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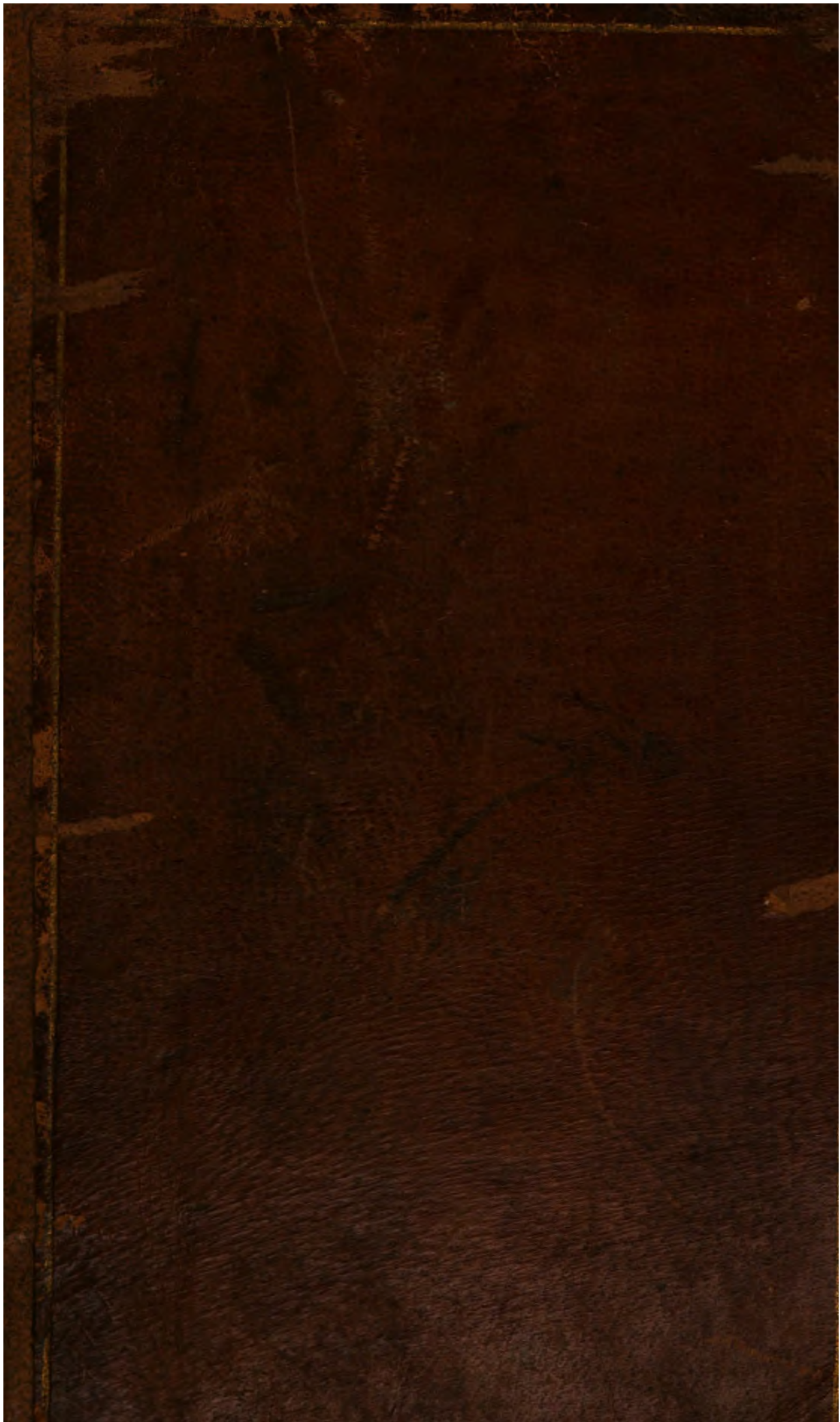
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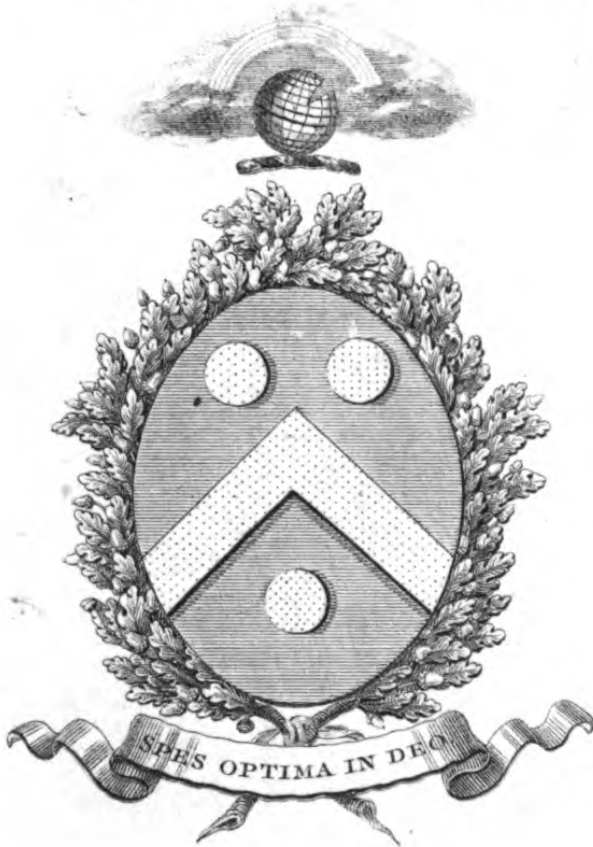
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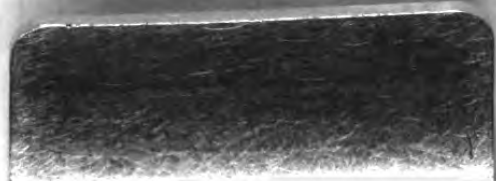
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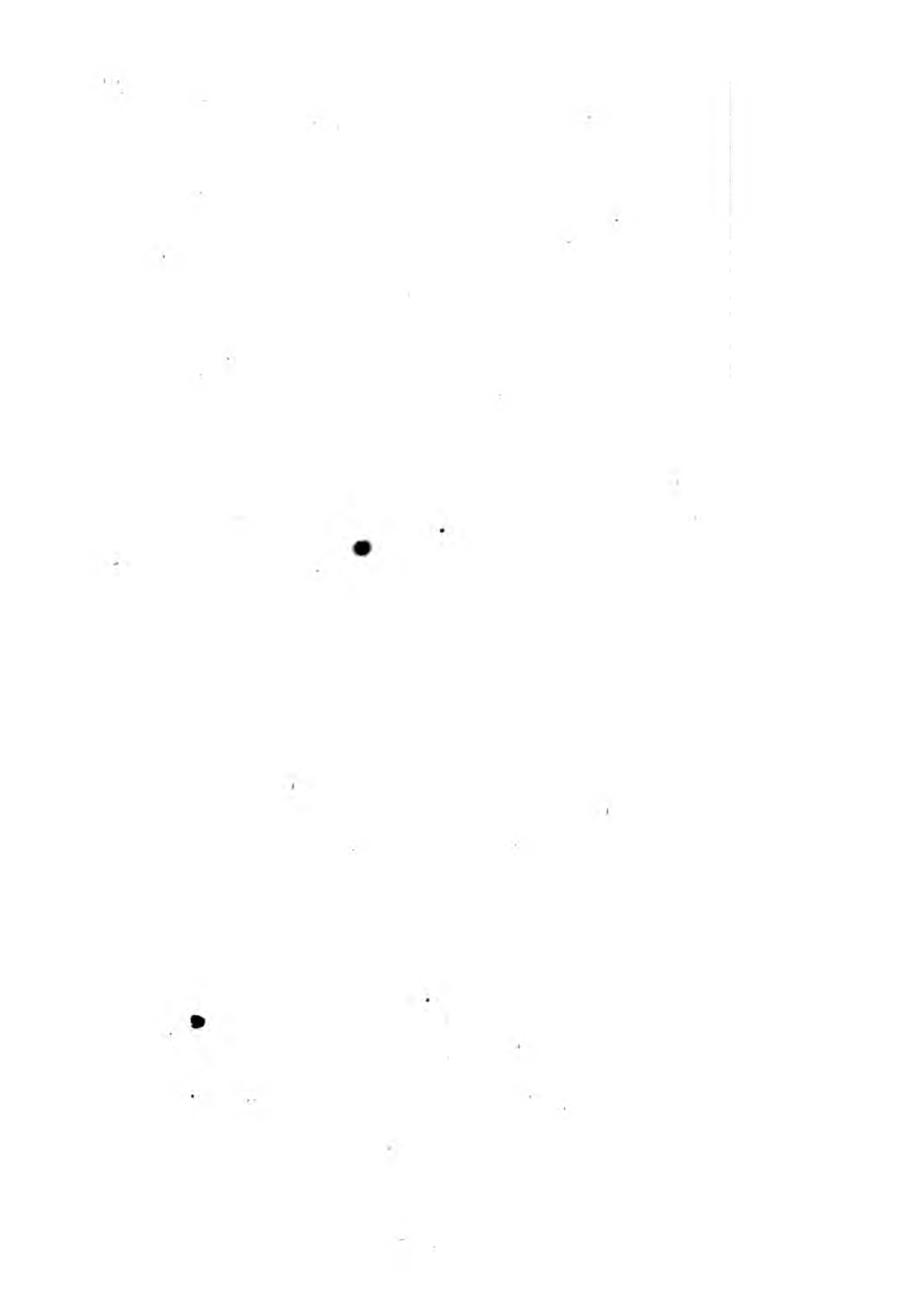
Hope essay 954.



John Thomas Hope.







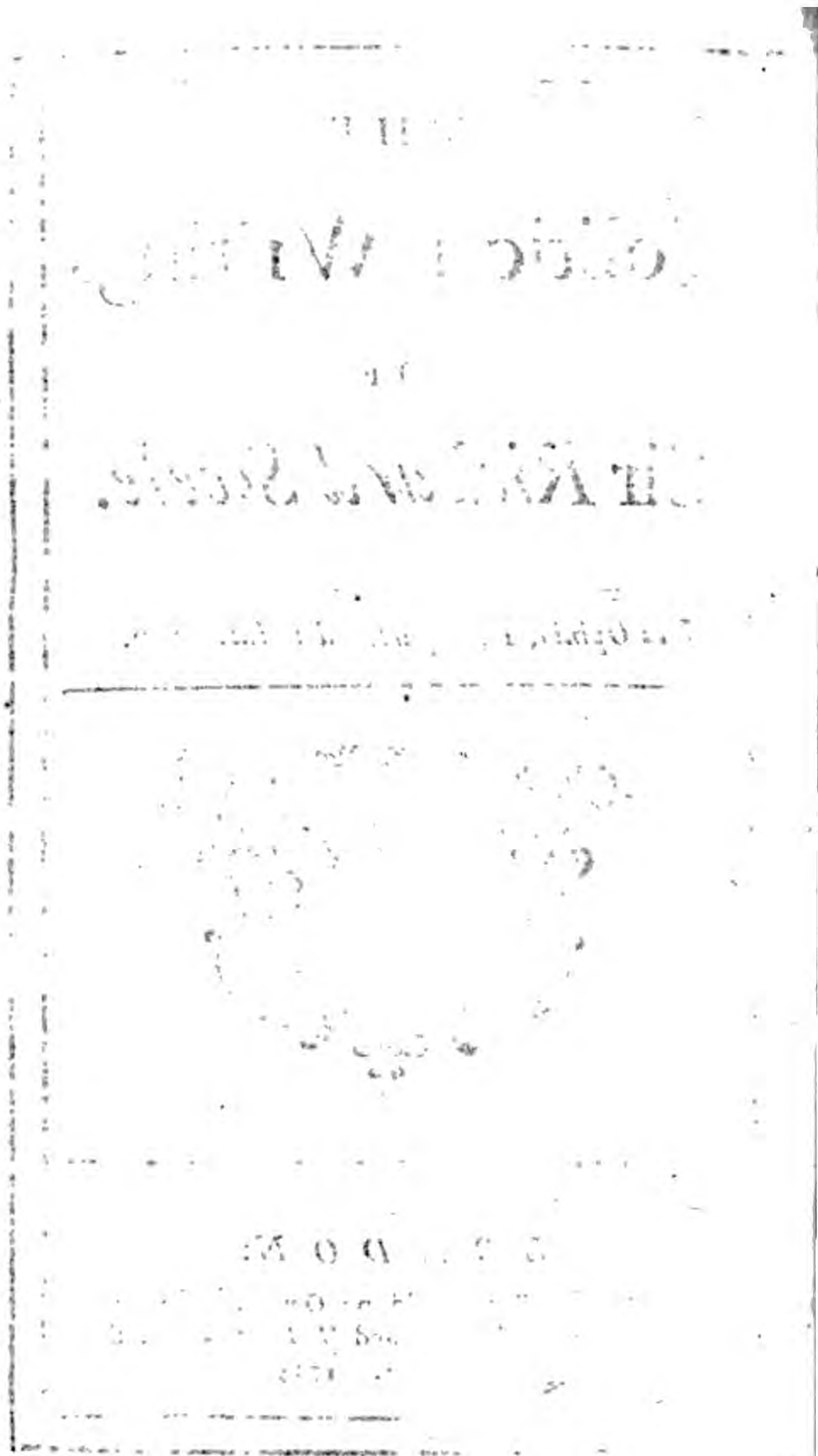
THE
Political Writings
OF
Sir Richard Steele.

Mala Opinio, Bene parta, delectat. Sen.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. T. and Sold by Owen Lloyd near the
Church in the Temple, and J. Brown at the Black
Swan, without Temple-Bar. 1715.





To the Right Honourable the

EARL of CLARE.

My LORD,

THE following
Papers were
written to con-
front daring
and wicked Men, in the
Prosecution of Purposes
destructive to their Coun-
try.

A 2

try.

Dedication.

try. The honest Intention of them was what first recommended me to your Lordship's Friendship, and I hope you will forgive me that I cannot conceal a Circumstance so advantageous to the Fame of them, as that of your Lordship's Approbation.

The painful Struggle under so great a Difficulty, as explaining with a Ministry in open Contradiction, to their Proceedings,

Dedication.

ings, is what can be supported by nothing less than the Testimony of a good Conscience, and an Heart pure from a vicious Ambition. And these are such Supports as will keep a Man from languishing in Discontent, should He, amidst the Prosperities of the Cause he has endeavoured to serve, live to find Zeal for the Publick, of all Humane Virtues, the most exposed to the cool
comfort

Dedication.

comfort of being its own Reward; and that which was undertaken against the Inclinations to Mirth and Pleasure, out of a sense of Duty and Honour, to have little other Effect, than to become a Man's Characteristick, and by that Means to give a turbulent Air to all his other Pretensions, and even to sink the Agreeableness of the Friend and Companion, by the Appearance of some-

Dedication.

somewhat suppos'd to be demanding in the Patriot.

But why do I mention these things here? All the World is Witnesses that it hath been your Lordship's early Inclination to find out and encourage the Lovers of your Country, to comfort them under the Neglect of their Friends, and support them against the Resentment of their Enemies.

Your Lordship is produced by Providence, in
an

Dedication.

an ample and flowing Fortune, to make a Stand for Honesty, and to preserve the Names of Virtue and Honour from Oblivion. Whoever has exerted himself for the Publick, is at your House a Friend and a Benefactor: Distinctions are, there, made by the Rule of Reason and Justice; a young and noble Heart, generously disposed by Nature, and fortified by Letters, can deter-

Dedication.

determine, in spite of prevailing Fashion to the contrary, that Good and Evil are really distinct Considerations, and that *to distinguish Virtuous Men is the best Knowledge of the World.*

I could give a thousand Instances of your Lordship's great Humanity this way, and of your having attained in your first Years to be *the Terror of Ill, and the Refuge of Good Men.* What can Fondness

Dedication.

ness it self with more for
a Man, than to have
Wealth, and the best
Sense in the use of it;
than to be elegantly De-
lightful, artlessly Elo-
quent, discreetly Sin-
cere, and judiciously
Bountiful? Your Lord-
ship will be transmitted
to Futurity by the Pro-
fessors of those Liberal
Arts you Protect and
Encourage. The Pre-
sent I now make you can
give me no Opportunity
to

Dedication.

to endeavour that way. But, as these Occasional Writings are Arguments against the Incurfions made upon our Liberty, and written even when thofe Innovations were firft attempted; I humbly defire your Lordship's Protection to them, and their Author, who is with the utmoft Integrity,

My LORD,

*Your Lordship's moft Obliged,
moft Obedient, and moft
Humble Servant,*

Richard Steele.

T H E
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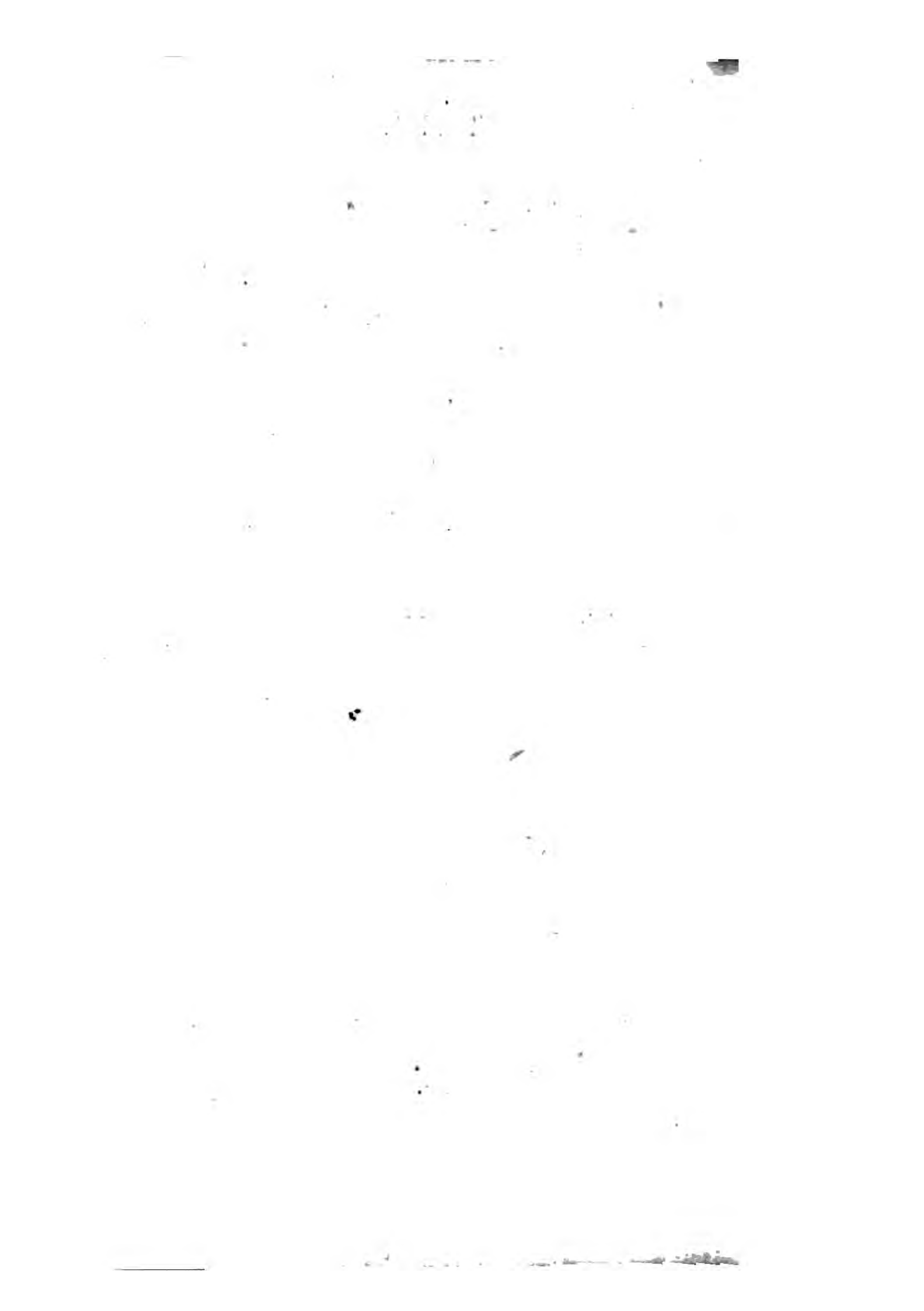
T H E

THE
ENGLISHMAN'S
THANKS
TO THE
DUKE of *Marlborough.*

Written in the YEAR 1711.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.





Jan. 1. 1711.

My LORD,



T was with the utmost Consternation I, this Day, heard Your Grace had received a Dismission from all Your Employments: And lest You should, out of the Softness which is inseparable from Natures truly Heroick, believe this a Diminution of Your Glory, I take the Liberty to express to You, as well as I can, the Sense which Mankind has of Your Merit.

That Great Genius with which God has endowed You, was raised by Him, to give the first Notion, That the Enemy was to be Conquer'd: Till You were plac'd at the Head of Armies, the Confederates seem'd contented to show *France*, That She could not overcome *Europe*: But it enter'd not into the Heart of Man, That the rest of *Europe* could Conquer *France*. When I have said this, *My Lord*, there arise in my Soul so many Instances of Your having been the Ministring Angel in the Cause of LIBERTY, that my Heart flags, as if it expected the Lash of Slavery, when the Sword is taken out of His Hand, who Defended Me and All Men from it. Believe me, *Immortal Sir*, You have a slighter Loss in this Change of Your Condition, than any other Man in *England*. Your Actions have exalted You to

4 *The Englishman's Thanks*

be the Chief of Your Species; and a continued Chain of Successes resulting from Wise Counsels, have denominated You the First of Mankind in the Age which was Bless'd with Your Birth. Enjoy what it is not in the Power of Fate it self to take from You, the Memory of Your Past Actions. Past Actions make up Present Glory. It is in the Power of Mortals to be Thankless to You for Doing them; but it is not in their Power to take from You, that You have Done them. It is in the Power of Man to make Your Services Ineffectual in Consequences to Your Country; but it is not in their Power to make them Inglorious to Your Self. Be not therefore You concern'd; but let Us lament, who may suffer by Your Removal. Your Glory is augmented by Comparison of your Merit to the Reward it meets with: But the Honour of Your Country----

It is as impossible to do You Dishonour, as to recall Yesterday: Your Character is indelible in the Book of Fame: And tho' after a few Turbulent Years, it will be said of Us thereof of Mankind, *They were*; it will be to the End of Time said, *MARLBOROUGH* is. *My Lord*, You are possess'd of all the *English* Glory of the whole Age in which You live; and all who shall be transmitted to Posterity, must pass down only memorable, as they have exerted themselves in Concert with You, or against You, with Endless Honour as Your Friends, Infamy as Your Enemies. The Brightest Circumstance that can be related of the *QUEEN* Her Self, will be, It was *SHE* for whom *MARLBOROUGH* Conquer'd. Since it is Thus, *My Lord*, if even the Glorious Edi-
fic:

to the Duke of Marlborough. 5

ſice which Your Country decreed ſhould be Erected to Perpetuate Your Memory, ſtand Unfinish'd, let it ſtand ſo a Monument of the Inſtability of Human Affairs. Your Glory is not chang'd, becauſe the reſt of Mankind are changeable. It is not Your Fault, that other Generals have receiv'd a Greater Reward for Eſcaping Your Valour, than You have for making them fly before it.

Had it pleas'd God that we had loſt You by Your Mortality, the Greateſt Man next to You would have had the Mitigation of his Inferior Deſert, that the ſame Age could not produce ſuch another: But how will he do to avert the Eyes of Mankind, upon all Exigencies, from looking towards You yet living?

My Noble Lord, Be convinc'd, that You cannot be Diſgrac'd; that Your Stand in Human Life is Immutable; that Your Glory is as Impaſſive as the Fame of Him who Dy'd a Thouſand Years ago. Whence is it that we thus Love You, that we thus Honour You? It is from the very Qualities, which lay You open to the Assaults of Your Enemies. That Sweet Complacency, that Admirable Spirit, which is ſo tempered for the Arts of Common Life, makes us loſe our Wonder in Love. Is that Amiable Man, with that Eaſy Geſture, that Gentle Beſeeching Mein, the Man Terrible in Battel, the Scourge of Tyrants? My Lord *MARLBOROUGH*, do not think there are not Men who can ſee Your ſeveral Accompliſhments, Your Excellencies that Expoſe You to the Poſſibility of being ill treated. We underſtand You too well not to ſee, and to thank You, that You come Home, as if You

6 *The Englishman's Thanks, &c.*

had never heard the Acclamations of the Universe. That Your Modesty and Resignation have made Your Transcendent, Your Heroick, Your God-like Virtue capable of being blended in Society with other Men. And, My Lord, do You think we can let that Virtue be Dangerous to You, which only makes Your other Qualities not Dangerous to us? Accept, O Familiar, O Amiable, O Glorious Man, the Thanks of every Generous, every Honest Man in *Great Britain*. Go on in Your Easie Mein of Life, be contented we See You, we Admire You, we Love You the more. While You are what You cannot cease to be, that Mild Virtue is Your Armour; the Shameless Ruffian that should Attempt to Sully it, would find his Force against it as Detestable, as the Strength of a Ravisher in the Violation of Chastity, the Testimonies of a Perjur'd Man Confronting Truth, or Clamour drowning the Voice of Innocence.

I am,

My LORD,

Your Grateful Fellow-Subject,

and Faithful Friend,

SCOTO-BRITANNUS.

A
LETTER

TO

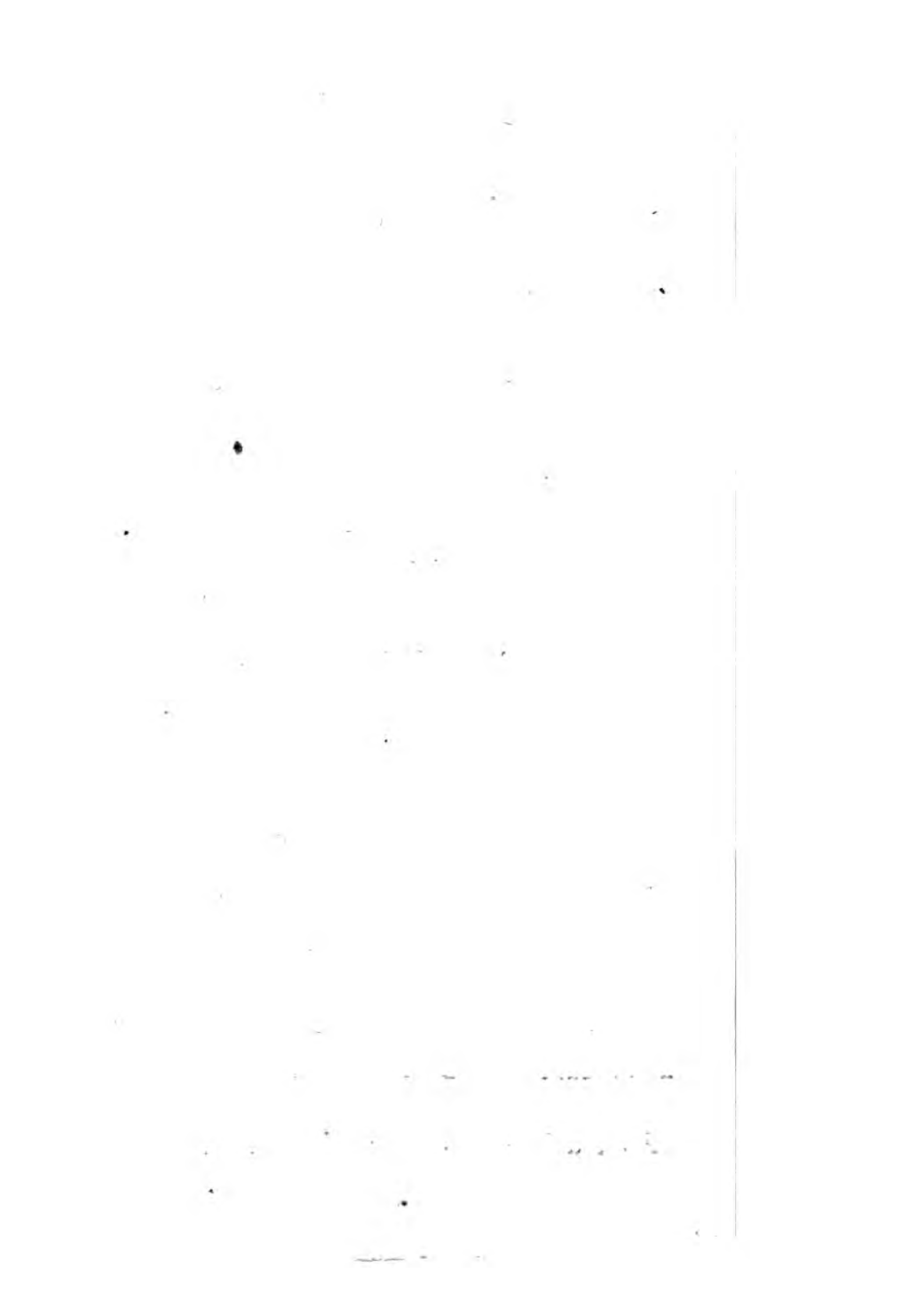
Sir Miles Wharton,

CONCERNING
OCCASIONAL PEERS.

Written in the YEAR 1713.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.



S I R,

I Have not the Happiness to be in the least known to you, but have, with all *England*, Obligations to you for the Greatness of Mind which you exerted in refusing, not long ago, to be made a Peer of this Realm in an hasty and surreptitious Manner: It was not so much as pretended, that the dozen of Nobles were then introduced for any other Purpose, but to gain a Question of the highest Importance, no less than a Question of Peace and War. Were the Point obtained by it never so much conducive to our Good, the Novelty, if not obviated for the future, cannot but tend to the apparent Danger of the Queen and all her Subjects. It is from a Report that there are another half dozen to be made within few Days, that I am engaged to give you this Trouble.

You, Sir, who are adorned with more than Title, a Superiority to it, from the Refusal of it when you thought it inconsistent with Honour, are the properest Man to be addressed, when I consider the Danger of making occasional Lords, and lay before the World this fatal Novelty, as it affects the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, the House of Peers, and the whole People of *England*.

Honour is the Conscience of doing just and laudable Actions, independent of the Success of those Actions. God is the Fountain of this Honour, and animates and supports all who are actuated by it; he is an inexhaustible Foun-

tain, and cannot be impaired by his Creations. But if it be not Prophane to mention, so near after his Omnipotence, any Distinctions we give one another here, I would proceed to say that it is not so with Sovereigns upon Earth, whom we phrase Fountains of Honour. They, alas! are themselves diminished in Proportion to what they grant out of themselves. An unguarded and lavish Hand, in Grants of this Kind, would very soon make the Honour, flowing from a Prince, of no Value and Consideration to those on whom it is bestowed, and take away any Power of giving more from the Giver. To come immediately to the Point; I assert, that the numerous Creation of Peers is the greatest Wound that can be given to the Prerogative. A Peer and his Heirs are Checks in the Legislature to the Queen and her Heirs; that Part of the Legislature which is in the Queen, is apparently diminished by so much as she gives out of it, from her own into other Families. This is equally destructive with relation to the Merit of the Persons on whom Honour is conferred; if they happen to be Men who are barely unblamable, without Talents or high Qualifications, they do but crowd that illustrious Assembly, and like all other Crowds, they are serviceable and hurtful but just as they are inspired by those who have Skill to lead them. Thus the Crown is no way sure of their Concurrence any farther than by Promise of their first Vote; and they may ever after turn Patriots on the side of the People, to the constant Interruption of Affairs; for it generally happens that those who are conscious of an Inability to promote Business, give themselves a Figure,

gure, and fancy they are considerable, from the Power of retarding it. Thus much as to what regards the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

As to the House of Peers, It is visible to any thing above a natural Fool, that the Power of each Lord is so much less considerable as it is repeated in other Persons; but the great Hardship to that Great and Awful Body, whose Privileges have so often been a Safety and Protection to the Rights of us below them, I say the great Hardship to these noble Patriots is, that when they are prepared with the most strict Honour and Integrity to do their Duty in relation to their Prince and Country, all their Determinations may be avoided by a Sett of People brought in the Moment before they come to a Question. This has been done once, as I am credibly informed, in so frank a way, that there have been above six at a time brought into that Place, without any further Preamble than, This Gentleman's Name is so, do not call him Mr. from this time forward, but My Lord, for he is now one of you: Sit close there, *let the Gentleman sit down*; I beg Pardon, *make way for his Lordship*.

Now when we come to consider the Introduction of *Occasional Lords with Regard to the People*, what can be more plain, than that it is doing all that is necessary to take from them both Liberty and Property at once. If there were nothing in being a Lord, but the Advantage of being received with more Distinction and Ceremony, let it be given to any who are delighted with it; they may be well pleased, and we not hurt: But the Case is much otherwise; for from the very Moment a Man has

a Patent, and is introduc'd into the House of Peers, (tho' he was the Day before notoriously ignorant in our Laws) Men appeal to him from the Decree of all the Judges. Besides this, the Lords are perpetual Legislators, and have an hand in the repealing as well as making Laws; by which means the whole Constitution may be subverted by this one Innovation. And it is plain, that the Prince who should place so entire a Confidence in his Ministry, as to give Peerage upon their Recommendation, would enable them by that Power in the Legislature, joined to the Execution of the Regal Authority as Ministers, to give that Prince and Nation to the next Potentate who should be powerful enough to receive and maintain so vast a Present.

However well disposed Mens Minds may be, there are some things which are not to be committed to their Wills.

The whole Constitution is in Danger, if this Matter is not prevented by some future Law; and I think I have in my Head a sufficient Expedient, that can no way impair the Prerogative of the Crown, the Power of the Peers, or the Liberty of the People; and that is, that a Bill be brought in to disable any Peer to Vote in any Case, till three Years after the Date of his Patent.

You see, Noble Sir, that without giving the Matter the least Aggravation, I have shown that if this Avenue to the House of Lords is not shut, that House must be blown up by it as effectually as it might have been by the combustible Matter laid under it an Age ago by *Guido Fanx*.

He

He that brings the Torch into the Room to fire it in the midst of the Company, differs from him who undermines it only in Point of Modesty.

