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Mr. STEELE's

APOLOGY

FOR

Himself and his Writings;

Occasioned by his

EXPULSION

FROM THE

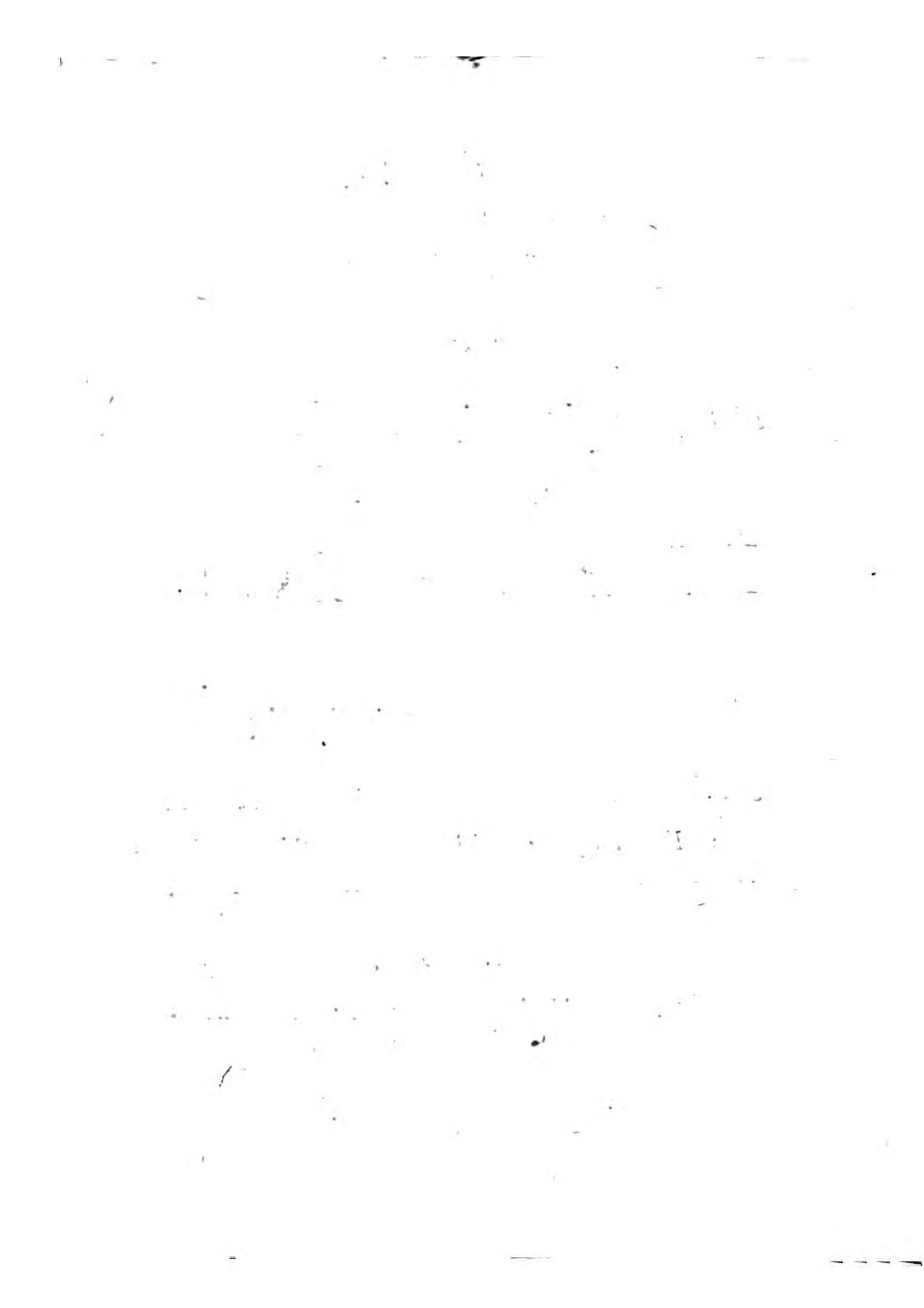
House of COMMONS.

Fabula Quanta Fui!

Hor.

LONDON,

Printed; and Sold by R. BURLEIGH in *Amen-
Corner.* 1714.



TO

Mr. WALPOLE.

S I R,

WHoever reads the following Apology, will easily allow me, that I am much less concerned for the Fame of a Writer than that of an honest Man. I have declared the Assistances I had in composing the Writings which are here defended; for the upright Purpose, the innocent Intention of them, is all which I am anxious to assert. In Defence of Truth I incurred popular Hatred and Contempt, with the Prospect of suffering the want even of the ordinary Conveniencies of Life. The Prob-

bility of being undone I could not but form to myself when I took upon me what I did; but a Weight heavier than all this fell upon me, to wit, a Resolution of the Representative of my Country to my Dishonour. This indeed was a Blow unexpected; nor could it enter into my Imagination, that the Insolence of any Minister could run so high, as to demand of the House of Commons to punish one of its Members for being unacceptable to him. The Perusal of this Pamphlet will convince the Reader, there was not so much as the Appearance of any other Motive for my Expulsion. The Day of Debate was indeed a very memorable one, and the Persons concerned in it hugely worth suspending the Councils of a Nation. It was remarkable however, that such was the Force of Truth, that the Member accused had not an harsh personal Expression used against him; and the Minister, in the Midst of all his Power, who brought on the Accusation, was treated in the Manner which all Mankind knows he deserves. As for my Part, I ever thought meanly of the Capacity, though not, till lately, of the good Nature of that Demagogue, and saw very well his Audaciousness would one Day suffer by his Ignorance. It was visible, whatever became of his Country, which I believe had little Share in his Lordship's Cares, he would, with the Wand in his Hand, raise Powers which he would want Skill to
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The DEDICATION.

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command, and which consequently would tear him himself in Pieces.

But, without dwelling upon the Contemplation of Mischiefs wrought by a cunning wicked Creature, placed in a Station proper only for a wise and virtuous Man, I am now to give you my Thanks for your generous Defence of me in this great Adversity. Your Behaviour was indeed equally noble during the whole French Administration, and your Eloquence was of publick Service to your Country, when the Prerogative was strained to the utmost, not to exalt our own Sovereign, but to compliment *France* with the Greatness and Interest of her and her People. The Intervention of Providence has given us a Stand against the imminent Destruction which such Iniquity and Folly had placed before our Eyes, and Men in great Employments can now be safe without depending upon *France*.

I have mentioned *Dunkirk* till I am sick, and there are not Words to represent the infamous Behaviour in a Ministry, to cover so great and pernicious an Imposture upon their Country, as the Improvement of that Port under the Pretence of the Demolition of it.

You have the Honour and Happiness to have eminently opposed all the Incursions which these guilty
Men

Men made upon the Greatness of the Crown and the Welfare of the Subject, by prostituting them both to their own selfish Designs, and destroying, as far as in them lay, the good Name of all Men of Virtue and Service.

They have indeed reaped this Good, that there can be nothing said of themselves, the worst Servants that ever Sovereign employed, but what they had caused to be laid to the Charge of those who were their Predecessors; Persons whose Abilities had raised their Country to such a Grandeur, that nothing but the unnatural Industry of her own Ministers could lower to the helpless Condition to which they had reduced it.

These Evils could not have been supported, had not the Demagogues, by the Abuse of Power, deafened many in the Legislature against Attention to the true Interest of themselves and their Country; while an inconsiderable Creature who had the Good-will of no Man, could manage Aversions skilfully enough to be suffered to destroy all, for fear of an Alteration of Affairs that might be grateful to an opposite Party.

Were the following Instance of the harsh and odious Disposition in Gentlemen to sit determined, before

before hearing, the Concern only of me and mine, it would not be worth troubling the World with so many Words on the Occasion ; but neither what I now write, or what you much better spoke, is a Case of so little Consequence ; and when you undertook it, you knew you were pleading for the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England* ; and I will take upon me to say, that there never was a greater Insult on the Constitution than this, except one practised by the same Person without the least Deference to the Order of things, the common Sense of Mankind, the Honour of the Crown, or the Property of the Subject.

It needs not be said what this greater Impudence was, nor who had so little Grace as to be guilty of it : It was he who was born in our Days for the Chastisement and Dishonour of them, a Tool whose Insignificancy makes Sorrow, occasioned by him, the Subject of Laughter, takes all Dignity from Distress, and renders Calamity ridiculous.

As to my own Part under the fantastical Tyranny of the Demagogue's Administration, could what you said in the House be communicated to the Publick, I should have no need of this Defence ; but since I have not here the Assistance of your Eloquence, I beg the Advantage of your Name and Character : For I know it will be an Argument

ment with every honest Man that my Cause was good, that you so zealously espoused it; for that admirable Talent of speaking of which you are Master, has never been prostituted to serve dishonest Purposes; and you have too candid a Spirit not to esteem it a Praise, rather than Disparagement of your Eloquence, that the Cause for which you have at any Time pleaded needed no Art but from the Iniquity of its Opposers.

The happy Ability of explaining the most difficult Parts of Business to Men wholly unacquainted with Negotiation, has been as useful to the Publick as honourable to your Self. As you have detected the Artful, so you have helped the Ignorant of your very Adversaries, according to their Intention to abuse or serve their Country.

It has been said, That the greatest Art is to hide Art; but you have a much better Instrument towards Persuasion, the having nothing to conceal; for *Truth is as certainly the greatest Eloquence, as Honesty is the best Policy.* Let those who speak or act against their Conscience, obtain their little Purposes and Applauses; be it ever your Commendation to despise Artifice and practise Uprightness. A long Course of suffering for your Zeal in an honest Cause, has gained you the Character of an *open honest English*

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lish Gentleman, with a Capacity which takes off the Imputation of Weakness from Simplicity of Manners, and adds the Dignity of Knowledge to the Beauty of Innocence.

As I never entered into Political Debates with ambitious Views, but have brought my Desires within the Necessaries and decent Conveniencies of Life, I am the more jealously tenacious of the little I expect of the World, which is only to accept of my Service to the best of my Ability, without loading me with unjust Reproach. In this reasonable Expectation Mr. *Walpole* generously lent me his Protection; and though he could not persuade my Judges to do me Justice, he convinced them I deserved a different Sentence from what they pronounced. But, alas, they had learn'd, by long Practice, to do shameful Things without being ashamed; and tho' your Arguments could command their Assent, it could not make them utter it in my Favour. You sent them away, I thank you, with the same Thoughts of themselves which you had of them; and whatever Force and Oppression determined, in the Eye of Reason and Conscience the Judges were convict, and the accused Man found innocent.

I humbly thank you for your eminent Part in this Affair, and congratulate you on receiving the Favour of your Prince for your Service to your Country.

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x *The DEDICATION.*

As doing Good to the Publick is the Motive of conferring Favours, it is, with such as you, the Rule in enjoying them. I wish you the Possession of all your frank Heart desires; and am, with great Respect,

S I R,

Your most Obliged,

Most Obedient,

And most Humble Servant,

Richard Steele.

THE
P R E F A C E.

THIS Defence was printed before the Death of Her late Majesty ; but upon that Accident the Publication was deferred, lest some Handle might be taken to interrupt the Business of the Nation, by an Offence given to Persons who were principally guilty of the Oppression here represented. They might possibly have attempted to borrow another Cast of Conscience in their Favour ; and it was to be feared, that the same Tyranny which punished a Man for a thing in which he ought to have been encouraged and supported, would have gone on to condemn the least Murmur against its Determination. I have said Tyranny, because to resolve or act against Justice, Truth, or common Sense, is as much Tyranny in an Assembly as a single Person. But I must do the Majority of the House which expelled me the Justice to own, that they carried themselves as Men conscious they were doing wrong ; and no one appeared active in it but professed Slaves and Hirelings, that is to say, such as I have called in the following Narrative the Messengers of the Treasury : Members of the House who were immediately dependant upon or related to a noble Lord whom I need not name, that sent Orders by his Kinsman to turn a Commoner

of *England* out of Parliament, because it was not his Lordship's good Pleasure he should sit there any longer. When a Man is out of Power, it is usual to detract from the Fame of his high Talents and Qualifications : But I cannot be guilty of such Injustice to this great Man ; for never was Minister since the Creation more thoroughly Master of that great Necessary in him who meditates vast Designs, the Choice of Instruments. *Machiavel*, in some Part of his precious Writings, advises against the Choice of raw Murderers, for such are apt to utter some soft Word flowing from Compassion, or other Weakness, for want of the Habit of Bloodshed, which might spoil the whole Design. Our Heroe cannot be accused of being injudicious this way ; and I have a thousand times sat in deep Admiration of his Choice of Agents, who if they had been the least Grain more rich, more poor, more foolish, more wise, more tall, more short, more Knaves, or more Fools, had been unfit for the Work in hand. Had any Man against his Measures in either of the Assemblies more Eloquence, more Penetration, or more Credit than comes to a single Member's Share, let such a one open his Mouth, he should be attacked with one who had as much Right to speak as himself, with so firm Absurdity, and then seconded by one just one Degree worse than him, and a third Half-Fool pin up the Matter with an Assertion still wilder, to the utter Confusion of the Man in his Senses, whose noble Faculty of adorning the Cause of Truth should be immediately reduced to an Interjection of Sorrow, and down he must sit. Such was our Heroe's Manner of demolishing and frustrating all Persons against him. The same Genius in disappointing the Force of superior Talents ran through all Parts of Business.

The Writings hereafter spoken of were an apparent Vindication of the King's Title to the Crown, and an honest Representation of the dangerous State of the Nation. Now would any Man living believe, that it was in Nature this could

could be made an Accufation before an Houfe of Commons? But fo it was; and there appeared in it Fellows born and contrived by Nature for fuch a Work; Creatures that could vex, but not make you angry, fuch mean Inſtruments of Iniquity, that the Wickednefs was diſparaged by their managing it, and the Flagrancy and dangerous Conſequence of what was doing, was hidden by the Inconfiderableneſs of the Agents. A Perſecution from them was like being troubled with Vermin. Tho' I had too much at Stake to be in Humour enough to enjoy the Scene, there was, with all the Cruelty of it, ſomething particularly Comick in the Affair. All the Men of Senſe in the Majority of the Houſe, tho' they did not deſign to deny a Friend a Vote, ſtood off, and left the whole Management to the Family and the Office.

The Onſet was made in the pooreſt manner, and the Accuſation laid with an inſipid Action and cold Expreſſion. The Accuſer arraigned a Man for Sedition, with the ſame Indolence and Indifference as another Man pairs his Nails: What was ſpoken appeared only a Rheum from the Mouth, and Mr. *Foley*, as well as do what he did, might have blown his Noſe, and put the Queſtion. But tho' the Choler of my Accuſers was corrected by their Phlegm, inſomuch that they were harmleſs with ill Will; yet had they Perſeverance to go on, inſenſible of the Raillery of the contrary Party, and the Contempt of their own. The moſt lamentable thing of all to conſider was, that tho' there was not one Man of Honour, who ſpoke on the ſide of the Miniſtry, but did it upon general Terms, wherein he apparently diſcovered his Diſapprobation of the Work he was about, ſo many honeſt Gentlemen ſhould join in a Vote of Expulſion!

It is poſſible ſome Gentlemen might think in their Conſciences, it is an immoral Action for any private Man to animadvert upon the Adminiſtration of the Publick. God forbid I ſhould ſay there were not ſome worthy Men who were
thus

thus perswaded in this Case; but if they were so, I know not why they should, as Members of the House of Commons, punish a Man for what he did before he came into the House, especially since that Thing would have been laudable in him to have done, if he had been in the House.

All I shall preface further is, that I thought the Circumstances of *Great Britain* and *Europe* were such as made it an honest and necessary Action to interrupt and oppose the Measures of the Ministry. When I thought it my Duty, I thank God, I had no further Consideration for my self than to do it in a lawful and proper Way, so as to give no Disparagement to a Glorious Cause from my Indiscretion or want of Judgment. A Work against them I was the rather enclined to undertake, because the Exceptions which were made against the Conduct of the Ministry seemed wild and calumnious, when written by nameless Authors; but when any Man with his Name asserted Things were amiss, it would behove the Persons concerned to prove it Calumny, or suffer under it; And I was willing to ripen the Question of the Succession upon my own Head. It soon appeared that there was so much Ground for what I said in the Papers I then printed, that it was thought much more proper to weaken the Validity of what I said by Invectives against me, which came out stitch'd, bound, and in loose Papers for some Months every Week, than gain-say what I asserted. In the midst of this Treatment the Conversation happened which gave Occasion to the *CRISIS*. The Gentleman mentioned in the following Defence, as giving the first Hint to the Design, I need no longer conceal; it was Mr. Moor of the *Inner-Temple*, a Man perfectly skilled in the History, the Laws, the Constitution, of this Kingdom, and, in my poor Opinion, as capable of doing eminent Service, where those Qualities are requisite, as any Man in *England* not already employed. All I have to say further concerning him is, that I hope the Mention of this his great Merit may

may prove to his Advantage; and it is not to be imputed to me if he feels no Effect of publick Favour, for starting so useful a Design as appeared in the *Crisis*.

When the *Crisis* was written Hand in Hand with this Gentleman, I, who was to answer for it with my All, would not venture upon our single Judgment, therefore I caused it to be printed, and left one Copy with Mr. *Addison*, another with Mr. *Lechmere*, another with Mr. *Mintshull*, and another with Mr. *Hoadley*. I don't name Mr. *Hoadley* last because I honour or depended upon him least: For he has every good Quality, Talent, and Grace, that can adorn a Christian, a Gentleman, and a Divine; and whatever Prejudice may suggest, I think it a great Defence that the Work passed his Hand. From these corrected Copies (no one of these Gentlemen knowing till this Day that the other had seen it) the *Crisis* became the Piece it is.

When I was now fully convinced that what I said was justifiable in the Sight of God and Man, I thought I had an Opportunity of giving an Alarm to all honest Men, and disconcerting the Counsels of Men I thought ready to attempt any thing they could act with Impunity, and who cared not, so they carried on their own Game, though they did it by bringing on their native Country the Imputation of Falshood and Treachery, accompanied with Slavery, Poverty, and Dishonour.

