Italy.

The Pope then probably would have reflected on the Affair of the Corsi, the Extention of the Regale, the four Propositions that were advanc'd at Paris, and all the enormous Attempts against the Dignity of the Head of the Church in the Person of Pope Innocent XI. and would perhap have declar'd for the Emperor, had he had such encouragement to do it. Nor is it improbable that the Republick of Venice would do the same The could hardly avoid confidering betimes, that the Neighbourhood of France prov'd so fatal t her in the small number of Years that Lewis XII enjoy'd Milan, that he reduc'd her to greater Ex tremities than any other War, even that of th Tarks, ever did. A Consideration so powers: with that wife Republick, that tho' the va Powe

Power of the House of Austria under the Emperor Charles V: might have given her just grounds of jealousy, she would never lend her Ear to any Proposition of Francis I. Successor to Lewis XII.

Answ. The Pope would scarce have turn'd Protestant, and joyn'd with England and Holland, from the Specimen he has already given of the bent of his Inclinations for the Propagation of the Romish Faith, and the valuable Presents he has made towards the Support of the late King, as well as Promises of contributing what lies in his Power towards His Restoration. The Business of the Regale cannot well be digested by one of his Cholerick Temper, and the Four propositions, doubtless, stick in the holy Pontiff's Stomach; however he has been hitherto so far from shewing his Resentments, that he has in a manner own'd the New King of Spain, by permitting Him the Nomination to vacant Bishopricks and Abbys; and the Republick of Venice seem inclinable to the French Interest, in adhering to a strict Neutrality, even at a Time when the German Forces are so powerful and triumphant in the very Heart of Italy, as to Countenance their pulling off the Mask, if they had any Intentions to befriend 'em.

Had things been upon a right soot in England, 'tis very probable that the Duke of Bavaria, and his Brother the Arch-bishop of Cologn, would have remembred the Obligations laid upon them, at least their own Interest; and that the former would have taken Measures which would make the War much easier than 'twill be. In that Case the People of Spain, and their Provinces, would, if they did no more, keep up their old Resentments against France, which in a convenient Season would render them very

useful to the Confederates.

Answ. When Princes have Ingratitude in their very Natures, it must shew it self at the sirst Opportunity. The Duke of Bavaria omes his Government of the Netherlands to K. William's Interest with the late King of Spain, and his Brother the Electorate of Cologn and Principality of Liege, to his Wise Negotiations: But neither the Obligations which were laid upon the One, in the Provision for the Succession of his Son, the Electoral Prince to the whole Spanish Dominions, nor the Friendship which was shewn to the Other earry'd that Weight with 'em as they descro'd. The latter of these two Prince's Territories lie so much expos'd to France and Spain, and the first has so many Millions due from his late Catholick Majelty for his Salary, and what he has laid out in desence of the Spanish Netherlands, that he misst run the risque of every Florin the French King stands engag'd for the Payment of, should be take other Meesures: Since the Emperor is not in a Capacity to reimburse it to Him, and His Majesty is so uncertain of pushing on his Conquests over all Spain, that 'tes to be doubted whether he can get so much as sooting in the Dekedom of Milan.

The G. rmans would consider what danger they were in of having a Prince, grown so great by the Accession of the Spanish Dominions, carry his Arms into Germany, where he has great storing already, and challenge all the States that compose that great Nation as part of the Succession of Charlemaign, of which he and other Kings of France have already declar'd themselves Heirs. In this Case some (as the Chapter of Cologn stems very lately to have done) would consider that in an Hereditary Empire, there would be no more Colleges, nor Diets, nor Chapters: Others, that 'tis a vain thing to dispute about Prerogatives, and to make France judge of the Dispute, whose Arbitration

must

must turn to the Ruin of the Empire. And the result of these Resections would be to enter in-

to Measures agreeable to them.

Answ. The Germans would still have been the same slow Creatures, as they are at this Juncture, and would not have brought their Troops into the Field before it was time to shut up the Campaign, and march back again into Winter Quarters. Their swiftness in prosecuting Affairs, and standing up sor the Interest of the Empire, may be seen from the hast they have lately made to assemble together for one anothers mutual Desence, and their suffering the French to have an Army that Consists of more than sifty Thousand effective Men, when they have not so much as sive Thousand drawn together to oppose their Designs.

These probably had been the Resolutions of those Foreign States, at least of some of them, had not the management of England discouraged them to that degree, that they must arraign themselves of rashness and soily, if they had taken those Measures which they themselves

knew were most for their Interest.

Answ. The Management of England has been such, that the States of Europe that are Afraid of Erench Yoke, must needs be encourag'd to contritute what lies in their Power towards the Advancement of the Publick safety from it. The King declares from his own Royal Mouth, that nothing can more effectually conduce to our Security, than the ilranunity and Vigour which the Commons have here'd in this last Session. But this Author contradicts his own Soveraign, and affirms that is is too inte, and would make the World believe that they have been negligent of our Security, and that of our Protestant Neighbours? Whom we ought to give credit to, Manners will direct us, and His Maje-By s words without doubt have more weight with the thinking Part of the Nations, than the Expressions

of a Party that never afted any thing yet that was

Considerate.

Things being in this state, 'tis very plain that the Gentlemen of Kent had a great deal of rea. son to pray the H--se of Com--ns to have a Regard to the Voice of the Pcople, that our Religion and Safety might be effectually provided for, and that His Majesty by Supplys might be enabled to assist his Allies. The Voice of the People was then every where loud for War, there was scarce any so weak as that they could not see that no Provision could be made for our Religion or Safety without it. Twas manifest that France, after the had been a while settled in her new Dominions, would be able to overcome Holland whenever she pleas'd. Holland being overun, 'twas easy to see that England being spoil'd of her Trade by that Revolution, and the Union of the two great Kingdoms, must soon follow her Fate.