It is amazing that such Care should be taken to prohibit an Occasional Conformist from being a Constable, and no Body takes it in his Head to prevent an Occasional Lord from being a Judge, nay, Legislator. I am very willing that a Good and Honourable Peace may expiate this Step, which was made in the Eye of the World without the least Deference to a Good and Gracious Sovereign, to an Illustrious Nobility, to a Learned and Knowing Gentry, to a Great and Valiant People: I say, let even this Step be forgiven for a Good Peace; but let not that Peace receive its Sanction from the Repetition of it. If Men cannot carry on the Business of the Nation without such Helps, they may as well in plain Terms tell us they cannot maintain the Constitution, but they will alter it to one which they can. But how is this received with so much Indifference? Why, Men qualified for Power direct Mankind by consulting their Interest and managing their Affections; but Pretenders to Administration indulge the Passions of the Multitude at the Expence of their real Interest and Advantage. It is by this latter Method all the Anarchical Proceedings, which have of late distracted this unhappy Nation, have been tolerated. When the Minds of Men are prejudiced, wonderful Effects may be wrought against Common-Sense. One weak Step, in trying a Fool for what he said in a Pulpit, with all the Pomp that could be used to take down a more dangerous

gerous and powerful Man than ever *England* yet has seen, cost the most Able Ministry that ever any Prince was honoured with, its Being. The Judgment of the House of Lords was by this means insulted and evaded, and the Anarchical Fury ran so high, that *Harry Sacheverel* swelling, and *Jack Huggins* laughing, marched through *England* in a Triumph more than Military. Many extraordinary Things which have happened since, have been brought about upon a Maxim no deeper than *Pax Bello potior, Peace is better than War*. A great many Lyes grafted upon this unquestionable Truth, could not but produce Wonders among all who pay Taxes. But Arithmetick is so common an Art, that the very common People, now their Passions are fallen, see their Case in one Sheet of Paper call'd *A View of the Taxes, Funds and publick Revenues of England*; Printed for *Tim. Child* at the *White Hart* at the West End of *St. Pauls*.

As for my self, what I have here suggested is from a very honest Heart, and I have an Armour in my Integrity against all Gainsayers. My Comfort is, that the Laws of *England* are still in Force, and tho' what I have said may be Unacceptable, I am sure it is not Illegal. While the Laws are in Being I am safe, and no Man can be safe who out-lives them; may I, whenever they expire, die with them.

I wish you the long Possession of the Honour in which your generous Behaviour has placed you in the Minds of all true *Englishmen*; and am, with great Respect,

Your most Obedient Servant,

Fleetstreet,
March 5, 1713.

Francis Hicks.

T H E
G U A R D I A N
O F

August the 7th, 1713.

Delenda est Carthago — — —

IT is usually thought, with great Justice, a very impertinent thing in a private Man to intermeddle in Matters which regard the State. But the Memorial which is mentioned in the following Letter is so daring, and so apparently designed for the most Traiterous Purpose imaginable, that I do not care what Misinterpretation I suffer, when I expose it to the Resentment of all Men who value their Country, or have any Regard to the Honour, Safety, or Glory of their Queen. It is certain there is not much Danger in delaying the Demolition of *Dunkirk* during the Life of his present most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable Regard to Treaties; but that Pious Prince is aged, and in case of his Decease, now the Power of *France* and *Spain* is in the same Family, it is possible an Ambitious Successor, (or his Ministry in a King's Minority)

riety) might dispute his being bound by the Act of his Predecessor in so weighty a Particular.

Mr. IRONSIDE,

‘ YOU employ your important Moments,
 ‘ methinks, a little too frivolously, when
 ‘ you consider so often little Circumstances of
 ‘ Dress and Behaviour, and never make men-
 ‘ tion of Matters wherein you and all your
 ‘ Fellow-Subjects in general are concerned.
 ‘ I give you now an Opportunity; not only of
 ‘ manifesting your Loyalty to your Queen, but
 ‘ your Affection to your Country, if you treat
 ‘ an Insolence done to them both with the Dis-
 ‘ dain it deserves. The enclosed Printed Pa-
 ‘ per in *French* and *English* has been handed a-
 ‘ bout the Town, and given *gratis* to Passengers
 ‘ in the Streets at Noon-Day. You see the
 ‘ Title of it is, *A most humble Address or Me-
 ‘ morial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of
 ‘ Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magi-
 ‘ strates of Dunkirk.* The nauseous Memoria-
 ‘ list, with the most fulsome Flattery, tells the
 ‘ Queen of her Thunder, and of Wisdom and
 ‘ Clemency adored by all the Earth, at the same
 ‘ time that he attempts to undermine her Power,
 ‘ and escape her Wisdom, by beseeching her to
 ‘ do an Act which would give a well-grounded
 ‘ Jealousie to her People. What the Sycophant
 ‘ desires is, that the Mole and Dikes of *Dun-
 ‘ kirk* may be spared; and, it seems, the *Sieur
 ‘ Tuggbe*, for so the Petitioner is called, was
 ‘ Thunder-struck by the *Denunciation* (which
 ‘ he says) *the Lord Viscount Bolinbroke made
 ‘ to him*, That her Majesty did not think to
 ‘ make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence
 ‘ she

‘ she had pronounced against the Town. *Mr.*
‘ *IRONSIDE*, I think you would do an Act
‘ worthy your general Humanity, if you would
‘ put the *Sieur Tugghe* right in this Matter, and
‘ let him know, That her Majesty has pro-
‘ nounced no Sentence against the Town, but
‘ his most Christian Majesty has agreed that the
‘ Town and Harbour shall be Demolished.

‘ That the *British* Nation expect the imme-
‘ diate Demolition of it.

‘ That the very Common People know, that
‘ within two Months after the signing of the
‘ Peace, the Works towards the Sea were to
‘ be demolished, and within three Months after
‘ it the Works towards the Land.

‘ That the said Peace was signed the last of
‘ *March*, O. S.

‘ That the Parliament has been told from the
‘ Queen, that the Equivalent for it is in the
‘ Hands of the *French* King.

‘ That the *Sieur Tugghe* has the Impudence
‘ to ask the Queen to remit the most material
‘ Part of the Articles of Peace between Her
‘ Majesty and his Master.

‘ That the *British* Nation received more Da-
‘ mage in their Trade from the Port of *Dun-*
‘ *kirk*, than from almost all the Ports of *France*,
‘ either in the Ocean or in the *Mediterra-*
‘ *nean*.

‘ That Fleets of above thirty Sail have come
‘ together out of *Dunkirk* during the late War,
‘ and taken Ships of War, as well as Merchant
‘ Men.

‘ That the Pretender failed from thence to
‘ *Scotland*; and that it is the only Port the
‘ *French* have till you come to *Brest*, for the
‘ whole

‘ whole Length of *St. George's* Channel, where
 ‘ any considerable Naval Armament can be
 ‘ made.

‘ That destroying the Fortifications of *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk* is an inconsiderable Advantage to *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, in Comparison to the Advantage of de-
 ‘ stroying the Mole, Dykes and Harbour, it be-
 ‘ ing the Naval Force from thence which on-
 ‘ ly can hurt the *British* Nation.

‘ That the *British* Nation expect the imme-
 ‘ diate Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

‘ That the *Dutch*, who suffered equally
 ‘ with us from those of *Dunkirk*, were proba-
 ‘ bly induced to Sign the Treaty with *France*
 ‘ from this Consideration, That the Town and
 ‘ Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be destroyed.

‘ That the Situation of *Dunkirk* is such, as
 ‘ that it may always keep Runners to observe
 ‘ all Ships sailing on the *Thames* and *Medway*.

‘ That all the Suggestions, which the *Sieur*
 ‘ *Tugge* brings concerning the *Dutch*, are false
 ‘ and scandalous.

‘ That whether it may be advantagious to
 ‘ the Trade of *Holland* or not, that *Dunkirk*
 ‘ should be demolish'd, it is necessary for the
 ‘ Safety, Honour and Liberty of *England* that
 ‘ it should be so.

‘ That when *Dunkirk* is demolished, the
 ‘ Power of *France*, on that side, should it e-
 ‘ ver be turned against us, will be removed
 ‘ several hundred Miles further off of *Great*
 ‘ *Britain* than it is at present.

‘ That after the Demolition there can be no
 ‘ considerable Preparation made at Sea by the
 ‘ *French* in all the Channel but at *Brest*; and
 ‘ that *Great Britain* being an Island, which
 ‘ cannot

‘ cannot be attacked but by a Naval Power,
 ‘ we may esteem *France* effectually removed
 ‘ by the Demolition from *Great Britain* as far
 ‘ as the Distance from *Dunkirk* to *Brest*.

‘ Pray, Mr. IRONSIDE, repeat this last
 ‘ Particular, and put it in a different Letter,
 ‘ *That the Demolition of Dunkirk will remove*
 ‘ *France many hundred Miles further off from*
 ‘ *us*; and then repeat again, *That the British*
 ‘ *Nation expects the Demolition of Dunkirk.*

‘ I demand of you, as you Love and Ho-
 ‘ nour your Queen and Country, that you in-
 ‘ sert this Letter, or speak, to this Purpose,
 ‘ your own way; for in this all Parties must
 ‘ agree, that however bound in Friendship one
 ‘ Nation is with another, it is but prudent,
 ‘ that, in case of a Rupture, they should be,
 ‘ if possible, upon equal Terms.

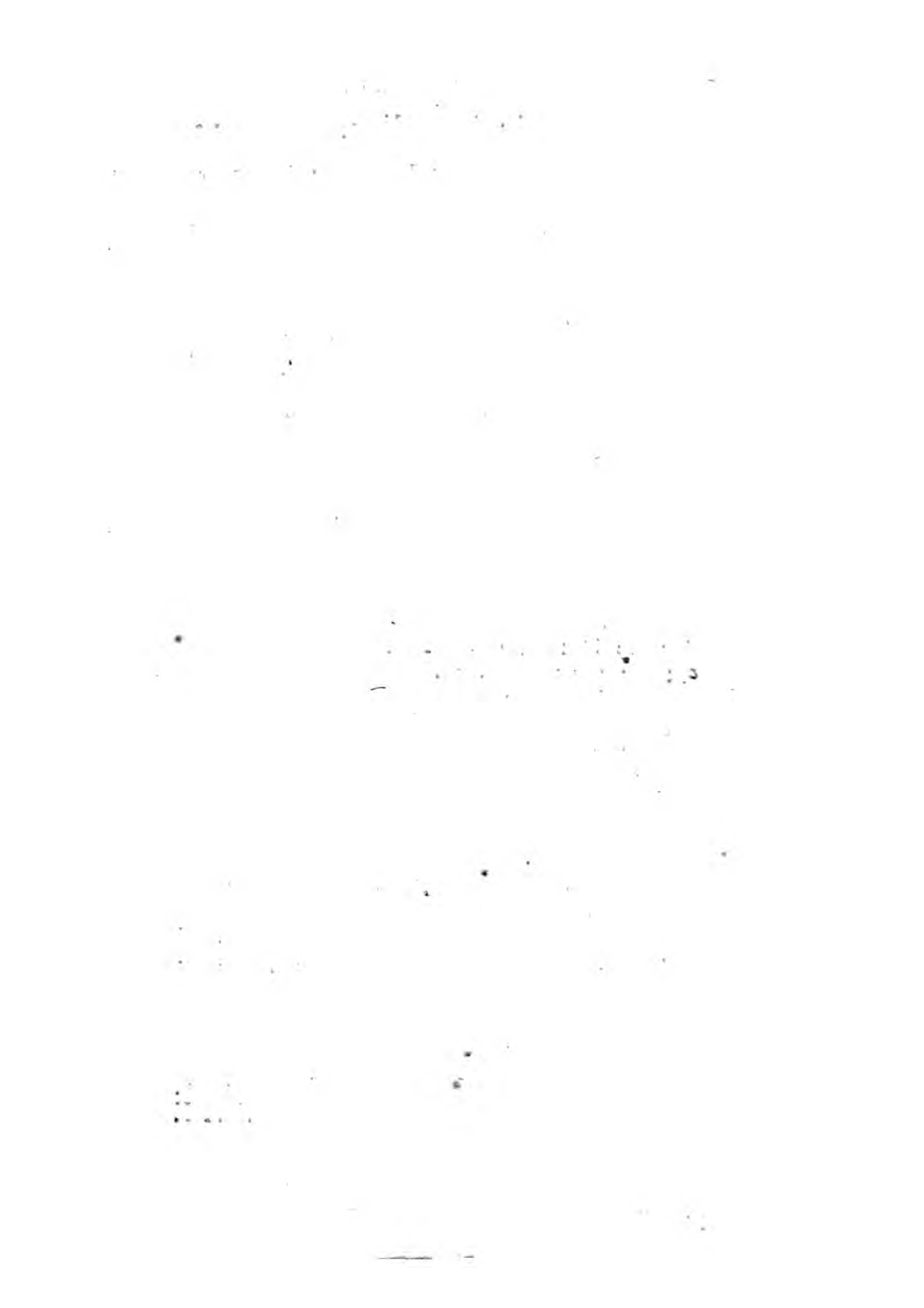
‘ Be Honest, old NESTOR, and say all
 ‘ this; for what-ever half-witted hot Whigs
 ‘ may think, we all value our Estates and Li-
 ‘ berties, and every true Man of each Party
 ‘ must think himself concerned that *Dunkirk*
 ‘ should be Demolished.

‘ It lies upon all who have the Honour to
 ‘ be in the Ministry to hasten this Matter, and
 ‘ not let the Credulity of an honest brave Peo-
 ‘ ple be thus infamously abused in our open
 ‘ Streets.

‘ I cannot go on for Indignation; but pray
 ‘ God that our Mercy to *France* may not ex-
 ‘ pose us to the Mercy of *France*.

Your Humble Servant,

English Tory.
 T H E



THE
IMPORTANCE
OF
DUNKIRK
CONSIDER'D:

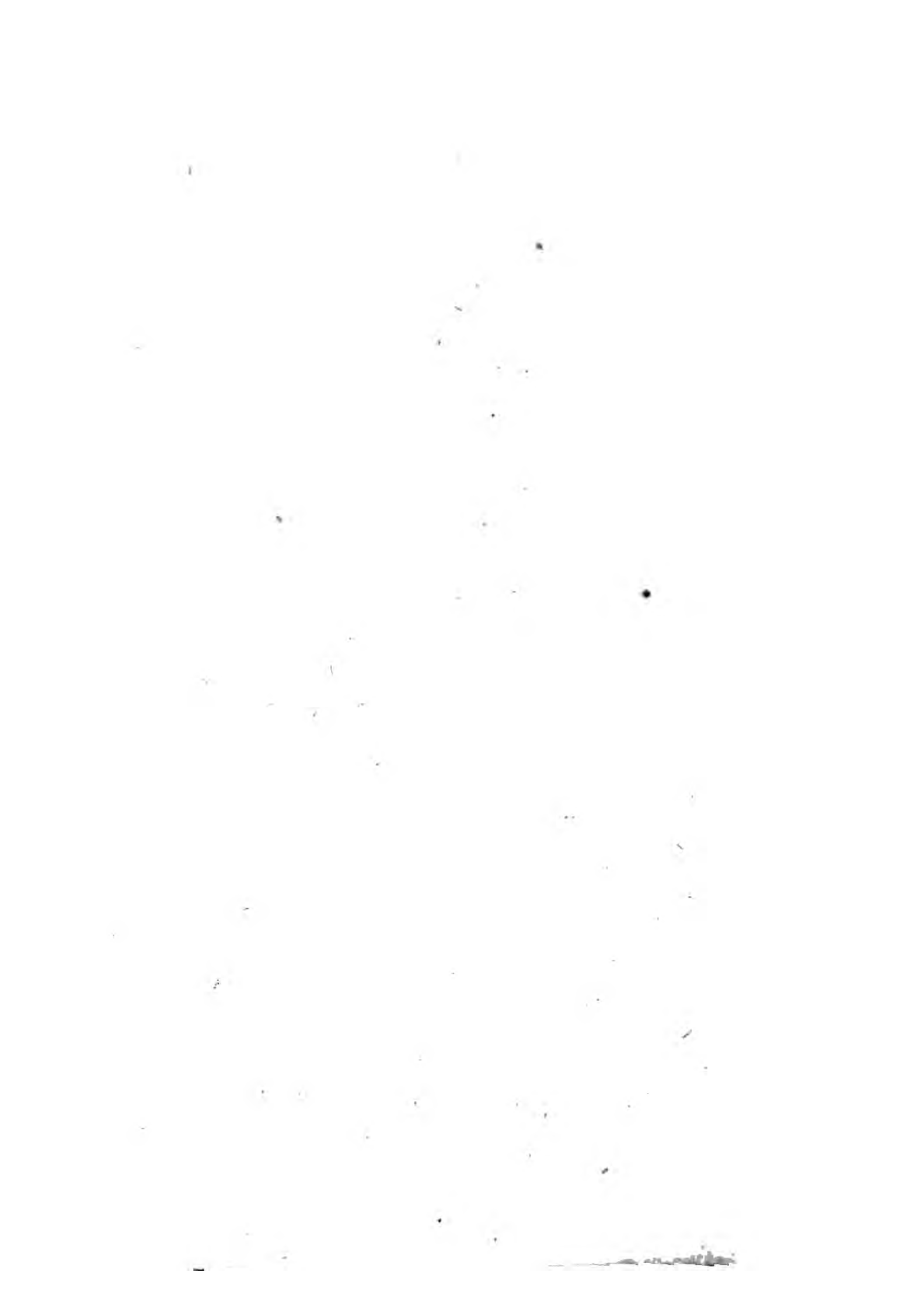
In Defence of the
GUARDIAN.

Of *August* the 7th, 1713.

IN
A LETTER to the Bailiff of *Stockbridge*.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.



To the Worshipful
Mr. JOHN SNOW,
 Bailiff of *STOCKBRIDGE.*

S I R,

A Ccording to my Promise when I took my Leave of you, I send you all the Pamphlets and Papers which have been Printed since the Dissolution of the last Parliament; among these you will find your Humble Servant no small Man, but spoken of more than once in Print: You will find I take up whole Pages in the *Examiner*, and that there is a little Pamphlet written wholly upon me, and directed to me. As you are the Magistrate of the Town wherein, of all Places in the World, it concerns me most to appear a different Man, from the Person whom these Writers represent me; I address my Vindication to you, and at the same time to the whole Borough. In the first Place I must recommend to your Perusal a printed Paper, which was publish'd in *French* on one side, and *English* on the other, and given *Gratis* in the open Streets: A Country Gentleman of my Acquaintance, who was going into *Wales* the next Day, receiv'd one of them from a Boy distributing them in *Cheapside*, and made me a Present of it. I will trouble you only with the *English*.

A

A most Humble Address or Memorial presented to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk to Her Majesty.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE *Sieur Tuggbe*, Deputy of the Magistrates of *Dunkirk* to your Majesty, to implore your Clemency in relation to the intended Demolition of the Fortifications and Port of the said Town, had entertain'd Hopes that by the most humble Representations he had presum'd to make, touching the extreme Misery to which the said Demolition will reduce Eighteen Thousand Families that make up that City, your Majesty's Mercy might have been moved, and that according to his most respectful Request, he might have obtain'd the Preservation at least of the Mole or Dikes of that Port. But he was as it were Thunderstruck by the Denunciation which my Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* made to him, that your Majesty did not think fit to make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence you have pronounc'd against that Town, and that 'tis your Majesty's Pleasure that Sentence should be executed in its full Extent. Tho' stunn'd by this Blow, the *Sieur Tuggbe* yet presumes to approach once more your Majesty's awful Throne, being thereto encouraged by the Benefit your Majesty's Clemency pours down on all the Nations of the Earth; and with trembling to represent to your Majesty, that he does not demand that the Works that may serve either for the Attack or Defence of *Dunkirk* be preserved, either

' either on the Landside, or towards the Sea.
 ' The unfortunate Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* are no
 ' longer concern'd for those magnificent Works,
 ' that strike Terror on all the Beholders. The
 ' Magistrates only beg the Preservation of the
 ' Mole and Dikes that form and keep up the Har-
 ' bour, thereby to preserve to their People only
 ' their necessary Subsistence, by enabling them
 ' to carry on their Herring Fishing, and some other
 ' small Trade along the Coast.

' Your Majesty endued with Native Clemency
 ' and Christian Charity, of which all Nations
 ' feel the benign Influence, desires not to return
 ' Evil for Evil; nor does your Majesty admit it
 ' in your Resolutions any farther than it is in-
 ' dispensably necessary according to Political
 ' Views, and agreeable to the Welfare of your
 ' own Subjects. The *Sieur Tugghe* will pre-
 ' sume to observe to your Majesty that the Pre-
 ' servation of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, in the
 ' naked Condition it has been Represented, will
 ' neither be inconsistent either with the Politi-
 ' cal Views of *Great Britain*, or the Welfare
 ' and Good of the *British* Subjects, but rather
 ' Beneficial to both.

' *Dunkirk* has had the Misfortune to become
 ' the Object of *Great Britain's* Indignation, either
 ' by the Sea Armaments the King made there, and
 ' which during the late Wars may have disturb'd
 ' the Tranquility of your Majesty's Kingdoms,
 ' and retarded the Execution of your Majesty's
 ' Projects, or by the Privateering of its Inhabi-
 ' tants, which has often annoy'd and molested
 ' the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects. But in the
 ' Condition to which your Petitioner begs its
 ' Harbour to be reduc'd, that is, divested of all

' its Works and Fortifications, and its Mole
 ' and Dikes only preserv'd, it will never be able,
 ' whatever War (which God avert) may hap-
 ' pen for the future, either to form any Obstacle
 ' to your Majesty's Projects, or to disturb the
 ' Trade of your Majesty's Subjects, since in
 ' such a Condition it will be an open Town,
 ' both on the Land and Sea-side, abandon'd to
 ' the first Invader, defenceless for whom soever
 ' shall possess it, and which any Enemy may en-
 ' ter by Sea and by Land, in order to burn both
 ' the Ships that might be fitting out there, and
 ' even the Town and Harbour. Thus in such
 ' a Condition *Dunkirk* neither will nor even
 ' can be opposite either to your Majesty's Politi-
 ' cal Views, or to the Welfare of your Maje-
 ' sty's Subjects.

' The Preservation of the Harbour of *Dun-*
 ' *kirk* without Works and Fortifications, may
 ' in fine be equally useful, and become even
 ' absolutely necessary, both for your Majesty's
 ' Political Views, and the Good of your Sub-
 ' jects.

' Your Majesty's Political Views, chiefly in
 ' Times of Peace, center all in the Increase of
 ' the Commerce of your Majesty's Subjects,
 ' and at the same time the Welfare and Interest
 ' of your Subjects lie in the Improvement of their
 ' Trade. Therefore by proving that the Pre-
 ' servation of the Harbour of *Dunkirk* will be
 ' not only advantageous, but also necessary for
 ' the Commerce of the Subjects of *Great Britain*,
 ' your Petitioner hopes he shall prove all that's
 ' contain'd in his Second Proposition.

' *First*, *Dunkirk* is become the Object of the
 ' Jealousy of the *Dutch*, and the *Dutch* have
 ' wish'd

' wish'd for its Destruction upon no other View,
 ' but to assume to themselves alone all the
 ' Commerce of the *Austrian* Low-Countries
 ' and of all *Germany*, being apprehensive that
 ' other Nations might share those Two Bran-
 ' ches of Trade with them, in case the Har-
 ' bour of that Town were preserv'd, because it
 ' is the only Harbour on the Coast from *Ostend*
 ' Westward by which Commodities from fo-
 ' reign Countries may be brought into those
 ' Provinces, which they design to surround, as
 ' it were with a Wall of Brass, in order to se-
 ' cure to themselves all the Trade thereof by
 ' the *Scheld*, the *Lys*, and the *Rhine*. And as
 ' it highly concerns *Great Britain* not to be ex-
 ' cluded from those Two Branches of Trade,
 ' so it very much concerns *Great Britain* to pre-
 ' serve the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, by which means
 ' alone *Great Britain* can maintain its Com-
 ' merce in the said Provinces.

' Secondly, Supposing that your Majesty's Sub-
 ' jects might, in spite of the Designs of the *Dutch*,
 ' carry on their Trade in the *Austrian* Nether-
 ' lands, by the Harbours of *Ostend* and *Newport*,
 ' yet they will not be able to hold it long in Com-
 ' petition with the *Hollanders*, both by reason of
 ' the Conveniency and less Expence which the
 ' latter will find in carrying on their Commerce
 ' by the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, and the round about
 ' way the other will be oblig'd to go. Where-
 ' as by preserving the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, the
 ' *English* would have that way Conveniencies al-
 ' most equal to those the *Dutch* have; especi-
 ' ally if your Majesty would, as you easily may,
 ' obtain from the King a free Passage Custom-
 ' free for all Commodities from *England*, from

‘ *Dunkirk* to the *Austrian* Low-Countries, by
 ‘ the Way of *Lisle* and *Douay*.

‘ *Thirdly*, If according to your Majesty’s Re-
 ‘ solution the Harbour of *Dunkirk* be fill’d up,
 ‘ your Majesty’s Subjects will thereby be excluded
 ‘ not only from the Trade of the *Austrian* Nether-
 ‘ lands, but also from that of *French Flanders*,
 ‘ *Hainault*, *Artois*, and Part of *Picardy*, because
 ‘ they will have no other Harbour on all that
 ‘ Coast, to import their Commodities into those
 ‘ Four Provinces, that of *Calais* being un-
 ‘ viceable to that Commerce.

‘ *Fourthly*, If the Demolition of the Harbour of
 ‘ *Dunkirk* should not discourage your Majesty’s
 ‘ Subjects from the Trade of *French Flanders*,
 ‘ *Hainault*, *Artois*, and part of *Picardy*, and they
 ‘ should endeavour to supply it by the Harbours
 ‘ of *Ostend* and *Newport*; they will however
 ‘ undergo infinite Inconveniencies to carry on
 ‘ that Trade, and thereby render their Commo-
 ‘ dities unmarketable, by reason of the Ex-
 ‘ pence of Carriage that will be treble, and by
 ‘ the treble Customs and Duties they must pay,
 ‘ viz. to the House of *Austria* upon their En-
 ‘ trance into those Harbours, to the *Dutch* in
 ‘ their Passage to *Furnes*, *Ipres*, *Menin*, and o-
 ‘ ther Towns in their Possession, and to the
 ‘ King at their Entrance into his Dominions :
 ‘ Whereas by entring those four Provinces by
 ‘ the way of *Dunkirk* the Expence for Carriage
 ‘ will be small, by reason of the Conveniency
 ‘ of Canals, and they shall only pay the single
 ‘ Duty of Importation to the King.

‘ *Fifthly*, By the Treaty of Commerce con-
 ‘ cluded between your Majesty, and his most
 ‘ Christian Majesty, the Tariff of 1671 has been
 ‘ pre-

' preserved in the conquered Countries. This
 ' Tariff is far more favourable than that of
 ' 1664, which is to be observed in all the other
 ' Harbours on the Western Coast of *France*,
 ' and consequently the Commerce of your
 ' Majesty's Subjects is very much concerned in
 ' the Preservation of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*,
 ' since that Harbour will make enjoy the Be-
 ' nefit of that Tariff for all the Commodities
 ' they shall import there for the Consumption
 ' of the Provinces of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and
 ' *Hainault*; whereas if the same Merchandizes
 ' be imported by other Harbours, they must
 ' pay the Duties according to the Tariff of
 ' 1664.

' Sixthly, To confirm to your Majesty how
 ' advantageous the Harbour of *Dunkirk* is to
 ' the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects, the
 ' *Sieur Tugghe* has the Honour to present to
 ' your Majesty a List of Two hundred and Eigh-
 ' teen *English* Ships, which from the $\frac{1}{7}$ th of
 ' *August* 1712. to the $\frac{1}{3}$ th of *May*, 1713. have
 ' come into that Harbour, and unloaded
 ' their Cargoes there to the Value of above
 ' Two Millions of *French* Livres; praying at
 ' the same time your Majesty to observe first,
 ' That *France* being, during those Nine Months,
 ' in War with *Holland*, these Commodities
 ' could not be carried into the *Austrian* Pro-
 ' vinces possess'd by the *Dutch*, and must have
 ' been vented and consumed only in the *French*
 ' Provinces of *Flanders*, *Hainault*, and *Artois*,
 ' and that in Time of Peace the said Consump-
 ' tion, and consequently the Trade of *England*
 ' there, will very much encrease. Secondly,
 ' That as the *Dunkirkers* could not furnish in

' Return or Exchange for the Commodities
 ' imported there, during those Nine Months,
 ' either any Manufactures or Commodities of
 ' their own Growth, because they have none,
 ' they were obliged to pay the whole Value of
 ' the same in Money, and must ever pay for
 ' them in same manner, which is a most con-
 ' siderable Advantage in all sorts of Traffick.

' *Seventhly*, As it is not impossible that in
 ' process of time, there may happen some
 ' Rupture between *Great Britain* and *Hol-*
 ' *land*, so *Great Britain* in such a Conjun-
 ' cture, which God avert, will find it self en-
 ' tirely deprived of the Trade to *French Flan-*
 ' *ders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, and Part of *Picardy*,
 ' since at such a time it will not be in the Power
 ' of your Majesty's Subjects to carry on the said
 ' Trade by the Harbours of *Ostend* or *Newport*,
 ' not even under all the Inconveniencies and
 ' Expences to which those Two Harbours do
 ' naturally subject them, because their Com-
 ' modities could not from those Two Harbours
 ' be carried into the *French* Provinces, but by
 ' going through Places possess'd by the *Dutch*,
 ' who in all likelihood would not give them
 ' free Passage. Thus in such a Conjunction,
 ' at least the Preservation of the Harbour of
 ' *Dunkirk* would be necessary for the Trade of
 ' your Majesty's Subjects.

' *Eighthly*, The Freedom of the Port and
 ' Town of *Dunkirk*, in case your Majesty will
 ' vouchsafe to alter the severe Resolution you
 ' have taken against its Mole and Dykes, will
 ' enable your Majesty's Subjects to carry on
 ' their Commerce with more Conveniency than
 ' any other Nation in the *Austrian* Provinces,
 ' of

of *Flanders, Hainault* and *Brabant*; in the
French Provinces of *Flanders, Hainault, Ar-*
tois and *Picardy*; and even in *Germany* by the
 Staples and Store houses they may erect there,
 and which will facilitate their answering the
 Demands of Commodities from all those re-
 spective Countries punctually, and at proper
 Times and Seasons.

Ninthly, Supposing that the Opposition
 which the Eighth and Ninth Articles of the
 Treaty of Commerce concluded by your Ma-
 jesty with *France*, has met with in the House
 of Commons of your Parliament, should take
 place, and destroy the Arguments above al-
 ledg'd in favour of the *British* Trade by the
 Way of *Dunkirk*, into the *French* Provinces;
 yet the Reasons relating to the said Com-
 merce by the Way of *Dunkirk*, into the *Au-*
strian Low Countries and into *Germany*, by
 means of a free Passage, without paying any
 Custom or Duties, would still subsist, and may
 suffice to let your Majesty see, that the Pre-
 servation of that Harbour, with its bare Mole
 and Dikes, despoil'd of all manner of Forti-
 fications, will not only be most beneficial
 and advantageous, but even absolutely neces-
 sary to the Trade of *Great Britain*.

Tenthly, All such as have any tolerable Skill
 in Navigation know that Ships that are at
 Sea, can never have under the Wind too
 many Places of Retreat, either to shelter
 themselves against Storms when they happen
 to fall into them, or to repair their Losses and
 refit after they have sustained ill Weather. The
 Harbour of *Dunkirk* is one of those desirable
 Retreats for Ships that sail to, or come from

' the North Seas. And altho' the Coast of
 ' *England* affords many Places for Ships to put
 ' into, it may nevertheless happen oftentimes
 ' after the Demolition of the Mole and Dikes,
 ' for which the Magistrates of *Dunkirk* beg
 ' your Majesty's Mercy, that the Ships of your
 ' Subjects may be so driven and Wind-bound by
 ' bad Weather on the Coast of *Dunkirk*, that
 ' being unable to reach their own Shoar, they
 ' will in vain regret, as well as all other Na-
 ' tions trading to the North, that Harbour of
 ' Safety, of which they shall be deprived; and
 ' avoid a bare Commiseration of the Danger to
 ' which Seafaring Men are expos'd, ought to
 ' have preserv'd for them, according to the
 ' common Dictates of Humanity.

' Upon all these Considerations, that is,
 ' considering the small Damage which the Har-
 ' bour of *Dunkirk*, despoil'd of all its Fortifi-
 ' cations, both on the Sea and the Land side,
 ' may cause either to your Majesty's Subjects,
 ' or to those of your Allies; the Usefulness
 ' and Benefit which the Trade of *Great Britain*
 ' will find in the Preservation of the said Har-
 ' bour in the manner above explained, And the
 ' unprofitable but ruinous Loss which the un-
 ' fortunate Inhabitants of that Town will suf-
 ' fer by its Demolition, the Magistrates of
 ' *Dunkirk* and the *Sieur Tugghe* their Deputy
 ' presume to hope that your Majesty will gra-
 ' ciously be pleas'd to recal part of your Sen-
 ' tence, by causing your Thunderbolts to fall
 ' only on the Martial Works which may have
 ' incur'd your Majesty's Displeasure, and by
 ' sparing only the Mole and Dikes, which in
 ' their naked Condition can, for the future, be
 ' no

' no more than an Object of Pity. Nay, they
 ' shall even be an Eternal Monument of your
 ' Majesty's Glory, since by incessantly Re-
 ' minding the Beholders of the dreadful Orna-
 ' ments of which they shall remain despoil'd by
 ' your Majesty's Will alone, they will, at the
 ' same time, eternally preserve the Memory of
 ' your Majesty's Clemency, which shall have
 ' bestow'd them on the Tears and Groans of
 ' the Inhabitants of that Town, overwhelm'd
 ' with Grief.

' 'Tis by those Tears and by those Groans,
 ' that the Magistrates and their Deputy, hum-
 ' bly prostrate at the Feet of your Majesty's
 ' Throne, no less Gracious than Dreadful, beg
 ' the Preservation of their Harbour, and beseech
 ' your Majesty to vouchsafe to look with Eyes
 ' of Pity on Eighteen Thousand Families, who
 ' must be reduced to wander about, if by the
 ' entire and severe Execution of your Majesty's
 ' Orders, they are forced to quit their Habita-
 ' tions to go and seek or rather beg their
 ' Bread.

' Let not your Majesty's ever beneficent Hand
 ' be the Instrument of their Misery and Dis-
 ' pension! And let not the Inhabitants of *Dun-*
 ' *kirk* be the only People in the World that
 ' may complain of the Rigor of a Queen whose
 ' Wisdom and Clemency is adored by all the
 ' Earth.

My Indignation at this Usage of my Queen
 and Country, prompted me to write a Letter
 to *Nestor Ironside*, Esq; which I subscribed
English Tory.

Mr. *Ironside* thereupon Prints my Letter Word for Word, and on *August* the 7th Publishes it with a short Preface, as follows :

IT is usually thought, with great Justice, a very impertinent thing in a private Man to intermeddle in Matters which regard the State. But the Memorial which is mentioned in the following Letter is so daring, and so apparently designed for the most Traiterous Purpose imaginable; that I do not care what Misinterpretation I suffer, when I expose it to the Resentment of all Men who value their Country, or have any Regard to the Honour, Safety, or Glory of their Queen. It is certain there is not much Danger in delaying the Demolition of *Dunkirk* during the Life of his present most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable Regard to Treaties; but that Pious Prince is aged, and in case of his Decease, now the Power of *France* and *Spain* is in the same Family, it is possible an Ambitious Successor, (or his Ministry in a King's Minority) might dispute his being bound by the Act of his Predecessor in so weighty a Particular.