All this was plainly intimated in the *Crisis*, but expressed in such a manner as to be within the Law, against those who had the Administration of the Laws, and seemed to me to be undermining the Constitution. It was therefore reasonable to act within the Law as far as a Man could against those who made no Use of it, but to cover themselves in making

making Encroachments upon it and Transgressions against it.

Besides the Care of rescuing my own Name from a seeming Disgrace of a Vote of the Commons, I thought this Apology necessary to shew the arbitrary Use of Numbers in the most odious Colours, that Gentlemen may have a just Detestation of practising a Thing in it self unwarrantable, from the Support only of the insolent and unmanly Sanction of a Majority.

(17)

A

LIST OF THE GENTLEMEN

Who voted against the Expulsion of
Mr. STEELE.

JOH N Harvey, *Esq;*
John Cater, *Esq;*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bar.*
Sir John Wittewrong,
Bar.

Sir Roger Hill, *Kt.*
James Stanhope, *Esq;*
John Bromley, *Esq;*
Sam. Shepperd, *Esq;*
Peter Shakerly, *Esq;*
John Trelawny, *Esq;*
Sir Ch. Wager, *Kt.*
Hugh Boscawen, *Esq;*
James Craggs, *Esq;*
John Hopkins, *Esq;*
Edward Elliot, *Esq;*
John Knight, *Esq;*

Humphry Morrice, *Esq;*
James Lowther, *Esq;*
Gilfrid Lawson, *Esq;*
Tho. Stanwix, *Esq;*
Sir John Rogers, *Bar.*
Sir George Byng, *Kt.*
Richard Edgecomb, *Esq;*
George Treby, *Esq;*
Sir John Cope, *Kt.*
Roger Tuckfeild, *Esq;*
George Trenchard, *Esq;*
John Burridge, *Esq;*
Daniel Harvey, *Esq;*
John Baker, *Esq;*
James Littleton, *Esq;*
William Betts, *Esq;*
William Coventry, *Esq;*

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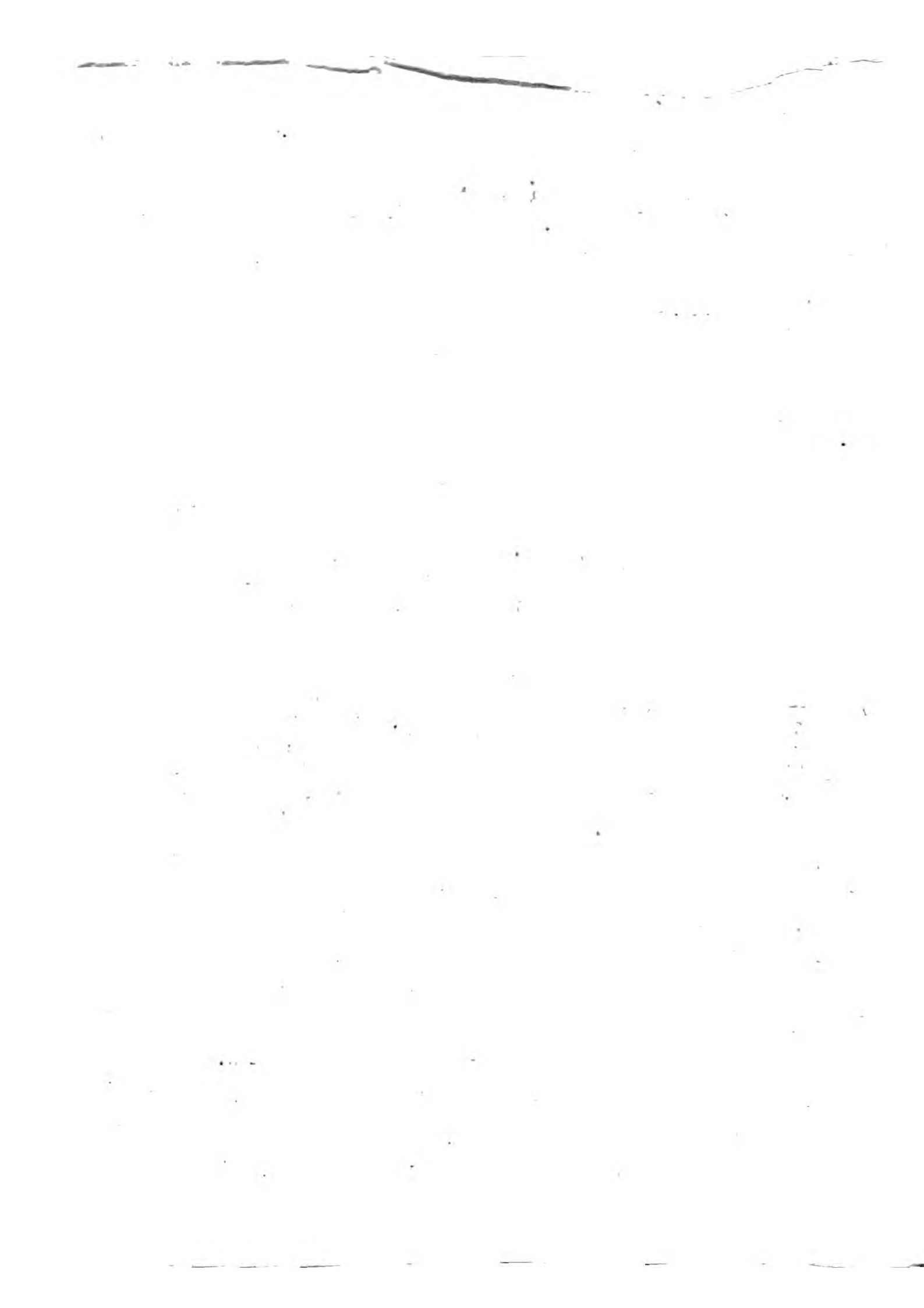
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Thomas Erle, <i>Esq;</i>	Richard Hambden, <i>Esq;</i>
George Pit, <i>Esq;</i>	Lord Sherrard.
John Hedwith, <i>Esq;</i>	Lord Newport.
Sir Tho. Webster, <i>Bar.</i>	William Whitmore, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir Isaac Rebow, <i>Kt.</i>	John Weaver, <i>Esq;</i>
Thomas Stevens, <i>Esq;</i>	James Medlicot, <i>Esq;</i>
William Dowdeswell, <i>Esq;</i>	Norton Pawlet, <i>Esq;</i>
Benjamin Bathurst, <i>Esq;</i>	Tho. Broderick, <i>Esq;</i>
William Grimston, <i>Esq;</i>	Lord William Pawlet.
William Hale, <i>Esq;</i>	Walter Chetwynd, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir Matthew Dudley.	William Thompson, <i>Eq;</i>
Robert Piggot, <i>Esq;</i>	Sir Harvey Elways, <i>Bar.</i>
Lord Hinchinbrook.	Tho. Maynard, <i>Esq;</i>
The Hon. Sidney Wortley.	Edward Hopkins, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir Robert Marsham, <i>Bar.</i>	The Hon. Carr Harvey.
Sir Samuel Ongley, <i>Kt.</i>	Aubrey Porter, <i>Esq;</i>
Robert Heysham, <i>Esq;</i>	Sir Richard Onslow, <i>Bar.</i>
Sir Thomas Johnson, <i>Kt.</i>	George Evelyn, <i>Esq;</i>
Lord Willoughby.	Tho. Onslow, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir John Brownloe, <i>Bar.</i>	James Cocks, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir John Thorold, <i>Bar.</i>	Paul Docminique, <i>Esq;</i>
William Coatesworth, <i>Esq;</i>	The Hon. James Brudenell.
John Morgan, <i>Esq;</i>	Tho. Pellham, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir Charles Turner, <i>Kt.</i>	John Morley Trevor, <i>Esq;</i>
Robert Walpole, <i>Esq;</i>	Nathaniel Gould, <i>Esq;</i>
The Hon. William Feilding.	Francis Chamberlayn, <i>Esq;</i>
Horatio Walpole, <i>Esq;</i>	The Hon. Spencer Compton.
The Hon. John Fitzwilliams.	Lord Thomond.
George Mountague, <i>Esq;</i>	Lord Lumley.
The Hon. William Egerton.	Daniel Willson, <i>Esq;</i>
Paul Methuen, <i>Esq;</i>	Sir Richard Sandford, <i>Bar.</i>
The Hon. Tho. Wentworth.	John London, <i>Esq;</i>
Earl of Hertford.	Tho. Pit, Jun. <i>Esq;</i>
Sir John Jermayn, <i>Bar.</i>	John Eyres, <i>Esq;</i>
Oley Douglass, <i>Esq;</i>	Reynolds Calthrop, <i>Esq;</i>

Edward A'lh, Esq;
 Price Acourt, Esq;
 John Eyles, Esq;
Sir John Rushout, *Bar.*
 Joseph Addison, Esq;
Sir Tho. Reade, *Bar.*
 Tho. Pit Sen. Esq;
 Tho. Wylde, Esq;
 John Rudge, Esq;
Sir William Robinson. *Bar.*
Sir William St. Quintin, *Bar.*
Sir Charles Hotham.
 Tho. Yorke, Esq;
 William Pulteney, Esq;
 Hugh Cholmley, Esq;
 Edmund Dunch, Esq;
 William Strickland, Esq;
 Thomas Frankland, Esq;
 Ralph Bell, Esq;
 Henry Prater, Esq;
 Leonard Smelt, Esq,
 Archibald Hutchinson, Esq;
 Philip Papillon, Esq;
The Hon. Edw. Watson.
Sir Robert Furnace, *Bar.*

Sir John Norris, *Kt.*
 Philip Gibbon, Esq;
 George Doddington, Esq;
 Robert Bristow, Esq;
 George Nayler, Esq;
 Thomas Jones, Esq;
 John Montgomery, Esq;
Sir James Campbell, *Bar.*
 George Baylie, Esq;
Colonel John Campbell.
 Charles Oliphant, Esq;
Sir William Johnstowne, *Bar.*
Sir James Stewart, *Bar.*
 Alexander Grant, Esq;
 William Steward, Esq;
Sir John Anstruther, *Bar.*
 Henry Cunningham, Esq;
 John Middleton, Esq;
 John Cockburne, Esq;
Sir David Dalrymple, *Bar.*
 John Steward, Esq;
Sir James Carmichael, *Bar.*
 Tho. Smith, Esq;
Sir Gilbert Elliot, *Bar.*
 Robert Monro, Esq;

*Lord Fynch was unfortunately shut out at the Division; but
 the noble Part he acted in the Debate will ever be remembered
 to his Honour.*



Mr. S T E E L E's

A P O L O G Y, &c.

I Have waited with much Patience during the Session of Parliament, without offering at any Thing in my Justification against the Sentence which passed upon me on the 18th of *March* last past; which Sentence, and the Motives to it, are express'd in the two following Resolutions.

Resolved,

That a Printed Pamphlet, intituled, The ENGLISHMAN, being the Close of the Paper so called; and one other Pamphlet, intituled, The CRISIS, written by Richard Steele, Esq; a Member of this House; are scandalous and seditious Libels, containing many Expressions highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and upon the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Universities of this Kingdom, maliciously insinuating, that the Protestant Succession
in

in the House of Hanover is in Danger under Her Majesty's Administration, and tending to alienate the Affections of Her Majesty's good Subjects, and to create Jealousies and Divisions among them.

Resolved,

That Richard Steele, Esquire, for his Offence in Writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious Libels, be expell'd this House.

I hoped every Day, during the Session, to have heard other Writers called to an Account for their Errors as well as myself, especially those who had provoked me to say what gave so much Offence. In that Case I might perhaps have heard something alledg'd, that would have made it appear necessary in the Representative of the People, to censure as well those who are imprudently zealous for them, as those who are against them. But since they have punished only me, who, if I am guilty at all, am guilty only of too forward Zeal in a good Cause; I say, since the Commons, to shew their Impartiality, have thought fit to distinguish only the Crimes of one of their own Members, by taking from him both his good Name and Seat in Parliament, while all other Writers pass unmentioned; that Member thinks himself at Liberty to do what he can to weaken the Force of that Censure, by a Narrative of all that pass'd in their House relating to himself, as well as he can recollect it.

If the Reader will allow me the Liberty of speaking of myself sometimes as a third Person, to avoid the Word I, (which often repeated, even in a Justification, has an Offence in it) I will tell the Story very honestly.

It may, perhaps, appear undutiful to argue against what was acted by the Representative of one's Country: But in order to keep us within such Bounds, it is expedient, on their Side, to have a due Regard to the Lives and Honours of those whom they call before 'em, and not to expect that, when they have laid the heaviest Weight which they are able upon an Offender, he will be intimidated from disputing the Justice of their Sentence by the Terrors of their future Displeasure, which can have in Store nothing so terrible as what is already inflicted. The Resolution against Mr. *Steele* carries in it all the Infamy that can be joined to the Name of a Gentleman, and they have certainly made him desperate and regardless of what further they can determine to his Disadvantage.

In inflicting Punishments, especially where the Penalty is not prescribed, there should be always a Regard had to the Person who is to suffer; and whatever Sense any Body of Men may have of Good and Evil, they should still suppose there are some Men who prefer their Integrity to all other Considerations, not excepting those of Riches and Power.

Honour is the true Essence of a Man, and consists in the Consciousness of Innocence and Honesty. This, indeed, cannot be taken from him by the Outrage of Multitudes, or the Abuse of Power. But though such a Sense of Reproach is to be the private Rule of a Man's Conduct, and will certainly prove the best Support under all Disappointments and Adversities, it is too abstracted a Notion to carry him through the Business of the World, without having a due Regard to Reputation and Fame. A Man's Reputation is the Dress of his Honour, and though tearing a Man's Cloaths cannot hurt his Life or his Limbs, yet if he'll allow them to be rent into Tatters, or patiently let Passengers throw Dirt upon them, he will be unfit to be received by the decent Part of
Man-

Mankind in that Condition, from the Prejudice they cannot but have to his Habit and outward Appearance, and consequently he will be unable to perform the Offices of Life with Respect to others as well as himself. For these Reasons, in some Cafes, a Man is necessitated to appeal to all the rest of Mankind, from the Judgment of those who have pronounced him guilty.

To convince the World that Mr. *Steele* did not deserve the Sentence before recited, I hope to shew that his whole Conduct as a Writer, in which Character only he has been charged in the House, has been full of Instances of a quite contrary Tenour to that of which they accuse him; as well as that the Passages themselves which were brought against him will not support their Accusation.

Anger, which is never wise, made a Man inconsiderable in himself of so much Consequence, that while he was in the House, People condescended (as if to lessen him was carrying a great Point) to brow-beat and disparage him. I know not how better to represent his Condition during that Time, than by saying he was the quite contrary to that Sort of Creature among 'em whom they call a *Favourite of the House*. A Favourite of the House, is one who says and does what he pleases, and is always acceptable, whatever he advances, because he is ridiculous. Mr. *Steele*, with a quite opposite Fate, was to do nothing but what should be dislik'd, because he was odious. This Disposition against him appeared the very first Day of the Session; what happen'd to him at that Time was the Entertainment every where for a whole Week, therefore I shall very circumstantially relate it.

After two or three Gentlemen had propos'd Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. *Steele* took upon him to say he had the same honourable Sentiments of that Gentleman in the following Words:

Mr. *Jodrell*,

Mr. Jodrell,

AT the Close of the last Parliament, Her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to declare from the Throne, That the late rejected Bill of Commerce between Great Britain and France should be offer'd to this House. That Declaration was, certainly, made, that every Gentleman, who should have the Honour to be return'd hither, might make himself Master of that important Question. It is Demonstration that was a most pernicious Bill, and no Man can have a greater Merit to this House, than his by whose Weight and Authority that pernicious Bill was thrown out. I rise up to do him Honour, and distinguish myself by giving him my Vote for that his inestimable Service to his Country.

It will be impossible for the Reader to conceive how this Speech of his was receiv'd, except he has happen'd to have been at a Cock-Match, and has seen the Triumph and Exultation which is rais'd when a Volatile whose Fall was some way gainful to Part of the Company has been necked. At the mention of the Bill of Commerce, the Cry began; at calling it Pernicious, it encreas'd; at the Words, doing him Honour, it grew insupportably loud: But having no Reason for being confounded for other People's Folly or Absurdity, Mr. Steele bore the Insolence well enough to speak out what he intended. He had Hardiness enough to do it, from a Resolution which he had taken, to govern himself by, when he went into the House, which was to prefer the Fame of an honest Man to that of an Orator. I must confess I stand in some Amazement to find where the Ridicule lay in the Words, *I rise up to do him Honour*; the natural Meaning of which I take to be shewing him Respect, and not implying that 'tis an Honour to him that 'tis I who do him that Respect: However, were it taken in the latter Sense, in which Mr. Steele really did not intend it, I don't see the Absurdity there would have been in it; he does not deserve to sit in that House, who does not believe his Esteem an Addition to the Person's Reputation on whom he bestows it; for the good Opinion of

an honest Man is an Honour to the greatest Man living. At the same Time Mr. *Steele* does not attribute this particular Outrage to the House, any further than that they ought to have suppress'd it, and severely observed upon it, by turning out the Offenders, who, 'tis supposed, were a Parcel of Rusticks who crowded in with the Members before the Election of the Speaker, from a received Error, that there is no Authority in the House till he is chosen. As he came out of the House, he could hear nothing but those loud Criticks talk to one another, *Oh! 'tis not so easy a Thing to speak in the House---* He fancies, because he can scribble---- and the like deep Animadversions. But to the Matter it self.