Answ. But suppose things are in a quite disserent State (as certainly they are) and bear another sort of Face than what he puts upon em. The Voice of the People will foon drown the Voice of a few Kentish Men, and send forth other Clamours than what are made use of to call for fresh Desolations, and supplicate for an Addition to those Misfortunes which are but too pressing upon us already. Poverty displays it self to a great degree in all our Borders, and the Tears of Widows for their staughter'd Husbands, and Children for their deceasd Fathers are not yet dry'd up. Should we therefore be fond of having a new stream burst forth from our Fellom Subjects Eyes, or lavillely call for a nonstock of Miseries by petitioning for a Wir to in treduce 'em? Should we seek for the same Carif which have occasion'd these deplorable Effects?

The French Party indeed told us, and (which among other things occasioned some Restections the H--se of Com--ns seem'd to some to be

their Opinion, that our Security might be sufficiently provided for by a good Fleet. 'Twas a very fond Opinion to imagine that we, who in conjunction with Holland, were the last War insulted upon our own Coasts by the Fleet of France; and another time had probably been ruin'd by them, had not the Heavens been favourabe to us, should be able, after the loss both of our Trade, and the Assistance of the Dutch, to maintain a Fleet big enough to secure us from a Power so exorbitant as that of France would then be. A Powerful Fleet are words that sound plausibly in the Mouths of those People, who are for having our Arms to be as little grievous as may be to France, and they serve to amuse and impose upon weak People; but Men of understanding must allow this to be a

very uncertain Security.

Answ. We were never worsted in our Fleet joyn'd with that of the Duich, by the French; and what be calls insulting us upon our ownCoasts, was after the Engagement of forty two English and Dutch Ships with all the Naval Strength that belong'd to France. That miscarriage laid at some Great Mens Doors, who were then Commissioners of the Admiralty, not in the Fleets of either England and Holland, and 'tis Apparent by the little use the Monsieur Tourvill made of that Engagement, that he had other thoughts of our Strength, and the Conduct which has been shewn by Lewis the 1 4th's Admirals since, is a Token enough of their distrust of their own Power, rather than a Confidence they have of its being Superiour to Ours, and we are capable at this Time without the Assistance of the Dutch to Equip two Hundred Sail of Vellels of War to Sea, in order to our further security, which is wholy owing to the Conduct of our Parliaments that have rais'd such vast Sums of Money to build'em for the Preservation of these Kingdoms,

This was the only Provision for our Safe. ty, which the Parliament for a long time seem'd inclin'd to allow us. Whatever matter was offer'd that teem'd to have the least tendency to a War, was violently oppos'd by the Sp--er, Mu-ve, Sey--r, Sho--r, Fi--ch, H--w. Ha-rt, and all those who were entirely in the Interest of that Party. This Aversion they plainly discover'd in the beginning of the Sellion, when on the 14th of February, immediate. ly after the King had made his Speech, they came to the Resolution, To stand by and support His Majesty's Government, and take such effectual Measures as may best conduce to the Interest and Safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE. We cannot but remember what Debates arose upon this last Clause, and with what Difficulty rwas carried by 181 against 163, and that the Reason why twas oppos'd was, because 'twas plainly declaring for a War. Here it was that the Prejudices began against that Party in the H--se, and this laid the Foundation for the great suspicions that follow'd afterwards.

Answ. The most weighty Considerations induc'd those Gentlemen to think, that in so great and important an Affair, as the Business of War, they could not act with too much Caution: They consider'd twas an easy thing to have recourse to Arms, but the difficulty was to obtain such a Peace by the use of 'em, as to enable 'em to lay 'em down with Honour and Advantage to the English Nation. They could not but take notice of the forwardness of those Gentlemen to enter into a new War, who had got most by the management of the Last, and took it as a great discouragement to Honest Country Gentlemen to see the Nation so much in Debt, and the Chief Managers of Publick Affairs so vastly Rich. And therefore since the Circumstances of the King-

dom were such, that they were not able to do in this as in the last War, since the Emperor was the Principal Party concern'd, and the Dutch in more immediate danger, the Commons thought it very reasonable, that those two Powers which were chiefly aggriev'd should make the first advance towards it, and in Case an Honourable Peace could not be attain'd, the Empire and Holland should apply themselves to England, and not England to them. That is, they were not against bearing the greatest Burthen of it, as they did in the Last. For had they declar'd at the beginning of the Session what they did at the latter End of it, Holland had been over-run, the Dutch surpriz'd, all the English and Dutch Merchants Effects seiz'd abroad, and England it self almost in Danger of an Invasion.

'T was amazing to all those who could discover no possible means to preserve us, but by a vigorous War, to see such a great number of the Representatives of the Freemen of England, labouring for that which of all things in the World France most desir'd, and would give any Money for. Nor was this the Voice of that Party in the H--se alone, but all without Doors who were of their Faction, and all who had any byass to France, or St. Germain Family, were every where industrious and noisy in decrying a War, and setting forth the inconveniences of it. But that which gave the melancholiest Reflection of all, was to find that those who were thought to have the sole Direction of publick Asfairs, were in the same sentiments. They spoke their Minds freely upon that Subject, as we have been told, so did their Friends; and the saying of one Gentleman in great Station, to C--t Vra--au the Em---r's Min--er, ought to be remember'd.

Answ. So amazing as it was, the most considerate Part of the House of Commons, as well as those that had any Stock of Intellectuals in the