Mr. IRONSIDE,

‘ **Y**OU employ your important Moments,
 ‘ methinks, a little too frivolously, when
 ‘ you consider so often little Circumstances of
 ‘ Dress and Behaviour, and never make men-
 ‘ tion of Matters wherein you and all your
 ‘ Fellow-Subjects in general are concerned.
 ‘ I give you now an Opportunity; not only of
 ‘ manifesting your Loyalty to your Queen, but
 ‘ your Affection to your Country, if you treat
 ‘ an

' an Insolence done to them both with the Dis-
 ' dain it deserves. The enclosed Printed Pa-
 ' per in *French* and *English* has been handed a-
 ' bout the Town, and given *gratis* to Passengers
 ' in the Streets at Noon-Day. You see the
 ' Title of it is, *A most humble Address or Me-
 ' morial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of
 ' Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magi-
 ' strates of Dunkirk.* The nauseous Memoria-
 ' list, with the most fulsome Flattery, tells the
 ' Queen of her Thunder, and of Wisdom and
 ' Clemency adored by all the Earth, at the same
 ' time that he attempts to undermine her Power,
 ' and escape her Wisdom, by beseeching her to
 ' do an Act which would give a well-grounded
 ' Jealousie to her People. What the Sycophant
 ' desires is, that the Mole and Dikes of *Dun-
 ' kirk* may be spared; and, it seems, the Sieur
 ' *Tugghe*, for so the Petitioner is called, was
 ' Thunder-struck by the *Denunciation* (which
 ' he says) the Lord Viscount Bolinbroke made
 ' to him, That her Majesty did not think to
 ' make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence
 ' she had pronounced against the Town. *Mr.*
 ' IRONSIDE, I think you would do an Act
 ' worthy your general Humanity, if you would
 ' put the Sieur *Tugghe* right in this Matter, and
 ' let him know, That her Majesty has pro-
 ' nounced no Sentence against the Town, but
 ' his most Christian Majesty has agreed that the
 ' Town and Harbour shall be Demolished.

' That the *British* Nation expect the imme-
 ' diate Demolition of it.

' That the very Common People know, that
 ' within two Months after the signing of the
 ' Peace, the Works towards the Sea were to
 ' be

‘ be demolished, and within three Months after
 ‘ it the Works towards the Land.

‘ That the said Peace was signed the last of
 ‘ *March, O. S.*

‘ That the Parliament has been told from the
 ‘ Queen, that the Equivalent for it is in the
 ‘ Hands of the *French King*.

‘ That the *Sieur Tugghe* has the Impudence
 ‘ to ask the Queen to remit the most material
 ‘ Part of the Articles of Peace between Her
 ‘ Majesty and his Master.

‘ That the *British Nation* received more Da-
 ‘ mage in their Trade from the Port of *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk*, than from almost all the Ports of *France*,
 ‘ either in the Ocean or in the *Mediterra-*
 ‘ *nean*.

‘ That Fleets of above thirty Sail have come
 ‘ together out of *Dunkirk* during the late War,
 ‘ and taken Ships of War, as well as Merchant
 ‘ Men.

‘ That the Pretender sailed from thence to
 ‘ *Scotland*; and that it is the only Port the
 ‘ *French* have till you come to *Brest*, for the
 ‘ whole Length of *St. George’s Channel*, where
 ‘ any considerable Naval Armament can be
 ‘ made.

‘ That destroying the Fortifications of *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk* is an inconsiderable Advantage to *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, in Comparison to the Advantage of de-
 ‘ stroying the Mole, Dikes and Harbour, it be-
 ‘ ing the Naval Force from thence which on-
 ‘ ly can hurt the *British Nation*.

‘ That the *British Nation* expect the imme-
 ‘ diate Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

‘ That the *Dutch*, who suffered equally
 ‘ with us from those of *Dunkirk*, were proba-
 ‘ bly

‘ bly induced to Sign the Treaty with *France*
 ‘ from this Consideration, That the Town and
 ‘ Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be destroyed.

‘ That the Situation of *Dunkirk* is such, as
 ‘ that it may always keep Runners to observe
 ‘ all Ships sailing on the *Thames* and *Medway*.

‘ That all the Suggestions, which the *Sieur*
 ‘ *Tagghe* brings concerning the *Dutch*, are false
 ‘ and scandalous.

‘ That whether it may be advantagious to
 ‘ the Trade of *Holland* or not, that *Dunkirk*
 ‘ should be demolish'd, it is necessary for the
 ‘ Safety, Honour and Liberty of *England* that
 ‘ it should be so.

‘ That when *Dunkirk* is demolished, the
 ‘ Power of *France*, on that side, should it e-
 ‘ ver be turned against us, will be removed
 ‘ several hundred Miles further off of *Great*
 ‘ *Britain* than it is at present.

‘ That after the Demolition there can be no
 ‘ considerable Preparation made at Sea by the
 ‘ *French* in all the Channel but at *Brest*; and
 ‘ that *Great Britain* being an Island, which
 ‘ cannot be attacked but by a Naval Power,
 ‘ we may esteem *France* effectually removed
 ‘ by the Demolition from *Great Britain* as far
 ‘ as the Distance from *Dunkirk* to *Brest*.

‘ Pray, Mr. IRONSIDE, repeat this last
 ‘ Particular, and put it in a different Letter,
 ‘ That the Demolition of *Dunkirk* will remove
 ‘ *France* many hundred Miles further off from
 ‘ us; and then repeat again, That the British
 ‘ Nation expects the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

‘ I demand of you, as you Love and Ho-
 ‘ nour your Queen and Country, that you in-
 ‘ sert this Letter, or speak, to this Purpose,

‘ your

‘ your own way; for in this all Parties must
 ‘ agree, that however bound in Friendship one
 ‘ Nation is with another, it is but prudent,
 ‘ that, in case of a Rupture, they should be,
 ‘ if possible, upon equal Terms.

‘ Be Honest, old NESTOR, and say all
 ‘ this; for what-ever half-witted hot Whigs
 ‘ may think, we all value our Estates and Li-
 ‘ berties, and every true Man of each Party
 ‘ must think himself concerned that *Dunkirk*
 ‘ should be Demolished.

‘ It lies upon all who have the Honour to
 ‘ be in the Ministry to hasten this Matter, and
 ‘ not let the Credulity of an honest brave Peo-
 ‘ ple be thus infamously abused in our open
 ‘ Streets.

‘ I cannot go on for Indignation; but pray
 ‘ God that our Mercy to *France* may not ex-
 ‘ pose us to the Mercy of *France*.

Your Humble Servant,

English Tory.

This Letter happened to disoblige some
 People, and the Day before I went out of Town
 came out the Pamphlet, Entituled,

*The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's
 Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the
 unexampled Insolence of the Author of the Guar-
 dian: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr.
 Steele.* You may read the whole at your Lei-
 sure; but the Ninth and Tenth Pages are e-
 nough for Me, and I think there is nothing
 else in the whole Pamphlet but Repetition of
 the same thing.

See

See how the Villain treats the best of Sovereigns, the best Mistress to him, whose Bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal! Read it again, say they: Put it into English, said a Neighbour of mine to me, come make the best of it! then he reads the abominable Language as follows;

' The British Nation EXPECT, &c. And
' again, The British Nation EXPECT the
' immediate Demolition of Dunkirk. And a
' third time, with a Tone of threatenng, The
' British Nation EXPECT it. See the Guar-
' dian, August 7, 1713.

I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be understood to be spoken to or pointed at the Queen, but to the People of Dunkirk, and I search'd the whole Paper for something to have brought you off with that way.

But it would not do, they laugh'd at me: How could it be spoken to him, say they? his Memorial is to the Queen, and if it should be directed to Monsieur Tugghe it would be still worse; for that would be to talk thus to him, viz. What do ye Petition the Queen for? We tell you, The British Nation will not suffer it, the Queen dares not do it, for the British Nation EXPECT it be immediately Demolish'd. This stop'd my Mouth indeed, with respect to that part of the Excuse, and then they went on with me: Come, says my Neighbour, if you cannot put it into Words, I'll do it for you.

' The British Nation EXPECT the imme-
' diate Demolition of Dunkirk.

We all know Her Majesty has Possession of Dunkirk, and tho' the Work is to be done by the
French,

French, *Her Majesty may appoint the Day. Now, says he, read the Words.*

What is it but thus?

‘ *Look you, Madam, Your Majesty had best take Care that Dunkirk be Demolish’d, or else, &c.*

And again;

‘ *Madam! WE EXPECT, and we would have you take Notice that we expect it, that Dunkirk be Demolish’d, and that immediately.*

Just thus an Imperious Planter at Barbadoes speaks to a Negro Slave, ‘ Look you, Sirrah, I expect this Sugar to be ground, and look to it that it be done forthwith. ‘Tis enough to tell you I EXPECT it, or else, &c. and then he holds up his Stick at him, Take what follows.

The *Examiner*, in a Style quite as polite as that of this Pamphleteer, in his Paper of *August* the 21st has it thus,

‘ *I believe I may challenge all the Nations of the World, and all the Histories of this Nation for a thousand Years past, to shew us an Instance so flagrant as what we have now before us, (viz.) When ever a Subject, nay a Servant under a Salary, and favoured in Spight of ill Behaviour past, with a considerable Employment in the Government, treated his Sovereign in such a manner as the GUARDIAN has done the Person of the Queen; and went Unpunished.*

‘ *If the Clemency of the Queen prevails to save such a Man; if her Majesty thinks it below Her to resent an Injury from so contemptible a Wretch, by so much the rather should every Subject resent it; and shew their*

' their Duty and Respect to their Sovereign,
 ' by trampling under their Feet the very *Name*
 ' and *Memory* of the Man that can have Bold-
 ' ness enough to *Insult his Prince* in a Printed,
 ' and for that Reason *Scandalous, Libel,* and
 ' can have **INGRATITUDE** enough to
 ' do it while he is eating Her Bread.

' How can any Man shew himself a faith-
 ' ful Subject to Her Majesty, and not resent
 ' such a piece of Conduct! to see a Subject
 ' hold up a Rod at his Prince! and openly
 ' threaten the Queen, if She does not cause
 ' *Dunkirk* to be demolished! to *threaten* her
 ' Majesty with the Nation's Resentment if it
 ' be not forthwith entered upon, and *Command*
 ' *Her* to do it **IMMEDIATELY**; it ought
 ' to fill every faithful Subject with Abhorrence,
 ' and cause them either shun the Man, or let
 ' him know they Detest his Behaviour.

' And yet *this Man* was never so dear to
 ' the *Whigs* as since he let them know that he
 ' durst assault his Queen; this has made him
 ' their Favourite, and one of their Authors has
 ' made his dull Panegyrick upon him already
 ' for it; while another Sett of them are en-
 ' deavouring to get him chosen for the next
 ' Parliament, that he may carry on his Insult
 ' there, and obtain the *Honour*, as another of
 ' their haughty Leaders has already done, of
 ' *being expelled the House*.

' I have not Room to enlarge in this Case,
 ' as so unexampled a Piece of *Ingratitude* de-
 ' serves; he has been handsomely, *only too fa-*
 ' *vourably*, exposed in this very Case, by a
 ' Book just published, and which I recommend
 ' for that reason in the following Advertise-
 ' ment.

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After this subjoins the following Advertisement.

The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the Unexampled Insolence of the Author of the GUARDIAN: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele. Printed for John Morphew near Stationer's Hall. Price 3d.

On the 24th following he Rallies me again thus,

‘ For these Reasons, saving the Trespafs on
 ‘ Custom, the L Y E might be given in the
 ‘ Teeth of *the Guardian*, when he Insolently
 ‘ tells the Queen, in his late Seditious Libel,
 ‘ for such it must be accounted by every True
 ‘ Britain; That the *British Nation* EXPECTS
 ‘ the *Immediate Demolition* of Dunkirk: I say
 ‘ it is not so; the *British Nation* does not EX-
 ‘ PECT that Her Majesty should divest Her
 ‘ Self of the Power which is in Her Hands,
 ‘ by the Possession of *Dunkirk*, to do Her Self
 ‘ Right, and to secure to Her Self the Perfor-
 ‘ mance of such Conditions from all the Prin-
 ‘ ces concerned, as they have agreed to be just
 ‘ and ought to be performed; but which we do
 ‘ not find them so free to execute, as the Ob-
 ‘ ligations *Britain* has laid on them has given
 ‘ us reason to expect.

‘ It might, with much more Duty to Her
 ‘ Majesty, and Justice to our Country, have
 ‘ been said, That the *British Nation* HOPES
 ‘ Her Majesty will not part with *Dunkirk*,
 ‘ nor suffer it to be demolished, till the Dan-
 ‘ ger of any Foreign Power, insulting Her Sub-
 ‘ jects, be removed; till the Commerce, and
 ‘ Pri-

' Privileges of Her Subjects of *Great Britain*,
 ' shall be effectually secured; and till there
 ' shall be no danger of the Incroachments and
 ' Invasions of any Nation, *not France only*,
 ' but other Powers as well as *France*; for I
 ' must be allow'd, *with these Gentlemens Par-*
 ' *don*, to suppose that there are Dangers to be
 ' expected from other Powers in the World,
 ' as well as *France*, especially Dangers to our
 ' Trade; and these Dangers are the greater, by
 ' how much we find the *Whigs* forward to
 ' give up our Trading-Interest to the *Dutch*,
 ' in order to make Friends with them in their
 ' other nameless Designs against the Ministry.

' Those then who have a true Concern for
 ' the Good of *Great Britain*, would be very
 ' sorry to see *Dunkirk* put out of her Majesty's
 ' Power, till every just Thing, which the keep-
 ' ing it can be a Means to secure to us, be
 ' obtain'd.

' I might be more particular, in letting the
 ' World see what these Things are which *Brit-*
 ' *tain* ought to obtain from the Neighbouring
 ' Powers; and which *Dunkirk* is so far a
 ' Pledge for, that it ought to remain in Her
 ' Majesty's Hands 'till they are obtained: But
 ' as this is preparing by another Hand, and
 ' will be set in a clearer Light, to the Confu-
 ' sion of the *Guardian* and all his Factious
 ' Party, I shall say no more to it here.

After this He repeats the following Adver-
tisement.

To Morrow will be publish'd a Second Edition of
*The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's
 Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the
 Unexampled Insolence of the Author of the
 GUARDIAN: In a Letter from a Country
 Whig to Mr. Steele. Printed for John Mor-
 phew, near Stationer's-Hall. Price 3d.*

You have now my Letter to the *Guardian*, with what the Writers of the Pamphlet, and the *Examiner*, have been pleased to say upon it, at one View.

In Order to my Justification, I shall show more accurately the Advantages the Nation might reap from the Demolition, which will appear by Considering what Part of our Trade has and may be annoy'd by *Dunkirk*.

The Port of *London* is allowed to carry Two Parts in Three, or Six Parts in Nine, of the Foreign Trade of *England*. We may give one Ninth to the Ports on the *South Coasts* of this Island, which *South Coast* is opposite to the *North Coast* of *France*; the Sea between which is what we call the Channel.

The *East End* of this, on our Side, is the *North Foreland*, which stands opposite to *Newport* in *Flanders*; the *West End*, on our Side, is the *Land's-End*, over against *Ushant*, or *Brest* in *France*; they allow one Ninth of the Trade to the *East Coast* washed by the *German Ocean*; and the other Ninth to the *West Coast* which looks on the *Irish Seas*; in this Computation, it is presumed, there is not any great Disproportion, except from *Bristol's* lying on the *West Coast*, the said *West Coast* ought to be allowed more than one Ninth.

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Dunkirk is from the *South Foreland* about Thirteen Leagues, and the Course from *Dunkirk* to the *Foreland West, North-West*, to the Entrance of the River *Thames*, is *North-West*, about twenty Leagues; so that any Easterly Wind, which carries our Ships down the Channel, at the same time brings those of *Dunkirk* to meet and intercept them: The *French* have very frequently this last War reaped the Advantage of this Situation, by surprizing many rich Ships, and taking others as they lay at Anchor in the *Downs*; when the *French* are dispossessed of *Dunkirk*, the dread and danger of their Men of War, of any considerable Force, will be removed as far as *Brest*, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues, or three hundred and sixty Miles; and that of their Privateers, of any Consideration, as far as *St. Malo's*, which is seventy eight Leagues, or two hundred and thirty four Miles.

Brest lies without the Channel, under this great Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Wind which carries our Trade down the Channel, prevents the Ships of *Brest* from coming into it.

The *East* End of the Channel which is so much exposed to *Dunkirk* is but seven Leagues broad, and gives an Enemy an Opportunity of seeing our Ships from Side to Side.

The *West* End of the Channel, for which the greatest Fears are from *Brest*, is twenty eight Leagues broad, and of course, there is at that End a greater Chance of escaping the Enemy.

If Ships from *Brest* are appointed to Way-lay our Ships in the Channel, they must take the Opportunity of Westerly Winds, to come in-

to it; and wait the coming of an Easterly Wind to carry our Ships down it; by this means they must all that time be at Sea, exposed to all Dangers for want of a Port in which to Harbour their Men of War, or return to *Brest*, which they cannot do with the Wind that brought them out.

We must add to this, that if the *French* from *Brest* should be hovering to the Eastward of *Plimouth*, they are between two Fires, from those Ships in the *Downs*, and those from *Plimouth*; and our Ships from *Por smouth* may chase them either Way, while they are way-laid at each End of the Channel by the others, not having the Port of *Dunkirk*, or any other in the Channel, to afford them Shelter. Thus, should they be chased up the Channel by a too great Force, before they can return to *Brest*, they must either run into the *German Ocean*, and wait another Opportunity of coming down again, with the Hazard of meeting all our Men of War; or else sail *North* about *Great Britain*, which is at least 550 Leagues more than they need have sailed, with the Port of *Dunkirk* to fly to.

This Want of *Dunkirk* will expose them to the same Inconveniencies, to which the Fear of it often obliged our running Ships from the *South* Parts of the World, as well as our *East-India* Men, during the late War: To this Distress you are to add Wages, Provision, loss of Time, and the dangerous Navigation of the *North Seas*.

From hence it plainly appears, that by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, in case of a Rupture with *France*, Six Parts in Nine of our Trade, from

from the Port of *London*, is 330 Miles removed from the Hazards of the last War; and tho' part of this must be exposed when it passes through the Chopps, or Western Entrance of the Channel, it must be considered, that this it was also liable to before, besides the Terrors of *Dunkirk*, and that this is only the Southern Trade; and all that go to *Holland*, *Hamborough*, and other Northern Countries, will be quite out of Danger.

The Ninth of our Trade on the *East Coast*, would be still safer.

From these distinct Considerations, you observe only one Ninth of the Trade on the *Irish Seas* and *Bristol Channel*, and part of the other Ninth in the Coast of the Channel (to come at which they are in danger from *Portsmouth* to *Plymouth*) is the whole of the *British Trade*, which after the Demolition of *Dunkirk* will lie open to the Assaults of the *French*. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* will in a great Measure secure seven Ninths of the Trade of *England*, from the Power of *France* at Sea, the *French* having no Port in the Channel but *St. Malo's*, which can harbour any great Ships, and that it self can receive none which exceeds 30 or 40 Guns. *Brest* lies 35 Leag. from the *Lizard Point*, which is the nearest Land of *England*; their Ships must have an Easterly Wind to come out, and that will serve them no farther than to the Chopps of the Channel, because it blows directly down it.

The Course to go from *Brest* to cruize off the *Lizard Point* in order to annoy Us, is first, *West* about 13 Leagues, and then *North* or *North* and by *East* about 30 Leagues more, except they run the Hazard of going within
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the Island of *Ushant*, which is not practised, and therefore may be supposed Impracticable.

In the last Place, our Charge in defending our selves from such Annoyance as we formerly had from *Dunkirk* will decrease in Proportion to the removal of the Danger.

Such is the Importance of the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, with regard to the Trade of *England* only ; and in the present Conjunction, I think we ought to have something more than the Mercy of his most Christian Majesty, to render the forbearing such Demolition less Hazardous to our Religion and Liberty ; and yet you see, how criminal a Thing it is to say, The *British* Nation EXPECT the Demolition of it.

It is evident that the Letter to the *Guardian*, subscribed *English Tory*, could have no Prospect but to do Honour and Service to Her Majesty and Her Subjects ; The *Sieur Tuggbe* himself acknowledges that he has received an Answer from the Queen, by Her Secretary of State, with a Negative to his Petition ; upon which here appears a Memorial in Print, expostulating with Her upon that Subject, and laying before Her the Distresses of a Crowd of helpless People, whose Misfortunes are to be attributed to Her, if she shall think fit, in behalf of Her own Subjects, to insist upon the Execution of what is stipulated by Treaty : The *Sieur Tuggbe* may insinuate, that it is unmerciful in the Queen to deny his Request, without being taken Notice of ; but I must not defend my Sovereign's Refusal from the Imputation of Cruelty, without being said, to Insult Her Prerogative. My Adversaries argue, That it is in Her Majesty's Power to forward or delay the Demolition as she pleases ; be that

that as it will, Do not I do as a faithful Subject, to insist that she does no Cruelty if she pleases to Demolish it?

The Sieur *Tuggbe* is not contented with this Arrogance, but has so little an Opinion of our *English* Statesmen, that he pretends to instruct our Sovereign, and Her Council, in what Political Views they ought to have upon this Occasion: But least his Assertions may prevail upon that numerous part of Mankind, which has a great while taken every Thing upon Content, I shall have the Patience to run through all he gives us as Arguments for our saving *Dunkirk*, and with the same Tautology; and when He repeats the same Thing, repeat also what I have said against it. To proceed then like a Man of great Gravity and Business.

In Answer to the *SIEUR*'s First.

First, *Dunkirk* was the Dread of the *Dutch* Trade in time of War, but cannot be the Object of Jealousy of the *Dutch* with respect to their Trade to *Germany* and the *Austrian* Low-Countries, because *Newport* and *Graveling* (which are capable of receiving as large Ships as ever are used in that Trade by us) can supply those Countries with the same Ease; of course *Dunkirk* is not the only Harbour on this Coast useful to that Trade: As for securing the *Scheld*, that River was many Years before the two last Wars with *France* possess'd by the *Dutch*, who Command the Entrance of it by Fort *Lillo*, which prevents all Foreign Ships from passing up. Nay, so far are they from permitting Foreigners, that none of their own Sea-ships, above

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the Bulk of Schuyts or Billanders, which we call Smacks and Hoys, are ever allowed to go beyond that Fort. Mr. *Tugghe* supposes Us to a most notorious degree Ignorant of common Geography, when he asserts that *Dunkirk* is the only Port from *Ostend* Westward, by which Commodities can be brought into the Provinces of the *Austrian* Low-Countries and *Germany*. There runs from *Calais* a Navigable River to *Graveling*, the River of *Graveling* runs to *St. Omer*; from the *East* Side of this River run two Canals, one through *Bourbourgh* to *Dunkirk*, the other directly to *Winoxberg*: There is a Canal from *Dunkirk* to *Furnes*, and another from *Winoxberg* to the same Place; from *Furnes* the Canal runs to *Newport*, and from thence to *Ostend* and *Bruges*; from their Canals and Rivers the Countries of French *Flanders*, *Hainault*, and *Picardy*, have their Water Carriage; nor is there any Carriage from *Dunkirk* to the *Rhine*; *Lys*, or *Scheld*, but through the same Streams, except by open Sea: so that *Ostend*, *Newport*, *Graveling*, and *Calais*, have the same Water Carriage which *Dunkirk* has to any Inland Country, or any Place in the World. What Trade had we through *Dunkirk*, before, or during the two last Wars? We can have no Trade through *Dunkirk* (but to the *French* Territories) which we had not in the last Wars from other Harbours.

As to the *Sieur's* *Second*, We always carry'd on our Trade to the *Austrian* Netherlands through *Ostend* and *Newport*, since the *Dutch* got Possession of the *Scheld*, the same Conveniency we shall have still; nor can the Port of *Dunkirk*, being left open, be any ease of Charges on our Trade, or give us a nearer Passage; neither can
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Dunkirk Consider'd. 51

the Demolition in the least obstruct our Trade, because our Commodities will still pass through the same Inland Waters, which they must if they are sent through *Dunkirk*. If it is easie for Her Majesty to obtain from the King a *free Passage Custom Free* for all Commodities from *England*, through *Dunkirk*, to the *Austrian Low-Countries*, she may with the same ease Obtain the same through his other Ports. It will be good News to hear he makes no difficulty of granting such a Request, because by the same Rule, Her Majesty may obtain an Alteration in favour of Her Subjects in the Treaty of Commerce, which has been disapprov'd by the Parliament.

If we should at any time be prevented sending our Trade to the *Austrian Low-Countries*, any other way than through his Dominions, he will then find us under the Necessity of carrying it on this Way, and demand Toll in a manner suitable to his great Power and Force; and how shall we deny it him?

If he should grant us this Passage Custom-free, it may be bought too dear; for if we dismantle the Town, and leave the Ports undemolish'd, it is in his Power to take Possession of it again at Pleasure; and in case of another War we shall be as much annoy'd in our Trade as we were in the two last, and the Town can be easily Re-fortified; he may have a very good View in this: But really I would not have him run the Risque of it, tho' it may prove so much for his Advantage; for we all know the *Dutch* are a sly People, and if the Town should be dismantled, and the Port left open, they may come and get the Possession of it, and fortifie it again for their own Use, which I know, out of the great Concern he has

for us, and the Welfare of our Trade, he would be utterly against.

As to his *Third*, It is a false Assertion to say that there is no other Port serviceable to the Trade of French *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, or *Picardy*, for there are many useful to this Trade, *Ostend*, *Newport*, *Graveling*, and *Calais*, whose Waters run into the same Canals that that of *Dunkirk* does, besides *Boulogne*, *Estaples*, *St. Valery* and *Diep*; for the Trade to *Picardy*, all these Ports are capable of receiving as large Vessels as ever we made use of in this Trade, which are from 20, 60 or 100 Tuns at most.

As to the *Sieur's Fourth*, It is well known the Trade may be profitably carried on by other Places than *Dunkirk*; and an Ease of Charge for so inconsiderable a part of our Trade is not to be mentioned, in Competition with the hazard of so great a part as, on a Rupture with *France*, that Place can molest; the rest of this Article is already answer'd, because other Ports can convey our Trade to any Place that *Dunkirk* can.

As to *Mr. Deputy's Fifth*, If the Treaty of Commerce has preserved the Tariff of 1671 in the Conquer'd Countries, it is preserv'd to *Graveling*, and other Ports there, as well as *Dunkirk*.

As to the *Sieur's Sixth*, The Stress he lays on the List of 218 Ships which was printed in the *Mercator*, No. 29, with their Cargoes, has no Weight in it, because those Ships might have gone to the Neighbouring Ports; he is also unjust in arguing from that List, that the Trade of *England* there will very much Increase: Whoever looks over the *Mercator*, will find that their
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Loading consisted chiefly of Food and Firing, the whole he values at two Millions of *French Livres*; the Coals indeed they may always take, as they will other Commodities that Necessity obliges them to, and which they have not of their own Growth or Manufacture, but a constant Market of this kind is not to be expected; it is not to be supposed, because they took these Quantities of Corn and Provisions of use in their late famish'd Condition, that they will do the same when they have plentiful Crops, and this whole Sum is but 100,000 *l.* Sterling, of which the Provisions amount to at least 3 Quarters. Their Trade to us standing in a manner upon the Foot of a Prohibition, they could not well pay us any otherwise than with ready Money; but if the Treaty of Commerce should pass, and the Port of *Dunkirk* remain as it is, the *Dunkirkers* will soon find Commodities to supply us with, tho' they have none of their own Growth. *Mr. Tugghe* does not do us Justice in this part of the Memorial, because he omitted to tell us of the Combination of Merchants, who made our People take their own Prices for our Goods, which were sold to Loss, rather than to bring them back again through the Risque of the Seas, and to run the Danger of their being Damaged, and of their Perishing. There might be other Observations made from their want of Corn, of the Advantage we might have taken of their Low Condition.

As to this Agent's *Seventh*, *Mr. Tugghe* with great Piety and Charity towards us, prays to God to avert a War between us and *Holland*, and represents a great many Dangers in it in regard to our Trade with *French Flanders, Hainault,*

nault, *Artois*, and *Picardy*, which is already answer'd, because other Ports can supply them as well as *Dunkirk*. Now if we should turn the other side of the Matter, I wonder what Danger the Memorialist would represent us from another War with *France*.

As to the *Sieur's Eighth*, This Article is false, as is already proved; nor do we want him to teach us our Trade to *Germany*, who would persuade us it is our Interest to Trade thither through *Dunkirk* by Land-Carriage, whose Waters have not any Correspondence with the Rivers of *Germany*, and to erect Staples and Store-Houses, which would be a good Booty for the *French* in case of a Rupture; nor can we ever carry it on so safely or cheaply through Countries possessed by *France*, as we do through *Hamburg*, and other Places, by Water Carriage.

As to his *Ninth*, He has here the Insolence to call it a *severe Resolution* in the Queen to insist on the Demolition. This is objected to in *Answer 2*. But his Assertion, that it is absolutely Necessary to the Trade of *Great Britain*, is the Reverse of our Case.

As to the Memorialist's *Tenth*, It is necessary for all Ships to have a Lee-Port to flee to if they cannot get to Windward, or weather a Storm; but *All such as have any tolerable Skill in Navigation*, know, that our Ships keep their own Shoar abroad, as the *French* do theirs; and therefore the Port of *Dunkirk* is useless to us. I would fain know, what use our Ships had of that Port for above twenty Years last past. *Mr. Tuggbe*, I am sure, can tell us what *English* Ships ever refitted there, and how many ever repair'd

repair'd Losses; all the World know there have been many Hundreds refitted there to annoy our own Country, and some Thousands suffer'd Losses there that were never repair'd. It is a *most desirable Port* for the Ships of *France*, but all *English* Ships have dreaded it for above twenty Years. The Publick Joy the News of its being to be Demolish'd created this Nation, is a convincing Argument, how much *they will in vain Regret, as well as all other Nations trading to the Northward, that Harbour of Safety*. It raises something more than Indignation to see a Magistrate of *Dunkirk*, sent to talk to the Queen of *Great Britain*, and dictate Rules of Humanity.

It will be a great Act of Humanity to insist upon the Demolition of that Town, which has destroyed so many Thousand of her Majesty's Subjects and their Ships.

This is all I have to say to my Foreign Enemy the *Sieur Tugghe*, and humbly recommending to his Most Christian Majesty the Care of the eighteen thousand Families, I take the liberty to repeat to him, that the *British* Nation expect the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. I am now to face about to my Domestick Foes, by whom I am accus'd of the Ingratitude of insulting my Prince, while I am eating her Bread.

Mr. Bailiff, It is so far otherwise, that to avoid the least Appearance of it, I did not attempt doing what proceeded from a true Grateful and Loyal Heart, (*viz.*) the laying before her Majesty's Ministry, that the Nation had a stri& Eye upon their Behaviour, with relation to *Dunkirk*; before I had resigned all, which t. eir Interposition with her most Gracious Ma-

jeſty could take from me. I am ſo far from eating her Bread, with a Diſinclination to her Service, that I had reſigned a plentiful Income I had from her Favour, in a conſiderable Office and Penſion, which incapacitate a Man of ſitting in Parliament, to render my ſelf more uſeful to Her and my Country, in the Station with which your Borough has ſince honoured me.

If he is an Enemy to the Prerogative, that is ſatisfied with what he has already received from his Prince, and gives up all Expectations of ever receiving more, with no other View, than ſerving his Prince and Country in a more eminent manner than when he enjoyed Employments; if ſuch a Man, I ſay, is an Enemy, I am an Enemy: But the Author of the Letter from the Country Whig perſonates that Character ſo aukardly; and the *Examiner*, without entering into the Point, treats me ſo outrageouſly; that I know not how to offer, againſt ſuch Adverſaries, Reason and Argument, without appearing void of both. However, ſince it has for ſome time been the Faſhion to run down Men of much greater Conſequence than I am, with general Terms, that fall in with the Prejudices and Corruptions of the People, I ſhall not bear in ſilence the Accuſation of being in the leaſt Degree undutiful to my moſt Gracious Miſtreſs, much leſs of aſſaulting Her Prerogative. Theſe Writers ſhall treat me as they think fit, as I am their Brother-Scribler; but I ſhall not be ſo unconcern'd when they attack me as an honeſt Man: I ſhall therefore inform them, that it is not in the Power of a private and an indifferent Man to hurt the Honour

nour and Prerogative of the Crown, without being punish'd, if the Ministry think fit, as he deserves, by the Laws of our Country; but true and real Danger to the Queen's Honour may arise, if Persons in Authority tolerate Men (who have no Compunction of Conscience) in abusing such Instruments of Glory and Honour to our Country as the Illustrious Duke of *Marlborough*, such wise and faithful Managers as the late Earl of *Godolphin*, such pious, disinterested, generous and self-denying Patriots as the Bishops.

There is no Man will deny, but that it is in the Power of the Ministry to call the *Examiner* to an Account, as well as the *Flying-Post*. It is not for me to enter into the Reasons why they do not do themselves that Justice; but where is Honour, where is Government, where is Prerogative, while neither Age nor Sex, Virtue nor Innocence, can have any Redress from the Assaults made upon their Reputation, which is dearer than Life? but such Injuries the *Examiner* repeats every Week with Impunity. But after I have fully answered the specious Pretension of Monsieur *Tugghe*, concerning the Trade, and vindicated my Sovereign from his treacherous Insinuation, That it would be want of Mercy in Her to insist on the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; it is incumbent on me to come more closely to the Point with the Pamphleteer, and the *Examiner*. The former says, in his 17th Page, *Why must the Queen be attacked with such Insolence, and be told, in terrorem, that the People of Great Britain expect Dunkirk shall be demolished?*

The *Examiner*, as above, puts the stress of his Argument on the same words in the *Guardian*, of whom he says,

‘ For these Reasons, saving the Trespas on Custom, the LYE might be given in the Teeth of the *Guardian*, when he insolently tells the Queen, in his late seditious Libel, for such it must be accounted by every true Britain, That the *British Nation* EXPECTS the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk; I say, it is not so; the *British Nation* does not EXPECT that Her Majesty should divest Her self of the Power which is in her Hands, by the Possession of *Dunkirk*, to do Herself Right, and to secure to Herself the Performance of such Conditions from all the Princes concerned, as they have agreed to be just, and ought to be performed; but which we do not find them so free to execute, as the Obligations *Britain* has laid on them has given us reason to expect.