On the 12th of *March*, 1713. a Complaint was made to the House against certain Paragraphs in three printed Pamphlets, one entituled, *The Englishman*, from Saturday, Jan. 16. to Tuesday, Jan. 19. 1713. wherein is a printed Letter to the Englishman, to which is subscribed the Name Richard Steele; another, entituled, *The Crisis*, in the Title Page whereof it is said, by Richard Steele, Esquire; and the other, intituled, *The Englishman*, being the Close of the Paper so called, in the Title Page whereof it is also said, by Richard Steele, Esquire; as containing several Paragraphs tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and arraigning Her Administration and Government. Upon which the accused Member was ordered to attend in his Place the next Morning. He attended accordingly on Saturday the 13th, and heard the several Paragraphs, in the printed Pamphlet complained of, read. After which, at the proper Time, he stood up, and read a Paper containing the following Words:

Mr. Speaker,

I Have written and caused to be printed several Books and Papers with a sincere Zeal and good Intent to serve my Queen and Country, the present happy Establishment in Church and State, and particularly the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.

ver. *But I submit it to the House, whether, in Justice to the Defence that is due to every Subject of this Kingdom, I ought to admit that either the Contents or Substance of the Papers laid upon your Table are the same I wrote and caused to be printed, before I have perused and compared them; especially since every one knows it to be Fact, that false Editions of all Books, which sell, are published every Day.*

Mr. Speaker,

Though I was ordered to attend in my Place before any particular Passages, if I am rightly informed, were read or objected to in the House; yet now that I have heard what they are, I trust to the Justice of this House, that I shall have a reasonable Time to peruse and compare them, and if I find them upon Perusal to be really the same which I wrote and published, I shall ingenuously own them, and hope to make such a Defence of them as will be satisfactory to the House; for which, I doubt not but you will allow me sufficient Time.

Since Time for comparing them was all Mr. Steete pretended to, the *Monday* following was proposed for the Day of his Defence; but that was easily got over, upon his urging that the next Day was *Sunday*. After a proper Time to be allowed was debated for some Moments, and that the desiring to collate the Papers was said to be mentioned only as the most obvious Circumstance absolutely necessary for the Member's Defence, but that much more must be supposed as material, as that, for his Justification, the House seemed in a very good Disposition, which the accused Member did not think he abused in desiring till the *Saturday* following. It was very faintly press'd that this was too distant a Day, till a particular O-
rator stood up, and endeavoured to warm the House into an Indignation of treating, with so much Gentleness, so high an Offender. It cannot be expected that one can remember every Man's Name; but the Man I mean was of an enormous Stature and Bulk, and had the Appearance; if I may

so speak, of a Dwarf-Giant. His Completion Tawny, his Mein disturb'd, and the whole Man something particularly unfamiliar, disingenuous, and shocking to an English Constitution. I fancied, by his exotick Make and Colour, he might be descended from a Moor, and was some Purchase of our African, or other trading Company, which was manumised. This Man, thought I, was certainly bred in Servitude, and being now out of it, exerts all that he knows of Greatness in Insolence and Haughtiness. The untam'd Creature stood up to turn off the merciful Inclination which he saw grow towards the Member accused; and with well-chosen Words and personated Vehemence, laid before the House, That he, forsooth, was glad to see the good Disposition Gentlemen appear'd to be in, and applauded their Tenderness; but at the same Time he could not but remark, that the Drift of the Writings before them was to make the greater Number of the Gentlemen of *England* appear Jacobites and Enemies to their Country. I do not pretend to give exactly what he said to this unjust and cruel Purpose; but it prevailed very much towards the Effect he desired, and loosened all that was obtain'd on the Side of the Defendant in the preceding Part of the Debate, insomuch that Mr. *Steele* grew in fear he should have no Time at all allotted him; and therefore when the House was going to divide on the Question, Whether he should be allowed till *Saturday* or not, he stood up and begged till *Thursday*, in which Request Mr. *Pitt* of *Worcestershire* had the Humanity to second him, and the Affair was appointed for that Day without a Division.

On *Monday* following, the 15th of *March*, believing a great Part of the Ill-Will which he had brought upon himself was owing to what he had writ about *Dunkirk*, he thought it would make for his Defence to have what pass'd relating to the Collusive Demolition appear to the House
before

before his Day came on. Mr. *Steele* therefore (upon the Suggestion of some Friend's Voice near him to be very humble) had the Folly to pretend to move their Pity, by a Comparison of the powerful Opposition against him from those who were numerously related in the House, and in such Circumstances as to draw all others to them; and representing his own Condition so particularly unallied and unassisted, that there was not one Man living of his Blood, nor he in Circumstances capable of engaging the Friendship of any Man there but from the Merit of his Cause. *I have*, said that facetious Person, *this to thank my Adversaries for, that their hard Prosecution has opened so good a way to the Breasts of Englishmen as Pity.* From this ill-judg'd quaint Harangue, which was received with much Coldness, he recovered himself as well as he could, by observing, That he never knew an unhappy Man speak *but just enough*; and therefore would not wander further, but hasten to the Question which he had prepared and held in his Hand, as of use to his ensuing Defence; which was, *That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that she will be pleased to give Directions, that the several Representations of Her Majesty's Engineers and Officers who have had the Care and Inspection of the Demolition of Dunkirk, and all Orders and Instructions given thereupon, be laid before this House.* It passed in the Negative. And from that Moment Mr. *Steele* despaired of his Cause. He prepared his Mind as well as He could to meet with his Disgrace; and considered all that was to follow as a Farce, wherein heedless Men were to indulge their Curiosity, Mirth, or Cruelty, without any regard to Justice, or how far what they were doing would affect him or themselves. But *Thursday* the 18th is now come; and the Order of the Day for taking into Consideration the Printed Pamphlets complain'd of to the House being read, Mr. *Foley* the Accuser demanded that the Matter appointed for the Day might be entered upon, referring the Method of proceeding to the House. Mr. *Steele* chose

chose to make his Appearance near the Bar of the House ; and I will not forget to mention one Circumstance in this Scene that very much sweetened his Affliction, which was, that he had the Honour to stand between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, who condescended to take upon them the Parts of his Advocates. The first Question proposed to divert the Company, was, Whether the Member accused owned the Writings or not ? upon which Mr. Steele stood up and said,

Mr. Speaker,

WHEN I was called up the other Day upon the same Occasion, I suspended the utter Acknowledgment of the Papers laid on your Table against me. I was advised to do so. What has hitherto been insisted upon by me was meer Formality, in favour of other innocent Men who may hereafter fall into my Circumstances. I now frankly and ingenuously own all those Papers laid to my Charge to be Parts of my Writings. I writ them in Behalf of the House of Hanover, and I own them with the same Unreservedness with which I abjured the Pretender. I humbly submit myself to this honourable Assembly, and depend upon your Justice.

This occasioned a long Debate, and in the Intervals between the speaking of particular Members, the House called out, Mr. Steele, Mr. Steele, to begin his Defence ; but his Friends directed him to sit still. The Dispute in a little Time ripened into this Question, Whether the Member accused should answer Paragraph by Paragraph, and hear what was urged against him to each, and thereupon answer ; or that, now he knew upon what Heads he was charged, he should proceed to defend himself ? It seems it is the Custom on such Occasions, that if the Member withdraws without speaking for himself in the way the House prescribes to him, he is to have no further Opportunity before the House proceeds to Censure : It was therefore intimated to him that
now

now was his Time to stand up ; and making use of his Papers he sometimes spoke, but chiefly read as follows :

Mr. Speaker,

YOU will easily believe I have not been in a very sedate Temper ever since I came into this House. When I composed those Writings of which I am accused, I studied carefully to avoid committing any Fault in them, and now on a Sudden I am to rack my Invention to find out Guilt in them. I have also been forced to apply my self to the making my Defence Paragraph by Paragraph, as well as according to this Method to which you have now been pleased to restrain me. From these Accidents, the different Opinions of Friends, being suspended between those Opinions, Want of Sleep, and being pressed in Point of Time, I am in a very ill Condition to make a Defence. But if you will forgive my Blundering and Stammering amidst an Huddle of Papers you see in my Hands, not read over since transcribed, and the References from some to others of them not fixed in my Mind, you shall have the Truth of my Heart in this Discomposure, which will I hope with generous Men do more for me, than what I could have produced with more Meditation. I must therefore, as well as I can, from Papers which, as I said, I have not so much as read over since transcribed, obey your Commands ; and fall abruptly into the Particulars of my Defence, the Way to which I thought to make in a more gradual and unforced Manner, upon the Views I had before I came into the House.

I have not, I hope, written any thing with an improper Heat, tho' I have not shewn an Insensibility ; and those who condemn what Heat I have shewn, will at least approve the Ends to which it was directed.

If my Wishes for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, and my Zeal for that Succession which is the only Security under God of our Laws, our Liberties, and our Religion, have betrayed

trayed me into any Errors which I am not sensible of, I hope the Goodness of these Motives which occasioned them, will be sufficient to extenuate and cover them. I am sure there are several Writers who have talked with as much Warmth and more Boldness for a quite contrary End, without giving the same Offence to those in whose Power it has been to punish them: I say, Sir, that there are many who have written with as great a Zeal in a Cause which is Condemned as Treasonable by our Acts of Parliament, and yet have had the good Luck to escape the Notice of those who have had either the making of Laws or the putting them in Execution. Besides, whilst I have thus preserv'd my Temper, it must be allowed that no Man ever receiv'd greater Provocations. Those Writers who declared themselves the professed Advocates of the Ministry, and give themselves the Air of being in the Secrets of the Administration, were the first Aggressors. They have loaded me with groundless Calumnies, misrepresented me in every Part of my Character, and have been as disingenuous and unchristian in the Methods of publishing these false Reports, as they were in the inventing of them. When I had the Honour to be returned as a Member of Parliament, and was therefore presumed to be such, instead of being thereby privileged from this infamous Treatment, I was only the more expos'd to it. These Papers I am now speaking of prejudged my Election, denounced to me the Displeasure of Men in great Places, and foretold that Storm which is now falling upon me, unless it be averted by the Justice and Honour of Gentlemen, who are the only Persons that can interpose in this Case between an innocent Man and an offended Minister. Such has been the cruel and ungenerous Usage which I have met with from an Author who has several times professed himself a Champion for the Ministry, that no longer since than last *Friday* he has fallen upon me with that Rage and Malice, which is unbecoming a Scholar, a Gentleman, or a Christian, at the same Time that so great a Misfortune beset
me

me as to be accused before this House. As if he did not think that Weight heavy enough upon me, he makes his Court to his Superiors by determining the Cause which lay before this honourable Assembly, and represents me in such a Character as I hope is due to no Man living. I cannot but take Notice of his last Paper, which, if any Gentleman will be at the Pains of perusing, he will find, (by what strange Accident or concerted Measures I know not) that it is a Brief of the Charge against me before this House. It was in Answer to this Writer that I first employ'd my Pen, and, as I thought, for the Service of my Country. This Man has represented Half of Her Majesty's Subjects as a different People, who have forfeited the common Protection allowed them by the Constitution; but has never been called to account for it *as a Writer of Matters tending to Sedition*. He has treated the Fathers of our Church like the basest among the People, tore in Pieces the Reputation of the most eminent Names in *Great Britain*, marked out several Members in both Houses of Parliament, and endeavoured to render them odious to the Nation, when they have disagreed with him in Opinion, or rejected any Bill which the Ministry had seemed to promote. He has vilified those Persons which are in Friendship and Alliance with Her Majesty, and condemned Treaties which are still in Force. He has trifled upon so melancholy a Subject as that of Her Majesty's late Indisposition, and represented Her as actually dead, for the Sake of a poor Conceit which the greatest Part of his Readers were not able to take, and those who did could not but regard with Horrour. All this, Sir, the Author I am now mentioning has done, without being called to account for any Reflection *tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and arraigning Her Administration and Government*. - In the Opinion of the World he has not only done all this with Impunity, but with Encouragement. It is chiefly in Answer to this Author, that those Papers were written which are now upon

your Table. I could not see without Indignation an Endeavour set on foot to confound Truth with Falshood, and to turn the whole History of the present Times into a Lie. I thought I might act with the same Safety in vindicating, as he did in attacking the Reputation of several innocent Persons, who are unblemished every where but in his Papers; and of many honourable Persons, who by all Sides, are allowed to have deserved well of their Country. And now, Sir, let every British Gentleman lay his Hand upon his Heart, and ask himself, Whether it was possible for a Man of any Spirit to have received those private and personal Injuries which I have here mentioned, or for any honest Man to have seen others so barbarously treated, without giving some Loose to his Resentments. Sir, a good Name is as dear to me as it can be to the greatest Man in *England*; and whoever employs all his Artifices to make me appear vile and infamous, cannot be angry with me if I lay hold on what I think defective in his own Character and Behaviour, to expose it in the same Manner. I am sure no Man of Honour, and it is my Happiness that this Assembly is composed of no other, would make such a Sacrifice of himself to any, the most Powerful of his Fellow-Subjects. I know no Law of God or Man that requires this kind of Resignation or Self-Denial.

I have been the longer upon this Head, to shew Gentlemen that this great Affair which is now laid before them, has been hitherto, notwithstanding the many Insolencies I have now recited against the greatest Persons in Church and State, only a Paper War between two private Persons; and they must have but a mean Opinion of the Dignity of a British House of Commons, who think they will make themselves Parties in either Side of it. Besides, Sir, I have another Reason for opening my Defence in this Manner, because I find that the first Paragraph which is laid to my Charge, can accuse me of nothing else but of shewing a
Disre-

Disrespect to the *Examiner*. Here follows, as it is marked against me, what I say in the *Englishman*, Number 46.

‘ But there is still a Circumstance in the same Paper of the *Examiner*’s, that may have a Consequence yet more immediately pernicious, and that is the last Sentence of it; *Since Her Majesty is to be the last, we hope they will be obliged to own Her for the greatest and wisest of the Stuarts.* I cannot but think this Expression uttered as lamenting in favour of a pretended *Stuart*, in whose Behalf he sighs, and says, *Since Her Majesty is to be the last.* The natural way of speaking his Sense, in a Man who was in the Interest of his Country, had been to say, *As Her Majesty without Issue is to be the last* ---- But whether his Inclinations be for the Pretender or not, I am sure he promotes his Service in a very great Degree, when he endeavours to villify that House of Commons which is now laying a Price upon his Head.

‘ But let the rest of the World do what they please, and delay their Protestations against these Evils as long as they think fit, I will postpone all else that is dear to me to the Love of my Country; And as this is, and I trust in Providence will be my strongest Passion to my Life’s End, I will, while it is yet Day, profess and publish the Rules by which I govern my Judgment of Men and Things in the present Conjunction.

‘ Does this Action bespeak such a one a wise Man if he is for the Pretender, a Madman if he is for the House of *Hanover*.

‘ Does this Position open a Way to the Pretender? Or, does it further secure the Protestant Succession?

‘ These are my Questions, which I make the Test of Men
 ‘ and Opinions; and if a Man does a thing that may ad-
 ‘ vance the Interest of the Pretender or his Friends, and
 ‘ can no way do Good to the House of *Hanover*, he may
 ‘ swear to his last Breath that he is for that House, before he
 ‘ shall make me believe him. In like Manner, if People
 ‘ talk to me of hereditary Right, and then follow it with
 ‘ Professions for the House of *Hanover*, which can have no
 ‘ additional Security from the urging of hereditary Right,
 ‘ I shall no more believe them *Hanoverians*, than I should
 ‘ think a Man religious who should make a blasphemous
 ‘ Discourse, and close it with the Rehearfal of the Creed.

‘ I speak all this because I am much afraid of the Preten-
 ‘ der; and my Fears are encreased, because many others
 ‘ laugh at the Danger. I presume to say, those who do
 ‘ laugh at it either do not think at all, or think it will be no
 ‘ Day of Danger to themselves. But I thus early let go my
 ‘ Fire against the Pretender’s Friends, because I think my
 ‘ self a very good Judge of Mens Mein and Air, and see
 ‘ what they intend at a Distance. I own I have nothing
 ‘ to say for the Liberty I take now, or the Book I put out to
 ‘ Day, when no Body else talks in the same Style, but what
 ‘ the Sailor did when he fired out of the Stage-Coach upon
 ‘ Highway-Men before they cried *Stand; Would you have*
 ‘ *me stay till they have boarded us?*

My Adversaries must make the *Examiner* one of the Mi-
 nistry, before they can bring the first of these Paragraphs
 within their Complaint. I cannot suppose that any Eng-
 lishman can think me to blame for expressing my Love
 to my Country in the strongest Terms, as I have here done.
 As to the Rules by which I profess to govern my Judgment,
 they are, I suppose, what none will controvert, as being of
 the Nature of Maxims or first Principles, which can admit
 of no Dispute. The Paragraph that follows them is nothing
 else,

else, but the Application of these general and undisputed Maxims to a particular Case. I cannot imagine why any Gentleman should mark it in particular, unless for the Sake of the Word *Hereditary*; a Word that teems with so many Disputes, and which, according to my Notion of it, is inconsistent with the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, which cannot be come at but by passing over many of those who are the next Heirs in Blood. But it happens that I have explained my self as to this Point in the *Englishman* Number 5, where I say,

‘ The unhappy Animosities which have reigned amongst
 ‘ us, have made each Side reduce it self to an Absurdity,
 ‘ from their Violence in opposing each other. While the
 ‘ one urges a Parliament Title, his Warmth betrays him
 ‘ into Expressions disrespectful to the Sovereignty; and his
 ‘ Opponent expresses his Indignation at Principles too near
 ‘ the Sentiments of Common-wealths-Men, with carrying
 ‘ too far the Terms Hereditary and Indefeasible. Let them
 ‘ both agree that the Queen is vested in all the Rights inhe-
 ‘ rent in the Crown of *England*, and in Default of Issue,
 ‘ the same Titles devolved upon the House of *Hanover*.
 ‘ When we talk of Hereditary in general, all who can be
 ‘ perswaded that the Pretender is the Son of *James II*, may
 ‘ be insnared to conclude that his Title is superior to that
 ‘ of any other upon Earth: But when we allow that
 ‘ the Act of Settlement, and the other subsequent Acts, have
 ‘ well vested all possible Title in Her Majesty and the House
 ‘ of *Hanover*, the Englishman has but one View before him;
 ‘ and any Title of the Pretender, of whomsoever born, is
 ‘ as remote as that of the *Tudors* or *Plantagenets*, or any o-
 ‘ ther extinct Family.