Both these great Authors lay the weight of the Accusation, upon saying, the *British Nation expects*; you see the difference of a Man’s Condition who acts under the Laws of his Country in general, from his, who acts only under the Prerogative.

Here is a Treaty concluded; I am reckoned disrespectful, because I say, the Nation EXPECTS the Conditions to be complied with; he is a very loyal Man, who says, the Nation does not EXPECT it; but this wary Politician, the *Examiner*, says, *There are Dangers to be expected from other Powers in the World, as well as France*; he observes the *Whigs* forward to give up our trading Interest to the *Dutch*, in order to
make

make Friends with them in their other nameless Designs against the Ministry.

What has been already said to Monsieur Tagghe, concerning the Advantages the *Dutch* may reap from the Demolition, is also an Answer to the *Examiner*: All reasonable Men know, that the *Dutch* can reap no Advantage, but what must flow from their Industry, and our Negligence; but the Power of *France* cannot only rival us in Trade, but also when the King pleases (which is mentioned as a thing possible, not probable) invade us again with the Pretender, from the very same Place whence he last set out to visit us, when we have no Troops to defend us, no Allies to succour us: When I think of these things with Horror, from the Love I bear my Sovereign and my Country, they say, I offend the Prerogative. Authors who write for the Prerogative, if they acted like Men of Honour, should be alarm'd at the improper Application of it by a Ministry, as much as by any other Acts of their Fellow-Subjects.

It is the Prerogative of the Crown to create Peers of *England*; but if in the midst of a Question in the Legislature, half a dozen new ones should march in, and by their Votes turn a Point, upon which our All might depend, would the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown be equally consulted at that Instant?

It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Peace and War; shall the Crown therefore lay down its conquering Arms, and deliver it self up to the Vanquish'd? A Man is born with Free-will; does it therefore follow, that it is lawful to kill himself?

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It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Alliances, and act in conjunction with their Allies; shall therefore its Armies march with them, in Confidence and Friendship, till they come to Front the Enemy, and then Face about, and leave them in the Day, in the Moment of Distress?

But it is a Folly to put Cases, which I hope will never happen among us; for if they should, the Persons who should transact any thing like any such things as I have now mentioned, would be so far from considering the Honour of the Prince, that they would diminish and blast it; and be so far from being a Support to, that they would be a Rent Charge upon the Prerogative.

The true Meaning and Use of the Prerogative, is to be interpreted and understood by the Rules of the joint Welfare and Happiness of Prince and People; and all great Genius's in Business, in all Nations and in all Ages, have apply'd it in this manner.

But from the Example of all Nations, who have lost their Liberty, we see that when, for the Sins of a Nation, Men of poor and narrow Conceptions, Self-interested, and without Benevolence to Mankind, have had the use of their Princes Favour and Prerogative, they think only what they may do, not what they ought to do.

All that I have at present to complain of, is, that the Defence of my Queen and Country, and of the most valuable part of our Trade, is treated as an Offence against the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown: I am heartily sorry to hear the word Prerogative introduced with
so

So much Pomp against so inconsiderable a Man as my self, or, in the *Examiner's* words, *against so contemptible a Wretch*. If this word Prerogative comes to be used to frighten Men from speaking what they lawfully may upon publick Occurrences, it may come to pass hereafter, that it may be a Refuge to indiscreet Ministers, and they may in time to come protect their Miscarriages under that awful Word.

It would follow, that whatever should be painful or disagreeable to the People, would be imputed to the Prince; whatever should be pleasing, would be attributed to the Ministry. Ministers would not fail to cover their Follies, or Iniquities, under the shelter of the Prerogative. What was urged concerning *Dunkirk*, in the Letter to the *Guardian*, was apparently and professedly laid before the Ministry, that they might not be unmindful of what the *British* Nation expect from them. I say again and again, if once Men are so intimidated as not to dare to offer their Thoughts upon publick Affairs, without incurring the Imputation of offending against the Prerogative of their Prince; that Prince, whatever Advantage his Ministers might make of his Prerogative, would himself soon have no Prerogative, but that of being deceived. As for my part, I have that sincere and faithful Duty to Her Majesty, that I will never fear to attempt any thing that I am able for her Service, however her Favour may be intercepted from me. The *Examiner* accuses me of Ingratitude, as being actually under Salary, when I writ the Letter to the *Guardian*; but he is mistaken in that Particular, for I had resign'd, not only my Office in the Stamp Duties, but also

62. *The Importance of*

also my Pension as Servant to his late Royal Highness, which her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the whole Family of that Excellent Prince: I divested my self of all that I was so happy to enjoy by Her Majesty's Goodness and Favour, before I would presume to write any thing, which was so apparently an Advertisement to those employ'd in her Service.

I have thrown away all Expectations of Preferment for the Happiness of serving in Parliament, and for the hopes of having a Vote in the Legislature, in the present Great Crisis of Affairs: As long as I enjoy this Station (from which the *Examiner* takes the Liberty to suggest I shall be expell'd) I shall follow no Leader or Leaders, but Act, that is to say, Vote, according to the Dictates of my Conscience, in the publick Service. But I have said, *The British Nation Expect*: What is there in that of Insolence and Ingratitude to a Queen and a Benefactress? Nay, What is there in it more or less, the Premisses in my Letter being consider'd, than the Duty of a Faithful and a Grateful Subject? Some of the Queen's immediate Servants are told by their Fellow-Subject, that it lies upon all that have the Honour to be in the Ministry to hasten the Demolition, for the sake of the Queen, and all her faithful Subjects. What, are Majesty and Ministry consolidated, and must the People of *Great Britain* make no Distinction between the one and the other? We very well know the Difference, Sir, and humbly conceive, that if a whole Ministry were impeach'd and condemn'd by the People of *Great Britain* in Parliament,

liament, for any notorious Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust, the Prince could not suffer by it. But such is the Hardiness of these sort of Writers, that the Honour, the Interest, nay, the Person and Prerogative of the Sovereign, is communicated to, and confounded with the Ministry; and those that by Law are accountable for all Wrongs done to the Publick, must be screen'd and protected under the Sacred and Incommunicable Character and Attributes of one, that by Law can do no Wrong. But for Argument sake, I will suppose those Words, *The British Nation Expect the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk*, were address'd immediately to the Queen: With what Propriety or Honesty of speaking, can a Man who utters them be call'd Insolent or Ingrate? He sees and apprehends with his own Eyes and Understanding, the imminent Danger that attends the Delay of the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; which perhaps others, whose greater Concern it is, do not: and the thing not being done, by the Care of those under whose immediate Direction it is, but overlooked, (for suffering, without Animadversion upon it, *Tugghe's Memorial* publish'd in Print, is that or worse) after all the Obstacles that could have prevented it on the part of *France*, as Her Majesty has been pleas'd to tell her People, have been remov'd; an honest, tho' a mean Man, gives Her Majesty to understand, in the best Method he can take, and from the Sincerity of a grateful Heart, *That the British Nation Expects the immediate Demolition of Dukirk*; and the Reasons he gives for such Expectations are no less cogent, than the Preservation of Her Sacred Person,

Person, Her Crown and Dignity, and the Safety and Welfare of the People committed to her Charge. He considers the Queen, in this Case, as the Head of the Constitution of his Country: He considers himself, as a Member of the Community represented in Parliament, whether one of the Representative Body, or no: He knows *Britons*, by their Birth-right, are a Part of the Legislature, and knows too, that the Executive Power is a Prerogative or Peculiar vested in the Head of the Constitution, for the Good of the whole; that it attends the Crown, Honour and Dignity, and not the Will and Pleasure, or, it may be, Passion of the Prince; and as an Evidence of it, is Immortal, and ceases not, when the Persons of our Princes are gathered to their Fathers: He knows too that all Treaties are made, and War and Peace entred into, for the common Good: and in an Instance, respecting the present Exigence, which he apprehends to be absolutely necessary for that End, with a zealous and honest Mind, and the warmest Concern for the fatal Consequences that may ensue the Defect of it, tells the Mother of his Country, *That the British Nation expects the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk: Expects it, from the Duty they owe their Queen! from their Care of the Preservation of Her Sacred Life, Her Crown and Dignity! from the Honour and Justice of Her Administration! from the Integrity of Her Councils! from the glorious Advantages of Her Arms! from the Faith and Sincerity of her Treaties! from the Veneration and Regard due to Her from his most Christian Majesty, and from the Duty they owe themselves*
and

and their Posterity! And is this Insolence and Ingratitude?

My Adversaries are so unjust, as they will not take the least Notice of what led me into the necessity of writing my Letter to the *Guardian*. They know if they stated it honestly, they must acknowledge, that instead of what they call me, I was a faithful Servant to the Queen, and an honest Fellow-Subject to the Ministry. My Lord *Bolingbroke* tells the *Sieur Tugghe*, as a Secretary of State from the Queen, That his Request cannot be complied with: the *Sieur* prints a Memorial, which is no other than an Appeal to all the weak People in *England*, against Her Severity. Nay, if the Translator has done him Justice, he has used the very Word *Severe*. This I take for the utmost insult against the Queen, and her Ministry; and instead of allowing my Zeal, I am publickly bereft of the Protection the Ministry should afford me, and all honest Men, in the Performance of their Duty; and Partizans, who pretend to write for them, use me accordingly. I am not to be born with, even when I am for them: But I deserve well of them in this Question about *Tugghe*, or else they are not so angry, as I am, at what *Tugghe* has done against their Queen.

Good God! does this Creature, this *Tugghe*, come out of his Country, who writ that pious Letter to the Bishop of *Paris*, wherein Leavings of Fear made his most Christian Majesty forget his Politicks, and (as if he had seen an Hand of Providence was in it, to his Favour, and our Misfortune) acknowledge he owed his very Kingdom to the *Suspension of*
the

66 *The Importance of*

the English Arms? Does this very Potentate leave to the Burghers of *Dunkirk* to send some Body to treat about abating an Article of a Treaty, with the Glorious and Puissant Queen of *Great Britain!*

Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the Streets of Ashkelon!

We know not what is the Equivalent for *Dunkirk*, but according to the Circumstances of *France*, before the Suspension of the *English Arms*, under the gallant Duke of *Ormond* (who would certainly have done his Duty) the *French King* has owned that the Equivalent might have been *Paris*.

When such was our Case, and such is our Case, some Men lately preferred, and grown too Delicate, would have Men of liberal Education, that know the World as well as themselves, afraid, for fear of offending them in their new Clothes, to speak when they think their Queen and Country is ill treated

While I am upon this Subject, I am glad to observe, that there are others who take up the same Argument; and my Servant has just now brought me a printed half Sheet, Entitled, *A Letter to the Guardian, about Dunkirk*. With a great deal of very apt Raillery, upon the Madness of the Times, he pleasantly imagines our Language is altered of late Years; particularly in the Words *Good, Safe, Honourable; Advantageous* England, France, *Trade, Commerce*. He makes the *Examiner* the Mint-Master for the New Tongue, and then proceeds in a more serious and close manner, to argue on the side of the *English Tory's Letter*. He speaks of the *Examiner* in these Words:
‘Nor

' Nor are his *new Politicks* any better than
 ' his *new Language*; he tells us, that *the keeping*
 ' Dunkirk *undemolish'd* in our Hands, is our
 ' Security against all the Princes concerned
 ' besides *France*; *i. e.* against the *Confederates*,
 ' as well as against *France*. It may be a Se-
 ' curity against the *Confederates*, but while it
 ' is so, it cannot be a Security against *France*.
 ' *France* can neither apprehend, nor feel any
 ' Mischief from it, whilst it is a Bridle against
 ' the *Confederates*. The Reason is plain,
 ' *France* has it in its Power to Demolish it
 ' when it will. The IXth Article says, *France*
 ' is to Demolish it in so many Months time;
 ' those Months are expired, and therefore
 ' *France* can demolish it when it will: And
 ' whenever *France* apprehends any Danger
 ' from *Dunkirk undemolish'd*, it will demolish
 ' it immediately. 'Tis therefore plainly for the
 ' Good and Interest of *France*, that *Dunkirk*
 ' is undemolish'd. *What*, do we think we
 ' have made a Tool of *France*?

' Upon the whole Matter, if there were no
 ' other Reason, Argument, or Motive in the
 ' World, for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, but
 ' the Content and Easiness of *France* in seeing
 ' it not demolished, it were sufficient to move
 ' an honest *Englishman* to *hope*, and *wish*, and
 ' *pray*, that it might be immediately demolish'd;
 ' and that some other Bridle might be found
 ' out to keep in the *Confederates*, than that
 ' which is in the *French* Dominions, and may,
 ' whenever *France* pleases, (let us talk what
 ' we will) be in the *French* Hands. What if
 ' *Dunkirk* should be besieged, can the poor
 ' *British Garrison* defend it? Shall we raise
 ' an

‘ an Army to recover it? *Dunkirk undemolish-*
 ‘ *ed* may be lost, taken, betrayed, and got a-
 ‘ gain into the Hands of *France*. *Dunkirk de-*
 ‘ *molished* is a Fisher-Town again, and can
 ‘ do no harm.

This Gentleman argues *France* has a Power, but I say, what is more with all honest Men, *France* has a Right to demolish it; and who shall resist it, when the great King of *France* has both Power and Right to demolish it? But alas! who knows how long it will be in his Majesty’s Will to do it?

I cannot forbear wishing he had deposited the Money in our Hands, before our Suspension of Arms, for the Demolition. I could name proper Persons, that would have been gladly employed in that Work, and some of them are begging in our Streets.

The King at that time was low enough, if *England* had stood out, to have granted that Demand; but it is an human weakness not to preserve so lively a Sense of a past Benefit, as we had at the Instant of receiving it. It was thought an hard Article to desire him to Dethrone his Grandson, tho’ he had sent him to take, what we then believ’d, another Man’s Country: Suppose he should, tho’ he has put it into other People’s Possession, at last take Compassion of his own Town?

It has cost, to put it in its present Condition, above Six Millions; and it would go to a Man’s Heart to part with what cost so dear: But he is bound by Treaty, and he must do it, if he pleases.

But as there is this Letter published on my side, there is another Pamphlet come out on the
 the

the *Examiner's*. It is Entituled, *Reasons concerning the immediate Demolishing of Dunkirk, being a serious Enquiry into the State and Condition of that Affair*. I like this Man better than any of the rest, for he does not give me ill Language, 'till he gives his Reasons why I deserve it. He talks very kindly thus in the fourteenth Page:

' We can hardly express how much we are
' beholden in this Matter to the *worthy Mr.*
' *Steele*, the Publisher of the *Guardian*, N^o.
' 128. I will not be so unjust to him, as to
' call him the Author: who has effectually
' set us right in this Matter, and has rescued
' the Town and Harbour of *Dunkirk* from the
' depreciating Arts of our Party-Men; who,
' it was to be feared, would have brought it
' at lost so low, that we might have been made
' believe, the King of *France*, if we should of-
' fer to give it him again, would not accept of
' it.

' But the *Guardian* has taken the Courage
' to do Justice to the *Dunkirkers*, and of Con-
' sequence to the Ministry, in securing such
' a Place in the Possession of the Queen; for
' he has told us expressly, that to take *Dunkirk*
' from the *French*, is removing *France* two
' or three hundred Miles from us; that they
' have not any Port where they can fit out a-
' ny Fleet 'till they come to *Brest*; that it is
' of the last Consequence to *Britain*, that it
' should no more be in the *French* Power;
' that the Injury we have received from them
' is Inestimable. His words follow:

' *That when Dunkirk is demolished, the*
' *Power of France, on that side, should it ever*
be

' be turned against us, will be removed several
 ' hundred Miles farther off of Great Britain
 ' than it is at present. Vide *Guardian*, No. 128.
 ' As this is an undoubted Testimony given
 ' to the Zeal of the Ministry, in taking hold
 ' of the present Conjunction, to get that im-
 ' portant Fortress into our Hands, and is the
 ' greatest and most just Panegyrick which Mr.
 ' *Steele* ever made upon any great Action in
 ' the World; and which, no doubt, he did in
 ' Honour to the Queen, and the present Go-
 ' vernment; and that the said Mr. *Steele* has
 ' gained the just Approbation of all Her Ma-
 ' jesty's good Subjects for so doing: so it is a
 ' fair Confutation of all those weak things
 ' which had been advanced by a Party among
 ' us, in Prejudice of the late Negotiations:
 ' But above all, that it is an unanswerable Ar-
 ' gument against our too soon parting with,
 ' or too hastily Demolishing this important
 ' Place, which is of such Consequence to the
 ' Nation; and I cannot doubt, but Mr. *Steele*
 ' did it that Justice with this intent. For it is
 ' impossible a Man of his Penetration, and of
 ' his exquisite Politicks, could argue —' He
 grows in Jest here at last, for he knows as well
 as I do, that I am no great Politician; and I
 know what he is, perhaps, a little better than he
 Thinks. But I shall treat him as the Man whom
 I suppose him to be, tho' he has not me, as the
 Man he knows me to be. This Author you
 see, allows me (tho' he did not think it was in
 me) to have done a laudable thing towards the
 Ministry, in my Representation of the great Ser-
 vice the Demolition of *Dunkirk* would be:
but his Anger against me is raised for the Point
 of

Dunkirk Consider'd. 71

of Time; Why must the Demolition be immediate? My Reasons are as follow:

First, We have no Right to keep it, but in order to the Demolition of it.

Secondly, The Time was lapsed, within which it was to be demolished.

But why did I say the *British* Nation expect it should be immediately demolished, when the *British* Parliament had granted *Mony* to subsist the Garrison of Dunkirk till next Christmas.

This is no Argument that the *British* Parliament did not expect the immediate Demolition; but it is indeed an Argument that the Parliament had a good Confidence in the Ministry, and were unwilling to distress them: For if the Demolition had began the Day after the Parliament rose, it might honestly have been retarded by stress of Weather, and other Accidents, till a New Parliament should sit at *Christmas*; and if all things should have favoured, and the Demolition had been now perfected, my Lord High Treasurer would stand chargeable to the Nation with the *Mony* for the Garrison to *Christmas*.

As for what he says about our Allies, and something to be expected from them, I cannot comprehend what he means; but whatever he means, and however just Demands we may have upon them, his most Christian Majesty will not think it any Reason for delaying the Demolition of a Town in his Dominions, in the hands of another Prince, for Reasons of State to that Prince, and not to his *French* Majesty himself.

Really

Really this way of arguing is treating us like Children; and as for the Allies, God be their Support, and grant we may all cement again in the Day of Distress. I think all the rest of the Book consists only of Invectives upon poor Me, as guilty of Insolence, Falshood, Sedition and Absurdity; which is written well enough, and would be pretty Entertainment in an ill-natured Man; but I did not think it bore a second reading.

I hope I have fully answered all Objections made by my Adversaries against the *English Tory's* Letter to the *Guardian*: But now Mr. *Bailiff*, as there have been very unjust Representations given of me, in your Town, as that a Man of so small a Fortune as I am must have secret Views or Supports, which could move him to leave his Employments, and lose a Crowd of Well-wishers, to subject himself, as he must know he has, not only to the Disesteem, but also the Scorn and Hatred of very many, who, before he intermeddled with the Publick, had a Partiality towards him: I answer, that I indeed have particular Views, and tho' I may be ridiculous for saying it, I hope I am animated in my Conduct, by a Grace which is as little practised as understood, and that is Charity. It is the Happiness and Comfort of all Men, who have a Regard to their Fellow-Creatures, and desire their Good-will upon a proper Foundation, that every thing which is truly laudable, is what every Man living may attain. The greatest Merit is in having social Virtues, such as Justice and Truth exalted with Benevolence to Mankind. Great Qualifications

ons are not Praises to the Possessor, but from the Application of them; and all that is justly commendable among Men, is to love and serve them as much as it is in your Power, with a Contempt of all Advantages to your self (above the Conveniencies of Life) but as they tend to the Service of the Publick. He who has warm'd his Heart with Impressions of this kind, will find Glowings of Good-will, which will support him in the Service of his Country, against all the Calumny, Reproach and Invective that can be thrown upon him. He is but a poor Creature who cannot bear being odious in the Service of Virtue. Riches and Honours can administer to the Heart no Pleasure, like what an honest Man feels when he is contending for the Interests of his Country, and the civil Rights of his Fellow-Subjects, without which the Being of Man grows Brute, and he can never under it give to Heaven that Worship which is called a reasonable Sacrifice, nor support towards his Fellow Creatures that worthy Disposition, which we call disinterested Friendship. The highest Pleasure of the human Soul consists in this Charity, and there is no way of making it so diffusive, as by contending for Liberty.

As to laying aside the common Views, by which the mistaken World are actuated, a Man of liberal Education can easily surmount those low Considerations; and when he considers himself, from the moment he was born into this World, an immortal, tho' a changeable Being, he will form his Interests and Prospects accordingly, and not make Provision for Eternity with perishable things. When a Man has

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deeply

deeply planted such a Sentiment as this for the Rule of his Conduct, the Pursuits of Avarice and Ambition will become as contemptible as the Sports of Children; and there can be no Honours, no Riches, no Pleasures laid in his way, which can possibly come in Competition with the Satisfactions of an enlarged and publick Spirit.

From this moment therefore I shall go on with as much Vigour and Chearfulness as I am able, to do all that is in my Power, without the least Partiality to Persons or Parties, to remove the Prejudices which *Englishman* has against *Englishman*, and reconcile wounded Brethren, so far as to behold each other's Actions, with an Inclination to approve them.

The Man who will reduce himself to this Temper, will easily perceive how far his Affections have been wrought upon and abused, from an Opposition to particular Men, to sacrifice the Interests of his Country it self.

The prostituted Pens which are employed in a quite contrary Service, will be very ready to entertain a Pretender to such Reformatations, with a Recital of his own Faults and Infirmities; but I am very well prepared for such Usage, and give up my self to all nameless Authors, to be treated just as their Mirth or their Malice directs them.

It is the Disgrace of Literature, that there are such Instruments; and to good Government, that they are suffer'd: but this Mischief is gone so far in our Age, that the Pamphleteers do not only attack those whom they believe in general disaffected to their own Principles, but even such as they believe their Friends,
pro-

provided they do not act with as sincere a Prejudice as themselves. Upon the least Deviation from an implicit Hatred to the opposite Party, tho' in a Case which in the nearest Concern affects their Country, all their good Qualities are turn'd to Ridicule; and every thing which before was valued in them, is become contemptible. Thus in one of the Papers I send you, a Gentleman, who has distinguish'd himself by a becoming Veneration, in the *House of Commons*, for the Assembly, and has ever deliver'd himself with a Regard to his own Dignity, and that of the Place he was in; is represented frivolously as a Declaimer: and a Noble Lord, who is conspicuously adorn'd with the Knowledge of Letters, and is Eminent for a lively sprightly Eloquence, rectify'd by Learning; is declared a Companion fit only for Pert Novices and Sophisters. And what is still more Monstrous than all, a third Man of Quality, for the like Offence, is told in this nice Age of proportioning Rewards to Merit and Service, that he has as much as he deserves.

But it is to be hoped, *English* Men will at last consider, and that the Ministry will see *Dunkirk* effectually Demolished.

It is as frivolous as unjust, to hope to stop our Mouths, when we are concerned for so great a Point as the Business of *Dunkirk*, by mention of the Prerogative, and urging our Safety in our Good and Gracious Queen.

By Her great Example, Religion, Piety, and all other Publick and Domestick Virtues, are kept in Countenance in a very loose and profligate Age; all the Hours of her precious Life, which God long preserve, are divided between

the Exercises of Devotion, and taking Minutes of the Sublime Affairs of Her Government.

Besides which, Her Majesty has manifested Her self the most affectionate Wife, the most constant Friend, the most tender Mother, and has filled every Duty with a Virtue as Superiour to the rest of the World, as is Her High Condition: But I shall leave what I have to say on this Topick, to the Time when the Consequence of it will be Insignificant to me, but which I hope will do Her Honour, that is, Justice, when I am no more, and the Remains of Her Sacred Person are as common Dust as mine.

But as this bright Example is in the Person of a Lady, it cannot be supposed that the general Sense of a People, the Subdivisions of Affection and Interest among Great Men (to be learn'd only by Conversation with them, even in their unguarded Leisure) can appear to Her but from the Information of such as have the Happiness and Honour to lay them before Her. Her Majesty is therefore more particularly necessitated to rely upon the Intelligence of Her Ministry, and from that very Reason their Fellow-Subjects may be the more Sollicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary Rules of Government. Thus all which they offer for our Security and implicate Reliance upon what is transacted by the Court of *England*, to wit, Her Majesty's Care and Goodness, are Arguments for exerting both our Zeal and our Gratitude; that at any time Artful Men may not take Advantage of the Security we have in Her Virtue, to indulge too much the Power of any Foreign Prince whatsoever, especially that of the most Warlike Potentate in *Europe*.

I cannot leave this Subject, without being still anxious, with relation to the Disrespect they accuse me of to my Royal Mistress. All that can be wrested to my Disadvantage, is, That the Queen is concern'd when any thing is to be imputed to Her Servants; but I deny that, and persist in it, that it is no manner of Diminution of the Wisdom of a Prince, that he is obliged to act by the Information of others.

If I might make an abrupt Digression from great Things to small, I should on this Occasion mention a little Circumstance which happen'd to the late King *William*. He had a *French* Man who took care of the Gun-Dogs, whose Business it was also to charge and deliver the Piece to the King. This Minister forgot to bring out Shot into the Field, but did not think fit to let so passionate a Man and eager a Sportsman as the King know his Offence, but gave his Majesty the Gun loaded only with Powder. When the King missed his Aim, this impudent Cur stood Chattering, Admiring, Commending the King's Skill in shooting, and holding up his Hands, he had never seen *Sa Majesté* miss before in his whole Life. This Circumstance was no manner of Argument to those (who afterwards found out the Fellow's Iniquity) against the King's Reputation for a Quick Eye, and Shooting very finely. I am, with Respect to the Borough, and Your self,

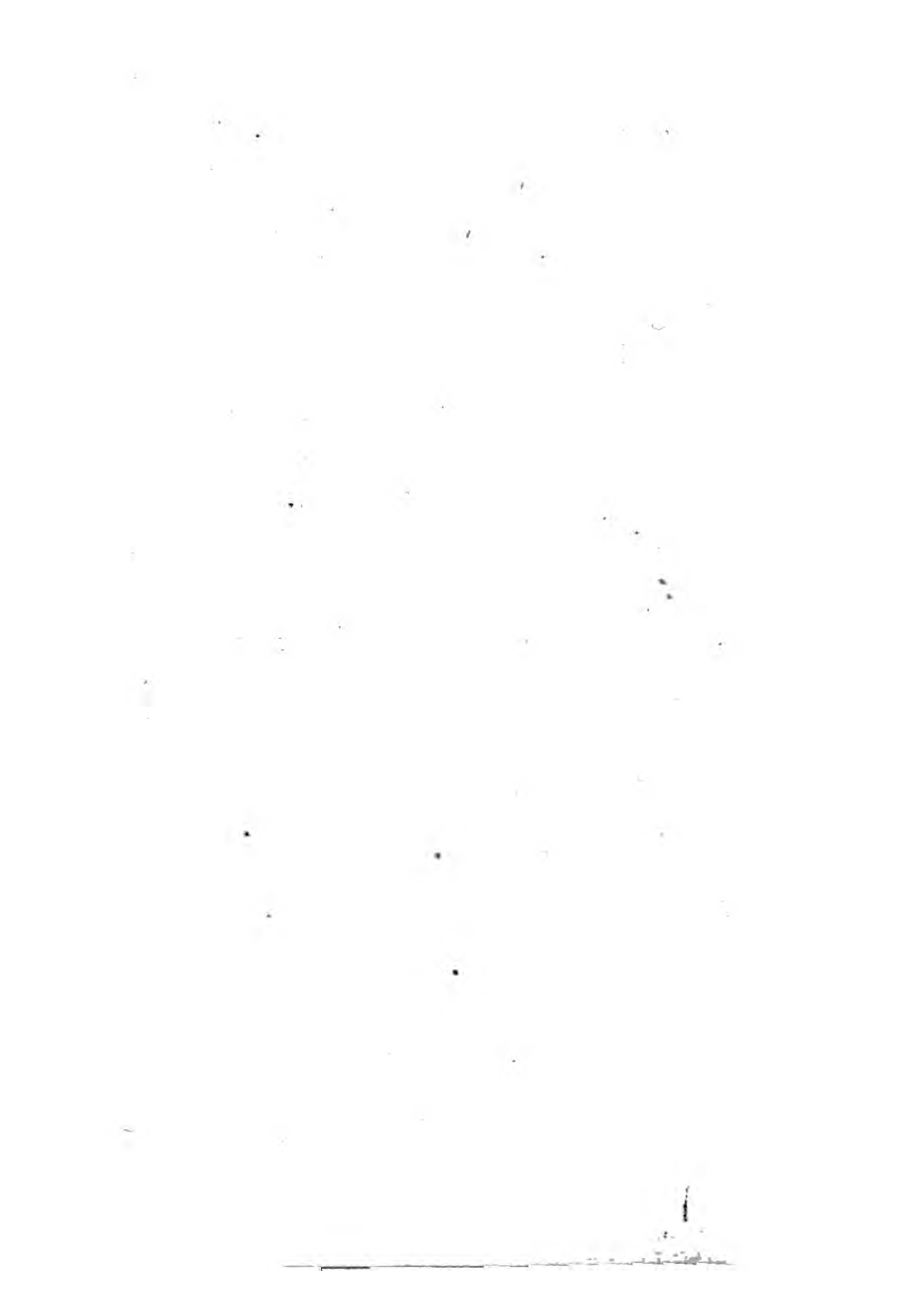
S I R,

Your most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

E 3

Richard Steele.



THE
FRENCH FAITH

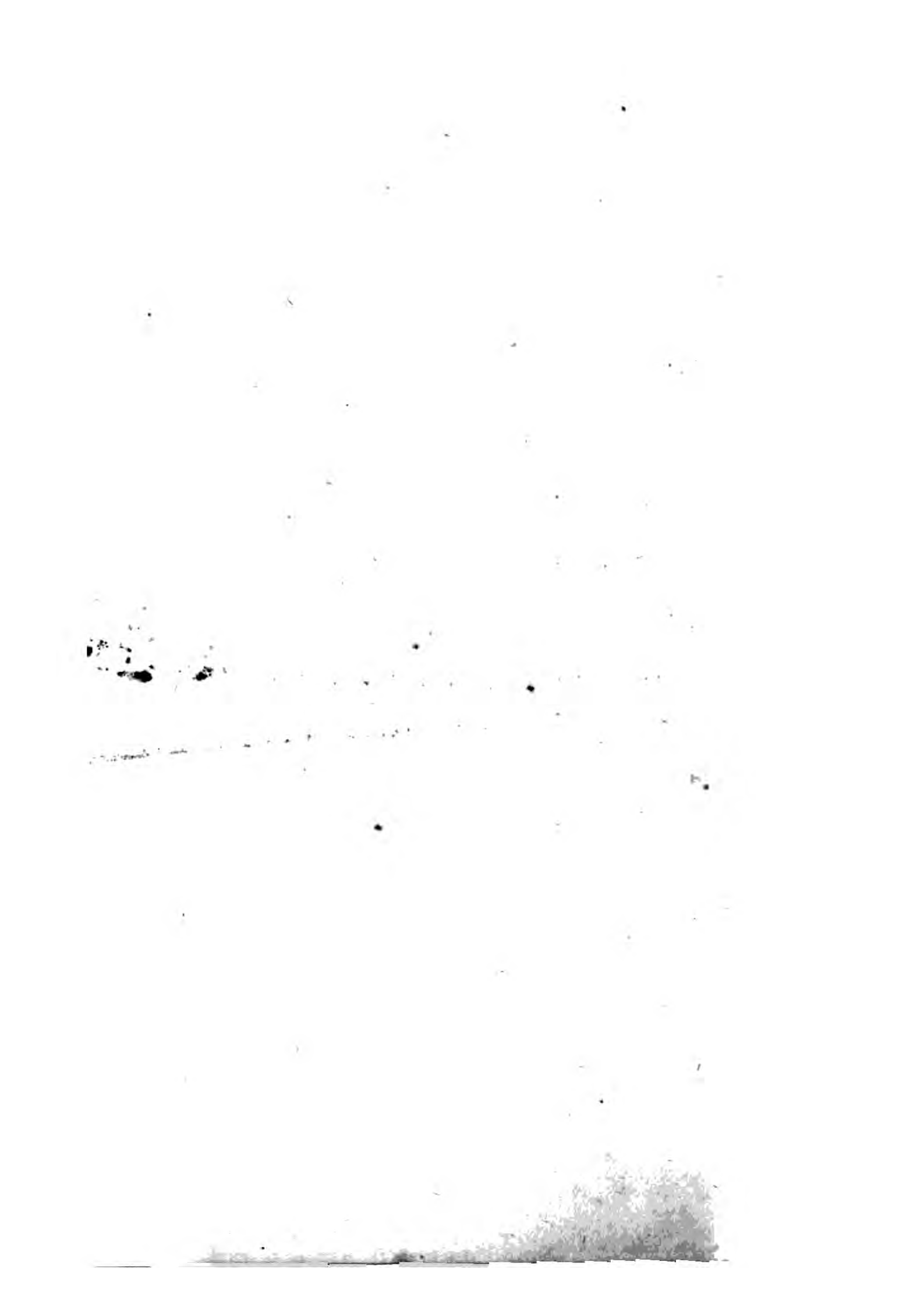
Represented in the
Present State of DUNKIRK.

A
LETTER to the *EXAMINER,*
In Defence of Mr. S — le.

Summam vim esse in omnibus iis arbitriis,
in quibus adderetur, ex fide bona. Tull.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.



THE
FRENCH FAITH

Represented in the

Present State of DUNKIRK.

SIR,

I Designed you this Trouble ever since the 24th of *May* last, in case all should not prove true in your Paper which came out that Day: You therein fall upon my mortified Friend *Dick Steele*, and endeavour to make an unfortunate Man ridiculous, by ending that your Paper with what you Inscribe,

A most humble Adress or Memorial presented to R. S. Esq; by the Sieur Tugghe. You make *Tugghe* say, ' I can now inform you, Sir, with
' Tears and a Heart full of Anguish, That
' *Dunkirk* is Demolish'd. Not only the Mar-
' tial Works, that struck Terror on all the Be-
' holders, and werethought Impregnable against
' all Valour, except *Your Mightiness's*, but the
' Mole, Dikes, Basons and Harbour, are all
' levelled and destroyed ; a Spectacle full of
E s ' Hor-

82 *The French Faith represented*

‘ Horror, and a lasting Monument of your Anger
‘ and Indignation, against the Inhabitants of a
‘ Town long since overwhelmed with Grief.
‘ So many Thousands, Mighty Sir! reduc’d to
‘ Want and Misery, might have pleaded for
‘ your Commiseration: But you were (pardon
‘ the Expression) Implacable; their Doom was
‘ gone out, and you would not Alter or
‘ Reverse it.

‘ Whither should so many wretched Families
‘ betake themselves? Could they look up-
‘ on themselves devoted, by so great a Lover
‘ and Benefactor to Mankind as *Your Mightiness*,
‘ to utter Misery and Dispersion? Far be that
‘ Thought from our Hearts. But scarce had
‘ we made a small Settlement of some few Fa-
‘ milies at *Mardyke*, when the melancholy News
‘ reach’d our Ears, of the Umbrage taken a-
‘ gainst us at *Your Mightiness’s* Court; contri-
‘ ved by Evil-minded Men, the Enemies of So-
‘ ciety; intending to make you Jealous of us,
‘ as if we were about to Fortifie and Erect ano-
‘ ther *Dunkirk* there; a Work, alas! as much
‘ unequal to our Circumstances, as it is distant
‘ from our Intentions; whereby we might once
‘ more become the deplorable Objects of your
‘ Vengeance.

‘ To prevent this Blow, we now lay our
‘ selves at *Your Mightiness’s* Feet; intreating
‘ you to satisfy your Justice with our present
‘ Misery.

Here, Sir, is what you were pleased to say,
or what Mr. *Tugghe* says, in your Paper. A
Memorial was handed about the Publick Streets,
praying that *Dunkirk* might not be Demolished,
tho’ the Memorialist acknowledged her Majesty
had

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had signified to him by her Secretary of State, the Lord *Bullingbroke*, that the Queen would have it demolished. Mr. *Steele*, to prevent the Poison which that Piece might disperse among the People, writ a Discourse against it, and exposed the specious Insinuations of Compassion to a devoted People, and the like, and defended the Queen's Resolution with so much Zeal and Warmth, that he drew upon himself the Anger of all the Courtly Writers, at the head of whom is deservedly placed your Eminence. He is a very unhappy Man, that could not speak against what was rejected at Court, without incurring the Displeasure of those who pretend to write for it. Supported by so good an Authority as the Queen and her Minister, he thought it a good Action to convince all the World of the Necessity of Demolishing that Harbour, and that Necessity is very distinctly represented in the 26th Page of the Pamphlet, called, *The Importance of Dunkirk considered.*

' The Port of *London*, says the Author, is
' allowed to carry Two Parts in Three, or Six
' Parts in Nine, of the Foreign Trade of *Eng-*
' *land*. We may give one Ninth to the Ports
' on the *South* Coasts of this Island, which *South-*
' *Coast* is opposite to the *North* Coast of *France*;
' the Sea between which is what we call the
' Channel.

' The *East* End of this, on our Side, is the
' *North* Foreland, which stands opposite to
' *Newport* in *France*; the *West* End, on our
' Side, is the Land's-End, over-against *Ushant*,
' or *Brest* in *France*; they allow one Ninth of
' the Trade to the *East* Coast washed by the
' *German*

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‘ *German Ocean*; and the other Ninth to the
‘ *West Coast*, which looks on the *Irish Seas*.

‘ *Dunkirk* is from the *South Foreland* about
‘ 13 Leagues, and the Coast from *Dunkirk* to the
‘ *Foreland, West, North-West*, to the Entrance
‘ of the River *Thames*, is *North-West* about 20
‘ Leagues; so that any Easterly Wind, which
‘ carries our Ships down the Channel, at the
‘ same time brings those of *Dunkirk* to meet
‘ and intercept them: The *French* have very fre-
‘ quently this last War reaped the Advantage of
‘ this Situation, by surprising many rich Ships,
‘ and taking others as they lay at Anchor in the
‘ *Downs*; when the *French* are dispossessed of
‘ *Dunkirk*, the dread and danger of their Men
‘ of War, of any considerable Force, will be
‘ removed as far as *Brest*, which is a hundred
‘ and twenty Leagues, or three hundred and
‘ sixty Miles; and that of their Privateers, of
‘ any Consideration, as far as *St. Malo’s*, which
‘ is 78 Leagues, or 234 Miles.

‘ *Brest* lies without the Channel, under this
‘ great Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Wind
‘ which carries our Trade down the Channel
‘ prevents the Ships of *Brest* from coming into
‘ it.

‘ The *East End* of the Channel which is so
‘ much exposed to *Dunkirk* is but 7 Leagues
‘ broad, and gives an Enemy an Opportunity of
‘ seeing our Ships from Side to Side.

‘ The *West End* of the Channel, for which
‘ the greatest Fears are from *Brest*, is 28 Leagues
‘ broad, and of course there is at that End a
‘ greater Chance of escaping the Enemy.

‘ If Ships from *Brest* are appointed to Way-
‘ lay our Ships in the Channel, they must take
‘ the

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‘ the Opportunity of Westerly Winds, to come
‘ into it ; and wait the coming of an Easterly
‘ Wind to carry our Ships down it ; by this
‘ means they must all that time be at Sea, ex-
‘ posed to all Dangers for want of a Port in
‘ which to Harbour their Men of War, or re-
‘ turn to *Brest*, which they cannot do with the
‘ Wind that brought them out.

‘ We must add to this, that if the *French* from
‘ *Brest* should be hovering to the Eastward of
‘ *Plimouth*, they are between two Fires, from
‘ those Ships in the *Downs*, and those from *Pli-*
‘ *mouth* ; and our Ships from *Portsmouth* may
‘ chace them either Way. while they are way-
‘ laid at each End of the Channel by the others,
‘ not having the Port of *Dunkirk*, or any other
‘ in the Channel, to afford them Shelter. Thus,
‘ should they be chased up the Channel by a too
‘ great Force, before they can return to *Brest*,
‘ they must either run into the *German Ocean*,
‘ and wait another Opportunity of coming down
‘ again, with the Hazard of meeting all our Men
‘ of War ; or else sail *North* about *Great Bri-*
‘ *tain*, which is at least 550 Leagues more than
‘ they need have sailed, with the Port of *Dunkirk*
‘ to fly to.

‘ This Want of *Dunkirk* will expose them to
‘ the same Inconvenience, to which the Fear of
‘ it often obliged our running Ships from the
‘ *South* Parts of the World, as well as our *East-*
‘ *India* Men, during the late War: To this Di-
‘ stress you are to add Wages, Provision, loss of
‘ Time, and the dangerous Navigation of the
‘ *North Seas*.

‘ From hence it plainly appears, that by the
‘ Demolition of *Dunkirk*, in case of a Rupture
‘ with

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‘ with *France*, Six Parts in Nine of our Trade;
‘ from the Port of *London*, is 330 Miles re-
‘ moved from the Hazards of the last War; and
‘ though part of this must be exposed when it
‘ passes through the *Chopps*, or Western Entrance
‘ of the Channel, it must be considered, that this
‘ it was also liable to before, besides the Ter-
‘ rors of *Dunkirk*, and that this is only the
‘ Southern Trade; and all that go to *Holland*,
‘ *Hamborough*, and other Northern Countries,
‘ will be quite out of Danger.

‘ The Ninth of our Trade on the *East Coast*
‘ would be still safer.

‘ From these distinct Considerations, you ob-
‘ serve only one Ninth of the Trade on the
‘ *Irish Seas* and *Bristol Channel*, and part of
‘ the other Ninth in the Coast of the Channel
‘ (to come at which they are in danger from
‘ *Portsmouth* to *Plimouth*) is the whole of the
‘ *British* Trade, which after the Demolition of
‘ *Dunkirk* will lie open to the Assaults of the
‘ *French*. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* will in
‘ a great Measure secure seven Ninths of the
‘ Trade of *England*, from the Power of *France*
‘ at Sea, the *French* having no Port in the Chan-
‘ nel but *St. Malo’s*, which can harbour any great
‘ Ships, and that it self can receive none which
‘ exceeds 30 or 40 Guns. *Brest* lies 35 Leagues
‘ from the *Lizard Point*, which is the nearest
‘ Land of *England*; their Ships must have an
‘ Easterly Wind to come out, and that will
‘ serve them no farther than to the *Chopps* of
‘ the Channel, because it blows directly down
‘ it.

‘ The Course to go from *Brest* to cruise off
‘ the *Lizard Point* in order to annoy Us, is
‘ first;

in the Present State of Dunkirk. 87

‘ first, *West* about 13 Leagues, and then *North*
‘ or *North* and by *East* about 30 Leagues more,
‘ except they run the Hazard of going within
‘ the Island of *Ushant* which is not practised,
‘ and therefore may be supposed Impracticable.

‘ In the last Place, our Charge in defending
‘ our selves from such Annoyance as we for-
‘ merly had from *Dunkirk*, will decrease in Pro-
‘ portion to the removal of the Danger.

‘ Such is the Importance of the Demolition
‘ of *Dunkirk*, with regard to the Trade of *Eng-*
‘ *land* only; and in the present Conjunction, I
‘ think we ought to have something more than
‘ the Mercy of his Most Christian Majesty, to
‘ render the forbearing such Demolition less Ha-
‘ zardous to our Religion and Liberty.

All that is of Consequence to us is, that *Dun-*
kirk should be no longer a Receptacle for Ships,
and the Demolition of it as a Garrison is of
much less Consideration, if not wholly insigni-
ficant to us.

Our Treaty of Peace provided for this, and
demanded it to be done in the first Place, and
his most Christian Majesty consented it should
be so. Mr. *Steele*, with his Name to what he
said, spoke of it as an *English* Subject; and your
Eminence was highly offended with him for
doing so; you urged that it was in the Queen’s
Hands, and therefore it was undutiful to raise
any Jealousies about it. This I thought had
some Force in it, and I had Reason to be con-
firmed in it, when you made Mr. *Tugghe* in his
Letter to *R. S.* say *the Harbour is destroyed.*

But now, *Sir*, I am quite of another Mind,
and find that the Man had too much Reason for
his Apprehensions; for let me tell you, *Sir*, I
have

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have certain Intelligence that it now is not in the Queen's Hands, and that, if we take no Notice of the *French* Proceedings, it will be before the Winter as good, if not a better Harbour than it was before they began to make an Appearance of demolishing it. I have been so curious as to settle a Correspondence in that Place, and I have had from thence the enclosed Map of that Place and Neighbourhood, as well as of the New Projected Entrance to its Harbour for the future. For, may it please your *Eminence*, there is nothing more intended, nor is there any Disposition made for any thing more than forming a New way for Ships to come into it. And his most Christian Majesty has only put himself to a little present Cost and Charges, out of respect to the *English* Nation, to carry on a seeming Demolition, and improve his Harbour.

If your *Eminence* has leisure to cast your Eye on the Map, you will observe the most Frank and undissembled Fraud, that ever was put upon any People, by any but those who are Guilty of this. If you please to mark a Semi-circle in Scratchwork (which is the Character that represents Demolition) you will see at the End of that Semi-circle the *Scratchwork* continued to the Sea, which was the way by which Ships formerly came into *Dunkirk*; when you have done that, please to observe the Explanation of the Map, and you will easily perceive, that proper Channels are cut to make the same inland Rivers, which fell into that Harbour, serviceable to that which is now forming, and this is

The Map to be inserted between Page 88 and 89.

all

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all we are like to have for our Satisfaction in this Particular.

If your *Eminence* had been let into the Secret of this Design, I am confident *your Eminence* would not have said what you have, against those who were suspicious on this Occasion; for according to all the Rules of Honour and Justice, this is a most insufferable Violation, and pays no more Respect to our Understanding than it does to our Power; but the less we have exerted either of them, out of Confidence in our intended Ally, *the more intolerable is his Offence against us.*

If this Plan makes *Dunkirk* the Receptacle of as large Ships, as it could receive before the Demolition, consequently *Dunkirk* is the same Terror to *England*, which it was before.

This it is with Respect to us, in Case we and the *French* should ever become Enemies.

Dunkirk as it remains a Port, is our Rival in Time of Peace, by preserving the Stuff Manufactures at *Lille*, *Valenciennes* and *Doway*. The light Stuffs from those Towns are put on Board Ship at *Dunkirk*, and carry'd to the *West-Indies*, without which their Trade would be Lost, as effectually as the Traffick of *Antwerp* and *Southampton* is Transported to other Places.

Thus we have hinted how this Fraud may affect us in Peace and War; let us think a little what use may be made of it, in case of a sudden Resolution in the *French King*, to start out of one into t'other; or, in plain *English*, to break the Peace without Declaration of War, and surprize us at once. This very business (if there were no Examples of this Kind in History) gives room for such a Suspicion. There
are

90 *The French Faith represented*

are now thirty Battallions at Work in that Place, and these are to be reinforced to forty.

The Proclamation of the other Day, giving a Price for the Pretender, represents that her Majesty's Instances for removing that Gentleman, who once already has invaded us, have been ineffectual. These Battalions may lie ready to receive him, and I know no better Reason, that the *French King* is pleased to pay for his Board at *Bar le Duc*.

I beg your Eminence's leave to say this is a dreadful Circumstance to which we lie exposed.

I profess sincerely to your Eminence, this is a very ungrateful Subject to me, and if I did not think this Remonstrance absolutely Necessary, I would not talk of a thing which cannot but reflect some Dishonour upon our selves, in being thus shamefully Deluded, or rather Insulted.

I do not remember to have read any where any thing like this Artifice (which is as pitiful as can be imagined) except in a little Treatise in *French*, called, *The History of False Promises since the Peace of the Pyrenees*. The Author tells us, that the *French* in a Treaty with *Spain*, obtained an Article, that whatsoever should be found within the Dominions of either State, at the time of the Ratification, shall belong to the respective Sovereign. The *French* Pillaged a Wood, and carried the Timber out of the bordering Territories of *Spain* into those of *France*, in order to Profit, as they did, by this Article.

This

in the Present State of Dunkirk. 97

This was a kind of Petty-Larceny in Politics, but *there is nothing too mean for Ambition.*

When Extent of Territory and Absolute Command are made the Objects of a Prince's Desire, Perfidiousness and a Degeneracy from every thing that is truly Good and Great, will be looked upon as things not to be imputed; but this is no more Greatness or Power, than Dropsie and Impostumation is Vigour and Strength.

Truth and Honesty are the Foundation of solid Greatness, and that which would be an ill thing in a Private Man, is much more so in a Nation or a Prince. Here are two Merchants, one lives at *Blackwall*, the other at *Deptford*; he at *Blackwall*, for valuable Considerations, Covenants with him of *Deptford* to destroy the Dock which brings in Ships to his own Door, and enables him to undersell him that Dwells over-against him. *Deptford* signs an Article, the Principal Intention of which is, that *Blackwall* shall hereafter be upon an equal Foot with *Deptford*, in that Point of lading and unlading Goods. After these Articles are signed, the Man of *Deptford* finds a Creek between *Greenwich* and *Deptford*, by which he can bring home his Goods, as well and as Cheaply as before, and that he can, with half the Cash he had from *Blackwall*, disappoint the Bargain he had lately made with it.

I appeal to your Eminence, whether he would not be a Cheat and a Knave for attempting it, and whether the Man who had paid him his Mony, not to take any Advantage of his Situation

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tion to out-trade him, would not have Just Cause of Complaint for such Usage.

The main End of the Bargain is always to be the Measure of our Actions in the Observation of it.

France has stipulated with us, that *Dunkirk* shall be no more an Harbour: They have made another sort of Harbour than it was before, but not a Jot less Commodious to themselves or less Terrible to us.

Your Eminence will observe by the Map, that the Ships in the Basin and Harbour of *Dunkirk* lie much safer from Attacks from the Seaside, than before: You see the little *Scratch-work*, which was the former way of Entrance, ending over-against A, is not a fourth part so long as from the Peer-head F, to the said A. So that an Enemy would have so much more to do to fight his way into the Harbour of *Dunkirk* now, than he had before the Demolition.

In measuring any Iniquity, we are to consider the Person who commits it, and the Person against whom it is committed.

His most Christian Majesty lies under the strongest Obligations imaginable to the *British* Nation. In his utmost Exigence and Distress, with an uncommon Generosity, we withdrew our Conquering Arms in his Favour: When he was reduced to be very near a Suppliant, we, according to outward Appearance, condescended to make Advances towards a Peace with him; and it is notoriously known, that a Secretary of State of *Great Britain* visited his Court to further the Negotiation.

If

in the Present State of Dunkirk. 93

If he can shew that he has been any way overreached, or that the Address and Dexterity of any Minister of ours has surprized him into the Grant of too great an Equivalent for *Dunkirk*, there might possibly be some face of Justice by way of Reprisal, to make this fallacious Demolition. But when all the World must know, that we laid aside all Diffidence towards him, and in the midst of Conquest made an Halt of all the Powers of *Europe*, and continued that Suspension of all Hostilities 'till —

I have no manner of design to make this Confidence of ours odious, and mention it only as opposing it to the Falshood and Ingratitude which we meet with in return to it.

I cannot tell in what Words to represent the Fact strongly enough to your Eminence, but if you will give me leave to repeat an admirable Simile or Illustration which your Eminence has brought out against the Whigs, part of it will most excellently express what the *French* have done. Your Words are in the above mentioned Number One of your Current Volume, speaking of those restless silly Rogues the Whigs. *They have made no Discoveries; nor opened any new Sluices and Streams of Scandal; but yet like the Ingenious Winstanley, and other Masters in Hydrostaticks, they have laid their Pipes so well, and disposed their Wheels and Machines in such Order, that the same Mass and Body of Water, with good Husbandry and Management, circulates and comes round again at proper Periods, as they direct it.*

If you would be so good as to lead me, from the Words *they have laid their Pipes*, you will

94 *The French Faith represented*

will have the Mechanick part of this Affair in sublime Language, fit for expressing the Iniquity of so great a Prince.

But may it please your Eminence, whether we are Whigs, Tories, or Jacobites, we should, methinks, have one common Indignation against this Usage, and I cannot have so little Charity as not to suppose, that how warmly soever any Party wishes for their own Scheme, they still retain Love enough for their Country, to wish it great and powerful under that Scheme. But in this Case the *French* have imposed upon us without Dissimulation, and in open Day-light are frustrating the main Article of the Treaty. It was principally the Concern of *England*, that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be Demolished; but so little Respect have they for us, that they have Dismantled it as a Fortification, and made it, for a time, less strong against States on the same Continent, but kept it in its full Power and Glory to insult us Islanders.

Your Eminence formerly said, of *Dunkirk* undemolished, *That it is a Bridle which the Queen has put into the Mouths of other Powers, besides the French, and is not therefore to be let go.* What can your Eminence say to it now? Our Garrison is marched, and they have left it a Bridle to no Nation in the World so much as to their own.

I cannot tell what the *French* will do, but I am sorry so much is in their Power.

The *French* attacked a Minor King of *Spain* in Profound Peace, 1677.

Their Emissaries made Medals for the *Dutch* against *France*, and made those Inventions cause
of

of Quarrel. Who has not read the Barbarous Invasion of the *Low Countries*? The *English* ought particularly to remember the Treatment of the *British* Troops recalled from the *French* Service after the abandoning of *Messina*.

The Surprize of *Luxemburgh* in time of Peace, is a good thing to set now before our Eyes.

The Surprize of *Strasburg*.

The Christian King's March of his Armies to the Frontiers of *Germany* in favour of the *Turk*.

The *French* Failure to their Allies the *Turks*.

All these Circumstances might be added to what has passed in our Days, to quicken our Apprehensions from an Ally who has ever formed his Greatness upon what is, with honest and sober Minds, the Disgrace and Degeneracy of Human Life, the Affectation of extending Power, without regard to the Means of doing it.

I fear, from this last Expression, I shall not be thought to speak like a Man of the World to your Eminence; but believe me, Sir, nothing but Justice can prevail for any duration of Time, and no State or Prince yet ever fell, but from the Practice of Injustice. To be Unjust, good *Mr. Examiner*, is to be against the Law of Nature, and nothing can be a Man's Interest which is not Just. But I will not go into abstracted Discourses, at a time when Men err against the Light of Reason, *when Men consciously offend and are not ashamed of it.*

I shall keep my Philosophy at this time to my self, only professing that nothing is Good or Evil, with me, Honourable or Dishonourable (by what Ideas interested Men pretend to affix to them) but as they stand
in

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in the Eye of Heaven, and before the Light of Nature.

For this Reason I address my self to you, Sir, under the Title of Eminence, because you Eminently are what you are, and what that is, will appear from your own Writings, not from mine; for which Reason I do not attempt to praise or blame you, but as the Fact it self does it.

I only say further, that it now plainly appears, we have been barbarously used with relation to *Dunkirk*; and I do not defend Mr. *Steele's* Writings against those of your Eminence, any further than it now is evident he had Reason to fear, and you no Reason to abuse him.

But now, Sir, I am to show what I hope from this Explanation of what is doing at *Dunkirk*; why, Sir, the Parliament is now sitting, and a Vote of theirs that we are Deceived and Affronted in the Demolition, and that the Continuation of that Port, or Erecting any other in the Channel, is an Infringement of the Article of the Demolition, would fright our new Friend into common Honesty.

I will be bold to say, Sir, it is our Charity for him, to which he owes his present Figure; and whenever we show a Resentment of his Artifice, ten thousand Dormant Evils will arise in his own Dominions, Dissatisfactions for Tyrannical Methods of bringing Men over to his Faith, insulting their Ancient Laws and Liberties, throwing away their Lives and Fortunes to purchase a vain Pomp and false Glory, will appear in an instant to distract a State which owes its Greatness to all the false Arts of Man,
in

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in Suppression of every thing which is instituted by God.

Alas! what signifies multiplying Words, look but upon this Map, and it is Demonstration that our Trade and our Liberty are, contrary to a Solemn Treaty, exposed to the Power of *France*; and what remains, but that we implore Heaven that the Legislature would lay aside all Animosities, and exert themselves in Defence of their Deluded and Insulted Country.

I beg of your Eminence to pardon this Trouble, and as much as you are an *Englishman*,

I am, S I R,

Your Eminence's Most Humble Servant,

C. P.

P. S. To the Examiner.

S I R,

Monday, June 28, 1714.

YOUR Eminence's Paper which came out to Day is very full of that your usual kind of Argumentation which fills the Mouths of those who are for you, with more Words to vent their Passions and Prejudices, but affords no Reasons to convince those who are against you.

As my above Paper is a professed Defence of *Mr. S—le*, I shall leave all you have raised so feebly on the side of those who opposed the Bill of Schism, which you say you foresaw, and come to the wonderful Things you could not foresee, which were objected by him for whom I plead.

F

You

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You have it thus: *I could not foresee, that Mr. Richard S----- would be so unusually full of Reasons upon this Occasion. I could not foresee that modest Expression of his: The Vote for my Expulsion, was more Important to the People of England, than I shall at this time explain.*

I Answer, It is no breach of Modesty for the meanest Man upon Earth to say, his Case may be of ill Consequence to the Greatest Persons in the World, for all Humane Society is concerned in the Judgment upon the meanest of its Members.

I could not foresee, say you, that he would call the H---- of C-----ns the People's Attorneys. When he was One of them, he was Accountable to no Man. I am glad however, he calls them by a Name he has so much Reason to Dread.

Mr. S---e must be understood, by the Words *Accountable to no Man*, to have intended To no Man but to the House it self. As for the Commons being the People's Attorneys, every body knows they are so. Mr. S---e did not call them the People's Attorneys, in what they Acted towards him. As for his dreading Attorneys, it does not lye before your Eminence.

But you again, *I could not foresee, that he would call it a great Omission, that Dissenters in the North Part of Britain should not be as much Discourag'd as they are in the South. The Fact is, They are not only as much, but much more Discourag'd; and in Ncthing so much, as in this very Particular concerning Education.*

This is what they call *Gratis Dictum*, and merely Asserted, without giving Example or Argument for the Support of it.

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I could not foresee, that he would call the Care of Dissenters Children the next think to Cutting their Throats.

Mr. S---e Asserted no such thing; he might say, while this Act was in Agitation, that to take the Care of Children from their Parents was Cruelty next to Cutting their Throats.

You say, *I could not foresee, that he would call a Church of England Education, the way to encourage blind Obedience in the People.* I Answer, Imposing any thing of this kind but by Evidence is obliging to a Blind Obedience.

I could not foresee, that he would make it a Question, Whether the Bill ought to oblige, after it was Enacted. Is he going to set up an Academy for Sedition and Rebellion?

I am sure S---le loves the Universities, and has done them Service. But I will say nothing of what is passed into a Law, and I wonder your Eminence would mention that now.

I could not foresee, say you, he would deny his Assent to the Bill, because the Pretender is still at Bar-le-Duc, and the French are about to Fortify Mardyke. He could not forbear the last invincible Argument, tho' the Fact happens to be false.

I am now come to what is most Material to me at present. Your Eminence is strutting upon Ground which will Deceive, and Swallow you up. I maintain the Honesty of what he said, and if they have done worse than Fortifying Mardyke, you may forgive him if he said they were about doing it. According to the Representation which we at first had of the manner of eluding the Article of Demolition, it was to be by Fortifying Mardyke; they have not put

100 *The French Faith, &c.*

themselves to the trouble of removing their Harbour, but, with the most Impudent Insolence only cut through the *Downs* between *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk*, and kept the Identical Haven which we stipulated should be destroyed.

In what follows you are only Satyrical, and say Mr. *S...le* should not be against School-mistresses, since he wants to learn to Read. Why, you'll break the Man's Heart. But at present let us think of nothing but *Dunkirk Undemolished.* *I am,*

S I R,

Your Eminence's Gentle and Patient Reader,

C. P.



T H E

THE
CRISIS:
OR, A
DISCOURSE

Representing,
From the most AUTHENTICK RECORDS,
The just Causes of the late
Happy REVOLUTION :

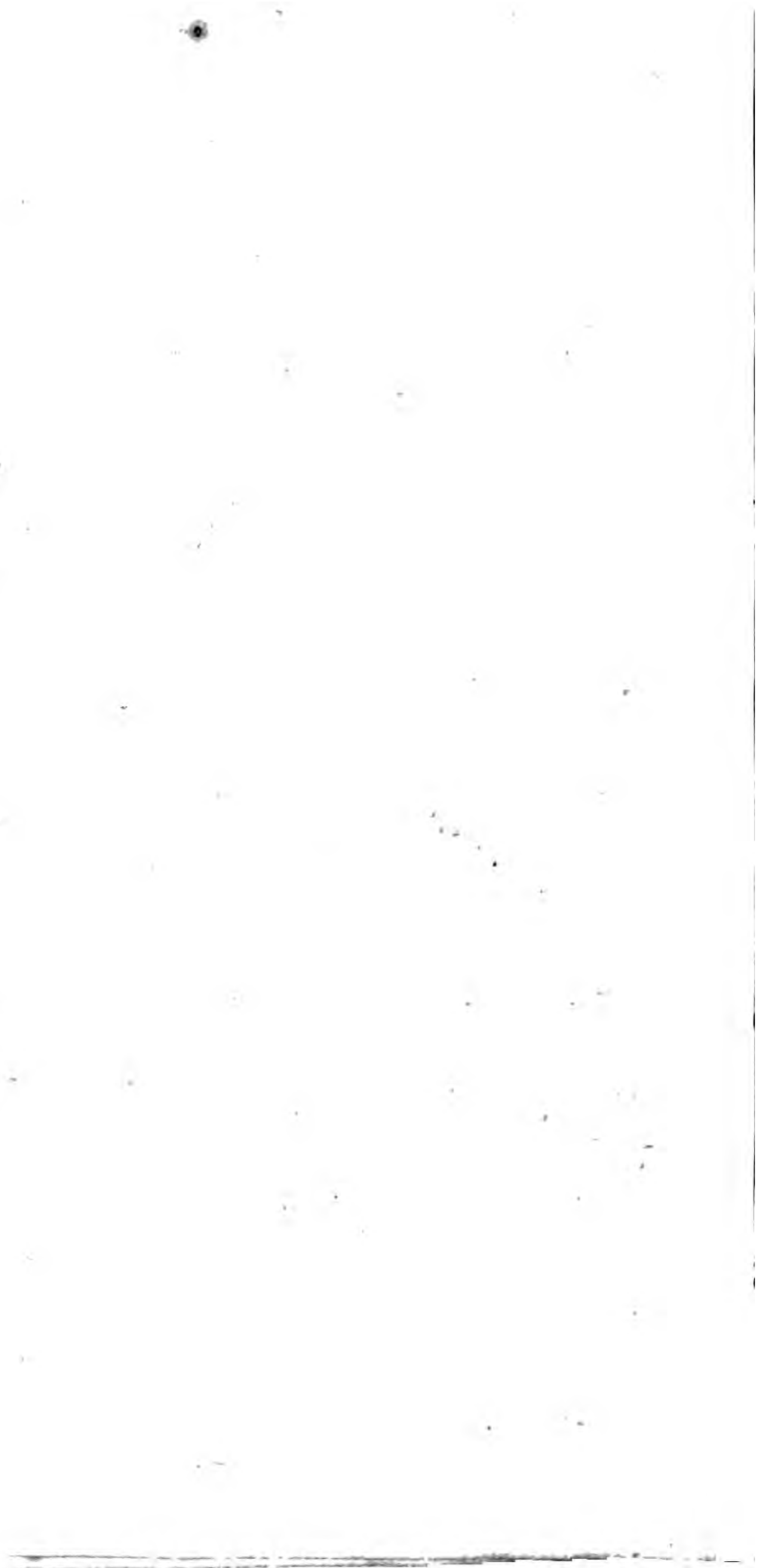
AND

*The several Settlements of the Crowns of ENGLAND
and SCOTLAND on Her MAJESTY;
and on the Demise of Her MAJESTY
without Issue, upon the Most Illustrious Prin-
cess SOPHIA, Electress and Dutchess Dow-
ager of Hanover, and the Heirs of Her Body
being Protestants; by previous Acts of both
Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of England
and Scotland; and confirmed by the Parlia-
ment of GREAT BRITAIN.*

WITH SOME
SEASONABLE REMARKS
On the Danger of a
POPISH SUCCESSOR.

*Invitus ea tanquam Vulnera attingo; Sed nisi
tacta tractataque sanari non possunt. Liv.*

Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.



TO THE
CLERGY
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

Gentlemen,



It is with a just Deference to Your great Power and Influence in this Kingdom, that I lay before you the following Comment upon the Laws which regard the Settlement of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*. My Purpose in addressing these Matters to you, is to conjure you, as Heaven has blessed you with proper Talents and Opportunities, to recommend them, in your Writings and Discourses, to your Fellow-Subjects.

In the Character of Pastors and Teachers, you have an almost irresistible Power over us of your Congregations; and by the admirable Institution of our Laws, the Tenths of our Lands, now in your Possession, are destined to become the Property of such others, as shall

by Learning and Virtue qualifie themselves to succeed you. These Circumstances of Education and Fortune, place the Minds of the People, from Age to Age, under your Direction; As therefore it would be the highest Indiscretion in Ministers of State of this Kingdom, to neglect the Care of being acceptable to you in their Administration; so it would be the greatest Impiety in you, to inflame the People committed to your Charge, with Apprehensions of Danger to you and your Constitution, from Men innocent of any such Designs.

Give me Leave, who have in all my Words and Actions, from my Youth upwards, maintained an inviolable Respect to you and your Order, to observe to you, that all the Dissatisfactions which have been raised in the Minds of the People, owe their Rise to the Cunning of artful Men, who have introduced the Mention of you and your Interest, (which are sacred to all good Men) to cover and sanctify their own Practices upon the Affections of the People, for Ends very different from the Promotion of Religion and Virtue. Give me Leave also to take Notice, That these Suggestions have been favoured by some few unwary Men in holy Orders, who have made the Constitution of their own Country a very little Part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Discourses.

These Men, from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatness, and Submission to absolute Emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier Years, have from Time to Time inadvertent-

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ly uttered Notions of Power and Obedience abhorrent from the Laws of this their native Country.

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 been carefully recommended to the Perusal of young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a Preference to all other 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 ever since the Revolution, an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.

There is one thing which deserves your most serious Consideration. You have bound your selves by the strongest Engagements that Religion can lay upon Men, to support 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 Equivocations or mental Reservations whatsoever, that is, without any possible Escapes, by which the Subtlety of temporizing 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 Intentions in these Cases, whether the swearing upon the holy Evangelists in the most solemn Manner, whether the taking of an Oath before Multi-

tudes of Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Christians in our publick Courts of Justice, 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 a Clergy who considerately and voluntarily 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 Occasion 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 Professors? 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 Reformation? How would our present Clergy appear in the Eyes of their Posterity and even to the Successors of their own Order, under a Government introduced and established by a Conduct so directly opposite to all the Rules of Honour and Precepts of Christianity?

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 among 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.

Under

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Under Colour of a Zeal towards you, Men may sometimes act not only with Impunity but Popularity, what would render them, without that Hypocrisie, insufferably odious to their Fellow-Subjects.

Under this Pretence Men may presume to practise such Arts for the Destruction and Dishonour of their Country, as it would be impious to make use of even for its Glory and Safety: Men may do in the highest Prosperity, what it would not be excusable to attempt under the lowest Necessity!

The Laws of our Country, the Powers of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God, may be too weak Considerations to bear up against the popular, tho' groundless *Cry of the Church*. This fatal Prepossession may shelter Men in raising the *French* Name and Roman Catholick Interest in *Great Britain*, and consequently in all *Europe*.

It behoves you therefore, Gentlemen, to consider, whether the Cry of the Church's Danger may not at length become a Truth: And as you are Men of Sense and Men of Honour, to exert your selves in undeceiving the Multitude, whenever their affectionate Concern for you may prove fatal to themselves.

You are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry, who can distinguish your Merit, and do Honour to your Characters. They know with what Firmness as *Englishmen*, with what Self-Denial as Prelates, with what Charity as Christians, the Lords the Bishops, Fathers of the Church, have behaved themselves in the Publick Cause: They know what Contumelies the rest of the Clergy have undergone,
what

what Discountenance they have laboured under, what Prejudice they have suffered in their Ministry, who have adhered to the Cause of Truth: But it is certain that the Face of things is now too melancholy to bear any longer false Appearances; and common Danger has united Men, who not long ago were artfully inflamed against each other, into some Regard of their common Safety.

When the World is in this Temper, those of our Pastors, whose exemplary Lives and charitable Dispositions both adorn and advance our holy Religion, will be the Objects of our Love and Admiration; and those who pursue the Gratifications of Pride, Ambition, and Avarice, under the sacred Character of Clergymen, will not fail to be our Contempt and Derision.

Noise and Wrath cannot always pass for Zeal; and if we see but little of the publick Spirit of *Englishmen* or the Charity of Christians in others, it is certain we can feel but little of the Pleasure of Love and Gratitude, and but faint Emotions of Respect and Veneration in our selves.