‘ In this plain Rule for the Direction of our Obedience,
 ‘ we have nothing to divert our Thoughts from pursuing
 ‘ the real Interest of our Queen and Country; and all, as
 ‘ one

‘ one Man, will join in a common Indignation against those
 ‘ who would perplex our Obedience, as faithful Subjects and
 ‘ Englishmen.

The last Paragraph expresses my Fears of the Pretender, which I must still acknowledge; at least I can see nothing criminal in them, till such Time as it shall be made a Crime to say that the Protestant Succession is in Danger. I thought I had Reason to apprehend this Danger, from the Power of one who had declared himself the Friend and Patron of the Pretender, from his present Residence with a Prince, who has been ineffectually applied to for his Removal; from the Apprehensions of a whole House of Commons in another Kingdom, where Men have been actually lifted for his Service; from Addresses sent out of *North Britain*; from Books written and published in Vindication of his Title. I thought my Fears were not too early, when the Danger appeared so imminent; and I believe every Gentleman will concur with me, that it is more for the Safety of the Publick we should, in this great Case, be affrighted with imaginary Danger, than lulled into imaginary Security.

I come now, Sir, to those Passages which are marked in the Dedication to the *C R I S I S*. The first Paragraph runs thus:

‘ I will take the further Liberty to say, That if the Acts
 ‘ of Parliament mentioned in the following Treatise, had
 ‘ been from Time to Time put in a fair and clear Light,
 ‘ and had been carefully recommended to the Perusal of
 ‘ young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a Preference to all o-
 ‘ ther Civil Institutions whatsoever, this Kingdom had not
 ‘ been in its present Condition, but the Constitution would
 ‘ have had, in every Member the Universities have sent into
 ‘ the World since the Revolution, an Advocate for our
 ‘ Rights and Liberties.

I sup-

I suppose, Sir, those who have marked this Passage, would fetch an Innuendo out of it that I speak disrespectfully of the Universities; an Imputation which I thought could never be laid to my Charge, as may appear by innumerable Passages that may be drawn out of Books which I have published. It would take up the Time of this House too much, should I desire that all those Passages should be read; I shall therefore only beg Leave to make use of that Work which is intituled *The Englishman*, to vouch for me in this Particular. In the Paper of that Name, Number 12, I thus express my self:

‘ Our wholesome Laws, large Provisions, and the exemplary Characters of our Divines, place them above the Necessity of practising false Arts, to be in themselves, their Families, and their Posterity, the most happy as well as the most eminent of the People. If therefore they will at any Time separate themselves from the common Interest of their Country, such Errors in them must necessarily render them, in Instances which might be indifferent in others, to a Degree Schismaticks in the Church, and Rebels in the State.

Written by Mr. Steele himself.

And I also say in the *Englishman* Number 34,

‘ I have ever been of Opinion, that our Universities, as they have been the strongest Support of our Church, will be no less zealous for the Defence of our Civil Liberties, whenever they shall see them openly attacked. One of those illustrious Societies cannot yet have forgot, when, by a most unexampled Piece of Cruelty, Six and twenty of her Members, for refusing to be guilty of direct Perjury, and bravely opposing an illegal Commission, were all of them deprived of their Fellowships, made incapable of any

Written by a Correspondent of Mr. Steele.

‘ any Ecclesiastical Dignity ; and such of them as were not
 ‘ then in holy Orders, declared and adjudged incapable of
 ‘ being ever admitted into the same. I shall conclude with
 ‘ this Observation, *That these noble Foundations and Monu-*
 ‘ *ments of the Virtue of our Ancestors,* are in their very Na-
 ‘ ture directly opposite to Tyranny and unlimited Power ;
 ‘ since as Ignorance is a natural Consequence of Slavery,
 ‘ *Arts and Sciences* may be properly called *the eldest Daugh-*
 ‘ *ters of Liberty.*

It appears by these, and many other Passages in my Writings, that I have retained the greatest Honour and Esteem for those learned Bodies ; in one of which I received a Part of my Education, and where I can still boast of much personal Friendship and Acquaintance. But I believe, Sir, there are none among those learned Societies, who will think I derogate from them by any thing said in this Paragraph. They themselves bewail their Misfortune, that several Nonjurors are gone out from among them, and several still remain with them, who are the most able Defenders of that Cause, and who, if they had rightly studied our Constitution as settled by Acts of Parliament, might have been as able Advocates for our Rights and Liberties. Sir, I have Reason to esteem the Universities, as I had the Happiness to have had a Part of my Education in one of them : And it is for the like Reason that I shall always have a Veneration for the Clergy, as having been bred up from my Infancy (which I know not whether my Accuser was or not) in the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

The Paragraph which follows in the Dedication of the *CRISIS* is this :

‘ There

' There is one thing which deserves your most serious
 ' Consideration. You have bound your selves by the strong-
 ' est Obligations that Religion can lay upon Men, to sup-
 ' port that Succession which is the Subject of the following
 ' Papers: You have tied down your Souls by an Oath to
 ' maintain it as it is settled in the House of *Hanover*: Nay,
 ' you have gone much further than is usual in Cases of
 ' this Nature, as you have personally abjured the Pretender
 ' to this Crown; and that expressly, without any Equivoca-
 ' tions or mental Reservations whatsoever; that is, without
 ' any possible Escapes, by which the Subtlety of tempori-
 ' sing Casuists might hope to elude the Force of these solemn
 ' Obligations. You know much better than I do, whether
 ' the calling God to witness to the Sincerity of our Inten-
 ' tions in these Cases; whether the swearing upon the holy
 ' Evangelists in the most solemn Manner; whether the
 ' taking of an Oath before Multitudes of our Fellow-Sub-
 ' jects and Fellow-Christians in our publick Courts of Ju-
 ' stice, do not lay the greatest Obligations that can be laid
 ' on the Consciences of Men. This I am sure of, that if
 ' the Body of the Clergy, who considerately and volunta-
 ' rily entered into these Engagements, should be made use
 ' of as Instruments and Examples to make the Nation break
 ' through them, not only the Succession to our Crown,
 ' but the very Essence of our Religion is in Danger. What
 ' a Triumph would it furnish to those evil Men among
 ' us, who are Enemies to your sacred Order? What Occa-
 ' sion would it administer to Atheists and Unbelievers to
 ' say, That Christianity is nothing else but an outward
 ' Show and Pretence among the most knowing of its Pro-
 ' fessors? What could we afterwards object to Jesuits?
 ' What would be the Scandal brought upon our holy Church,
 ' which is at present the Glory and Bulwark of the Refor-
 ' mation? How would our present Clergy appear in the
 ' Eyes

‘ Eyes of their Posterity, and even to the Succession of their
 ‘ own Order, under a Government introduced and establish-
 ‘ ed by a Conduct so directly opposite to all the Rules of
 ‘ Honour, and Precepts of Christianity?’

A Man may own he apprehends that Holy and Recluse men may be misled by artful ones, without any Imputation to their Characters of Weakness or Guilt. And I here only take the Liberty of all Writers, to suppose a Case which is not likely to happen; and by that Means to animate the Zeal of those to whom I address my self, for that Cause; of the Justice of which they are already perswaded. This is a way of arguing made Use of by every one who would bring over his Reader to a Zeal for what he advances. What is more frequent than to hear from the Pulpit it self, The Scandal that would be brought upon Christianity, should the Professors of it deviate from those Rules which it prescribes? And it would be as just to say, that the Preacher does by this Method insinuate that his Hearers are not Christians, as it would be to imply from that Paragraph which I have now read, that our *English* Clergy are against the Protestant Succession: Nay, I think, nothing can be so great an Argument that I believe they are for it, as thus laying before the Reader those solemn Engagements that this Holy Order of Men have enter’d into for its Preservation. But to take off all Possibility of an Innuendo in this Place, I have, in the Paragraph which immediately follows, disclaimed every such Implication; where I say,

‘ As I always speak and think of your Holy Order with
 ‘ the utmost Deference and Respect, I do not insist upon
 ‘ this Subject to insinuate that there is such a Disposition a-
 ‘ mong your Venerable Body, but to shew how much your
 ‘ own Honour and the Interest of Religion is concerned,
 ‘ that there should be no Cause given for it.

It:

It would be very unfair to separate my Words, and to pronounce a Meaning in them, which I have not expressed, when that which I have expressed is a positive Denial of having entertained any such Meaning.

Sir, I am afraid that those who stir up this Accusation against me, only make use of the Name of the Clergy to give it a more popular Turn, and to take off the Odium from themselves, by the Use of such Venerable Names. But I hope this Accusation will be thought to proceed from the real Cause of it; and if any Hardship should fall upon me, as I know there cannot, whilst I have the Honour and Happiness to be heard before this House, that it will rather be imputed to the Resentments of an angry Minister, than of an injured Clergy.

Sir, If I can arrogate to my self any little Merit from the Writings which I have published, it is chiefly this; That I have personally opposed such Authors as have endeavoured to Ridicule Religion, and those Holy Professors of it. I have received several Approbations in Publick and in Private, from Men in Holy Orders, for my concurring with them, to the best of my poor Abilities, in the Advancement of Morality, and in beating down that unreasonable Humour which had prevailed with so many Writers to expose their Persons and Profession to the Derision of foolish and wicked Men. I must beg leave, on this Head, to produce some out of innumerable Passages which speak with the utmost Deference and Respect of their Holy Calling in general, and of some particular Persons in it, for whom, I believe, most of the Gentlemen of this House have a very great and just Esteem.

I shall first cite one or two very short Passages out of a Book called, *The Guardian*, which has been mentioned in this House ; and which was published not long since. The first of which Passages is in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Pages of the 1st Volume, in the following Terms-----

‘ I am diverted from the Account I was giving the
 ‘ Town of my particular Concerns, by casting my Eye
 ‘ upon a Treatise, which I could not over-
 ‘ look without an inexcusable Negligence,
 ‘ and want of Concern for all the Civil as
 ‘ well as Religious Interests of Mankind. This Piece has
 ‘ for its Title, *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the*
 ‘ *Rise and Growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* The Author
 ‘ very methodically enters upon his Argument, and says,
 ‘ By Free-Thinking I mean the Use of the Understanding,
 ‘ in endeavouring to find out the Meaning of any Proposition
 ‘ whatsoever, in considering the Nature of the Evidence
 ‘ for or against, and in judging of it according to the seem-
 ‘ ing Force or Weakness of the Evidence. As soon as he
 ‘ delivered this Definition, from which one would expect
 ‘ he did not design to shew a particular Inclination for
 ‘ or against any thing, before he had considered it ; he
 ‘ gives up all Title to the Character of a Free-Thinker,
 ‘ with the most apparent Prejudice against a Body of
 ‘ Men, whom of all others a good Man would be most care-
 ‘ ful not to violate, I mean Men in holy Orders. Persons
 ‘ who have devoted themselves to the Service of God are ve-
 ‘ nerable to all who fear him ; and it is a certain Cha-
 ‘ racteristick of a dissolute ungovern’d Mind, to rail or
 ‘ speak disrespectfully of them in general. It is certain
 ‘ that in so great a Crowd of Men, some will intrude who
 ‘ are of Tempers very unbecoming their Function. But
 ‘ because Ambition and Avarice are sometimes lodged in
 ‘ that Bosom, which ought to be the Dwelling of Sanctity
 ‘ and Devotion, must this unreasonable Author villify the
 ‘ whole

' whole Order? He has not taken the least Care to dis-
 ' guise his being an Enemy to the Persons against whom
 ' he writes, nor any where granted, that the Institution
 ' of religious Men to serve at the Altar, and instruct such
 ' who are not as wise as himself, is at all necessary or de-
 ' sirable; but proceeds without the least Apology to un-
 ' dermine their Credit, and frustrate their Labours. What-
 ' ever Clergymen, in Disputes against each other, have
 ' unguardedly uttered, is here recorded in such a Man-
 ' ner as to affect Religion it self, by wresting Concessions
 ' to its Disadvantage from its own Teachers. If this be
 ' true, as sure any Man that reads the Discourse must al-
 ' low it is; and if Religion is the strongest Tye of hu-
 ' man Society; in what Manner are we to treat this our
 ' common Enemy?

I shall cite another Passage, Sir, which is taken out of the
 245th and 246th Pages of the Second Volume of the same
 Work, and contains the following Words:

' But if to inform the Understanding, and regulate the
 ' Will, is the most lasting and diffusive Benefit, there will
 ' not be found so useful and excellent an Institu-
 ' tion as that of *the Christian Priesthood*, which
 ' is now become the Scorn of Fools.

*This most rea-
 sonable and a-
 miable Light
 in which the
 Clergy are here
 placed, comes
 from that mo-
 dest and good
 Man the Rev.
 Mr. Bartlett.*

' That a numerous Order of Men should be
 ' consecrated to the Study of the most sublime
 ' and beneficial Truths, with a Design to pro-
 ' pagate them by their Discourses and Writings,
 ' to inform their Fellow-Creatures of the Being and Attri-
 ' butes of the Deity, to possess their Minds with the Sense
 ' of a future State, and not only to explain the Nature of
 ' every Virtue and moral Duty, but likewise to perswade
 ' Mankind to the Practice of them by the most powerful
 ' and

‘ and engaging Motives, is a thing so excellent and necessary to the Well-being of the World, that no Body but a modern Free-Thinker could have the Forehead or Folly to turn it into Ridicule.

‘ The Light in which these Points should be exposed to the View of one who is prejudiced against the Names Religion, Church, Priest, and the like, is, to consider the Clergy as so many Philosophers, the Churches as Schools, and their Sermons as Lectures for the Information and Improvement of the Audience. How would the Heart of Socrates or Tully have rejoiced, had they lived in a Nation where the Law had made Provision for Philosophers, to read Lectures of Philosophy every seventh Day in several Thousand of Schools erected at the publick Charge throughout the whole Country, at which Lectures all Ranks and Sexes without Distinction were obliged to be present for their general Improvement? And what wicked Wretches would they think those Men, who should endeavour to defeat the Purpose of so Divine an Institution?

It ever was my Sentiment, before I could have formed to my self any Views of such Engagements as those I have since fallen into, that Respect to Clergymen and their Prosperity are essential to the Good of Society. Give me Leave, Mr Speaker, on this Occasion, to read to you a Passage out of a little Tract called *The Christian Heroe*; the 58th Page, speaking of the Enemies to the Christian Name, and Persons who envied the Clergy, runs thus :

‘ But alas! its State is as much Militant as ever; for there are earthly and narrow Souls as deeply scandall’d at the Prosperity the Professors and Teachers of this Sacred Faith enjoy, and object to them the Miseries and Necessities of the
‘ the

‘ the primitive Believers. Light and superficial Men! not
 ‘ seeing that Riches is a much more dangerous Dispensation
 ‘ than that of Poverty. This we oppose as a Foe, that we
 ‘ run to as a Friend; and an Enemy does his Business more
 ‘ successfully in an Embrace than a Blow. But since the
 ‘ Necessaries, Conveniencies, and Honours of Life which
 ‘ the Clergy enjoy, are so great an Offence to their Despisers,
 ‘ they are the more engaged to hold them dear; for they
 ‘ who envy a Man what he has, would certainly scorn him
 ‘ without it. When therefore they are both in good and bad
 ‘ Fortune irreconcilable to them, may they always offend
 ‘ with their Happiness: For it is not to be doubted, but that
 ‘ there are Bishops and Governours in the Church of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, whose decent Hospitality, Meekness, and Charity
 ‘ to their Brethren, will place them in the same Mansions
 ‘ with the most heroick Poor, convince the Mistake of their
 ‘ Enemies, and shew that the eternal Pastor has given his
 ‘ worldly Blessings into Hands by which he approves their
 ‘ Distribution; and still bestows upon us great and exem-
 ‘ plary Spirits, that can conquer the Difficulties and Enchant-
 ‘ ments of Wealth it self.

I have carried this Inclination to the Advancement of
 Virtue so far, as to pursue it even in things the most in-
 different, and which, perhaps, have been thought foreign
 to it. To give you an Instance of this, Sir, I must mention
 a Comedy called *The Lying Lover*, which I writ some Years
 ago, the Preface to which says,

‘ Tho’ it ought to be the Care of all Governments, that
 ‘ publick Representations should have nothing in them but
 ‘ what is agreeable to the Manners, Laws, Religion, and Policy
 ‘ of the Place or Nation wherein they are exhibited; yet it is
 ‘ the general Complaint of the more learned and virtuous a-
 ‘ mongst us, that the English Stage has extremely offended

‘ in this Kind. I thought therefore it would be an honest
 ‘ Ambition to attempt a Comedy, which might be no im-
 ‘ proper Entertainment in a Christian Common-wealth.

Mr. Collier had, about the Time wherein this was published, written against the Immorality of the Stage. I was (as far as I durst for fear of witty Men, upon whom he had been too severe) a great Admirer of his Work, and took it into my Head to write a Comedy in the Severity he required. In this Play I make the Spark or Heroe kill a Man in his Drink, and finding himself in Prison the next Morning, I give him the Contrition which he ought to have on that Occasion. 'Tis in Allusion to that Circumstance that the Preface further says as follows :

The Anguish he there expresses, and the mutual Sorrow between an only Child and a tender Father in that Distress, are perhaps an Injury to the Rules of Comedy, but I am sure they are a Justice to those of Morality: And Passages of such a Nature being so frequently applauded on the Stage, it is high Time that we should no longer draw Occasions of Mirth from those Images which the Religion of our Country tells us we ought to tremble at with Horror.

But Her most excellent Majesty has taken the Stage into Her Consideration; and we may hope from her gracious Influence on the Muses, that Wit will recover from its Apostacy; and that by being encouraged in the Interests of Virtue, 'twill strip Vice of the gay Habit in which it has too long appeared, and cloath it in its native Dress of Shame, Contempt and Dishonour.