It will be an Action worthy the Ministers of the Church of *England*, to distinguish themselves for the Love of their Country; and as we have a Religion that wants no Assistance from Artifice or Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well supported by the Wisdom and Piety of its Preachers, and its own native Truth, to let Mankind see that we have a Clergy who are of the People, obedient to the same Laws, and zealous not only of the Supremacy and Prerogative of our Princes, but of the Liberties

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ties of their Fellow-Subjects: This will make us who are Your Flock burn with Joy to see, and with Zeal to imitate your Lives and Actions. It cannot be expected but that there will be, in so great a Body, light, superficial, vain, and ambitious Men, who being untouched with the sublime Force of the Gospel, will think it their Interest to insinuate Jealousies between the Clergy and Laity, in Hopes to derive from their Order a Veneration which they know they cannot deserve from their Virtue. But while the most worthy, conspicuous, learned, and powerful of your sacred Function are moved by the noble and generous Incentives of doing Good to the Souls of Men, we will not doubt of seeing by your Ministry the Love of our Country, due Regard for our Laws and Liberties, and Resentment for the Abuse of Truth, revive in the Hearts of Men. And as there are no Instruments under Heaven so capable of this great Work, that God would make you such to this divided Nation, is the hearty Prayer of,

Gentlemen,

Your most Dutiful,

and most Obedient

Humble Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

P R E F A C E.

I Never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually in those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into sudden Favour and Authority; the Occasion of their Difference has been represented to him, and the Matter referred to his Decision.

This first Step towards acting reasonably has brought them to themselves; and when the Person, by an Appeal to whom they first were taken out of Confusion, was gone from amongst them, they have calmly taken further Measures from a Sense of their common Good.

Absolute unlimited Power in one Person seems to have been the first and natural Recourse of Mankind from Disorder and Rapine; and such a Government must be acknowledged to be better than no Government at all: But all Restrictions of Power made by Laws and Participation of Sovereignty among several Persons, are apparent Improvements made upon what began in that unlimited Power. This is what seems reasonable to common Sense; and the Manner of maintaining absolute Dominion in one Person, where-

P R E F A C E. III

where-ever it subsists, verifies the Observation : For the Subjection of the People to such Authority is supported only by Terrors, sudden and private Executions, and Imprisonments; and not as with happy Britons, by the Judgment, in Cases of Liberty and Property, of the Peers, and Neighbours of Men accused or prosecuted. This absolute Power in one Person, as it is generally exercised, is not indeed Government, but at best clandestine Tyranny, supported by the Confederates, or rather Favourite-Slaves of the Tyrant.

I was glad to find this natural Sense of Power confirmed in me by very great and good Men, who have made Government, and the Principles on which it is founded, their professed Study and Meditation.

A very celebrated Author has these Words;

The Case of Man's Nature standing as it does, some kind of Regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the Choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some certain kind of Regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the Manner of governing, but all permitted unto their Wisdom and Discretion which were to rule; 'till by Experience they found this for all Parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a Remedy did indeed but increase the Sore which it should have cured. They saw that *to live by one Man's Will became the Cause of all Mens Misery.* This constrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all Men might see their Duties beforehand,

hand, and know the Penalties of transgressing them. Men always knew that when Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themselves; they knew that howsoever Men might seek their own Commodity, yet if this were done with Injury to others, it was not to be suffered, but by all Men and by all good Means to be withstood.

Finally, They knew that no Man might in Reason take upon him to determine his own Right, and according to his own Determination proceed in Maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every Man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial; and therefore that Strifes and Troubles would be endless, except they have their common Consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon.

Mr. Stanhope, in Defence of Resistance in Cases of extream Necessity, cites this memorable Passage from Grotius;

If the King hath one Part of the Supream Power, and the other Part is in the Senate or People; when such a King shall invade that Part that doth not belong to him, it shall be lawful to oppose a just Force to him, because his Power doth not extend so far: Which Position I hold to be true, even though the Power of making War should be vested only in the King, which must be understood to relate only to foreign War: For as for Home, it is impossible for any to have a Share of the Supream Power, and not to have likewise a Right to defend that Share.

An

P R E F A C E. 113

An eminent Divine, who deserves all Honour for the Obligations he has laid upon both Church and State by his Writings on the Subject of Government, argues against Unlimited Power thus;

The Question is, Whether the Power of the Civil Magistrate be unlimited; that is, in other Words, Whether the Nature of his Office require it to be so. But what? Is it the End of that Office that one particular Person may do what he pleaseth without Restraint? Or that Society should be made happy and secure? Who will say the former? And if the latter be the true End of it, a less Power than absolute will answer it: Nay, an absolute Power is a Power to destroy that End, and therefore inconsistent with the End it self.

These Passages I thought fit to produce by way of Preface to the following Discourse, as carrying in them the Reason and Foundation of Government it self, and in Maintenance of what passed at the Revolution.

I shall only beg leave to add to them one very great Living Authority, the present Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; who in a late famous Tryal, did openly before Queen, Lords and Commons, maintain the Lawfulness of the Revolution under the Notion of Resistance, and assert before the most solemn and august Assembly of Europe, that there are extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity, which are implied, though not expressed in the General Rule; that is, which are so plain and so open to the common Sense of Mankind, that even whilst you are declaring Resistance in all Cases

to be unlawful, you are of necessity understood to mean, that Resistance in some Cases is lawful. I am pleased to observe, that no one ever put the Matter so strongly, or carried it so high as this great Man did upon that Critical Occasion. At the same time he was so just to his Country as to declare, That such a Case undoubtedly the Revolution was, when our late unhappy Sovereign then upon the Throne, misled by evil Counsellors, endeavoured to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.



The

The *CRISIS*, &c.

IT is every Man's Duty to correct the Extravagances of his Will, in order to enjoy Life as becomes a rational Being ; but we cannot possess our Souls with Pleasure and Satisfaction, except we preserve to our selves that inestimable Blessing which we call Liberty. By Liberty I desire to be understood to mean, the Happiness of Mens living under Laws of their own making by their personal Consent, or that of their Representatives.

Without this, the Distinctions amongst Mankind are but gentler Degrees of Misery ; for as the true Life of Man consists in conducting it according to his own just Sentiments and innocent Inclinations, his Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, which Heaven has made him, when his Affections and Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates of his own Mind, and the Interests of Humane Society, but by the arbitrary unrestrained Will of another.

Without Liberty, even Health, and Strength, and all the Advantages bestowed on us by Nature and Providence, may at the Will of a Tyrant be employed to our own Ruin, and that of our Fellow-Creatures.

Liberty is essential to our Happiness, and they who resign Life it self rather than part with it, do only a prudent Action; but those who lay it down, and voluntarily expose themselves to Death, in behalf of their Friends and Country, do an heroick One. The more exalted Part of our Species are moved by such generous Impulses as these; but even the Community, the Mass of Mankind, when convinced of the Danger of their Civil Rights, are anxious of preserving to themselves that dearest of all Possessions, Liberty.

The late Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* have contended for it from Age to Age, with too great a Price of Blood and Treasure to be given for the Purchase of any other Blessing; but laid out Parsimoniously, when we consider they have transmitted this to their Posterity.

But since, by I know not what Fatality, we are of late grown supine, and our Anxiety 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 Constitution; 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 our Country have given those who dare assert their Liberties, and the Terrors which they have pronounced against those who dare undermine them. For, whatever is the Prospect before our Eyes, it is the Business of every honest Man to look up with a Spirit that becomes Honesty, and to do what in him lies for the Improvement of our present Condition, which nothing but our own Pusillanimity can make desperate.

The

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 suggested 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 Honour, Truth, and Justice, and that we are, by all the Laws of God and Man, enstated 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.

We should have been chained down in this abject Condition in the Reign of the late King *James*, had not God Almighty in Mercy given us the late happy Revolution, by that glorious Instrument of his Providence the great and memorable King *WILLIAM*. But though this wonderful Deliverance happened as it were but Yesterday, yet such is the Inadvertency or Ingratitude of some amongst us, that they seem not only to have forgotten the Deliverer, but even the Deliverance it self. Old Men act as if they believed the Danger which then hung over their Heads was only a Dream, the wild Effects of ill-grounded imaginary Fears; and young Men, as if they had never heard from their Fathers, nor read of what passed in this Kingdom, at a Period no farther backward than the Space of Five and Twenty Years.

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 vanish before the glaring Light of Law and Reason.

I shall not govern my self on this Occasion by the partial Relation 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.

I shall begin with the Act of Parliament made in *England* in the second Session of the first Year of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.*

It carries in it the noble Resentment of a People that had been just rescued from Tyranny; and yet, that they might justify their Actions to Posterity, it recites all the particular Instances of the Tyrannical Reign in a plain and dispassionate Simplicity. The Act runs as follows.

‘**W**Hereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 ‘ and Commons assembled at *Westminster*,
 ‘ lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the
 ‘ Estates

‘ Estates of the People of this Realm, did up-
‘ on the 13th Day of *February*, in the Year of
‘ our Lord 1688, present unto their Majesties,
‘ then called and known by the Names and
‘ Stile of *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Prin-
‘ cess of *Orange*, being present in their proper
‘ Persons, a certain Declaration in Writing,
‘ made by the said Lords and Commons in the
‘ Words following, *viz.*

‘ Whereas the late King *James* the Second,
‘ by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors,
‘ Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did
‘ endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Prote-
‘ stant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of
‘ this Kingdom ;

‘ By assuming and exercising a Power of dis-
‘ pensing with and suspending of Laws, and
‘ the Execution of Laws, without Consent of
‘ Parliament ;

‘ By committing and prosecuting divers wor-
‘ thy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be ex-
‘ cused from concurring to the said assumed
‘ Power ;

‘ By issuing, and causing, to be executed, a
‘ Commission under the Great Seal for erecting
‘ a Court called the Court of Commissioners
‘ for Ecclesiastical Causes ;

‘ By levying Money for, and to the Use of
‘ the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, for
‘ other Time, and in other Manner, than the
‘ same was granted by Parliament ;

‘ By raising and keeping a Standing Army with-
‘ in this Kingdom in Time of Peace without
‘ Consent of Parliament, and quartering Sol-
‘ diers contrary to Law ;

‘ By

‘ By causing several good Subjects, being
 ‘ Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time
 ‘ when Papists were both armed and employed,
 ‘ contrary to Law ;

‘ By violating the Freedom of Election of
 ‘ Members to serve in Parliament ;

‘ By Prosecutions in the Court of *King’s Bench*
 ‘ for Matters and Causes cognizable only in
 ‘ Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and
 ‘ illegal Courses :

‘ And whereas of late Years partial, corrupt,
 ‘ and unqualified Persons have been returned
 ‘ and served on Juries, in Trials, and particu-
 ‘ larly divers Jurors in Trials for High Trea-
 ‘ son which were not Free-holders ;

‘ And excessive Bail hath been required of
 ‘ Persons committed in criminal Cases, to e-
 ‘ clude the Benefit of the Laws made for the
 ‘ Liberty of the Subjects ;

‘ And excessive Fines have been imposed,
 ‘ And illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted,
 ‘ And several Grants and Promises made of
 ‘ Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction
 ‘ or Judgment against the Persons upon whom
 ‘ the same were to be levied :

‘ All which are utterly and directly contra-
 ‘ ry to the known Laws, and Statutes, and
 ‘ Freedom of this Realm.

‘ And whereas the said late King *James* the
 ‘ IId having abdicated the Government, and
 ‘ the Throne being thereby vacant,

‘ His Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom
 ‘ it hath pleased Almighty God to make the
 ‘ glorious Instrument of delivering this King-
 ‘ dom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did
 ‘ (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and
 ‘ Tem-

‘ Temporal, and divers principal Persons of
‘ the Commons) cause Letters to be written
‘ to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being
‘ Protestants, and other Letters to the several
‘ Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs,
‘ and Cinque-Ports, for the chusing of such
‘ Persons to represent them as were of Right
‘ to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at
‘ *Westminster* upon the two and twentieth Day
‘ of *January*, in this Year One thousand six
‘ hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an
‘ Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws,
‘ and Liberties might not again be in Danger
‘ of being subverted, upon which Letters E-
‘ lections having been accordingly made.

‘ And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and
‘ Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their
‘ respective Letters and Elections, being now
‘ assembled in a full and free Representative
‘ of this Nation, taking into their most serious
‘ Consideration the best Means for attaining the
‘ Ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, *as their*
‘ *Ancestors in like Case have usually done* for
‘ the vindicating and asserting their ancient
‘ Rights and Liberties, declare,

‘ That the pretended Power of suspending
‘ of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Re-
‘ gal Authority, without Consent of Parlia-
‘ ment, is illegal.

‘ That the pretended Power of dispensing
‘ with Laws, or the Execution of Laws by
‘ Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and
‘ exercised of late, is illegal.

‘ That the Commission for erecting the late
‘ Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical
‘ Causes, and all other Commissions and

‘ Courts of like Nature, are illegal and pernicious.

‘ That levying Money for, or to the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time or in other Manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

‘ That it is the Right of the Subjects to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are illegal.

‘ That the raising or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

‘ That the Subjects which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law.

‘ That Elections of Members ought to be free.

‘ That the Freedom of Speech and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

‘ That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

‘ That Jurors ought to be duly impanel’d, and returned, and Jurors which pass upon Men in Trials for High-Treason ought to be Freeholders.

‘ That all Grants, and Promises of Fines, and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

‘ And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

‘ And

‘ And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all, and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties. And that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example.

‘ To which Demand of their Rights, they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

‘ Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties;

‘ The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, do Resolve,

‘ That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them: and that the sole and full Exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said

‘ Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs
 ‘ of the Body of the said Princess; and for De-
 ‘ fault of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of
 ‘ *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for
 ‘ Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body
 ‘ of the said Prince of *Orange*.

‘ And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
 ‘ Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess
 ‘ to accept the same accordingly.

‘ And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned be
 ‘ taken by all Persons, of whom the Oaths of
 ‘ Allegiance and Supremacy might be required
 ‘ by Law, instead of them; and that the said
 ‘ Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be abro-
 ‘ gated.

I A. B. *do sincerely promise and swear, that I*
will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance
to their Majesties King William and Queen
Mary. So help me God.

I A. B. *do swear, that I do from my Heart ab-*
hor, detest, and abjure, as Impious and Here-
tical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, That
Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope,
or any Authority of the See of Rome, maybe De-
posed or Murdered by their Subjects, or any other
whatsoever.

And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Per-
son, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought
to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority,
Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spi-
ritual, within this Realm. So help me God.

‘ Upon which their said Majesties did accept
 ‘ the Crown, and Royal Dignity of the King-
 ‘ doms

‘ doms of *England, France and Ireland*, and the
‘ Dominions thereunto belonging, according
‘ to the Resolution and Desire of the said Lords
‘ and Commons contained in the said Decla-
‘ ration.

‘ And thereupon their Majesties were pleased,
‘ that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
‘ Commons, being the two Houses of Parlia-
‘ ment, should continue to sit, and with their
‘ Majesties Royal Concurrence, make effectual
‘ Provision for the Settlement of the Religion,
‘ Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; so that
‘ the same for the future might not be in Danger
‘ again of being subverted; to which the said Lords
‘ Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons did
‘ agree, and proceed to Act accordingly.

‘ Now in pursuance of the Premises, the said
‘ Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons
‘ in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, con-
‘ firming, and establishing the said Declaration,
‘ and the Articles, Clauses, Matters, and things
‘ therein contained, by the Force of a Law made
‘ in due Form by Authority of Parliament, do
‘ pray that it may be declared and enacted, that all
‘ and singular the Rights and Liberties asserted
‘ and claimed in the said Declaration, are the true
‘ ancient and indubitable Rights and Liberties of
‘ the People of this Kingdom, and so shall be
‘ esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and ta-
‘ ken to be; and that all and every the Particulars
‘ aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and
‘ observed, as they are expressed in the said Decla-
‘ ration; and all Officers and Ministers whatso-
‘ ever, shall serve their Majesties and their Suc-
‘ cessors according to the same in all Times to
‘ come.

' And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 ' and Commons, seriously considering how it
 ' hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous
 ' Providence and merciful Goodness to this Na-
 ' tion, to provide and preserve their said Maje-
 ' sties Royal Persons most happily to Reign over
 ' us upon the Throne of their Ancestors, for
 ' which they render unto him from the bottom
 ' of their Hearts, their humblest Thanks and
 ' Praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the
 ' Sincerity of their Hearts think, and do hereby
 ' recognize, acknowledge, and declare, that King
 ' James II. having Abdicated the Government,
 ' and their Majesties having accepted the Crown
 ' and Royal Dignity as aforesaid, their said Maje-
 ' sties did become, were, are, and of Right ought
 ' to be by the *Laws of this Realm*, our Sovereign
 ' Liege Lord and Lady King and Queen of *Eng-
 ' land, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions
 ' thereunto belonging ; in, and to whose Prince-
 ' ly Persons, the Royal State, Crown and Dig-
 ' nity of the said Realms, with all Honours,
 ' Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Pow-
 ' ers, Jurisdictions and Authorities to the same
 ' belonging and appertaining, are most fully, right-
 ' fully, and entirely invested and incorporated,
 ' united and annexed.

' And for preventing all Questions and Divi-
 ' sions in this Realm, by reason of any pretended
 ' Titles to the Crown, and for preserving a Cer-
 ' tainty in the Succession thereof, in, and upon
 ' which the Unity, Peace, Tranquility and Safe-
 ' ty of this Nation doth, under God, wholly
 ' consist and depend ;

' The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
 ' Commons, do beseech their Majesties, That it
 ' may

may be enacted, established and declared, that the Crown and Regal Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, with all and singular the Premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties, and the Survivor of them, during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the entire, perfect, and full Exercise of the Regal Power and Government be only in and executed by his Majesty, in the Names of both their Majesties during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Premises shall be and remain to the Heirs of the Body of her Majesty; and for Default of such Issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of his said Majesty. And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do in the Name of all the People aforesaid, most *humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs and Posterities for ever*. And do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the Limitation and Succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

And whereas it hath been found by Experience, that it is inconsistent with the Safety and Welfare of this Protestant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist;

‘ The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
 ‘ Commons, do further pray, That it may be
 ‘ enacted, that all and every Person and Persons
 ‘ that is, are, or *shall be reconciled to*, or shall
 ‘ hold Communion with the See or Church of
 ‘ *Rome*, or shall profess the Popish Religion,
 ‘ or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and
 ‘ be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or
 ‘ enjoy the Crown and Government of this
 ‘ Realm, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions there-
 ‘ unto belonging, or any part of the same; or
 ‘ to have, use, or exercise any Regal Power,
 ‘ Authority or Jurisdiction within the same;
 ‘ and in all, and every such Case, or Cases, the
 ‘ People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby
 ‘ absolved of their Allegiance; and the said
 ‘ Crown and Government shall from time to
 ‘ time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Per-
 ‘ son, or Persons, being Protestants, as should
 ‘ have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case
 ‘ the said Person or Persons so reconciled, hold-
 ‘ ing Communion, or Professing or Marrying
 ‘ as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

‘ And that every King and Queen of this
 ‘ Realm, who any time hereafter shall come to,
 ‘ and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this
 ‘ Kingdom, shall, on the first Day of the Meet-
 ‘ ing of the first Parliament, next after his or
 ‘ her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or
 ‘ her Throne in the House of Peers, in the Pre-
 ‘ sence of the Lords and Commons therein as-
 ‘ sembled, or at his or her Coronation, before
 ‘ such Person or Persons who shall Admini-
 ‘ ster the Coronation Oath to him or her, at
 ‘ the time of his or her taking the said Oath,
 ‘ (which shall first happen) make, subscribe, and
 ‘ audibly

‘ audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in
‘ the Statute made in the thirtieth Year of the
‘ Reign of King Charles the 1st, entitled, *An Act*
‘ *for the more effectual preserving the King’s Per-*
‘ *son and Government, by disabling Papists from sit-*
‘ *ting in either House of Parliament.* But if it shall
‘ happen, that such King or Queen, upon his
‘ or her Succession to the Crown of this
‘ Realm, shall be under the Age of twelve
‘ Years, then every such King or Queen shall
‘ make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said
‘ Declaration at his or her Coronation, or the
‘ the first Day of the meeting of the first Parli-
‘ ment as aforesaid, which shall first happen,
‘ after such King or Queen shall have attained
‘ the said Age of Twelve Years.

‘ All which their Majesties are contented,
‘ and pleased, shall be declared, enacted, and
‘ established, by Authority of this present Par-
‘ liament, and shall stand, remain, and be, *the*
‘ *Law of this Realm for ever*; and the same are
‘ by their said Majesties, by and with the Ad-
‘ vice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and
‘ Temporal, and Commons in Parliament as-
‘ sembled, and by the Authority of the same,
‘ declared, enacted, and established accord-
‘ ingly.

‘ And be it further declared and enacted by
‘ the Authority aforesaid, that from and after
‘ this present Session of Parliament, no Dis-
‘ pensation by *Non Obstante*, of or to any Sta-
‘ tute, or part thereof, shall be allowed, but
‘ that the same shall be held void, and of no
‘ Effect, except a Dispensation be allowed of
‘ in such Statute, and except in such Cases as
‘ shall be especially provided for by one or

more Bill, or Bills, to be passed, during the present Session of Parliament.

Provided that no Charter, or Grant, or Pardon, granted before the Three and twentieth Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1689, shall be any ways Impeached or Invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be, and remain of the same Force and Effect in Law, and no other, than as if this Act had never been made.

I have recited the Act at large, that I might on the one Hand shew the just Sense the *English* Nation then had of their Deliverance, and their Gratitude to their Deliverer the glorious King *William*; and on the other Hand, avoid being censured for heaping more Miscarriages upon that unhappy Prince King *James*, than a Nation, whose Religion, Liberties, Fortunes, and Lives were just snatched from the Brink of Ruin, thought fit to charge him with. And here, that I may do Justice to the *Scots* Nation as well as to the *English*, I shall also set down, as succinctly as I can, what that brave People did in this important Juncture.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons in the Beginning of the Year 1689, came to the Resolutions in Substance as follow, (*viz.*)

That whereas King *James* the VIth, being a professed Papist, did assume the Royal Power, and act as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law, whereby every King at his Accession to the Government was obliged to swear to maintain the *Protestant Religion*, and to rule the People according to the laudable Laws: And by the Advice of wicked Counsellors, did

in

‘ invade the fundamental Constitution of the
‘ Kingdom of *Scotland*, and altered it from a
‘ legal limited Monarchy to an arbitrary and
‘ despotick Power; and in a publick Procla-
‘ mation asserted an absolute Power to annul
‘ and disable all Laws, particularly by arraign-
‘ ing the Laws establishing the Protestant Reli-
‘ gion, and exerted that Power to the Subver-
‘ sion of the Protestant Religion, and to the
‘ Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the
‘ Kingdom.

‘ By erecting publick Schools and Societies
‘ of the Jesuits, and not only allowing Mass
‘ to be publickly said, but also converting Pro-
‘ testant Chappels and Churches to publick Mass-
‘ houses, contrary to the express Laws against
‘ saying and hearing Mass.

‘ By allowing Popish Books to be printed
‘ and dispersed by a Patent to a Popish Printer,
‘ designing him Printer to his Majesty’s
‘ Household, College, and Chappel, contrary
‘ to Law.

‘ By taking the Children of Protestant No-
‘ blemen and Gentlemen, sending them abroad
‘ to be bred Papists, and bestowing Pensions
‘ upon Priests to pervert Protestants from their
‘ Religion by Offers of Places and Preferments.

‘ By discharging Protestants, at the same
‘ Time he employed Papists in Places of great-
‘ est Trust both Civil and Military, &c. and
‘ intrusting the Forts and Magazines in their
‘ Hands.

‘ By imposing Oaths contrary to Law.

‘ By exacting Money without Consent of
‘ Parliament or Convention of Estates.

‘ By

‘ By levying and keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament, and maintaining them upon free Quarter.

‘ By employing the Officers of the Army as Judges throughout the Kingdom, by whom the Subjects were put to Death without legal Tryal, Jury, or Record.

‘ By imposing exorbitant Fines to the Value of the Parties Estates, exacting extravagant Bail, and disposing Fines and Forfeitures before any Proceſs or Conviction.

‘ By imprisoning Persons without expreſſing the Reason, and delaying to bring them to Tryal.

‘ By causing ſeveral Persons to be proſecuted, and their Estates to be forfeited upon Stretches of old and obſolete Laws, upon weak and frivolous Pretences, and upon lame and defective Proofs; as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal of the Juſtice of the Nation,

‘ By ſubverting the Rights of the Royal Boroughs, the Third Eſtate of Parliament, imposing upon them not only Magiſtrates, but alſo the whole Town Council and Clerks, contrary to their Liberties and expreſs Charters, without any Pretence of Sentence, Surrender, or Conſent; ſo that the Commiſſioners to Parliament being choſen by the Magiſtrates and Councils, the King might in Effect as well nominate the Eſtate of Parliament: Beſides that, many of the Magiſtrates by him put in were Papiſts, and the Boroughs were forc’d to pay Money for the Letters imposing thoſe illegal Magiſtrates upon them.

‘ By

‘ By sending Letters to the chief Courts of
‘ Justice, not only ordering the Judges to stop
‘ *sine Die*, but also commanding how to pro-
‘ ceed in Cases depending before them, contra-
‘ ry to the express Laws; and by changing the
‘ Nature of the Judges Patents *ad Vitam* or
‘ *Culpam*, into a Commission *de bene placito*,
‘ to dispose them to a Compliance with arbi-
‘ trary Courses, and turning them out of their
‘ Offices if they refused to comply.

‘ By granting personal Protections for Civil
Debts contrary to Law.

‘ All which Miscarriages of King *James*,
‘ were utterly and directly contrary to the
‘ known Laws, Freedoms and Statutes of the
‘ Realm of *Scotland*. Upon which Grounds
‘ and Reasons the Estates of the Kingdom of
‘ *Scotland* did find and declare, that the said
‘ King *James* had forfeited the Crown, and the
‘ Throne was become vacant.

‘ Therefore in regard His Royal Highness
‘ then Prince of *Orange*, since King of *England*,
‘ whom it hath pleased God to make the glo-
‘ rious Instrument of delivering these Kingdoms
‘ from Popery and arbitrary Power, by Advice
‘ of several Lords and Gentlemen of the *Scots*
‘ Nation then at *London*, did call the Estates of
‘ this Kingdom to meet upon the 14th of *March*
‘ last, in order to such an Establishment as that
‘ the Religion, Laws, and Liberties might not
‘ again be in Danger of being subverted; The
‘ said Estates being then assembled accordingly,
‘ in a full and free Representative of the Na-
‘ tion, did in the first Place, as *their Ance-*
‘ *stors in like Cases had usually done for vin-*
‘ *dicating*

‘ dicating and asserting their ancient Rights and
 ‘ Liberties declare,

‘ That by the Law of *Scotland* no Papist
 ‘ could be King or Queen of the Realm, nor
 ‘ bear any Office therein; nor that any Prote-
 ‘ stant Successor could exercise the Regal Power,
 ‘ ’till they had sworn the Coronation Oath.

‘ That all Proclamations asserting an abso-
 ‘ lute Power to null and disable Laws, in or-
 ‘ der for erecting Schools and Colleges for Je-
 ‘ suits, converting Protestant Churches and
 ‘ Chappels into Mass-houses, and the allowing
 ‘ Mass to be said; and the allowing Popish
 ‘ Books to be printed and dispersed, was con-
 ‘ trary to Law.

‘ That the taking the Children of Noblemen,
 ‘ Gentlemen, and others, and keeping them
 ‘ abroad to be bred Papists;

‘ The making Funds and Donations to Po-
 ‘ pish Schools and Colleges, the bestowing
 ‘ Pensions on Priests, and the seducing Prote-
 ‘ stants from their Religion by Offers of Pla-
 ‘ ces and Preferments, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the disarming of Protestants, and em-
 ‘ ploying Papists in the greatest Places of Trust
 ‘ both Civil and Military, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the imposing an Oath without Au-
 ‘ thority of Parliament, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the raising of Mony without Consent
 ‘ of Parliament or Convention, was contrary
 ‘ to Law.

‘ That employing the Officers of the Army
 ‘ as Judges, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the imposing extraordinary Fines, &c.
 ‘ was contrary to Law.

‘ That the imprisoning of Persons without
 ‘ expressing the Reasons, was contrary to Law.

‘ That

‘ That the prosecuting and seizing Men’s
‘ Estates as forfeited upon Stretches of old and
‘ obsolete Laws, &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the nominating and imposing Magi-
‘ strates, &c. upon Boroughs, contrary to their
‘ express Charters, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the sending Letters to the Courts of
‘ Justice, ordering the Judges to desist from
‘ determining of Causes, and ordering them how
‘ to proceed in Causes depending before them,
‘ &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the granting of Personal Protections,
‘ &c. was contrary to Law.

‘ That the forcing the Subjects to depose a-
‘ gainst themselves in capital Causes, however
‘ the Punishments were restricted, was con-
‘ trary to Law.

‘ That the using *Torture* without Evidence,
‘ or in ordinary Crimes, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the sending of an Army in a warlike
‘ Manner into any Part of the Kingdom in
‘ Time of Peace, and exacting Locality and
‘ Free Quarters, was contrary to Law.

‘ That the charging the Subjects with Law-
‘ Boroughs at the King’s Instance, and impo-
‘ sing Bonds without Authority of Parliament,
‘ and the suspending Advocates for not appear-
‘ ing when Bonds were offered, was contrary
‘ to Law.

‘ That the putting Garrisons into private
‘ Houses in Time of Peace, without Authority
‘ of Parliament, was illegal.

‘ That the Opinions of the Lords of the
‘ Session in the two Cases following, were
‘ illegal; (*viz.*) That the concerting the De-
‘ mand of the Supply of a Fore faulted Person,
‘ although

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‘ although not given, was Treason; and that
‘ Persons refusing to discover their private
‘ Thoughts in relation to Points of Treason,
‘ or other Mens Actions, are guilty of Treason!

‘ That the fining Husbands for their Wives
‘ withdrawing from Church, was Illegal.

‘ That Prelacy and Superiority of an Office
‘ in the Church above Presbyters, is, and has
‘ been a great and unsupportable Burden to this
‘ Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of
‘ the Generality of the People ever since the
‘ Reformation, they having reformed Popery
‘ by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished.

‘ That it is the Right and Privilege of the
‘ Subject, to protest for Remedy of Law to
‘ the King and Parliament, against Sentences
‘ pronounced by the Lords of the Sessions,
‘ provided the same do not stop Executions of
‘ the said Sentences.

‘ That it is the Right of the Subject to petition
‘ the King, and that all Prosecutions and
‘ Imprisonments for such petitioning, were
‘ contrary to Law.

‘ Therefore for the Redress of all Grievances,
‘ and for the amending, strengthening, and
‘ preserving the Laws, they claimed that Parliaments
‘ ought to be frequently called, and allowed to sit,
‘ and Freedom of Speech and Debate allowed the
‘ Members; and further claimed and insisted upon
‘ all, and sundry the Premises, as their undoubted
‘ Rights and Liberties; and that no Declaration,
‘ or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People,
‘ in any the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn
‘ hereafter

hereafter in Example ; but that all Forfeitures, Fines, Loss of Offices, Imprisonments, Banishments, Prosecutions, and rigorous Executions be considered, and the Parties redressed.

To which Demand of their Rights, and Redress of their Grievances, they took themselves to be encouraged by the King of *England's* Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in *October* last, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

Therefore for as much as they had an entire Confidence, that his Majesty of *England* would perfect the Deliverance, so far advanced by him, and would still preserve them from the Violation of the Rights which they had asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Laws, and Liberties ;

The Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* had resolved,

That *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, be declared King and Queen of *Scotland*, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdom, to them the said King and Queen during their Lives, and the longer Liver of them ; and that the sole and full Exercise of the Power be only in, and exercised by him the said King, in the Names of the said King and Queen, during their joint Lives ; and after their Deceases, that the said Crown and Royal Dignity, be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Queen ; which failing, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body ; which also failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the said *William*, King
of

‘ of *England*. And then prayed the said King
 ‘ and Queen to accept the same accordingly.
 Which being accepted by their Majesties, they
 were proclaimed King and Queen of *Scotland*,
 the same Day that they were Crowned King
 and Queen of *England*.

The above-mentioned Acts of Settlement of
 the respective Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*
 ought to be written in the Hearts of every true
Briton, and engraven on Columns of Brass, to
 be erected in all the Cities and Boroughs of
 this Island, that Posterity may know how
 much their Ancestors suffered, and how much
 more they were in Danger of suffering, from a
 Popish Prince; and that they may with Grati-
 tude reverence the Memory of their glorious
 Deliverer the immortal King *William*, to whom,
 under God, are owing whatever Rights, whe-
 ther Religious or Civil, they or their latest Po-
 sterity shall enjoy.

Thus appear the Causes each Nation had for
 the late Revolution, and the just Reasons for
 limiting the Entail of their respective Crowns
 in the Manner abovementioned.

They at that Time doubtless hoped they
 should for ever be made happy in a Descent of
 Protestant Princes, either from the late Queen
Mary, the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, or the
 late King *William*, and therefore saw no Ne-
 cessity for extending the Limitation further;
 but the Death of that incomparable Princess,
 the late Queen *Mary*, on the 28th of *December*
 1694, followed by the Death of that hopeful
 Royal Infant the Duke of *Gloucester*, the only
 surviving Issue of the Princess of *Denmark*, on
 the

the 29th of *July* 1700, gave fresh Alarms to the *English* Nation.

They saw the Entail of the Crown reduced to the Lives of the late King *William* and Her present Majesty, then Princess of *Denmark*.

They saw the Hopes of a Popish Jacobite Party taking new Spirit, and beginning to revive.

They saw a long Train of Popish Princes of the Blood next in Descent after the Demises of the late King *William* and the Princess of *Denmark* without Issue; they remembered the Danger they had so lately been in from one Popish Prince, and therefore thought it high time to take all necessary Cautions to prevent the same for the future from a numerous Train of Roman Catholick Princes, all, or most of whom, were very near in Blood to a neighbouring Monarch, the most powerful Prince in *Europe*, whose Interest, as well as Inclination, might engage him to support their Pretensions with his whole Force.

This prudent Foresight gave Birth to another Act of Parliament in *England* in the 12th and 13th Years of the Reign of the late King *William*, entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* By this Act the most Illustrious Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, is declared the next in Succession in the Protestant Line to the Crown of *England*, after the late King *William* and the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and their respective Issue; and that from and after the Deceases of his said Majesty and the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of their
re-

‘ respective Bodies, the Crown should be, re-
 ‘ main, and continue to the said Princess So-
 ‘ phia, and the Heirs of her Body, being Pro-
 ‘ testants.

‘ And thereunto the Lords Spiritual and
 ‘ Temporal, and Commons, in the Name of
 ‘ all the People of this Realm, did most hum-
 ‘ bly and faithfully submit themselves, their
 ‘ Heirs, and Posterities; and did faithfully
 ‘ promise, that after the Deceases of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty and Her Royal Highness, and the Fail-
 ‘ ure of the Heirs of their respective Bodies,
 ‘ to stand by, maintain and defend the said
 ‘ Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of Her Body,
 ‘ being Protestants, according to the Limitati-
 ‘ on and Succession of the Crown in this Act
 ‘ specified and contained, to the utmost of their
 ‘ Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against
 ‘ all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any
 ‘ thing to the contrary.

In the 13th and 14th Years of the said King,
 two other Acts of Parliament were made; the
 one entitled, *An Act of Attainder of the Pre-*
tended Prince of Wales of High Treason; where-
 by it was enacted, ‘ That he be attainted of
 ‘ High Treason, and suffer Pains of Death, as
 ‘ a Traytor; and that if any Subject of *England*
 ‘ shall, within this Realm, or without, after the
 ‘ First of *March*, 1701, hold, entertain, or
 ‘ keep any Intelligence or Correspondence, in
 ‘ Person, or by Letters, Messages, or other-
 ‘ wise, with the said Pretended Prince of *Wales*,
 ‘ or with any Person, or Persons, employed by
 ‘ Him, knowing such Person to be so employed
 ‘ by him, or shall by Bill of Exchange, or o-
 ‘ therwise, remit, or pay any Sum or Sums of
 ‘ Mony,

‘ Mony, for the Use or Service of the said Pre-
‘ tended Prince of *Wales*, knowing such Mony
‘ to be for such Use or Service, such Person,
‘ so offending, being lawfully convicted, shall
‘ be taken, deemed, and adjudged Guilty of
‘ High Treason, and shall suffer and forfeit as
‘ in Cases of High Treason. And where any
‘ Offence against this Act shall be committed
‘ out of this Realm, the same may be alledged,
‘ laid, enquired of, and Tryed in any County
‘ of this Kingdom of *England*.

And the other, Entitled, *An Act for the fur-
ther Security of His Majesty's Person, and the
Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line,
and for extinguishing the Hopes of the Pretended
Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and
their open and secret Abettors.* ‘ Wherein re-
‘ citing the said former Acts of Settlement of
‘ the Crown, and that the *French King*, in
‘ hopes of disturbing the Peace and Repose of
‘ his Majesty, and his Kingdoms, and creating
‘ Divisions therein, had caused the Pretended
‘ Prince of *Wales* to be Proclaimed King of
‘ *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by the Name
‘ of *James the Third*; and that the said Pre-
‘ tended Prince had assumed the said Title, in
‘ open Defiance of the Provisions made for the
‘ Establishment of the Title, and Succession of
‘ the Crown, by the said several Acts of Par-
‘ liament: To the Intent therefore that the said
‘ Acts might be for ever inviolably preserved,
‘ and that all future Questions, and Divisions,
‘ by reason of any pretended Titles to the
‘ Crown, might be prevented, it was enacted,
‘ That all and every Person and Persons, as
‘ well Peers as Commoners, that shall bear
‘ Office

‘ Office Civil or Military, or receive Pay, Fee,
 ‘ or Wages, or have Command, or Place of
 ‘ Trust from his Majesty, or in the Service of
 ‘ his Majesty, Prince *George*, or Princess *Anne*
 ‘ of *Denmark*, all Ecclesiastical Persons, or
 ‘ Members of Colleges and Halls, of the Foun-
 ‘ dation in either University, being Eighteen
 ‘ Years old, all Persons teaching Pupils, all
 ‘ School-masters, Ushers, Preachers, and Tea-
 ‘ chers of separate Congregations, Persons that
 ‘ shall act as Serjeants at Law, Counsellors,
 ‘ Advocates, Attorneys, Solicitors, Proctors,
 ‘ Clerks, or Notaries by practising as such in
 ‘ any Court, and all Peers, and Members of the
 ‘ *House of Commons*, before they can Vote in
 ‘ their respective Houses of Parliament, should
 ‘ be obliged to take the Oath herein after men-
 ‘ tioned, commonly called, *The Abjuration*
 ‘ *Oath*; which Oath was expressed in the fol-
 ‘ lowing Words.

‘ I A. B. do truly and sincerely Acknowledge,
 ‘ *Profess, Testifie and Declare, in my Con-*
 ‘ *science, before God and the World, That our So-*
 ‘ *vereign Lord King William is Lawful and*
 ‘ *Rightful King of this Realm, and of all other*
 ‘ *his Majesties Dominions and Countries there-*
 ‘ *unto belonging; and I do solemnly and sincerely*
 ‘ *declare, that I do believe in my Conscience, that*
 ‘ *the Person pretended to be Prince of Wales,*
 ‘ *during the Life of the late King James, and*
 ‘ *since his Decease pretending to be, and taking*
 ‘ *upon himself the Stile and Title of King of*
 ‘ *England, by the Name of James the Third,*
 ‘ *hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the*
 ‘ *Crown of this Realm, or any other the Domi-*
 ‘ *nions*

nions thereunto belonging; and I do renounce,
 refuse, and abjure, any Allegiance or Obedience
 to him. And I do swear, that I will bear
 Faith, and true Allegiance to his Majesty King
 William, and Him will defend, to the utmost
 of my Power, against all Traiterous Conspira-
 cies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be
 made against his Person, Crown, or Dignity;
 and I will do my best Endeavour to disclose and
 make known to his Majesty, and his Successors,
 all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies, which
 I shall know to be against Him, or any of them;
 and I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my
 Power, to support, maintain and defend the Li-
 mitation and Succession of the Crown, against Him
 the said James, and all other Persons whatsoever,
 as the same is and stands limited (by an Act, En-
 titled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liber-
 ties of the Subject, and settling the Succession
 of the Crown) to his Majesty, during his Maje-
 sty's Life, and after his Majesty's Decease to the
 Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Heirs of her
 Body, being Protestants, and for Default of such Is-
 sue to the Heirs of the Body of his Majesty, being
 Protestants; and as the same by one other Act,
 Entituled, An Act for the further Limitations
 of the Crown, and better securing the Rights
 and Liberties of the Subject, is, and stands
 Limited after the Decease of his Majesty, and
 the Princess Anne of Denmark; and for De-
 fault of Issue of the said Princess, and of his
 Majesty respectively, To the Princess Sophia,
 Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover,
 and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants.
 And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely
 acknowledge, and swear, according to these ex-
 press Words by me spoken, and according to the
 plain and common Sense and Understanding of
 these

' these same Words, without any Equivocation, men-
 ' tal Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever; and
 ' I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement,
 ' Abjuration, Renunciation, and Promise, hear-
 ' tily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith
 ' of a Christian. So help me God.

' And it was thereby also enacted, That if
 ' any Person or Persons, at any time after the
 ' 25th Day of *March*, 1702, should compass or
 ' imagine the Death of her Royal Highness the
 ' Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, or endeavour to
 ' deprive or hinder her from succeeding to the
 ' Imperial Crown of this Realm, and the Do-
 ' minions and Territories thereunto belonging,
 ' after the Demise of his Majesty, and the
 ' same maliciously, advisedly and directly shall
 ' attempt, by any Overt-Act, or Deed, every
 ' such Offence shall be adjudged High Trea-
 ' son, and the Offender and Offenders therein,
 ' their Abettors, Procurers, and Counsellors,
 ' and all and every their Aiders and Comfor-
 ' ters, knowing the said Offence to be done,
 ' being thereof Convicted, or Attainted, ac-
 ' cording to the Laws and Statutes of this
 ' Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged Trai-
 ' tors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and all
 ' Losses and Forfeitures, as in Cases of High-
 ' Treason.

Thus our great Deliverer accomplished his Work.

He would have thought it but half done, if
 he had deliver'd only one Generation from
 Popery and Slavery; and therefore made it his
 whole Care, and spent the last Remains of his
 invaluable Life, in contriving how the most
 pure

pure Religion, and the best Laws in the Universe, might be transmitted to late Posterity.

The last mentioned Acts of Parliament, and the Legacy that great Prince left the *English* Nation, infinitely more valuable than if he had, without them, left Palaces and Principalities to each of his Subjects.

The Memory of that great Benefactor to Mankind will always be dear to every *Briton*, who loves the Religion and Laws of his Country, and is an Enemy to Popery and Arbitrary Power, and to every Man who knows the Happiness of a limited Monarchy circumscribed and fenced about with the Bulwarks of Laws, which equally guard the Subject from the Invasion of the Prince, and the Prince from the Insults of the Subject.

His Vigilance was not confined to his Kingdom of *England*; the Happiness of the Kingdom of *Scotland* was equally his Care and Study. He zealously attempted to have had the Succession to the Crown of that Kingdom settled also on the House of *Hanover*, in the same manner as that of *England* was settled, and to have united both Kingdoms; but these High Benefits were reserved by Heaven to be numbered amongst the Glories of her present Majesty's Reign, a Reign attended with so many Victories obtained by her Arms Abroad, under the Conduct of her renown'd General, the Duke of *Marlborough*; and with so many Acts of Benevolence at Home, by the Advice of the best and wisest Council that ever Prince employed, that as it has excelled the Transactions of all former Ages, so it will be a lasting Pattern for the Imitation of all which shall succeed.

H

Her

Her Majesty was but just seated on her Throne, when with the same Goodness towards her Subjects, in the first Year of her Reign, she gives the Royal Assent to an Act of Parliament, Entituled, *An Act for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration; and also for recapacitating and indemnifying such Persons as have not taken the same by the Time limited, and shall take the same by a Time to be appointed; and for the further Security of Her Majesty's Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and for extinguishing the Hopes of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors.*

In which, amongst other things, it is Enacted,
 ' That if any Person or Persons, at any time
 ' after the first Day of *March* 1702, shall
 ' endeavour to deprive, or hinder any Person
 ' who shall be the next in Succession to the
 ' Crown, for the time being, according to the
 ' Limitations in an Act, Entituled, *An Act*
 ' *declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Sub-*
 ' *ject, and settling the Succession of the Crown;*
 ' and according to another Act, Entituled, *An*
 ' *Act for the further Limitation of the Crown,*
 ' *and better securing the Rights and Liberties of*
 ' *the Subject,* from succeeding after the Decease
 ' of her Majesty, to the Imperial Crown of
 ' this Realm, and the Dominions and Terri-
 ' tories thereunto belonging, according to the
 ' Limitations in the before-mentioned Acts,
 ' that is to say, such Issue of her Majesty's Bo-
 ' dy, as shall from time to time be next in Suc-
 ' cession to the Crown, if it shall please God
 ' Almighty to bless her Majesty with Issue;
 ' and during the time her Majesty shall have no
 ' Issue,

‘ Issue, the Princess *Sophia*, Electress and
‘ Dutchess Dowager of *Hanover*; and after the
‘ Decease of the said Princess *Sophia*, the next
‘ in Succession to the Crown, for the time be-
‘ ing, according to the Limitation of the said
‘ Acts; and the same, maliciously, advisedly,
‘ and directly shall attempt by any Overt-Act
‘ or Deed; every such Offence shall be adjudg-
‘ ed High Treason, and the Offender or Offen-
‘ ders therein, their Abettors, Procurers, and
‘ Comforters, knowing the said Offence to
‘ be done, being thereof Convicted or Attaint-
‘ ed, according to the Laws and Statutes of
‘ this Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged
‘ Traitors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and
‘ all Losses and Forfeitures, as in Cases of
‘ High Treason.

Her Majesty in the Fourth Year of her
Reign, gave the Royal Assent to an Act, Entit-
led, *An Act for the Naturalization of the most
Excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess
Dowager of Hanover, and the Issue of her Body*;
by which it is enacted, That the said Princess
Sophia, and the Issue of her Body, and all Per-
sons lineally descending from her, born, or
hereafter to be born, be, and shall be, to all In-
tents and Purposes whatsoever, deemed, taken,
and esteemed Natural-born Subjects of this
Kingdom, as if the said Princess, and the Is-
sue of her Body, and all Persons lineally de-
scending from her, born, or hereafter to be
born, had been born within this Realm of *En-
gland*, any Law, Statute, Matter, or Thing
whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.
With a Proviso, that every Person who shall
be Naturalized by Virtue of this Act, and
H 2 shall

shall become a Papist, or profess the Popish Religion, shall not enjoy any Benefit or Advantage of a Natural-born Subject of *England*, but shall be judged an Alien.

And in the Fourth and Fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign another Act passed the Royal Assent, Entituled, *An Act for the better securing her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the Protestant Line*; by which, amongst other things, it is Enacted, ' That if any Person
' or Persons, from and after the 25th Day
' of *March* 1706, shall maliciously, advisedly
' and directly, by Writing or Printing, declare,
' maintain and affirm, that our Sovereign
' Lady the Queen, that now is, is not the
' Lawful or Rightful Queen of these Realms;
' or that the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, who
' now stiles himself King of *England* by the
' Name of *James* the Third, hath any Right
' or Title to the Crown of these Realms;
' or that any other Person, or Persons hath,
' or have any Right or Title to the same,
' otherwise than according to an Act or Par-
' liament, made in the First Year of their late
' Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*,
' Entituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and*
' *Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Suc-*
' *cession of the Crown*; and one other Act,
' made in the 12th Year of the Reign of his
' said late Majesty King *William* the Third,
' Entituled, *An Act for the further Limitation*
' *of the Crown, and better securing the Rights*
' *and Liberties of the Subject*:

' Or that the Kings or Queens of *England*,
' with and by the Authority of the Parliament
of

of *England*, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance and Government thereof, every such Person or Persons shall be guilty of High Treason, and being thereof Convicted and Attainted, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, shall be deemed and adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures as in Case of High Treason.

And that if any Person, or Persons, shall from and after the said 25th Day of *March*, Maliciously and Directly, by Preaching, Teaching, or advised Speaking, declare, maintain, and affirm, in manner as aforesaid; every such Person, or Persons, being thereof lawfully Convicted, shall incur the Danger and Penalty of *Premunire*.

And that the Parliament shall not be dissolved by the Death or Demise of Her Majesty, Her Heirs or Successors; but such Parliament, if sitting at the time of such Demise, may proceed to Act for six Months, and no longer, unless the same shall be sooner Prorogued, or Dissolved by such Person to whom the Crown of this Realm of *England* shall come, according to the Acts for limiting and settling the Succession above-mentioned. And if the said Parliament shall be so Prorogued, then it shall meet and sit on the Day unto which it shall be Prorogued, and continue for the residue of the said six Months, unless sooner Prorogued or dissolved as aforesaid. And if there be a Parlia-

' ment in Being, at the time of the Death of
 ' Her Majesty, Her Heirs or Successors, but
 ' happens to be separated by Adjournment or
 ' Prorogation, such Parliament shall immedi-
 ' ately after such Demise meet, and Act for
 ' six Months, and no longer, unless the same
 ' shall be Prorogued, or dissolved, as afore-
 ' said. And in Case there is no Parliament in
 ' being, at the time of such Demise, that has
 ' met and sat, then the last preceding Parli-
 ' ament shall immediately convene, and sit at
 ' *Westminster*, and be a Parliament to continue
 ' as aforesaid; but subject to be Prorogued,
 ' and Dissolved, as aforesaid.

' That the Privy-Council of Her Majesty,
 ' Her Heirs, and Successors, shall not be dis-
 ' solved, by such Death or Demise, but shall conti-
 ' nue for six Months, unless sooner determin-
 ' ed by the next Successor;

' Nor shall any Office, Place, or Employ-
 ' ment, Civil or Military, become void by
 ' such Demise, but continue also for six Months,
 ' unless the Persons enjoying them shall be
 ' sooner removed, and discharged by the next
 ' Successor.

' And if Her Majesty shall happen to die
 ' without Issue, the Privy Council shall with
 ' all convenient Speed cause the next Prote-
 ' stant Successor, entituled to the Crown of
 ' *England*, by Virtue of the Acts abovementi-
 ' oned, to be openly and solemnly Proclaimed
 ' in *England*, and *Ireland*, in usual manner;
 ' and every Member thereof wilfully Neglect-
 ' ing or Refusing to cause such Proclamation
 ' to be made, shall be guilty of High Treason;
 ' and every Officer, by the Privy-Council re-
 ' quired

quired to make such Proclamations, wilfully
Neglecting or Refusing, shall be guilty of,
and suffer the Penalties of High Treason.

And for continuing the Administration of
the Government in the Name of such Pro-
testant Successor, until Her or His Arrival
in *England*, The Lord Arch-bishop of *Can-*
terbury, the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper,
Lord High Treasurer, Lord President of the
Council, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Ad-
miral, and Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's
Bench, at that time being, are thereby Ap-
pointed Lords Justices of *England*, until such
Successor arrive, or determine their Authority.

And the Person to succeed in case of Her
Majesty's Death, without issue, is impower-
ed at any time during Her Majesty's Life, by
Three Instruments under Her or His Hand
and Seal, to appoint so many Natural Born
Subjects of *England*, as She or He shall think
fit, to be added to the above-mentioned Lords
Justices, to Act with them as Lords Justices
of *England*, who, or the Major part, not
being fewer than Five, shall Execute the Pow-
er of Lords Justices.

The said Three Instruments to be Trans-
mitted into *England*, to the Resident of the
Person next to Succeed, (whose Credentials
shall be inroll'd in *Chancery*,) and to the Arch-
Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor,
or Lord Keeper, close Seal'd up; and after
they are so transmitted, shall be severally put
into several Covers, and severally Seal'd by
such Resident, Arch-bishop, and Chancellor,
or Keeper, and severally deposited in the
Hands of such Resident, Arch-bishop, and

‘ Chancellor, or Keeper. If the next Successor
 ‘ shall think fit to revoke, or alter such Ap-
 ‘ pointment, and shall by three Writings of the
 ‘ same tenor, under Her or His Hand and Seal,
 ‘ require the said Instruments so deposited to be
 ‘ delivered up; then the Persons with whom
 ‘ deposited, their Executors, Administrators,
 ‘ and every other Person, in whose Custody
 ‘ the said Instruments shall happen to be, shall
 ‘ deliver up the same accordingly. And if any
 ‘ of the said Persons with whom the said In-
 ‘ struments shall be so deposited, shall die or
 ‘ be removed from their respective Offices or
 ‘ Employments during Her Majesty’s Life, such
 ‘ Person, or Persons, and in Case of any of
 ‘ their Deaths their Executors and Administra-
 ‘ tors respectively, and every other Person, in
 ‘ whose Custody the same shall happen to be,
 ‘ shall with all convenient speed, deliver such
 ‘ of them as shall be in his, or their Custody
 ‘ to the Successor, or Successors of the Person
 ‘ or Persons, so dying or removed. Which
 ‘ said several Instruments so Sealed up, and
 ‘ deposited, shall immediately after the Demise
 ‘ of Her Majesty without Issue, be brought be-
 ‘ fore the Privy-Council, where the same shall
 ‘ be forthwith open’d and read, and afterwards
 ‘ Inroll’d in the High Court of *Chancery*.

‘ If the Persons with whom the said Instru-
 ‘ ments shall be deposited, or others in whose
 ‘ Custody the same shall be, after the Deceases
 ‘ of any of the said Persons, shall open the same,
 ‘ or wilfully Neglect or Refuse to produce
 ‘ them as aforesaid, such Persons shall incur
 ‘ the Penalties of *Præmunire*.

‘ And

‘ And if all the said Instruments shall not
‘ be produced, before the said Privy-Council,
‘ then any one of the said Instruments, so pro-
‘ duced, shall be as effectual to give such Au-
‘ thority as aforesaid, to the Persons therein
‘ named, as if all of them had been produced.
‘ And if there be not any Nomination by such
‘ Instruments, then the said Seven Officers a-
‘ bove named, or any Five of them, are ap-
‘ pointed to be Lords Justices of *England*.
‘ And that the Lords Justices of *England* shall
‘ not dissolve the Parliament continued and or-
‘ dered to assemble and sit as aforesaid, with-
‘ out express Direction from such succeeding
‘ Queen or King, and are restrained and dis-
‘ abled from giving the Royal Assent to any
‘ Bill for the repealing or altering the Act for
‘ the Uniformity of Publick Prayers and Ad-
‘ ministration of Sacraments, made 13 & 14.
‘ C. II. under the Penalty of High Treason:
‘ And that the said Lords Justices, before they
‘ act in their said Offices, shall take the Oaths
‘ mentioned in an Act made 1 *W. & M.* en-
‘ titled, *An Act for abrogating the Oaths of*
‘ *Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other*
‘ *Oaths*, and also the *Abjuration Oath*, before
‘ the Privy Council; and all Members of both
‘ Houses of Parliament, and every Member of
‘ the Privy Council, and all Officers and Per-
‘ sons in any Offices, Places, or Employments
‘ Civil or Military, who shall be by this Act
‘ continued as aforesaid, shall take the said
‘ Oaths, and do all other Acts required by the
‘ Laws of this Realm, to qualify themselves
‘ to continue in such their respective Places,
‘ Offices and Employments, within such Time

‘ and in such Manner, and under such Penalties and Disabilities as they should or ought to do, had they been then newly elected, appointed, constituted, or put into such Offices, Places or Employments in the usual and ordinary way. And that the Lords Justices shall be deemed as Persons executing Offices of Trust within this Kingdom, and shall do all Acts requisite by the Laws to qualify themselves to be and continue in their said Offices, within such times, and in such manner, and under such Penalties and Disabilities, as in and by the said Acts are required.

‘ And it is in the said Act provided, amongst other things, That if any of the aforesaid seven Offices, other than the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, shall be in Commission at the time of such Demise of her Majesty, that then the first Commissioner of such respective Commission shall be one of the Lords Justices of *England*. And if there be no Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer shall be in Commission, then the first in that Commission shall be one of the Lords Justices of *England*.

I have here shewn what wonderful Concern and Care appeared, as well in her Majesty and her Parliament, as in the late King *William* and his, for settling the Succession to the Crown of *England* in the Protestant Line. I come now to the Act of Parliament for uniting the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in one Kingdom, by the Name of *Great Britain*.

This

This had been unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's Predecessors, but the Glory of it was reserv'd for her Majesty, that she might appear as great in her Councils as her Arms.

This Act is Entitled, *An Act for an Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland*; and received the Royal Assent in the Fifth Year of the Reign of her Majesty. It recites, that Articles of Union were agreed on, the 22d Day of *July*, in the Fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign, by the Commissioners nominated on behalf of the Kingdom of *England*, under the great Seal of *England*, dated the 10th Day of *April* then last past, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made in *England* in the Third Year of her Majesty's Reign, and the Commissioners nominated on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, dated the 27th Day of *February*, in the 4th Year of Her Majesty's Reign, in pursuance of the 4th Act of the 3d Session of the then present Parliament of *Scotland*, to treat of and concerning an Union of the said Kingdoms; and reciting that an Act had passed in the Parliament of *Scotland*, the 16th Day of *January*, in the 5th Year of her Majesty's Reign, wherein it is mentioned, that the Estates of Parliament, considering the said Articles of Union of the two Kingdoms, had agreed to and approved thereof with some Additions and Explanations, and that Her Majesty had passed in the same Session of Parliament, an Act, Entitled *Act for securing of the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government*, which was appointed to be inserted in any Act ratifying the Treaty, and expressly declared to be a Fundamental and Essential Condi-

dition of the said Treaty or Union in all times coming;

The Tenor of which Articles, as ratify'd and approved of, is at large recited in the said Act of Union. It concerns our present Purpose to mention only the first and second.

A R T I C L E I.

‘ THAT the two Kingdoms of *England*
 ‘ and *Scotland*, shall, upon the first Day of *May*,
 ‘ which shall be in the Year One thousand se-
 ‘ ven hundred and seven, and for ever after,
 ‘ be United into one Kingdom, by the Name
 ‘ of *Great Britain*, and that the Ensigns Armo-
 ‘ rial of the said United Kingdom be such as
 ‘ Her Majesty shall appoint, and the Crosses
 ‘ of *St. George* and *St. Andrew* be conjoyned in
 ‘ such manner as Her Majesty shall think fit,
 ‘ and used in all Flags, Banners, Standards
 ‘ and Ensigns both at Sea and Land.

A R T I C L E II.

‘ THAT the Succession to the Monarchy
 ‘ of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and
 ‘ of the Dominions thereto belonging, after
 ‘ Her most sacred Majesty, and in default of
 ‘ Issue of Her Majesty, be, remain, and conti-
 ‘ nue to the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*,
 ‘ Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*,
 ‘ and the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants,
 ‘ upon whom the Crown of *England* is settled by
 ‘ an Act of Parliament made in *England* in the
 ‘ Twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Ma-
 ‘ jesty King *William* the Third, Entitled, *An*
 ‘ Act for the further Limitation of the Crown,
 ‘ and

‘ and better Securing the Rights and Liberties
‘ of the Subject; and that all Papists, and Per-
‘ sons Marrying Papists, shall be excluded from
‘ and for ever incapable to Inherit, Possess or
‘ Enjoy the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*,
‘ and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or
‘ any part thereof; and in every such Case the
‘ Crown and Government shall from time to
‘ time descend to, and be enjoy’d by such Per-
‘ son being a Protestant as should have Inhe-
‘ rited and enjoyed the same, in case such Papist,
‘ or Person Marrying a Papist, was naturally
‘ Dead, according to the Provision for the De-
‘ scent of the Crown of *England*, made by a-
‘ nother Act of Parliament in *England*, in the
‘ first Year of the Reign of their late Maje-
‘ sties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entitled,
‘ *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of*
‘ *the Subject, and settling the Succession of the*
‘ *Crown.*

But this Point is of so great Consequence, that I must beg leave to repeat the History and Progress of it, which was thus.

Her Majesty was impower’d by two several Acts of Parliament, one of the late Kingdom of *England*, and the other of the late Kingdom of *Scotland*, to appoint Commissioners for each Kingdom, to treat of an Union of the two Kingdoms; but it was expressly provided in each Act, that the Commissioners should not treat of, or concerning the Alteration of the Worship, Discipline, or Government of the Church in either Kingdom.

The Commissioners were accordingly appointed by her Majesty, and 25 Articles were agreed upon between them, which Articles
were

were approved, and ratified by two several Acts of Parliament of the said late Kingdoms of *England and Scotland*; in which said Acts each Kingdom provided for the Preservation of the Worship, Discipline and Government of its respective Church, within their respective parts of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and each Act of Parliament for the Preservation of the said Churches, were agreed to be taken as a Fundamental Condition of the Union; and to be repeated, and inserted in any Act of Parliament for agreeing the said Treaty, or Union betwixt the two Kingdoms. And it was expressly enacted in each of the said Acts, *That the said Articles and Acts should be and continue in all time coming the sure and perpetual Foundation of a compleat and entire Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.*

After which an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* was passed, Entitled, *An Act for an Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland*; wherein reciting the said 25 Articles of the Union, ratified and confirmed by the respective Acts of Parliament of the Kingdoms of *England and Scotland*, and inserting the said Acts of Parliament for preserving the Worship, Discipline and Government of the respective Churches of each Kingdom: It is thereby enacted, That the said Acts of Parliament of *England and Scotland*, for securing their respective Churches; and the said Articles of Union, so as aforesaid ratified, approved and confirmed, be, and continue in all times coming, the compleat and entire Union of the two Kingdoms of *England and Scotland.*

The Words, *so as aforesaid ratified, approved and confirmed*, are very material, and ought to be
be

be carefully observed, because some of the said Articles are made Entire and Absolute ; and others give a Power to the Parliament of *Great Britain* to alter the same : So that these Words, *so as aforesaid ratified, approved and confirmed,* must be taken *reddendo singula singulis*, that is, such of the said Articles as express no Power to the Parliament of *Great Britain* to alter them, shall remain entire ; and such as carry a Power of Alteration by the Parliament of *Great Britain* are not so Sacred.

Amongst the Articles that carry no such express Power with them, is the second Article for settling the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* on the House of *Hanover* ; so that I humbly offer it to every good Subject's Consideration, Whether this Article is not as firm as the Union it self, and as the Settlement of Episcopacy in *England*, and Presbytery in *Scotland*.

These were the sacred Terms and Stipulations made between the two late Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and upon which both Kingdoms, by the Legal Representatives, consented to be dissolved and exist no longer, *but be resolved into, and United in one Kingdom, by the Name of Great Britain.*

The Powers that made this happy Union, the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, have no longer a Being ; and therefore that Union, in the express Terms thereof, must remain Inviolable. The Union would be infringed should there be any Deviation from these Articles ; and what Consequences that would have no good Subject can think of without Horrour ; for as, I humbly presume, there is no possibility of returning
into

into the same State as we were in before this Union, it is wild and extravagant to suppose it can be peaceably broken. Two Warlike Nations that should separate, after being under solemn Obligations of perpetual Union, would, like two private Men of Spirit that had broken Friendship, have ten thousand nameless and inexplicable Causes of Anger boiling in their Bosoms, which would render them incapable of living quiet Neighbours, and one of them must be brought very low, or neither of them could live in Peace or Safety. What I mean is, that common Sense, and the Nature of things would make one expect that nothing less than a War could attend the Dissatisfactions of such a Rupture. It becomes the *Englishmen* in Generosity to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union.

For the late Kingdom of *Scotland* had as numerous a Nobility as *England*, and the Representatives of their Commons were also very Numerous; they have by the Articles of Union Consented to send only Sixteen Peers, and 45 Commons, to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, which hath the same number of Lords and Commons for *England* that were before the Union; so that the *Scots* Representatives can make no Stand in the Defence of all, or any of the Articles of the Union, should they be Oppos'd by such unequal Numbers of the Lords and Commons of *England*; and therefore it is most plain, from the Impotence in which so many Wise and able Men of the *Scotch* Nation left themselves in these particulars, that they understood the Points of Religion in *England* and *Scotland* respectively, the Succession to the Crown of *Great Britain*,
and

and all other Articles of the Union, were never to be controverted.

To guard and protect this Settlement of the Crown of the united Kingdom of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line, an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed in the 6th Year of her Majesty's Reign, Entituled, *An Act for the Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line*, by which the Provisions in the beforementioned Act (Entitled, *An Act for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to Crown of England in the Protestant Line*) are extended throughout the whole United Kingdom. It is in effect a Repetition of that Act, with proper Alterations for that purpose.

‘ So that now throughout *Breat Britain* this Act
‘ hath made it high Treason for any Person ma-
‘ liciously, advisedly, and directly, by Writing
‘ or Printing, to maintain and affirm, that
‘ our Sovereign Lady the Queen, that now is,
‘ is not the Lawful and Rightful Queen of these
‘ Realms; or that the Pretended Prince of *Wales*,
‘ who now stiles himself King of *Great Britain*,
‘ or King of *England* by the Name of *James*
‘ the IIIrd, or King of *Scotland* by the Name of
‘ *James* the VIIIth, hath any Right or Title to
‘ the Crown of these Realms; or that any other
‘ Person or Persons hath or have any Right or
‘ Title to the same, otherwise than according to
‘ an Act of Parliament made in *England*, in the
‘ first Year of the Reign of their late Majesties
‘ King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entitled, *An*
‘ *Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the*
‘ *Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown,*
‘ and

'and one other Act made in *England*, in the
 'Twelfth Year of the Reign of his said late Ma-
 'jesty K. *William* the III^d, Entitled, *An Act for*
 'the further Limitation of the Crown, and better
 'securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,
 'and the Acts lately made in *England* and *Scot-*
 'land, mutually for the Union of the two King-
 'doms; or that the Kings or Queens of this
 'Realm, with and by the Authority of Parlia-
 'ment, are not able to make Laws and Statutes
 'of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and
 'bind the Crown, and the Descent, Limitation,
 'Inheritance, and Government thereof, every
 'such Person or Persons shall be guilty of High
 'Treason; and if any Person or Persons shall
 'maliciously and directly, by Preaching, Teach-
 'ing, or advised Speaking, declare, maintain, and
 'affirm, as aforesaid, such Person or Persons shall
 'incur the Penalty of *Premunire*.

Thus did our Kingdom of *Great Britain* be-
 gin in the Fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign, and
 in the Year of our Lord 1707. And from this
 Great *Era*, to which it is so easie to look back,
 every *Briton* may date this happy Conclusion;
 that all the Notions of Hereditary Right, but
 that of her Majesty and the Heirs of her Body,
 and in Default of such Issue, that of the most
 Illustrious Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her
 Body, being Protestants, are at an End.

And all this hath been done in so open a man-
 ner, 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

these things, must have some unaccountable Encouragement for their Support. But let me inform every *Briton* that loves his Queen, Religion, Laws and Liberties, it is his Duty to appear Boldly in their Defence, and detect and seize those Enemies to his Country, where-ever he finds them. What should any Man fear in so just a Cause, who acts under the Guard and Protection of the Laws of his Country, whilst his Opponents act with Halters about their Necks?

It is not material to mention the grand Suspicions of the Spurious Birth of the Pretended Prince of *Wales*; That it was talk'd with great Assurance by the Papists, that the late King *James's* Queen was big with a Son, some Months before the Pretended Birth; for they well knew a Daughter would not do their Business; That at the Time of the Pretended Birth, the Princess *Anne*, now our most gracious Queen, was at the *Bath*; That the Bishops were clapt up in the Tower; That the Women about the Queen were Papists; That the Presumptive Heir was not present; That at the Birth of the present *French* King, the next Heir, tho' a Man, was permitted to see the Queen actually Delivered; That in our Case it might have been done with much more Decency, had there been a Birth, since the next Heir was a Woman; That the late King *James*, and his Queen, owning the Pretender, is no Argument for his not being Spurious, considering the Bigotry of that Prince, and the great Influence the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* have on their Laity; That our own History informs us, that the First Queen *Mary* was prevail'd on by her Popish Priests to feign her
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herself with Child, to exclude her Protestant Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, from the Crown of *England*; That the Imposture had been carried on, and a Birth been impos'd upon the Nation, had not King *Philip*, her Husband, wisely consider'd, that the Impostor would not only succeed to the Crown of *England*, but also to that of *Spain*, and so prevented it. I say these things are altogether insignificant, they are foreign to the purpose. Be the Pretender who he will, or whoever was his Father or Mother, it concerns not any *Briton*, he is an Attainted Person, an Enemy to our Queen and Country; and all his Aiders and Abettors are guilty of High Treason.

Now I am upon the Subject of this late Settlement of the Crown, I cannot forbear to express my Wonder, that there can be found any *Briton* weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation, which is practis'd to a much greater Degree in other States, and without the least Scruple exercised, according to the Emergencies of Human Affairs. How hard is it, that *Britain* should be debar'd the Privilege of establishing its own Security, even by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction, whilst other Nations never scruple, upon less Occasions, to go much greater Lengths. There have been even in *France* three different Races of their Kings; the first began with *Pburamond*, the second with *Charles Martell*, and the third with *Hugh Capet*; and I doubt whether if the direct Line of the Blood Royal of *France* were to be followed, it would make for the Title of his present most Christian Majesty. But to come to fresh Instances,

stances, in which *Great Britain* it self hath not been unconcerned, What Right, by the contrary Rule, could the Duke of *Savoy* have to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, or the Elector of *Bavaria* to that of *Sardinia*? Can *Great Britain* help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? Has not *Lewis* the XIVth given us fresh Instances of such Innovations in his own Family? Or can Men think he is not in Earnest, in excluding his Grandson the King of *Spain*, and his Descendants, from the Crown of *France*; and the Dauphin and Duke of *Berry*, and their Descendants, from the Crown of *Spain*? And if such Sacred Things as Kingdoms themselves may be thus disposed of out of the Right Line, not by any Resignation that can in any equitable Sense be called voluntary, but apparently for meer Reasons of State and Ambition, certainly the *English* and *Scotch*, for Preservation of Religion, Liberty and Property, the Essential Benefits of Life, might with more Justice settle their Crown in the Protestant Line in the manner they have done, excluding all the nearer Princes of the Blood that are Papists.