I can't tell, Sir, what they would have me do to prove me a Churchman; but I think I have appeared one even in so trifling a thing as a Comedy: And considering me as a Comick Poet, I have been a Martyr and Confessor for the Church; for this Play was damn'd for its Piety.

I shall

I shall in the last Place, Sir, with your Allowance, quote some Passages out of another Book, intituled, *The Tatler*; the first of which is in the 37th Page of the first Volume, published in 1710, as follows.

Will's Coffee-House, April 20, 1709.

THIS Week being Sacred to Holy Things, and no Publick Diversions allowed, there has been taken Notice of, even here, a little Treatise, called, *A Project for the Advancement of Religion; dedicated to the Countess of Berkeley*. The Title was so uncommon, and promis'd so peculiar a way of Thinking, that every Man here has read it, and as many as have done so have approved it. It is written with the Spirit of one who has seen the World enough to undervalue it with good Breeding. The Author must certainly be a Man of Wisdom as well as Piety, and have spent much time in the Exercise of both. The Real Causes of the Decay of the Interest of Religion, are set forth in a clear and lively Manner, without unseasonable Passions; and the whole Air of the Book, as to the Language, the Sentiments and the Reasonings, show it was written by one whose Virtue sits easie about him, and to whom Vice is thoroughly contemptible. It was said by one of this Company, alluding to that Knowledge of the World the Author seems to have; The Man writes much like a Gentleman, and goes to Heaven with a very good Mien.

Written by
Mr. Steele himself.

The Gentleman I here intended was Dr. *Swift*; this kind of Man I thought him at that time: We have not met of late, but I hope he deserves this Character still.

The second Passage which I shall cite out of that Work, is in the 116th and 117th Pages of the second Volume, published the same Year 1710.

Written by
Mr. Steele him-
self.

‘ The Dean, we heard the other Day toge-
‘ ther, is an Orator. He has so much regard to
‘ his Congregation, that he commits to his
‘ Memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and
‘ graceful a Behaviour that it must attract your Attention.
‘ His Person, it is to be confessed, is no small Recommen-
‘ dation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing
‘ that Advantage, and adding to the Propriety of Speech
‘ (which might pass the Criticism of *Longinus*) an Action
‘ which would have been approved by *Demosthenes*. He has
‘ a peculiar Force in his way, and has many of his Audience,
‘ who could not be Intelligent Hearers of his Discourse,
‘ were there not Explanation as well as Grace in his Action.
‘ This Art of his is used with most Exact and Honest Skill.
‘ He never Attempts your Passions till he has convinc’d your
‘ Reason. All the Objections which he can form are laid
‘ open and dispersed, before he uses the least Vehemence in
‘ his Sermon; but when he thinks he has your Head, he
‘ very soon wins your Heart; and never pretends to show
‘ the Beauty of Holiness, till he hath convinced you of the
‘ Truth of it.

The third Passage which I shall cite from that Work, is taken out of the 168th and 169th Pages of the same Volume—

Written by
Mr. Steele him-
self.

‘ This Matter is too sacred for this Paper;
‘ but I can’t see what Injury it would do any
‘ Clergyman, to have it in his Eye, and be-
‘ lieve, all that are taken from him by his want of Indu-
‘ stry, are to be demanded of him. I dare say, *Favonius*
‘ has

‘ has very few of these Losses. *Favonius*, in the midst of a
 ‘ thousand Impertinent Assailants of the Divine Truths, is an
 ‘ undisturbed Defender of ’em. He protects all under his
 ‘ Care, by the Clearness of his Understanding and the Ex-
 ‘ ample of his Life. He visits dying Men with the Air of
 ‘ a Man who hopes for his own Dissolution, and enforces
 ‘ in others a Contempt of this Life, by his own Expecta-
 ‘ tion of the next. His Voice and Behaviour are the live-
 ‘ ly Images of a compos’d and well govern’d Zeal. None
 ‘ can leave him for the frivolous *Jargon* of the Ordinary
 ‘ Teachers among Dissenters, but such who cannot distin-
 ‘ guish Vociferation from Eloquence, and Argument from
 ‘ Railing. He is so great a Judge of Mankind, and touches
 ‘ our Passions with so Superior a Command, that he who
 ‘ deserts his Congregation must be a Stranger to the Di-
 ‘ ctates of Nature, as well as to those of Grace.

In fine Sir, the last Passage which I shall cite out of that
 Work, is taken from the Preface to the fourth Volume,
 published in 1711, where it is said,

‘ What a Man obtains from the good Opinion and Friend-
 ‘ ship of worthy Men, is a much greater Honour than he
 ‘ can possibly reap from any Accomplishments of his own.
 ‘ But all the Credit of Wit, which was given me by the
 ‘ Gentlemen above-mentioned (with whom I have now
 ‘ Accounted) has not been able to Atone for the Excepti-
 ‘ ons made against me for some Raillery in behalf of that
 ‘ learned Advocate for the Episcopacy of the Church and
 ‘ Liberty of the People, Mr. *Hoadley*. I mention this only
 ‘ to defend my self against the Imputation of being moved
 ‘ rather by Party than Opinion; and I think it is apparent
 ‘ I have with the utmost Frankness allowed Merit where-
 ‘ ever I found it, though joined in Interests different from
 ‘ those for which I have declared my self. When my *Fa-*
 ‘ *vonius* is acknowledged to be Dr. *Smalridge*, and the amia-

‘ ble Character of the Dean in the sixty sixth *Tatler*, drawn
 ‘ for Dr. *Atterbury*, I hope I need say no more as to Impar-
 ‘ tiality.

Sir, I shall give you no more Instances on this Head, but shall beg that common Candour from Gentlemen, which is allow’d to every Body, that if my Intention should appear Doubtful or Suspicious in any one Passage, it may be explained by others which are more plainly and fully expressed. Sir, since I have touched upon the word *Religion*, I hope I may be indulged one Sentence more before I quit this Head, and if I speak as a Fool, that you will bear with me. I have in several of my Writings espoused the Interests of Virtue and Religion, and have Reason to hope I have been of some use to the Publick upon that account. Why may not these now plead for me? I wish those who have written against me, and have contributed their utmost to bring me into my present Misfortune, may in their Day of Adversity have the same Foundation for Support in themselves, and Claim to your Favour.

I now come, Sir, to the Passages marked in the first and second Pages of the *Crisis*.

‘ But since, by I know not what Fatality,
 ‘ we are of late grown Supine, and our Anxie-
 ‘ ty for * It is abated, in proportion to the
 ‘ Danger to which it is every Day more exposed, by the
 ‘ artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Constitu-
 ‘ tion: It is a Seasonable and Honest Office to look into
 ‘ our Circumstances; and let the Enemies of our present
 ‘ Establishment behold the Securities which the Laws of the
 ‘ Country have given those who dare assert their Liberties,
 ‘ and the Terrors they have pronounced against those who
 ‘ dare undermine them. For, whatever is the Prospect be-
 ‘ fore our Eyes, it is the business of every honest Man, to
 ‘ look up with a Spirit that becomes Honesty, and to do
 ‘ what

* *Speaking of
 Liberty.*

‘ what in him lies for the Improvement of our present
 ‘ Condition, which nothing but our own Pusillanimity can
 ‘ make desperate.

‘ The most destructive Circumstance in our Affairs seems
 ‘ to be, that by the long and repeated Insinuations of our
 ‘ Enemies, many are worn into a kind of Doubt of their
 ‘ own Cause, and think with Patience of what is Suggest-
 ‘ ed in favour of contrary Pretensions. The most obvious
 ‘ Method of reviving the proper Sentiments in the Minds
 ‘ of Men, for what they ought to esteem most dear, is to
 ‘ shew, that our Cause has in it all the Sanctions of Ho-
 ‘ nour, Truth, and Justice; and that we are, by all the
 ‘ Laws of God and Man, instated in a condition of enjoy-
 ‘ ing Religion, Life, Liberty and Property, rescued from
 ‘ the most imminent Danger of having them all for ever de-
 ‘ pend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince.

I must here beg leave, Sir, to read the two or three following Lines which are not marked, because they explain this latter part of this last Paragraph, and show to whom these Words are applied, where it is said, *That we are by all the Laws of God and Man, instated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and Property, rescued from the most imminent Danger of having them all for ever depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince.* The following Paragraph, which determines these words, runs thus,

‘ We shou’d have been chained down in this abject Con-
 ‘ dition, in the Reign of the late King *James*, had not
 ‘ God Almighty in Mercy given us the late happy Revo-
 ‘ lution, by that *Glorious Instrument of his Providence the*
 ‘ *Great and Memorable King William.*

And

And now, Sir, can any one say, that we were not instated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and Property, by the late happy Revolution? Or that we were not before in the most imminent Danger of having them all depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince? I appeal to the Acts of Parliament quoted in this Book; and might appeal, as I am told, to a Report of the Grievances of this Kingdom, under the Reign of King

In this Mr. Steele was misinformed, for there did not upon Examination appear any such Circumstance of Paul Foley Esq. but he was a very Worthy Man the Father to this Squire Thomas.

James II. made to this House by *Paul Foley, Esq;* Father to the Gentleman who has so remarkably distinguish'd himself against me this Day. This Report, as I am told, explains by a multitude of Instances, drawn up in the strongest Terms, the several Particulars which I have here just touch'd upon. If the House thinks fit that I should in this Place have the Assistance of the Father against the Son, I will desire that that Report may now be Read: Or, if that be not thought fit, shall go on with my Defence.

And here, Sir, I think I may save you a great deal of Time, by laying down a General Rule which every one will agree, ought to take place in the Perusal of any Writing. That which I shall insist on is this; that if an Author's Words, in the obvious and natural Interpretation of them, have a Meaning which is Innocent, they cannot without great Injustice be condemned of another Meaning which is Criminal. If the same Expression may be applied to different Persons, and according to such Application may be construed in my Favour or to my Prejudice, why should my Words be applied to hurt me, when they may more Naturally be applied in such a Manner as is not capable of incurring Censure? Thus, Sir, when I mention in the Paragraph I have just now read, *The Artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Constitution, The Enemies of our present Happy Establishment, The Terrors* which

which are pronounc'd against those who dare undermine our Liberties; why must all these and the like Expressions be applied to a Minister, when there are such Numbers of Popish Emissaries, Jacobites and Non-jurors, to whom these Expressions by a Natural and unforced Construction are very Applicable? Does not the Supposition of such an Innuendo reflect highly upon a Minister who has given no Occasion for it? Is a Man Seditious, who speaks in plain and open Terms against the Enemies of our Constitution and Country? or, is it impossible to make use of those Words, without comprehending under them, Persons whom it is Criminal to attack? By this way of arguing, it is not in the Power of Words to be free from unwarrantable Hints and Innuendos. Thus, Sir, in the next Paragraph, where mention is made, of *indirect Arts and mean Subtleties practised to weaken our Securities*—are not these Words as general as possible, applicable to Multitudes of open Enemies and disaffected Persons, both in Foreign Dominions and in her Majesty's Kingdoms? or will any one say that indirect Arts and mean Subtleties can be practised only by one Man in the Kingdom? When there are two different Interpretations to be put upon any Expression, will any Gentleman of Candour and Humanity, regard that only which carries Guilt in it? especially when the Interpretation which must render such Expression Criminal, is violent and forced, whereas the other that renders them Innocent is obvious and natural? I shall, after this, beg leave to read in this Light, the next Paragraph marked in the *Crisis*, page 2.

‘ I flatter my self that if the Passages which happened in
 ‘ those Days, the Resolutions of the Nation thereupon,
 ‘ and the just Provisions made from Time to Time, against
 ‘ our falling into the same Disasters, were fairly stated and
 ‘ laid in one View, all indirect Arts and mean Subtleties
 ‘ practised to weaken our Securities would be frustrated,
 ‘ and

‘ and vanish before the glaring Light of Law and Reason.
‘ fon.

I cannot conceive why the other Paragraph that follows page 2d and 3d, should have been marked, since it is no Crime, nor any way tends to Sedition, to speak in Honour of Parliaments, or to quote Acts of Parliament. Here it is——

‘ I shall not govern my self on this Occasion, by the partial Relations of particular Persons or Parties, but by the
‘ Sense of the whole People, by the Sense of the Houses
‘ of Lords and Commons, the Representative Body of the
‘ whole Nation ; in whose Resolutions, according to the
‘ different State of Things, the Condition of the Kingdom,
‘ by those who had the greatest Stakes in it, has been from
‘ Time to Time Plainly, Impartially and Pathetically expressed.

The next Passage is in the *Crisis*, page 27.

‘ And all this hath been done in so open a Manner, and
‘ in so Expressive and plain Terms, that one cannot but
‘ think that our Popish or Jacobite Party, who have been of
‘ late so bold, both in Writing and Speaking against the Settlement of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant
‘ Line, and cannot possibly plead Ignorance of these
‘ Things, must have some unaccountable Encouragement
‘ for their Support.

I here say that those who write or speak boldly and knowingly contrary to the Tenor of Acts of Parliament, which I have before cited, and which are now in Force, must have some Unaccountable Encouragement for their Support; and the Reason is very plain, because such a Person is declared liable to the most grievous Penalties who does
act

act or speak after such a Manner; But whether this unaccountable Encouragement comes from the Pretender himself, the *French Court*, or the Dukes of *Lorain* or *Savoy*, whose Interest it may be to give them such Encouragement, I do not pretend to determine: And I hope it will not be said, that I do pretend to Account for such an Encouragement which I do here plainly declare to be Unaccountable.

The two next Paragraphs are only a Narrative or Relation of Matters of Fact, which I conceived I might set down with that Liberty which is allowed to the most common News-Writer. Here they follow.

‘ If the beating the Enemy in the Field, and being too
 ‘ vigilant for their Councils in Foreign Courts were effectual
 ‘ Means towards ending the War, and reducing them to
 ‘ a Condition too low, for giving fresh Disturbance to *Europe*,
 ‘ the Duke of *Marlborough* took just Measures: But,
 ‘ however Unaccountable it may appear to Posterity,
 ‘ that General was not permitted to enjoy the Fruits
 ‘ of his Glorious Labours: But, as *France* chang’d her Generals
 ‘ for want of Success in their Conduct, so *Britain*
 ‘ Changes hers, after an uninterrupted Series of Conquests.
 ‘ The Minds of the People, against all Common Sense, are
 ‘ debauch’d with Impressions of the Duke’s Affectation
 ‘ of prolonging the War for his own Glory, and his Adversaries
 ‘ attack a Reputation which could not well be impaired,
 ‘ without sully’g the Glory of *Great Britain* itself. His
 ‘ Enemies were not to be softned by that Consideration;
 ‘ he is dismiss’d, and soon after a Cessation of Arms between
 ‘ *Great Britain* and *France* is publish’d at the Head of the
 ‘ Armies. The *British*, in the midst of the Enemies Garisons,
 ‘ withdraw themselves from their Confederates. The *French*,
 ‘ now no longer having the *Britains*, or their Great Leader
 ‘ to fear, affect no more strong Garisons and fortified Camps,
 ‘ but attack and rout the Earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*, and
 ‘ necessitate the brave Prince

Prince *Eugene* to abandon *Landrecy*; a Place of such
 Importance that it gave Entrance into the Heart of
France. Of which the *French* King was so sensi-
 ble, that before he was recovered from his Fright, he
 acknowledg'd he owed in a manner his Crown, to the
 Suspension of Arms between him and *Great-Britain*.
 The Suspension is follow'd by a Treaty of Peace at *U-*
trecht. The Peace is concluded between *Great-Bri-*
tain and *France*, and between *France* and the *States-Ge-*
neral. The Emperor and the Empire continue the War!
 I shall not presume to enter into an Examination of the
 Articles of Peace between us and *France*; but there can
 be no Crime in affirming (if it be a Truth) that the House
 of *Bourbon* is at this Juncture become more formidable,
 and bids fairer for an universal Monarchy, and to engross
 the whole Trade of *Europe*, than it did before the War.

All the World knows with what Frankness the *Dutch*
 have been treated to deliver up *Traerbach* to the *Imperia-*
lists, as an Expedient for the *French* to besiege it; because
 forsooth it lies convenient for their Incursions upon the
 Empire. This Extravagant Demand must give a melan-
 choly Prospect to other Nations.

If it be a Crime to speak honourably of the Duke of
Marlborough, it is a Crime that I must always be guilty of,
 and is that which instead of denoting me a Stirrer up of Se-
 dition, declares me to be a *Lover of my Country*. If I am
 rightly informed, that Great Man, when a Circumstance
 relating to him was under your Consideration during the
 last Session of Parliament, was mentioned in this Place, not
 only with Deference and Respect, but with the highest En-
 comiums by the most Eminent Members of this House.
 And I hope, the most private Man may take the liberty of
 expressing his Gratitude to the Duke of *Marlborough*, since
 there is no private Man in *England* who is not obliged to
 him.

him. Those who are represented as his Adversaries and Enemies, are only those who will always be so; I mean such who are Friends to the Pretender and the *French* King, whose Hopes he hath often and gloriously defeated. If any one questions what I have said concerning the *French* King's Letter, upon the raising of the Siege of *Landrecy*, let him read that Letter, and see what other Interpretation can be put upon it.

The last Sentence of this Paragraph I think defends it self, and is founded upon this Maxim, which I fancy no Gentleman will deny, That it is not a Crime to speak the Truth. Here is what follows in the 31st and 32d Pages of the *Crisis*.

‘ The most important Article between *France* and *England*, is the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; which they have begun contemptuously and Arbitrarily their own way. The Mole and Harbour, which only are dreadful to us, are yet untouch'd; and just Suspicions given that they ever will be.

Sir, I always postpone my own private Safety to that of my Country; and therefore heartily wish that I lay open to the Censure of this House for what I have here advanced. I say, Sir, that I heartily wish, tho' I might have fared the worse for it at this time, that the Event did not Justifie those Apprehensions, which I have here, and in other Papers expressed, in relation to *Dunkirk*. I have regulated my Thoughts on that Subject, by the Treaty of Peace which has been published for the Perusal of her Majesty's Subjects. It was thereby Stipulated, that the Mole and Harbour should be first Demolished: But instead of this, the *French* (for it is there I lay the blame) have only demolished the Fortifications towards the Land; and thus, as I have said in another place, the Queen's Garrison is exposed, by levelling the Works, to the Mercy of the *French*; and the Mole and Harbour, which were first to be Demolished,

lished, stand as they did. Will any one say that this Proceeding of the *French*, so contrary to what was stipulated by the Articles of Peace, is not begun Contemptuously and Arbitrarily their own way? The Time stipulated by the same Treaty for the Demolition of the Mole and Harbour, is long since elapsed; and no longer since than a Week ago, as I can prove by incontestable Evidence, they were actually repairing that very Mole, which should have been long before this a heap of Ruins. These, and many other Reasons which I forbear insisting upon, will, I hope, explain what I have said in this Paragraph, to every Gentleman's Satisfaction. Here is that which follows marked in the *Crisis*, p. 32.

‘ *Landau* and *Fribourg* are taken, and in case there is
 ‘ no intermediate Peace, *which may still be more immedi-*
 ‘ *ately fatal to us*, two hundred thousand *French* may be
 ‘ ready in the Spring to invade the Empire, and restore the
 ‘ Elector of *Bavaria* to his forfeited Dominions.

Will any one say there was no Danger to be apprehended from a Peace, which was treating, according to our publick Accounts, without her Majesty's Interposition? And when we had reason to fear that her Majesty's Ministers had no opportunity given them of promoting any thing in it for the Good of their Country, as not being let into the Secret? Have not our publick Prints told us, that *England* was not mentioned in the Treaty? Do they not speak of private Articles, reciprocal Complaisances, and several other Particulars which prove, that the Apprehensions I here mention, were not altogether groundless?

The next Paragraph is only matter of Fact, and an Inference from it, which cannot be controverted. Here it is.

‘ These

' These Incidents happen when the Capital of *Austria*,
 ' the Residence of his Imperial Majesty, is visited with the
 ' Plague. The Male Line of that House is likely to ter-
 'minate in himself; and should it please God to take him
 ' off, and no King of the *Romans* chosen, a Prince of the
 ' House of *Bourbon* would probably bid fair for the Impe-
 'rial Dignity; after which Day, farewell Liberty, *Europe*
 ' would be *French*.

Here is the Paragraph that follows:

' But the Scene is not yet closed, *Portugal*, which du-
 'ring the War, supplied to us the place of *Spain*, by send-
 'ing us vast Quantities of Gold in Exchange for our
 ' Woollen Manufactures, has only at present a Suspension
 ' of Arms for its Protection, which Suspension may possi-
 'bly last no longer than 'till the *Catalonians* are reduc'd;
 ' and who knows but the old Pretensions of *Spain* to *Por-*
 ' *tugal*, may be then revived? I mention the *Catalonians*,
 ' but who can name the *Catalonians* without a Tear! Brave
 ' unhappy People! Drawn into the War by the Encourage-
 'ment of the Maritime Powers. from which only a Nation
 ' encompassed by Land by *France* and *Spain*, could hope for
 ' Relief and Protection, now abandoned and exposed to the
 ' Resentment of an enraged Prince, whose Person and Interest
 ' they have always opposed; and yet still so fond of their
 ' Ancient Liberties, that tho' hemmed up in a Nook of
 ' Land by the Forces of the two Crowns, and closely be-
 ' sieged in *Barcelona*, they chuse rather, like their Coun-
 ' trymen the famous *Saguntines* of old, to perish with
 ' their Wives and Children, than live in Slavery. Did the
 ' *French* King with a conquering Sword in his Hand, ever
 ' abandon the least and most inconsiderable of all his Allies?
 ' No. When these very *Catalonians* had assisted him against
 ' the King of *Spain*, he did not give up his Power of treat-
 'ing, 'till he had made the most honourable Conditions
 ' for

‘ for them: Not a single Man amongst them was then hurt,
 ‘ either in his Person or Privileges; but now———Poor
 ‘ unhappy *Catalonians*, worthy of a better Fate! Good
 ‘ and gracious God! To whom shall be attributed the Loss
 ‘ of this brave People? Dreadful the Doom of those who
 ‘ shall in thy Sight be esteemed their Destroyers!

I am at a loss with my self whether the Gentleman mark-
 ed out this Paragraph for taking Pity on the poor *Cataloni-
 ans*, or for having spoken honourably of the *French* King.
 Common Humanity will, I hope, be my Excuse for the first;
 and I shall trust to that Gentleman’s known good Nature
 to pardon me for the latter.

But here the Gentleman finds another Inuendo, and
 has mark’d out a Seditious Blank: That is in reality, he is
 very angry with me, not for any thing I have said, but for
 something I have not said: Or rather, because I have not
 written what he would have had me write. But if he finds
 both my Silence and my Words Criminal, I must confess I
 don’t know how to please him.

Sir, I am afraid I have tired out the Patience of this Ho-
 nourable House, in explaining these Particulars; especially
 since I think they do sufficiently explain themselves to any
 impartial and unprejudiced Reader. As for the remaining
 part of the *Crisis* which has been marked, I have examined
 it very carefully, and am very much perplexed to find out
 the Passages in it which can have given any Manner of Of-
 fence. The greatest part of it consists of faithful Quotati-
 ons out of History, that may give us an Abhorrence of
 Popery, and of a Popish Successor, with several Additional
 Arguments drawn from the Nature of the Roman Catholick
 Religion, which are the same which have ever been made
 use of against it since the Reformation. There are also se-
 veral Considerations from the present Situation of Affairs in
Europe,

Europe, that may contribute to strengthen our Resolutions in the Defence of the Protestant Succession as established by our Laws. I have declared again and again in this Part of the Book, as well as in several of the foregoing Parts of it, that I wou'd inculcate nothing but a due Observance to the Laws of the Land, and a vigorous Exertion of our selves in the Defence and Preservation of them. Whatever Warmth or Spirit I have endeavoured to inspire my Readers with, I have declared over and over, that it is for the Maintenance of those Points which are established by Acts of Parliament and the Laws of their Country. I must confess, Sir, that I am very much at a Loss, to imagine why my Accuser has laid his Finger upon these Passages which are so manifestly written in Favour of our Constitution, and in Opposition to Popery and the Pretender. He must have entertain'd a very mean Opinion of a *British* House of Commons, if he could think that such Passages would bring their Displeasure upon me: And I am verily perswaded that if Gentlemen will be pleased to hear them with Attention, they will be more apt to conceive an Indignation against that Person, who has charged them as Criminal, than against him who writ them. I shall only beg Leave to take Notice of one particular Passage in them, because it is a full Answer to an Insinuation made against me by one who spoke in a former Debate relating to this Subject. That Honourable Member was pleased to say, that I wou'd insinuate the Gentlemen of *England* were against the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*. Were this my Thought, Sir, I wou'd give up that Cause as desperate. I say, Sir, if the Gentlemen of *England* were against it, all that he or any Body else could do for it, would be ineffectual. But, Sir, to show you that I could not be so weak and unjust as to make this wicked Suggestion, I beg Leave only to read these following Words——‘ As divided a People as we are, ‘ those who are for the House of *Hanover* are infinitely Superior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts Military ‘ and Civil, to those in the contrary Interest——Will that
honourable

honourable Person say, that the Gentlemen of *England* do not fall within this Description? Sir, my greatest Hope this Day is in the Gentlemen of *England*, who are above being prejudiced by any false Reports which are made of me, or by any sordid Motives that might have an Influence upon Men of base and Mercenary Minds. But Sir, I was going to read to you the remaining Part of the *Crisis*, as I find it marked upon your Table; but after having spoke thus much of it, I shall leave it to its own Justification.

This is inserted because marked as Criminal, but not defended, read or farther spoken to by the accused Member.

‘ But to bring these several Facts and Circumstances home, we must observe, that the Person who seems to be the most favour’d by the *French King* in the late Treaties is the Duke of *Savoy*, who is made King of *Sicily*; and considering also the Enlargement of his Territories on the Continent, by Cession from the Emperor, is become the most powerful Prince in *Italy*. This Prince put in his Claim to the Crown of *England*, in the Right of his Wife, a Daughter of the late Dutchess of *Orleans*, Sister to our late King *Charles* the Second, at the time of settling the Crown of *England* on the House of *Hanover*. This Prince, a Man of as great Address and Capacity as any now living, is supposed to have entered into a Secret and Strict Alliance with the House of *Bourbon*, and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a Popish Successor.

‘ Things standing thus, and the House of *Bourbon* being in the Actual Possession of *France* and *Spain*, bidding fair for the Conquest of *Germany*, or in Peace and good Understanding with it; what have *Great Britain* and *Holland* to hope from, but the Mercy of *France*? What else have we to prevent the Pretender’s being imposed on us, when *France* shall think fit; nay, in failure of one Pretender, he has in his Quiver a Succession of them; the Dutchess of *Savoy*, or Her Sons, or the Dauphin Her Grandson. *The last named cannot be many Years from the Throne of France.*

' In the next Place how are we disposed at Home, for the
 ' Reception of such an Attempt? The Passions of many, which
 ' were raised so high by an Impudent Suggestion of the Church's
 ' Danger, seem to have subsided into a Lethargick Unconcern
 ' for every thing else; Harmless Men are ashamed to own,
 ' how grossly they have been imposed upon; and instead of
 ' resenting the Abuse, are willing to overlook it, with a
 ' certain Reluctance against being moved at any thing else;
 ' least they should fall into the Mortification of being mis-
 ' led a Second time. Many who are above being blinded by
 ' Popular Noise and Outcry, yet seem to think the Warmth and
 ' Zeal of a Publick Spirit to be little better than a Roman-
 ' tick Heat of Brain. Treasonable Books lately dispersed a-
 ' mongst us, that have apparently struck at the Protestant Suc-
 ' cession in the House of *Hanover*, have passed almost with-
 ' out Observation from the Generality of the People; Subtile
 ' Queries have been Published, about the Birth of a certain
 ' Person, which certain Person every Body knows to be in-
 ' tended for the Pretender; The Author of the Conduct
 ' of the Allies has dared to drop Insinuations about altering
 ' the Succession; and a late Treasonable Book, on the Sub-
 ' ject of *Hereditary Rights*, has published the Will of King
 ' *Henry* the Eighth, which seems to be intended as a Pattern
 ' for the like Occasion.

' The Conversion of the *Pretender* to our Religion, has
 ' been occasionally Reported, and Contradicted, according to
 ' the Reception it met with among the soft Fools, who give
 ' that gross Story a hearing: The unhappy Prince, whose
 ' Son the Pretender calls himself, is a memorable Instance,
 ' how much such Conversions are to be depended upon. King
 ' *James*, when Duke of *York*, for a long time professed him-
 ' self a Protestant; and even not long before his Accession to
 ' the Crown, several Persons had Actions brought against
 ' them for saying he was a Papist, and exorbitant Damages
 ' given and recovered; in a Word, from the Practice of all Pa-
 ' pists, that have come to Protestant Thrones, upon Pretence

of embracing the Reformed Religion, we have Reason to
 believe they have Dispensations from *Rome* to personate
 any thing, for the Service of that Church. A Popish
 Prince will never think himself obliged by the most So-
 lemn, even the Coronation Oath, to his Protestant Sub-
 jects. All Oaths are as insignificant and as soon forgot-
 ten, as the Services done by such Protestant Subjects.

King *James*, when Duke of *York*, was preserved from
 the Bill of Exclusion, by the Church of *England*, and
 particularly its Bishops; when he came to the Crown,
 the Church was soon insulted and outraged by him, and
 Her Prelates committed to the Tower.

Has not a Neighbouring Prince cruelly Treated and Ba-
 nished his Protestant Subjects, who preserved the Crown
 on his Head?

Did not the Princess *Mary* promise the Men of *Suffolk*,
 who joined with Her against the Lady *Jane Grey*, that she
 would make no Alteration in the Religion Established by
 Her Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth? And yet as soon as
 she came to the Crown, by the Assistance even of *Suffolk*
 Men, she filled all *England*, and in a particular manner
 that County, with the Flames of Martyrs. The Cruel-
 ties of that Reign were such, that multitudes of Men,
 Women and Children were burnt for being Zealous Pro-
 fessors of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. In short, no-
 thing less than this can be expected from a Popish Prince;
 both Clergy and Laiety must share the same Fate, all uni-
 versally must submit to the fiery Tryal, or renounce their
 Religion. Our Bishops and Clergy must all lose their Spi-
 ritual Preferments, or submit to Antichristian Tyran-
 ny: And should they submit to every thing, they must not
 withstanding part from their Wives and Children, which,
 according to the Church of *Rome*, are Harlots and Spu-
 rious. The Laiety, possessed of Lands that formerly be-
 longed to the Roman Catholick Clergy, must resign their
 Estates, and perhaps be made accountable for the Profits
 received.

What

' What can be more moving, than to reflect upon the
 ' Barbarous Cruelties of Papists beyond all Example: And
 ' these not accidental, or the sudden Effects of Passion or
 ' Provocation, but the settled result of their Religion and
 ' their Consciences.

' Above 100000 Men, Women and Children were Mur-
 ' dered in the Massacre of *Ireland*. How hot and terrible
 ' were the late Persecutions of Protestants in *France* and
 ' *Savoy*? How frequent were the Massacres of the Pro-
 ' testants through the whole Kingdom of *France*, when
 ' they were under the Protection of the then Laws of
 ' that Country? how Barbarous, in a particular man-
 ' ner, was the Massacre of *Paris*, at the Marriage of
 ' the King of *Navarre*, the *French* King's Grand-father,
 ' a Protestant, with the Sister of *Charles* the Ninth,
 ' where the Famous Admiral of *France*, the great *Coligny*,
 ' the glorious Asserter of the Protestant Interest, was in-
 ' humanly Murdered, and the Body of that Heroe dragged
 ' Naked about the Streets, and this by the Direction of the
 ' King himself, who had but just before most treacherously
 ' given him, from his own Mouth, Assurance of his Pro-
 ' tection? Ten thousand Protestants, without distinction
 ' of Quality, Age or Sex, were put to the Sword at the
 ' same time; the King of *Navarre* himself narrowly escap-
 ' ed the Disaster, his Mother the Queen of *Navarre* ha-
 ' ving not long before been poysoned by the same Faction.

' These are some Instances of what must ever be expect-
 ' ed. No Obligations on our side, no Humanity or Natu-
 ' ral Probity on theirs, are of any weight; their very Re-
 ' ligion forces them, upon Pain of Damnation, to forget
 ' and cancel the former, and to extinguish all remains of the
 ' latter. Good God! To what are they reserved, who
 ' have nothing to expect but what such a Religion can
 ' afford them? It cannot therefore be too often repeated.
 ' We should consider, over and over again, that should the
 ' Chain of the Protestant Succession be once broke in up-

on, though the Pretender should be laid aside, the next of
 the Blood Royal is the Dutchess of *Savoy*, after her Her
 two Sons; after them, the present Dauphin of *France*; the
 next in Succession to him, the Queen of *Spain*, and her
 Heir; in Default of them, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his
 Heirs, and most of the other Princes of the Blood of *France*,
 all Papists, who may be enabled to demand Preference to
 the House of *Hanover*; so that besides the Probability of this
 Kingdom's being United to, and made a Province of
France, the train of Popish Princes is so great, that if one
 should not compleat the utter Extirpation of our Religi-
 on, Laws and Liberties, the rest would certainly do it.

And here I cannot but add what is still of more Impor-
 tance, and ought to be the most prevalent of all Argu-
 ments, that should there be the least Hopes given to a
 Popish Successor, the Life of her Majesty will certainly
 be in most imminent Danger; for there will never be
 wanting bloody Zealots of that Perswasion, that will think
 it meritorious to take away her Majesty's Life, to hasten
 the Accession of such a Successor to her Throne.

The only Preservation against these Terrors, are the
 Laws before mentioned relating to the Settlement of the
 Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*. Thanks be to Heaven
 for that Settlement. The Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs
 of her Body, being Protestants, are the Successors to her
 present Majesty, upon her Demise without Issue. The
 Way is plain before our Eyes, guarded on the Right
 Hand, and on the Left; by all the Sanctions of God and
 Man, and by all the Ties of *Law* and *Conscience*. Let
 those who act under the present Settlement, and yet pre-
 tend to dispute for an Absolute Hereditary Right, quiet
 themselves with the Arguments they have borrowed from
 Popery, and teach their own Consciences the Art of di-
 spensing with the most solemn Oath to this Establishment,
 whilst they think themselves bound only till Opportunity
 shall serve to introduce another. God be thanked, nei-
 ther

‘ther we, nor our Cause, stand in need of such detestable
 ‘Prevarication. Our Cause is our Happiness. Oaths are
 ‘our Judgment and Inclination. Honour and Affection
 ‘call us, without the Solemnity of an Oath, to defend such
 ‘an Establishment; but with it we have every Motive that
 ‘can influence the Mind of Man. The Terrors of God,
 ‘added to the Demands of our Country, oblige and con-
 ‘strain us to let our Hearts and our Hands follow our
 ‘Wishes and our Consciences; and out of Regard to our
 ‘Queen, our Religion, our Country, our Liberty and our
 ‘Property, to maintain and assert the Protestant Successi-
 ‘on in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*: It is no time to
 ‘talk with Hints and Inuendo’s, but openly and honestly
 ‘to profess our Sentiments, before our Enemies have com-
 ‘pleted and put their Designs in Execution against us. As
 ‘divided a People as we are, those who are for the House
 ‘of *Hanover*, are infinitely superior in Number, Wealth,
 ‘Courage, and all Arts Military and Civil, to those in the
 ‘contrary Interest; besides which, we have *the Laws*, I
 ‘say *the Laws* on our side. And those who by their
 ‘Practices, whatever their Professions are, have discover’d
 ‘themselves Enemies to the Constitution, and Friends to
 ‘the Pretender, cannot make a Step farther without being
 ‘guilty of Treason, without standing in broad Day-light,
 ‘confessed Criminals against their injured Queen and
 ‘Country.

‘ When the People were in a Ferment, when Faction ran
 ‘high, with irresistible Prepossessions against every thing in
 ‘its former Channel, sanguine Men might conceive Hopes
 ‘of leading them their own Way. But the Building erect-
 ‘ed upon that Quicksand, the Favour of the Multitude,
 ‘will sink, and be swallowed up by that treacherous Ground
 ‘on which the Foundation was laid.

‘ It is easie to project the Subversion of a People, when
 ‘Men see them unaccountably turned for their own De-
 ‘struction; but not so easie to effect that Ruin, when they
 ‘ are

' are come to themselves, and are sensibly and reasonably
 ' affected with Thoughts for their Preservation. We can-
 ' not help it, if so many Thousands of our brave Brethren,
 ' who laid down their Lives against the Power of *France*,
 ' have dyed in vain; but we may value our own Lives dear-
 ' ly, like honest Men. Whatever may befall the Glory and
 ' Wealth of *Great-Britain*, let us struggle to the last Drop
 ' of our Blood for its Religion and Liberty. The Banner
 ' under which we are to enter this Conflict, whenever we
 ' are called to it, are the Laws mentioned in this Discourse;
 ' when we do not keep them in Sight, we have no Co-
 ' lours to fly to, no Discipline to preserve us, but are de-
 ' voted, and have given our selves up to Slaughter and
 ' Confusion.

' While we act manfully under them, we have Reason
 ' to expect the Blessing and Assistance of Heaven on its own
 ' Cause, which it has so manifestly acknowledg'd to be such,
 ' by our many wonderful Deliverances, when all Human
 ' Assistances and ordinary Means of Succour seem'd irre-
 ' vocably removed. We have no Pretensions to the Di-
 ' vine Favour, but from our firm Adherence to that Settle-
 ' ment, which he has, by so many Wonders and Blessings,
 ' after such great Difficulties and Misfortunes, bestowed
 ' upon us, and which we have in his Sight, and with the
 ' Invocation of his Sacred Name, after preparing our Selves
 ' at his Altar, so frequently and solemnly Sworn to defend.
 ' This plain, unperplexed, unalterable Rule for our Con-
 ' duct, is visibly the Work of his Hand to a favoured Peo-
 ' ple. Her Majesty's Parliamentary Title, and the Successi-
 ' on in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, is the Ark of God
 ' to *Great Britain*, and, like that of Old, carries Death to
 ' the profane Hand that shall dare to touch it.

I come now to the Close of the *Englishman*, where I find
 the following Paragraph marked,

' But

' But if God spares the good Queen's Life from such se-
 ' cret Attempts as we have too much Reason to fear, I doubt
 ' not but to see her judge rightly of such Pretences. Tho'
 ' Flattery carries Witchcraft, yet when she shall see that
 ' these Men, instead of supporting her Government with their
 ' Interest, cannot carry their Elections but by representing
 ' all others as under her Displeasure; when she shall see
 ' that they over-bear the Rights of Corporations by the
 ' impertinent Interposition of her Power and Name; when
 ' she shall see that those large Bodies of Men which the
 ' *Examiner* and others expose and exasperate, as Men whom
 ' the Queen hates, are so loth to be alienated from their
 ' Hope in her, that their being actually cast from all Prefer-
 ' ments and Places, hath not made them guilty of one sedi-
 ' tious, or even undutiful Action. When she shall see that
 ' those noisie Men who embarrass the Nation in every Que-
 ' stion, with calling out *the Church*; are but like the Wea-
 ' ther-Cocks and Clappers of the Steeple; and that the sober,
 ' and laborious, and peaceable Church-men, are its real Sup-
 ' port and Pillars. When a little more time shall bring out
 ' things that begin to appear pretty plain already; then the
 ' Queen will shew selfish Men that would ingross her Fa-
 ' vour, that she will be the Mother of all her People; and
 ' as in Spite of these Men's studied Provocations, she hath
 ' their Hearts and Affections, so she will rule with equal Ju-
 ' stice towards all. If the Nation will be so wise as to lay
 ' aside Parties and Party Quarrels, she will have no need to
 ' keep them up, but employ all Men according as the Law
 ' makes them qualified, and their Virtues and Parts make
 ' them fit. But if several Interests, and Opinions, and Hu-
 ' mours shall still continue our Parties (as the *Examiner's*
 ' Violence and Partiality hath done more to sharpen them,
 ' than to take off the Edge) then she will let all see, that
 ' her Crown is not to be sunk down to be a Partizan of
 ' either side, so as to take these to be her Friends and the other
 ' Enemies; but that she is over both, and will use either in
 ' their

‘ their Turns, according as they are fittest for the Service she
‘ hath for them at that time. And for those who shall dare
‘ to insult and exasperate the other as Enemies, they are Sy-
‘ cophants instead of Friends; and rob her of her best Trea-
‘ sure, which is the Love of her People.

I have heard some Exceptions taken to the two or three Lines of this Paragraph where I say, ‘ If God spares the good
‘ Queen’s Life from such secret Attempts as we have too much
‘ Reason to fear: But as to this Passage, I think it is sufficiently explained by a Paragraph which I shall beg Leave to read in the 35th Page of the *Crisis*.

‘ And here I cannot but add what is still of more Importance, and ought to be the most prevalent of all Arguments, that should there be the least Hopes given to a Popish Successor, the Life of her Majesty will certainly be in most
‘ Imminent Danger: For there will never be wanting bloody
‘ Zealots of that Persuasion, that will think it meritorious to
‘ take away her Life, to hasten the Accession of such a Successor to her Throne.

The remaining part of this Paragraph, is nothing else but the Picture of an excellent Princess, who notwithstanding the Suggestions of unreasonable Men, will still maintain in her the Character of the best of Sovereigns, by shewing her self the Mother of all her People. If any Inuendo can possibly be found in this Paragraph, It can only affect those who would incline her Royal Heart, to make an unjust Distinction among her Subjects.

The next Paragraph is in the 6th Page of the Quarto Edition of the *Englishman*, in these Words:

‘ I insist the more upon these Revolution Principles, (as
‘ they are scornfully called now-a-days) not only because there
‘ never

‘ never was more need of them than at this time, but because
 ‘ the best and greatest Part of the Clergy (especially those
 ‘ placed in eminent Stations) have in all Ages, so far as re-
 ‘ lates to our Nation, and as far as my small Reading informs
 ‘ me, been ready and hearty Assertors of the Privileges and
 ‘ Properties of the People; and why the whole Body should
 ‘ not be now, is past my Comprehension.

I suppose my Accuser would again insinuate by this Para-
 graph, for Reasons best known to himself, that I speak disre-
 spectfully of the Clergy: But how he will be able to make
 this out, from an Elogium which is given to their past Con-
 duct, and a Presumption that their Future will be conform-
 able to it, is past my Comprehension. I suppose he will not
 deny, notwithstanding his new and inexpressible Tendernefs for
 the Clergy of the Church of *England*, that there are among
 them, some Nonjurors and Assertors of Hereditary Right, in
 Opposition to the Laws of their Country.

The following Paragraph in the 10th Page, concerning
Dunkirk, has already receiv'd its Answer. Here it is.

‘ *Toby* is mistaken: At this Day it is in a more dangerous
 ‘ Condition as to *England*, than it was when I writ about
 ‘ the Importance of it. For I insisted upon the Demolition
 ‘ of the Mole and Harbour; and instead of that, they have,
 ‘ as exactly as if Mr. *Tugge*'s Memorial had been the Dire-
 ‘ ction in this Case, demolished the Works, and left the Har-
 ‘ bour, its Sluices, and all its Accesses that concern us, our
 ‘ Safety and our Trade, in good Condition. That is, they
 ‘ have destroy'd the Works in Possession of the *British* Gar-
 ‘ rison, to make that Garrison useless, and put off the De-
 ‘ molition of the Harbour 'till Time shall serve.

The three next Paragraphs are taken out of Page 17; and
 are only Matters of Fact, which may be proved out of several
 Books and Addresses, as well as from common Discourse, to
 which I dare say every Gentleman in this House has been a
 Witness. I shall therefore appeal from any little Sophisti-
 cal Cavils which may be made against them, to the Honour
 and Veracity of those Gentlemen before whom I have now the

Happiness to vindicate my self. I will only read them, and appeal to every Gentleman's own Conscience for the Truth of them.

‘ This is not all; for before this Run upon the Bank, a
 ‘ Man was thought to argue very well that would say, that
 ‘ for the better Consumption and Exportation of *British* Ma-
 ‘ nufactures, it was absolutely necessary to give both *Spains*
 ‘ to the friendly House of *Bourbon*: But lest a great Mo-
 ‘ narch should be tempted by Ambition, to use that Trust
 ‘ for his own, rather than our Interest, it would be expedi-
 ‘ ent to keep a Check upon him by dismissing all our Allies.
 ‘ For our further Security within our selves, and to prevent
 ‘ all Invasions on Liberty and Property, one might very late-
 ‘ ly have said, the Dignity and Authority of Parliaments
 ‘ could not be better strengthened, than by placing a despo-
 ‘ tick Power in the Sovereign.

‘ We have so little Publick Spirit amongst us, that these
 ‘ Things pass'd like Mathematical Truths, 'till each Man
 ‘ grew afraid for his own Pocket.

‘ A Man who was uneasie before this Accident, for the
 ‘ Publick Welfare; and has observed nothing since that puts
 ‘ us in a better Condition; a Man, I say, who from only
 ‘ hearing the News contradicted, that the Pretender was a
 ‘ coming, cannot infer that he may not still come, ought to be
 ‘ excused for writing as I have and do, to raise in his Fellow-
 ‘ Subjects, a just Concern for those Civil and Religious Rights,
 ‘ which they at present enjoy above all other Nations.

The next Paragraph is taken out of the 18th and 19th Pages of the same Book: And as it relates to *Dunkirk* has been already explained. Here it is

‘ The Queen's Garrison is expos'd by levelling the Works
 ‘ to the Mercy of the *French*: And the Mole and Harbour,
 ‘ which were first to be demolished, stand as they did, *The*
 ‘ *Terror of the British Nation*. Thus, Sir, as the Interest
 ‘ of her Majesty and her People are inseparable, I think I
 ‘ have behaved my self like a dutiful Subject, in complain-
 ‘ ing of this open Violation of her Treaty in the most im-
 ‘ portant Article of it. I

I am now come to the last Paragraph, in the 22d Page of the same Book, as follows.

‘ I wish Thirdly, That his Electoral Highness of *Hanover*
 ‘ would be so grateful as to signifie to all the World, the per-
 ‘ fect good Understanding he has with the Court of *England*,
 ‘ in as plain Terms as her Majesty was pleased to declare she
 ‘ had with that House on her Part. This last Circumstance,
 ‘ Dear *Jack*, wou’d be very pleasing to all of us who are
 ‘ Churchmen, because if the Elector should be any way disob-
 ‘ liged, I am confident her Majesty has given no Cause for
 ‘ it; and I cannot but attribute any Misunderstanding, if
 ‘ such there should be, to the Artifices of some new Converts,
 ‘ who, for ought I know, may still be Presbyterians in their
 ‘ Hearts.

I do not know whether I have been more troubled or surprized, to hear a Gentleman affirm that these Words, by an Innuendo, contradict what her Majesty had affirmed from the Throne. This Accusation may be put in such very hard Words, as may incline those to be displeas’d with me, who attend more to the Accusation it self, than to the Grounds I have given for it. The Gentleman who brought it against me, would artificially have stopp’d in the Middle of the Paragraph, had not he been put upon hearing the whole read out, wherein I positively assert that if the Elector should be any way disobliged, I am confident her Majesty has given no Cause for it. I say, Sir, I have positively asserted in the Words which immediately follow those which were objected to me, That if the Elector of *Hanover* should be any way disobliged, I am confident her Majesty has given no Occasion for it. And the Reason why I was so positive in this Assertion, is, because her Majesty, as I before said, was pleas’d to declare in plain Terms, that she had a perfect good Understanding with the House of *Hanover*.

And now, Sir, is there a Fault, after this, in wishing that his Electoral Highness would be so grateful as to signifie to all the World, the perfect good Understanding he has with the Court of *England*. It is certain such a Declaration as this

would quiet the Minds of all her Majesty's Subjects upon this important Article; and why should it be Criminal in me to wish for that, which would so manifestly redound to the Peace of our Country? Let every Gentleman ask his own Heart, whether he would not be glad that the Elector made such a Declaration as is here mentioned. And shall any Man be esteemed an Offender for wishing that which every Man would be glad of? If there be any Reflection in this Passage, it is plain that it does not fall upon her Majesty; and I question not but that in a Point of this Nature, Gentlemen will be so just as to keep my plain and express Words, and not to force a guilty Interpretation upon a Passage which has a natural Interpretation that is innocent.

I have now explained those several Paragraphs which have been laid to my Charge, and that in the shortest Manner I was able; reserving to my self the Liberty of producing any further Reasons, for the Defence of any particular Passage, as the Objections of my Accusers and my own Justification shall further require.

I must declare, Sir, that upon the Perusal of those Paragraphs which have been marked against me, I have been more puzzled to know why I ought to defend them, than how they ought to be defended? And I dare appeal to any Gentleman who is used to read Pamphlets, whether he has seen any of either side for some Years past, that have been written with more Caution, or more thoroughly guarded against giving any Occasion of just Offence.

Upon the whole Matter, I do humbly conceive that no Words which I have made use of can be censured as Criminal, in the Candid and natural Interpretation of them, and can only be construed as such by distant Implications and far-fetch'd Innuendoes. I shall therefore beg Leave to produce the Authority of a very great Man, with Reference to Accusations of this Nature: Since it is impossible for me to express my self with so much Judgment and Learning upon this Subject, as I find it already done to my Hand. The Passages I mention, are in the Speech of the now Lord Chancellor of *England*, as

I find them in Doctor *Sacheverell's* Tryal, in the following Words.

‘ My Lords, if there be a double Sense, in either of which
 ‘ these Words are equally capable of being understood; if in
 ‘ one Sense the Doctor’s Assertion be undeniably clear, but in
 ‘ the other some Doubt might arise whether his Words be
 ‘ Criminal or not, the Law of *England* is more merciful
 ‘ than to make any Man a Criminal, by construing his
 ‘ Words against the natural Import of them, in the worst
 ‘ Sense. This is the great Justice and Clemency of our Law
 ‘ in every Man’s Case.

And a little lower.

‘ My Lords, if the Manner of this solemn Prosecution has
 ‘ not alter’d the Nature of Things, I hope I may insist,
 ‘ without putting in a Claim of Right in behalf of all the
 ‘ Factious and Seditious People in the Kingdom, to revile
 ‘ the Government at pleasure, that by the happy Consti-
 ‘ tution under which we live, a Subject of *England* is not
 ‘ to be made Criminal by a labour’d Construction of doubt-
 ‘ ful Words; or, when that cannot serve, by departing
 ‘ from his Words, and resorting to his Meaning. Too
 ‘ many Instances there were of this nature, before the late
 ‘ happy Revolution; but that put an end to such Arbitra-
 ‘ ry Constructions.

After these Excellent Words of this Great Man, every thing I can say will appear very flat and low; for which Reason I shall give you but very little further Trouble. I have heard it said in this Place, that no private Man ought to take the liberty of expressing his Thoughts as I have done, in matters relating to the Administration. I do own, that no private Man ought to take a Liberty which is against the Laws of the Land. But, Sir, I presume that the Liberty I have taken, is a legal Liberty; and obnoxious to no Penalty in any Court of Justice. If it had, I cannot believe that this extraordinary Method would have been made use of, to distress me upon that account. And why should I here suffer for having done that, which perhaps in a future Tryal, would not be judged Criminal by the Laws of the Land?

Land? Why should I see Persons, whose particular Province it is to prosecute Seditious Writers in the Courts of Justice, imploying their Eloquence against me in this Place? I think that I have not offended against any Law in Being: I think that I have taken no more Liberty than what is consistent with the Laws of the Land: If I have, let me be tried by those Laws. Is not the Executive Power sufficiently armed to inflict a proper Punishment on all kinds of Criminals? why then should one part of the Legislative Power, take this Executive Power into its own Hands? But, Sir, I throw my self upon the Honour of this House, who are Able, as well as Obliged, to skreen any Commoner of *England* from the Wrath of the most powerful Man in it; and who will never Sacrifice a Member of their own Body, to the Resentments of any single Minister.

Here I ended in the House. Most of what I said was put into my Mouth by my Friends, whose Kindness and Discretion prevented my adding to these forcible Arguments many honest Truths, which they thought would Authorise a Severity from the House to me, rather than secure me against their Resentment. I cannot, as an indifferent Man, dare to assert what I would have done, under the Sanction of a Member of Parliament, speaking in Parliament. The Happiness of convincing some honest Gentlemen who were against me, was not to be my Fate: But, (barring that I made the best and most respectful Obedience I could to the Speaker) with a very awkward and unwilling Air I withdrew; and the next News I heard was, that I was Expelled.

It is Justice due to Human Nature, to signify to an Offender why he is punished. It is a Justice to inform the meanest Man in Human Society, why he is distinguished from the rest to his Disadvantage; it is a Christian Duty to give him the Contrition he ought to have, and work in him a Repentance from Arguments towards his Conviction. But the House, without letting me hear one Reason, or Shadow of an Argument to prove me Seditious, have peremptorily pronounced me so.

To

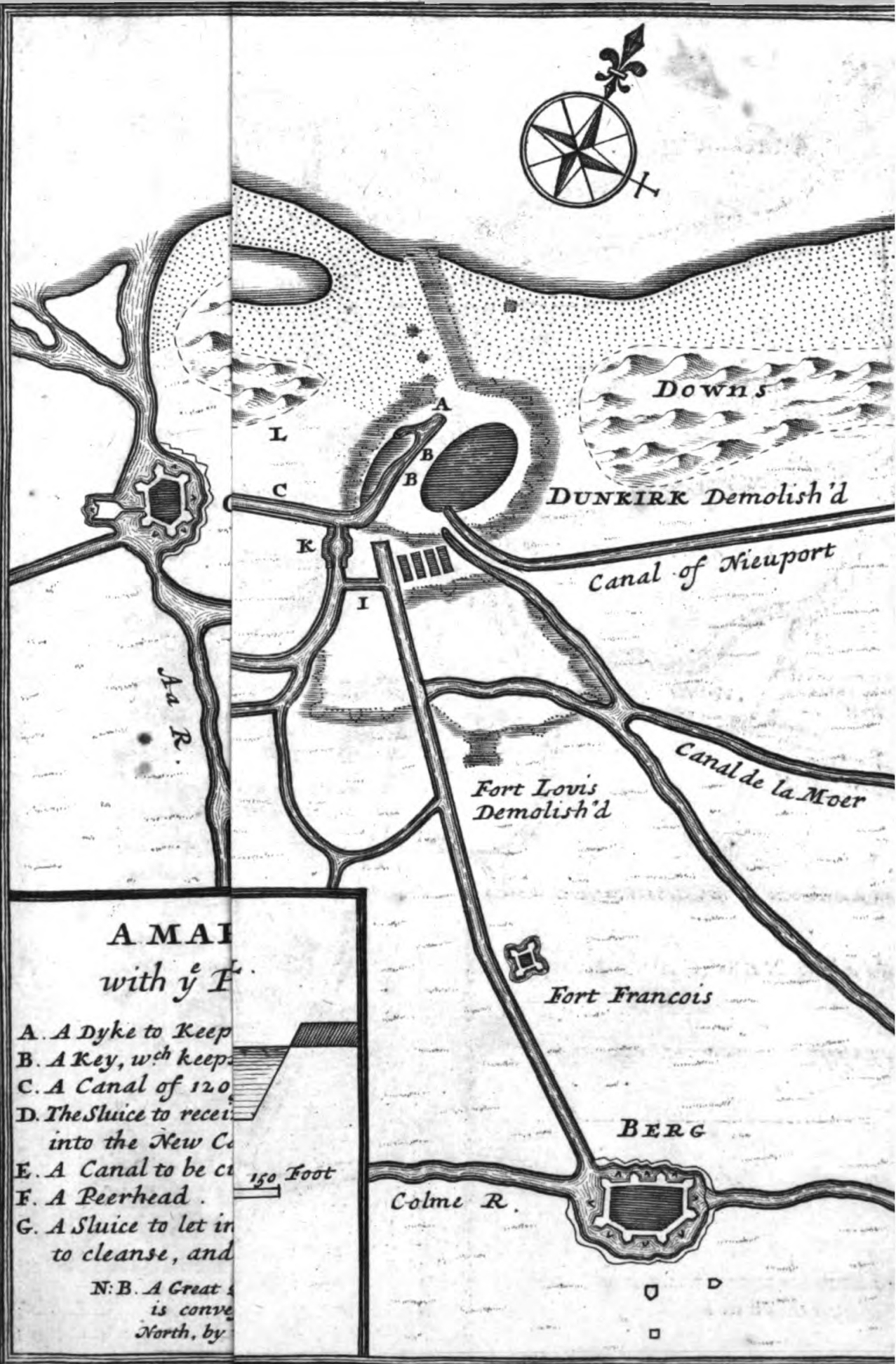
To hear a Man speak, without being moved by what he says, or controverting it before Sentence, is only to give Exercise to an hard Heart; a ridiculous Candour, that is an Aggravation of an Injury, by putting on the Face of Justice. I shall therefore, as briefly as I can, consider the Matter yet further: For I am now as much concerned to show why this Sentence should not be a Reproach to me now it is passed, as I was before to speak against its being pronounced.

It may be objected, that I am sure to come off, when I who am the Criminal, am also to be the Judge. I may make the same Objection against the Determination of the House, they who were the Judges, were also the Accusers. In the first place I aver, that if I had, as indeed I have not, been Guilty of raising groundless Fears to the Disadvantage of the Ministry, it is less the Part of the House of Commons, than any other Body of Men, to be Inquisitors in Favour of them. Their more graceful Province had been to have encouraged what I had to say, if I had had Objections, rather than suppressed me for offering at it. It had been well, after such a Search, to have chastised or approved the Man accused, according to his Deserts. But my Fate is so Extraordinary, that I am punished by the House of Commons, (where Freedom of Speech is an essential Privilege) for saying what was Criminal no where else. Had what I have written been spoken in the House of Commons, no Man will pretend to say it had been Criminal: How then when it was Innocent in another Place, came it to be criminal by being produced there? I was safe, when in Circumstances that rendered me more accountable, and run into Danger by being privileg'd.

But I flatter my self that I shall convince all my Fellow-Subjects of my Innocence from the following Circumstances, allowed to be of Weight in all Trials of this Nature. *From the general Character of the Offender, the Motive to his Offence, and the Character of the Persons who appear for him, opposed to those who are against him.* There are some Points to be allowed, which bear hard against the Prisoner at the

Bar; and we must grant this by way of Confessing and Avoiding, and give it up, that the Defendant has been as great a Libertine as a Confessor. We will suppose then a Witness giving an Account of him, who, if he spoke true, would say as follows.

I have been long acquainted with Mr. *Steele*, who is accused as a malicious Writer; and can give an Account of him (from what he used to confess to us his private Friends) what was the chief Motive of his first appearing in Print. Besides this, I have read every thing he has writ or published. He first became an Author when an Ensign of the Guards, a way of Life exposed to much Irregularity; and being thoroughly convinced of many things, of which he often repented, and which he more often repeated, he writ, for his own private Use, a little Book called the *Christian Hero*, with a design principally to fix upon his own Mind a strong Impression of Virtue and Religion, in opposition to a stronger Propensity towards unwarrantable Pleasures. This secret Admonition was too weak; he therefore Printed the Book with his Name, in hopes that a standing Testimony against himself, and the Eyes of the World (that is to say) of his Acquaintance upon him in a new light, might curb his Desires, and make him ashamed of understanding and seeming to feel what was Virtuous, and living so quite contrary a Life. This had no other good Effect, but that from being thought no undelightful Companion, he was soon reckoned a disagreeable Fellow. One or two of his Acquaintance thought fit to misuse him, and try their Valour upon him; and every Body he knew measured the least Levity in his Words and Actions, with the Character of a Christian Heroe. Thus he found himself slighted, instead of being encouraged, for his Declarations as to Religion; and it was now incumbent upon him to enliven his Character, for which Reason he writ the Comedy called *The Funeral*, in which (tho' full of Incidents that move Laughter) Virtue and Vice appear just as they ought to do. Nothing can make the Town so fond of a Man as a successful Play, and this, with some Particulars enlarged upon to his Advantage, (for Princes never hear Good or Evil



Downs

DUNKIRK Demolish'd

Canal of Nieuport

Canal de la Moer

Fort Louis Demolish'd

Fort Francois

BERG

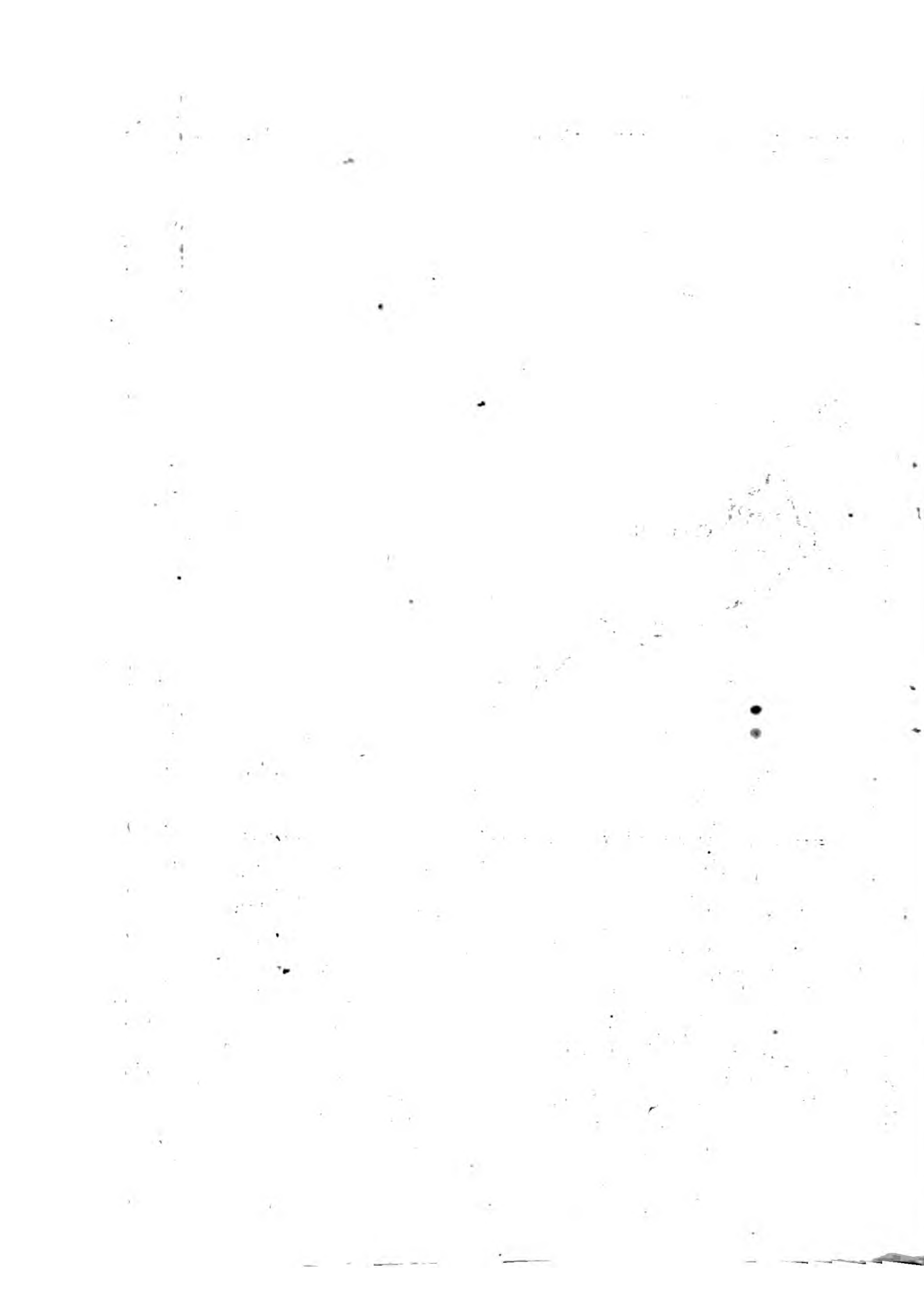
Colme R.

A MA
with y^e F.

- A. A Dyke to Keep
- B. A Key, w^{ch} keeps
- C. A Canal of 120
- D. The Sluice to recei
- into the New Co
- E. A Canal to be ca
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- G. A Sluice to let in
- to cleanse, and

150 Foot

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in the manner others do) obtained him the Notice of the King: And his Name, to be provided for, was in the last Table-Book ever worn by the Glorious and Immortal *William the Third*.

His next Appearance as a Writer was in the Quality of the lowest Minister of State, to wit, in the Office of Gazetteer. Where he worked faithfully according to Order, without ever erring against the Rule observed by all Ministries, to keep that Paper very innocent and very insipid.

It is believed, it was to the Reproaches he heard every Gazette Day against the Writer of it, that the Defendant owes the Fortitude of being remarkably negligent of what People say, which he does not deserve; Except in so great Cases as this now before Us. His next Productions were still Plays, then the *Tattler*, then the *Spectator*, then the *Guardian*, then the *English-man*. And now, tho' he has published, and scribbled so very much, He may defie any Man to find one Leaf in all these Writings which is not, in point, a Defence against this Imputation, to find one Leaf which does not mediately or immediately tend to the Honour of the Queen, or the Service of the Nobility and Gentry, or which is not particularly respectful to the Universities. Farther this Witness sayeth not.

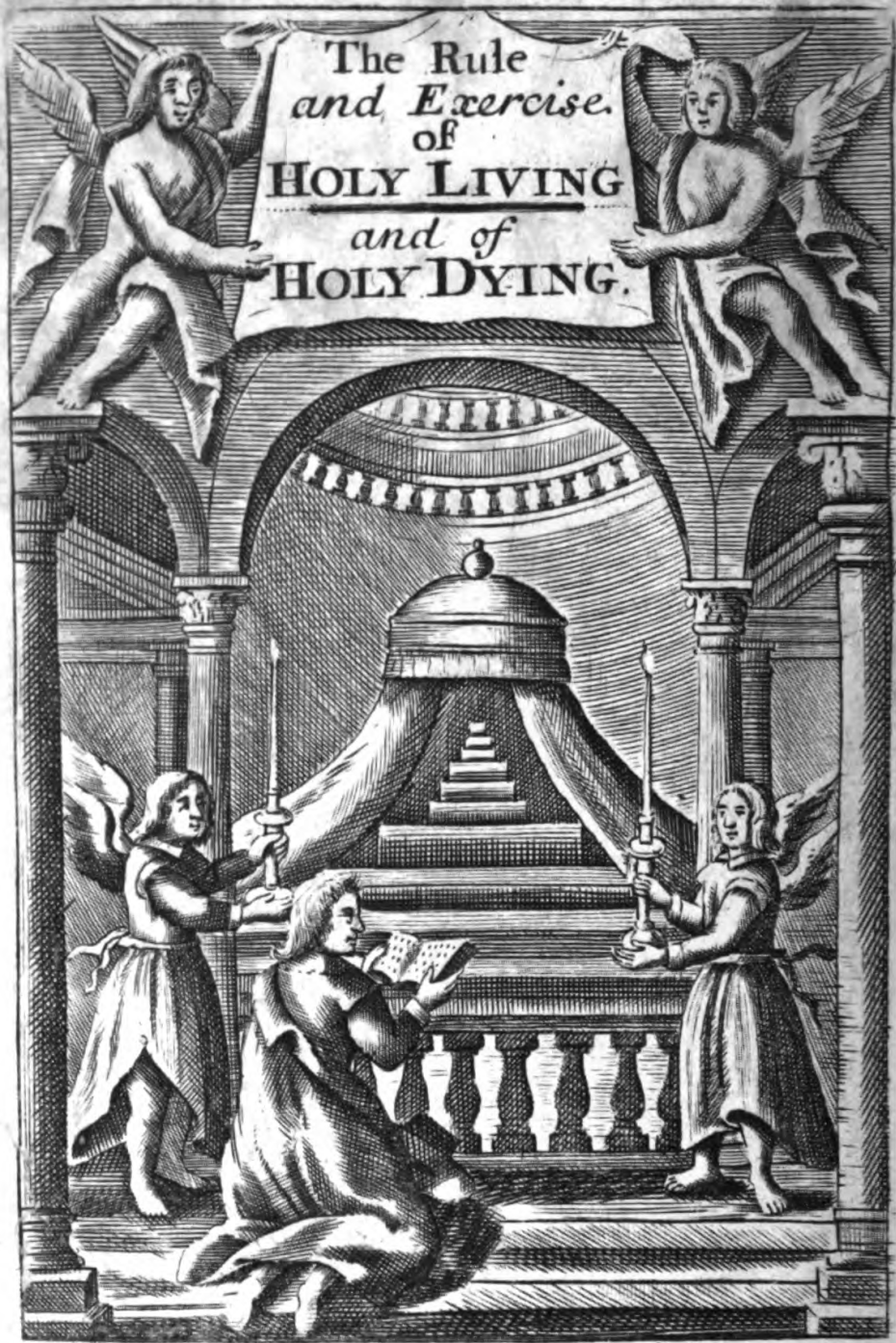
When a Man is accused, it is allowable not only to say as much as will refute his Adversary, but if he can he may assert Things of himself Praise-worthy, which ought not to be called Vanity in him, but Justice against his Opponent, by proving it is not only False what is said as to the Fault laid to his Charge, but also that he has exerted the contrary Virtue.

You may observe that the Votes of the 18th of *March* imply, that the Writings were under Consideration, as containing several Paragraphs *tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and arraigning Her Majesty's Administration and Government*. There was not one Argument used to support this heavy Accusation against the Member; but I suppose, upon Consideration that his reflecting upon the Queen so directly, and arraigning Her Administration and Government, was just the quite con-

trary to what he had done, the Ill Behaviour towards Her Majesty is in the Resolution scattered among Her Subjects, and it was thought, since it was all equally true, it would be expedient to withdraw the Offence, and for the Amusement of the Vulgar, to say more diffusively, that the Pamphlets were Scandalous and Seditious *Libels*, containing many Expressions highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and upon the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Universities of this Kingdom, maliciously insinuating, that the Protestant Succession is in Danger under Her Majesty's Administration, and tending to alienate the Affections of Her Majesty's good Subjects, and to Create Jealousies and Divisions among them.

This is a very pleasant Proceeding. The Indictment before them was, that the accused Member had reflected upon the Queen; ay marry has he, say they, and upon the Nobility and Gentry, Clergy and Universities, and he did this also with a malicious Intimation, that the Succession was in Danger under Her Majesty's Administration, and so forth. What need was there the Man should be Guilty of more than he was indicted for? Let this Resolve be taken out of its Formality, and it is just as if they had said, he has been Guilty of Treason, and also of ill Manners. But the huddle of Offences was only to make a Huz and Cry, and the Business was, that he should be marked; and as they well knew from the general Corruption and Meanness of the World, that if the Crimes did not distinctly hurt every sort of People, they would not be Zealous enough for the sake of the Queen only, to vilifie and distress the accused Man: But the Succession, say they, he says is in Danger *under Her Majesty's Administration*. This Phrase is Ambiguous and Evasive, it retains the Offence against the Queen, only to hide Ministers. This is a very thin Mask, for it is no help to them; if any Man should, in a proper Place, have anything to object to their Conduct; it would be no Answer to urge against such an Impeachment, that this was asserting ill things are done under Her Majesty's Administration. All manner of Crimes are committed under every Prince's Administration,





Non magna loquimur; sed vivimus.