When I reflect on these many solemn strong Barriers of Laws and Oaths, of Policy and Religion, of Penalties without, and Conscience within, methinks all Fear vanisheth before them. It seems a *Phantom* only that disappears with the Light; and I begin to hope it is as ridiculous and groundless, as the Artifice of some Men endeavours to represent it. But my Thoughts will not let me rest here; I ask my self, before I am aware, what are the Marks of a lasting Security? What are our Tempers and our Hearts

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at Home? ---- In what Hands is Power lodged Abroad? Are our unnatural Divisions our Strength?--- Or is it nothing to us which of the Princes of *Europe* hath the longest Sword? The Powerful Hand that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach out a King to us too? Are there no Pretensions to our Crown that can ever be revived?---- Or are Popery and Ambition become tame and quiet Neighbours?

These uneasy Questions are enough to satisfie any *Briton*, that we can neither know our Security, nor be sensible of our Danger from any partial View of our Condition, or from Appearances on one Side only. Our *Condition* cannot be judged of, but from the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe* in general, as well as of *Great Britain* in particular.

That I may represent this with the more Advantage, and put every thing in its proper View, I cannot but look back on the glorious Scene some past Years presented us with, a Scene too glorious indeed to be forgotten, and yet too affecting to be remembered. Ambition, Tyranny and Oppression seemed not long ago to be just taking their leave of this part of the World, and ready to give place to Honour, Liberty and Justice. The *French* for near an Age had been always triumphant in their Encroachments on their Neighbours; from the number of their Troops, their early taking the Field, the Remissness of their Enemies, join'd with their happy manner of interpreting the Sense of their Leagues and Treaties, they had always succeeded in every thing they undertook ;

took; the long Series of their good Fortune made them arrogate to themselves the Titles of *Intrepid and Invincible*; but the destin'd Time came, and they were to their Costs as fully convinced of their Mistake by the Bravery of the *British* Troops, under the Conduct of her Majesty's late General, the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

As this wonderful Instrument of Providence carried in his Fortune the Fate of the *British* People, who can forbear to run over the good Events that happened under him, and the Honours paid to him; both which are recited not as they are personal to himself, but as they concern the *British* Name and Nation, which he represented.

The first thing that meets my Imagination is, the *French* Army broken, routed, flying over the Plains of *Blenheim*, and chusing rather to throw themselves headlong into the *Danube*, than face about upon their Conqueror. I see the just Honours done him by the Emperor and the whole Empire: I hear him with loud Acclamations acknowledged the Deliverer of *Europe*. He is introduced into the College of Princes, and takes Possession of the Principality of *Mindelheim*. Triumphant Columns are erected in the Plains of *Blenheim*, recording the seasonable Assistance of the *British* Arms, and the Glories of that immortal Day.

The *British* Leader returns from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*; he and his brave Companions are the Delight of the Nations through whom they march, and are stiled their Good, their Guardian Angels. — After passing so many different Nations in a triumphant manner, he lands in his own Country, an humble, unat-

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tended Subject; honouring and adorning his Nation by Privacy and Modesty at Home, much more than by the highest Triumphs and Ostentations Abroad.

The Queen and Senate pass in Religious Pomp to thank the Almighty for Victory over the then Common Oppressor. But the Prospect does not end here; the Plains of *Ramillies* are a new Scene of Glory to the Confederate Arms; and a second happy Day ends the Bondage of many Cities!

His Most Christian Majesty conceives new Hopes from changing his Generals, and from the Conduct of *Vendosme*, promises himself to repair the Diminution of his Glory by *Ville-roy*.

The Branches of his Royal Family, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, are to animate the Soldiery by their Presence; by *Vendosme*, *Burgundy* and *Berry*, one not strong enough for the Genius of the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Oudenard*.

The *French* still change their General, and *Villars* is in Command. He soon shares the same Fate with his Predecessors, by being beaten out of his Camp by an inferior Number of Troops. A Camp so strong by Nature and Art, that as none but the Duke of *Marlborough* would have attempted it, so none but that consummate Captain at the Head of his brave Countrymen could have succeeded in it. In short, methinks I see *Ostend*, *Menin*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Aire*, *Doway*, and innumerable other Towns held impregnable, all besieged, taken and restored to their lawful Prince and Ancient Liberties.

The *English* General, during the Course of ten Campaigns, besieged no Town but
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what he took, attacked no Army but what he routed, and returned each Year with the Humility of a private Man.

If 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 Labour; but as *France* changed her Generals for want of Success in their Conduct, so *Britain* changes hers after an uninterrupted Series of Conquest. 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'ing the Glory of *Great Britain* itself; his Enemies were not to be softned by that Consideration; he is dismissed, and soon after a Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France* is Proclaimed at the Head of the Armies. The *British*, in the midst of the Enemies Garrisons, withdraw themselves from their Confederates. The *French*, now no longer having the *Britons*, or their great Leader to fear, affect no more strong Garrisons and fortify'd Camps; but attack and rout the Earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*, and necessitate the brave 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 sensible, that before he was recovered from his Fright, he acknowledg'd he in a
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manner owed his Crown to the Suspension of Arms between him and *Great Britain*. The Suspension is followed by a Treaty of Peace at *Utrecht*. The Peace is concluded between *Great Britain* and *France*; and between *France* and the States General. 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 Imperialists, as an Expedient for the *French* to besiege it; because, forsooth, it lay convenient for their Incurfions upon the Empire. This extravagant Demand must give a melancholly Prospect to other Nations.

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 untouched, and just Suspicions given that they ever will be.

Landau and *Fribourg* are taken; and in case there is no intermediate Peace, which may still be more immediately fatal to us, Two hundred thousand *French* may be ready in the Spring to invade the Empire, and restore the Duke of *Bavaria* to his forfeited Dominions.

These Incidents happen, when the Capital of *Austria*, the Residence of his Imperial Majesty,

jesty, is visited with the Plague. The Male Line of that House is likely to terminate 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 Imperial Dignity; after which Day farewell Liberty, *Europe* would be *French*.

But the Scene is not yet closed. *Portugal*, which during the War supplied to us the place of *Spain*, by sending 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 possibly last no longer than 'till the *Catalonians* are reduced; and who knows but the old Pretensions of *Spain* to *Portugal* 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 Encouragement 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 besieged in *Barcelona*, they chuse rather, like their Countrymen, 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 Treating 'till he had made the most Honourable Conditions 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.

But to bring these several Facts and Circumstances home, we must observe, that the Person who seems to be the most favoured 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,

may, 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 Romantick Heat of Brain. Treasonable Books lately dispersed amongst us, that have apparently struck at the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, have passed almost without Observation from the Generality of the People; Subtle Queries have been Published, about the Birth of a certain Person, which certain Person every Body knows to be intended for the Pretender; the Author of the *Condu&t* of the Allies has dared to drop Insinuations about altering the Succession; and a late Treasonable Book, on the Subject of *Hereditary Right*, 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 himself a Protestant; and even not long before his Succession 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 Papists, 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 Solemn, even the Coronation Oath, to his Protestant Subjects. All Oaths are as insignificant and as soon forgotten, 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 banished 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 e-

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ven of *Suffolk* Men, she filled all *England*, and in a particular manner that County, with the Flames of Martyrs. The Cruelties of that Reign were such, that Multitudes of Men, Women and Children were burnt for being Zealous Professors of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. In short, nothing less than this can be expected from a Popish Prince; both Clergy and Laity must share the same Fate, all universally must submit to the fiery Trial, or renounce their Religion. Our Bishops and Clergy must all lose their Spiritual Preferments, or submit to all Antichristian Tyranny: And should they submit to every thing, they must notwithstanding part from their Wives and Children, which, according to the Church of *Rome*, are Harlots and Spurious. The Laity, possessed of Lands that formerly belonged to the Roman Catholick Clergy, must resign their Estates, and perhaps be made accountable for the Profits received.

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 murdered in the Massacre of *Ireland*. How hot and terrible were the late Persecutions of the Protestants in *France* and *Savoy*? How frequent were the Massacres of Protestants through the whole Kingdom of *France*, when they were under the Protection of the then Laws of that Country? How barbarous, in a particular manner, was the Massacre of *Paris*, at the Marriage of the King of *Navarre* the *French* King's Grandfather, 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 inhumanly 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 Protection? 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 escaped this Disaster, his Mother the Queen of *Navarre* having not long before been poysoned by the same Faction.

These are some Instances of what must ever be expected. No Obligations on our side, no Humanity or Natural Probity on theirs, are of any weight; their very Religion 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 upon, tho' 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 Heirs; in Default of them, the Duke of *Orleance*, 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

made a Province of *France*, the train of Popish Princes is so great, that if one should not compleat the utter Extirpation of our Religion, Laws and Liberties, the rest would certainly do it.

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 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 Terrours 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 pretend 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 dispensing with the most solemn Oath to this Establishment, whilst they think themselves bound only till Opportunity shall serve to introduce another. God be thanked neither we, nor our Cause, stand in need of such detestable Prevarication. Our Cause

Cause is our Happiness. Our 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 constrain 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 Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*: It is no time to talk with Hints and Inuendos, but openly and honestly to profess our Sentiments, before our Enemies have compleated 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 that are 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 erected upon that Quicksand, the Favour of
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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 Destruction; but not so easie to effect that Ruin, when they are come to themselves, and are sensibly and reasonably affected with Thoughts for their Preservation. We cannot 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 dearly, 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 Colours to fly to, no Discipline to preserve us, but are devoted, 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 Assurances and ordinary Means of Succour seem'd irrevocably removed. We have no Pretensions to the Divine Favour, but from our firm Adherence to that Settlement, 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

our Selves at his Altar, so frequently and solemnly Sworn to defend. This plain, unperplexed, unalterable Rule for our Conduct, is visibly the Work of his Hand to a favoured People. Her Majesty's Parliamentary Title, and the Succession 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.



A
LETTER
TO A
Member of PARLIAMENT
Concerning the
B I L L
For Preventing the
Growth of SCHISM.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.

LETTERS

TO

MISS MARY BARNARD

(continued)

Dear Mary,

I have just received your letter of the 10th and am glad to hear from you.

I am well and hope these few lines will find you the same.

Printed in the Press of the University of Cambridge

A
L E T T E R
T O A
Member of PARLIAMENT.

S I R,

London, May 28. 1714.

THOUGH I have had the Misfortune to appear an unworthy Member of your House, and am expelled, accordingly, from my Seat in Parliament, I am not by that Vote (which was more important to the People of *England* than I shall at this Time explain) deprived of the common Benefits of Life, Liberty, or any other Enjoyment of a rational Being. And I do not think I can better bestow my Time, or employ these Advantages, than in doing all in my Power to preserve them to others as well as my self, and in asserting the Right of my Fellow-Subjects against any thing which I apprehend to be an Encroachment upon

on what they ought to enjoy as Men, and what they are legally possessed of as *Englishmen*, or, if you will, as *Britons*.

This, Sir, is all the Apology I shall make to you for addressing to you in this publick Manner my Thoughts concerning the Bill, now making its Way with all convenient Expedition through your House and the whole Legislature. I shall examine this Matter as well as Haste will allow me, and therefore must recite as distinctly as I can what you gave me in Discourse as the Substance of this intended Law, to wit,

‘ **T**HAT whereas by an Act of Parliament,
 ‘ in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years
 ‘ of his late Majesty King *Charles* the Second,
 ‘ intituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of*
 ‘ *Publick Prayers, and the Administration of the*
 ‘ *Sacrament, and other Rites and Ceremonies ;*
 ‘ *and for Establishing the Form of Making, Or-*
 ‘ *daining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and*
 ‘ *Deacons in the Church of England ;* it is a-
 ‘ mong other Things enacted, that every School-
 ‘ Master keeping any Publick or Private School,
 ‘ and every Person instructing and Teaching any
 ‘ Youth or Private Family, as a Tutor or School-
 ‘ Master, should subscribe before his or their
 ‘ Respective Bishop, or Archbishop, or Ordina-
 ‘ ry of the Diocess, a Declaration or Acknow-
 ‘ ledgment, in which among other Things is
 ‘ contained as follows, *viz. I A. B. do declare,*
 ‘ *that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church*
 ‘ *of England, as it is now by Law Establish’d.---*
 ‘ *And if any School-Master or other Person in-*
 ‘ *structing or teaching Youth in any Private School*
 ‘ *or Family as a Tutor or School-Master, before*
 ‘ *License*

Member of Parliament. 185

‘ License obtained from the Respective Archbishop
‘ or Ordinary of the Diocess, according to the
‘ Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for which
‘ he should pay 12 d. only, and before Subscrip-
‘ tion and Acknowledgment made as aforesaid ;
‘ then every such School-Master or other instruct-
‘ ing or teaching as aforesaid, should for the first
‘ Offence suffer Three Months Imprisonment
‘ without Bail, and for every second, and other
‘ such Offence, should suffer Three Months Im-
‘ prisonment without Bail or Mainprize, and also
‘ forfeit to his Majesty the Sum of 5 l.

‘ And whereas notwithstanding the said Act,
‘ Sundry Papists and other Persons dissenting
‘ from the Church of *England*, have taken up-
‘ on them to Instruct and Teach Youth as Tu-
‘ tors and School-Masters, and have set up
‘ Schools and Seminaries for the Education of
‘ several Persons, in Reading, Scholastick, Aca-
‘ demical or other Literature. Whereby, if
‘ due and speedy Remedy be not had, great
‘ Danger might ensue to this Church and State.
‘ For the making the said recited Act more
‘ effectual, and for preventing the Danger afore-
‘ said,

‘ Be it enacted by the Queen’s most Excellent,
‘ &c. That every Person or Persons who shall
‘ from and after the Day of
‘ next ensuing, keep any Publick or Private
‘ School or Seminary, or Teach or Instruct any
‘ Youth as Tutor or School-Master, or School-
‘ Mistress, in Reading, Scholastick, Academicat,
‘ or other Literature, within that Part of *Great*
‘ *Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of
‘ *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*,
‘ before such Person or Persons shall have Sub-
‘ scribed

' scribed the Declaration or Acknowledgment
 ' before recited, and shall have had and obtain'd
 ' a License from the Respective Archbishop or
 ' Bishop, or Ordinary of the Place, under his
 ' Seal of Office, for which the Party shall Pay
 ' and no more; and in Case such Per-
 ' son or Persons shall be thereof convicted by
 ' the Oath of or more credible Wit-
 ' nesses or Witnesses, before any or more
 ' Justice or Justices of the Peace within any
 ' County, Riding, City, or Town Corporate,
 ' where such Offence shall be committed in
 ' that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*;
 ' which Oath such Justice or Justices are here-
 ' by impowered and required to Administer,
 ' and shall, and may. Provided always,
 ' and be it hereby enacted, That no License
 ' shall be granted by any Archbishop, Bishop,
 ' or Ordinary, unless the Person or Persons
 ' who sue for the same, shall produce a Certi-
 ' ficate of his, her, or their having received
 ' the Sacrament according to the Usage of the
 ' Church of *England*, in some Parish Church
 ' within the Space of
 ' next before Grant of such License under the
 ' Hand of nor until such
 ' Person or Persons shall have taken and sub-
 ' scribed the Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-
 ' macy, and Abjuration, as appointed by Law,
 ' before the said Archbishop, Bishop, orordi-
 ' nary; which said Oaths the said Archbishop,
 ' Bishop, or Ordinary, are hereby impowered
 ' and required to Administer. And be it fur-
 ' ther enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That
 ' any Person who shall have obtain'd a License
 ' and subscribed the Declaration, and taken and
 ' sub-

Member of Parliament. 187

‘ subscribed the Oaths above appointed, and
‘ should at any Time after, during the Time of
‘ his, her, or their keeping any Publick or Private
‘ School or Seminary, or instructing any Youth
‘ as Tutor or School-Master, in Reading, Scho-
‘ lastick, Academical, or other Literature,
‘ knowing or willingly resort to, or be present
‘ at any Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting,
‘ within *England, Wales,* or Town of *Berwick*
‘ on *Tweed,* for the Exercise of Religion in any
‘ other Manner than according to the Liturgy
‘ and Practice of the Church of *England*; or
‘ shall knowing or willingly be present at any
‘ Meeting or Assembly for the Exercise of Re-
‘ ligion, altho’ the Liturgy be there used,
‘ where Her Majesty (whom God long Pre-
‘ serve) and the Princess *Sophia,* or such others
‘ as shall from time to time be lawfully appoint-
‘ ed to be pray’d for, shall not there be pray’d
‘ for in express Words, according to the Li-
‘ turgy of the Church of *England,* shall

‘ Provided always, That any Person who
‘ shall find him or themselves aggrieved by any
‘ such Judgment of the said Justice or Justices,
‘ may appeal to the general Meeting of the Ju-
‘ stices of the Peace of the next Quarter Sessions,
‘ to be held for the County, Riding, City, or
‘ Town Corporate, where the Offence shall
‘ have been committed; who are hereby impow-
‘ ered there and then finally to hear and deter-
‘ mine the same, and no *Certiorari* shall be allowed
‘ to remove any Conviction, or other Proceed-
‘ ing for or concerning any Matter or Thing
‘ in this Act contained, but the Justice of Peace
‘ shall

' shall proceed thereupon, any such Writ or
 ' Writs of *Certiorari* notwithstanding. And be
 ' it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,
 ' That if any Person licensed as aforesaid shall
 ' teach any other Catechism than the Catechism
 ' set forth in the Liturgy of the Church of
 ' *England*, or an Exposition thereof allowed,
 ' or hereafter to be allowed by the Bishop of
 ' the Diocess, the Licence of such Person shall
 ' from thenceforth be _____ and such
 ' Person shall be liable to _____
 ' And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,
 ' That it shall and may be lawful to and for
 ' the Bishop of the Diocess, or other proper
 ' Ordinary, to cite any Person or Persons
 ' whatsoever keeping Schools or Seminaries,
 ' or teaching without Licence as aforesaid, and
 ' proceed against and punish such Person or
 ' Persons by Ecclesiastical Censure, this Act or
 ' any other Law to the contrary notwithstanding.
 ' Provided always, That no Person of-
 ' fending against this Act shall be punished twice
 ' for the same Offence.

There has not, ever since this Bill was first
 talked of, any Definition or Description been
 made of what this same Schism is; nor has it
 been thought fit to explain whether the Word
 is to be taken in a Religious or a Political
 Sense: But as the Bill is proposed in a Parlia-
 ment, and not a Convocation, we must receive
 it only in a Civil Consideration, and under-
 stand that the Schismaticks marked out in this
 Bill, are such as do not conform to the Church
 as it is established by Law, and not as they are
 Persons who live in an erroneous Way with
 Regard to Faith or Piety.

The

The first Thing that occurs to me on this Occasion, is, That by the Act of Union, the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* are equally exempted from any Innovation. The Schism seems to be too Geographical, for as the whole united Kingdom is equally under the Care of the Parliament, it seems a great Omission, that Dissenters in the North Part of *Britain* should not be as much discouraged as they are in the South: According to Justice, Episcopal Clergy should be under the same Disadvantages in *Scotland*, as Dissenting-Teachers are in *England*. But let us, according to the Bill, keep to Schism on this Side the *Tweed*.

By this Bill, without Regard to any thing done in favour of the Dissenters in the Reign of King *William*, (who by the Way was as much King of *England* as King *Charles*) this Act of King *Charles* the Second, of Pious Memory, is professedly supported, and certain Breaches against it urged as a Reason for bringing in this. In the first Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, of ever blessed and glorious Memory, an Act passed to exempt the Protestant Subjects dissenting from certain Laws; among which certain Laws, is recited this of the 13th and 14th of King *Charles* the Second.

This Act therefore, in a stealing and too artful a Manner, takes away the Toleration of Dissenters; for the Force of it is directed to take place in Confirmation of a Law which they are expressly defended against by the said Act of Toleration. Is this done like Neighbour to Neighbour? Like *Englishman* to *Englishman*? Give me leave to tell you, *Sir*, you Senators may do what you please to one another,

ther, may do what you please with the Persons of your own Members, we without Doors know you to be only our Attorneys, and that you are not sent thither to impose your Angers, Passions, or Prejudices, upon particular Persons or Parties, but to propose calmly and impartially, according to the Rules of natural and civil Right, Matters which may be for the Benefit of the whole Kingdom. Now, *Sir*, I say, if the Purpose of this Bill be to deprive the Dissenters of the Liberty of receiving Instructors into their Families, or publick School-masters or School-mistresses but under the above-mentioned Restrictions, this Bill is to deprive them of all Right, both Natural, Religious, and Civil.

It is inconsistent with the Natural and Original Right of Mankind; for it is an undoubted Truth, that Men have as much Right to the Means of Knowledge as to the Means of Life: To abridge Men (where there is no Guilt) of a Natural Right, by a small Penalty, is as unjust, tho' not as cruel, as to abridge them of such Right by a greater Penalty. And you may, with equal Justice, take away the Lives of the Dissenters, as punish the Dissenters in their Liberty or their Estates for instructing Children their own way.

This is a Step of the highest Degree of Violation, and there can be no Progress further but cutting their Throats; it is going much faster than our Neighbour Nation went in the like Design. By the Edict of *Nants* in *France*, the *Hugonots* had Liberty of Conscience and Toleration; by that Edict they had Universities of their own, namely, *Sedan* and *Saumur*. These
subsisted

subsisted till a little while before the Revocation of the Edict. Private Schools subsisted to the last. Protestants might breed their Children with Papists if they would, but Papists were discouraged if they sent their Children to Protestants; but still Protestants might educate their Children their own way; so if you please it may be here. It is enough for our Church to let Dissenters educate no Children but their own, and if they will send their Children to us for Education, they may be wellcome; further to go is against all natural Justice.

As to Religious Right, our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles neither used or directed any other Means against Gain-sayers than Evidence; and we are often told from the Pulpit by our best Divines, that in the first Centuries, all Apologies for the Christian Religion constantly insisted on this as a Fundamental Truth, That it was unlawful to restrain Men from the Means of Instruction in the different Forms of Religion. It is against the Interest of the Church of *England*, as it is a Protestant Church in general; for it is the Characteristick of Protestant Churches to admit with all Candour the Liberty of studying the Scriptures, and consequently of teaching and being taught them. The Scriptures (by being open to Men who are not allowed to Commune with others upon them, and learn from whom they please with all Freedom) may serve only to aggravate their Guilt in conforming to what they in their Consciences may think Criminal. The Design of the Toleration Act was to give Ease to scrupulous Consciences; that supposes there are Men who think they cannot in Conscience Commu-
nicate

nicate with us, and this Disability (*of which the Dissenter himself is the only Judge*) is a sufficient Ground for Indulgence to him.

If a Man cannot in Conscience himself Communicate, he will think himself obliged to alarm his Son against our Errours. What a Man thinks the best way to Heaven, it would be monstrous not to shew his Child; and if he is debarred from that, he is persecuted in a Circumstance more grievous to him, than if he were to suffer in Reputation, Fortune, Limb or Life. The Question is not whether he is mistaken; he labours under that Mistake, and for his Sins in that (if he does not disturb the Publick Peace) he is accountable to God. But still it is his Belief.

The Government, as I said, if it thinks fit, may hinder him from propagating his Opinion among those who conform to the Church; but it cannot with Reason and Justice, and therefore cannot at all, hinder him from serving God his own way, and educating his Children in the same.

The *Mabometans* are as much persuaded of the Truth of what they profess, as Men can be; and yet, generally speaking, they suffer the *Greeks* and *Armenians* to breed their Children their own Way. What Allowance God will give Erroneous Consciences, it is not our Business to enquire; but as an Erroneous may be a sincere Conscience, we should be Barbarous in pretending to Oppress or put Hardships upon it: The Welfare of their Children is as dear to the Dissenters, as their own; and if Men would make it their own Case, it would not require a moment's Thought to determine, in favour of this Unhappy, threatned People.

Now

Now as to Civil Right. As *Englishmen*, they are possessed of a Law in their Favour, which indulges them in the Exercise of their Religion; and where there is a Right to a Benefit, there are supposed to go along with it, the necessary means of attaining that Right; These Means are intercepted, when Education towards enjoying this Right is prohibited. The plain and fair method of doing what is intended by this Act, had been to have numbered the Dissenters, and to have made a Law, that none should dissent from the Church, after the Decease of the Persons mentioned in a following List, and so to have named all the present Schismatics; forbidding single Persons among them to Marry, till they had Conformed. This had been perhaps more Offensive at first View, but it had not been so Injurious as this Bill will appear, upon Reflection; For it is a much less Evil, to prevent the Encrease of Mankind, than to debar them of their Natural, Religious, and Civil Rights, after they are come into the World.

But let us consider this matter more closely, and examine this Bill, *First*, as it may affect the Tranquility of the Nation in General: And *Secondly*, as it will affect the Prosperity of the Church of *England*, for the Safety and Benefit of which it is pretended to be calculated.

As to the Publick Peace, it will naturally bring that into the utmost Distraction, by alienating the Affections of Families, Neighbourhoods, and Corporations from each other, by Ten Thousand little Incidents, which cannot be provided against, or described: Conversation throughout the Kingdom will turn upon this
K Subject;

Subject; and this People the Dissenters, as well as those who have any Compassion for them, will be marked out, to be the Scorn and Derision of those who are averse to them; and they, on the other side, will be filled with Rage and Indignation against such their Adversaries.

Men who are old enough to remember the manner of Executing the Laws formerly Enacted against the Dissenters, will inform you, that Constables attended by Guards, and Commission-Officers at the Head of Files of Armed Men, used to visit Meetings, and conduct the poor Wretches to Goals, for calling upon and worshipping God their own way. Let any one read the Tryal of *Pen and Mead*, and he will see the Spirit of those Days: The whole Nation was made up of Criminals and Accusers, and both believed they were doing Service to God. But as this Bill is in it self to the last degree Cruel, even such as it is, it is not preserved so well against a Licentious Execution of it, as the Law directs in less Cases.

However well disposed Ministers and Officers may be, it is for the Good of Mankind, to put as many Checks against an Arbitrary Exercise of Power as possible; but this Bill puts the whole Body of Dissenters under such Persons, as may be pick'd out, by one Officer of State, to Exercise it in the most Summary and Passionate manner.

According to this Bill, if, in any future Reign, a Chancellor should be an Enemy to that distressed People, he may bring a Persecution upon them, by naming proper Sets of Justices of the Peace, and himself sit well excused from their Irregularities; for tho' he

he might know it in their Tempers to be violent, he is not accountable for their Practice, nor are they themselves in terrour of Appeals, for Arbitrary Conduct. There are Squires enough in this Kingdom, ready to distress Presbyterians with the utmost Rigour, tho' they know no more why they are angry with a Presbyterian, than a Turkey-Cock why it raises its Crest at a Man whistling at him. They are bred in a Prejudice against them, and will fall upon them with as little Consideration, as Beasts of Prey do on those Animals which Instinct prompts them to seize.

Such Judges as these this Bill would give a Court Power to appoint, for pronouncing the last Decision in Cases of the highest Consequence, tho' the Law gives an Appeal from them in the lowest Disputes of Property!

Now let us consider how this Bill will affect the Church of *England*. It will bring upon it great and unanswerable Scandal. It will give Arguments to her Enemies, that she is conscious of her Inability to defend her self by Reason and Truth, when she flies to the Secular Power to take off her Dissenters. It will carry in it all the Guilt which we object against the *Roman* Catholicks, in founding her Power in the blind Obedience of the People, and not in the Conviction of their Minds.

When we have done this, and used Force in our gaining Profelytes, why should not the Church of *Rome*, which has more Force, employ it all in reducing us, who are, they say, Schismatics from them? Can any thing be juster than to make Us suffer, what We in the same case impose on others? Add to this, we

shall prosecute them for omitting what our Church cannot pronounce Necessary to Salvation; the *Roman* Catholicks would assault Us for what they think Damnable, and what they think they are obliged, in Conscience, to avenge and extirpate.

The Dissenters have a Law made in their Favour, since which there has been also Care taken, by another Law, to prevent their Capacity from any share of Power to give us Disturbance. What have they done, to make it needful to take further Securities against them? If they have done nothing, it is the utmost Barbarity to take any Right from Men, who have committed no Offence: Have our own Clergy remonstrated, that this is Necessary for their Interest or Safety? Do they say they are too busie in debauching their Flocks? Do our Universities say, their Academies breed Men too hard for them in Dispute? Do not Dissenters pay Dues and Tithes like the rest of their Congregations, tho' they maintain also Pastors in their own Way? Can we not believe them to act Conscienciously, when they are contented to have no part in the Honours and Profits from the Service of their Country, and put themselves also to double Expence to enjoy their Religion?

This is a most extraordinary Point, at this time of Day; When other Nations are plagued with Inquisitions and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, shall we from the Example of their Misery set up, or make a step towards such Tyrannies? Shall we at this time offer to make a Complement to the most Pure, Learned, and Apostolick Church in the World, of unjust Means to subdue

subdue their Opponents? Will you not at least have the Sense of the Convocation, now Sitting, before you take Measures to the Impeachment of their Reputation as Casuists?

But to use Force is not the way to subdue them; it is against Nature and common Sense to think they are to be gained by such Methods. Good-will opens the way to Men's Hearts, and the Toleration has thinned Presbyterian Assemblies more than any rigid Means could ever have done. No Man is persuaded by him who hates him, but all are easily prevailed upon by those who love 'em. The Dissenters are quite another kind of People, than they were before the Toleration. By this Indulgence to them, it is a known Observation, that they are brought into the Methods of Life in common with the best and most polite People, and Crowds of the Generations which have grown up under the Toleration have conformed to the Church, from the Humanity of that Law. The Fathers of Families have, perhaps, found some Pain in retracting their Errors, and in going into new Communities and Conversations; but we see thousands connive at the Conformity of their Children, the Parents have been secretly pleased at their Sliding into that Oeconomy, for which the Fear of the Imputation of Self-interest, or Apostacy, prevented them in their Persons to declare.

And yet all of a sudden, without any manner of Provocation, a Million of her Majesty's Subjects are to have the Law, by which they enjoy the dearest Blessings of Life, taken from them. An Act that will certainly gain to us all that are not worth having, and make those

who are animated by Virtue and Piety more averse to us. They will have a juster Exception against us from this very Act than they had before. Kind Treatment every Day brought new Profelytes amongst us, and they were insensibly wrought into our Sentiments; but either as Men, or as Christians, they must abhor the thought of adhering to us out of Fear. This Motive is in it self a faulty one, for resigning not only any Tenet of Religion, but of common Obligation. Passive Obedience is said to be a Doctrine of the Church of *England*, but it is a terrible Article to be made the first in the Catechism, as it would be to those who are to come in upon Compulsion.

When we consider the putting this Law in Execution, there cannot be a more pleasant Image presented to the Imagination, than a poor Schismatick School-Mistress brought before a zealous angry Squire for transgressing this Act, and teaching one Presbyterian, yet little more than an Animal, in what the Letter *D* differed from the Letter *B*; maliciously insinuating to another Schismatick aged five Years old, without Licence from the Ordinary, that *O* is round; and not contenting herself with merely showing to the said Schismaticks the Letters of a certain Book covered with Horn; but instructing the said Hereticks to put them together, and make Words of them; as appears by the Affidavit of one who heard one Infant Schismatick say, *o f, of*, another *ob, ob*. — Prodigious! that a Church adorned with so many Excellent and Learned Members, supplied by two famous Universities, both endowed with ample Revenues, Immunities,

munities, and Jurisdictions, should be affronted with the offer of being reinforced with Penal Laws against the Combination of Women and Children! You might with the same Propriety provide against Schismatick Nurses.

This Act seems such a Violation of Natural Justice, that it may be made a Question whether it ought to oblige, after it is enacted. I am sure it is such, that if the Dissenters are to consider whether they will obey it, or fly into another Nation, they must chuse the latter; and Lands untenanted, or Tenants disabled by the loss of half a Million of People, will be sensibly felt by the Incumbents on small Livings. Now I have mentioned small Livings, Why does no Body represent, that in *Wales*, and some Parts of *England*, Men in Holy Orders are forced to subsist with an Income below that of Day-Labourers? Why do not you, while you are courting the Clergy, help this Particular? If you go on in such Designs as these, will it not suffice? No: This would be nothing but Charity and Piety, and would carry no Point for those of the Clergy who affect Power and Grandeur, and lend the Word *Church* to promote Secular Ends, to the Disparagement of God's Holy Word, of which they are unworthy Dispensers.

It is possible Bishops that are given to Preaching, and Ministers who are in earnest in their sacred Calling, would be enough obliged by such Acts in favour of their Indigent Brethren; but what would that do towards pulling down what they call *the Faction*? Godly Clergymen can't do that Service which is necessary; Self-denial, Meekness and Charity are too

flow Instruments for Men of Dispatch and Business.

But it is to be hoped the Fallacy of using the Pretence of the Church in Cases which are so far from promoting Religion, that they scandalize and disparage it, will be thoroughly understood, before such a destructive Bill, as this, can go through any Part of the Legislature; tho' if it shou'd, it is still to be hoped Her Majesty will confirm to her self the Love and Affection of all who have a true Sense of Religion, by rejecting a Bill so terrible to scrupulous Consciences, and which can be serviceable to none but such as have no Sense of Conscience at all, such as have so entirely forgotten what it is that they have no Notion of the Compunctions it may give others.

No Man can exert himself on a more worthy, or more important Occasion, than in Opposition to this Bill; and if it is at last rejected by Her Majesty, she will do as great a Service to true Piety, and the Interests of the Church, as Queen *Esther* did, when she averted the Extirpation of the *Jews*.

He that will in the least reflect, can have no room to believe, that the Interest of Religion can be advanced by this Bill. Therefore as it cannot truly concern the Church to have it take place, let us see a little how the passing of it into a Law would be Useful to the State.

The great Points to be considered at this Juncture in debating on any publick Circumstance, is how the Matter before us will regard the House of *Hanover*, or the Pretender.

It has been already observed, that this Proceeding against our Protestant Brethren may be

a fatal Example to the *Roman* Catholick World, to join its whole Force to suppress Us.

If we look upon the Places distant from the Court: We have undoubted Intelligence, that there are Men carried away every Day out of *Ireland* for the Service of the Chevalier at *Bar-le-Duc*: That several of the Clans in *Scotland* seem to expect with impatience his Arrival in that Part of the Kingdom, in Hopes of Ravaging the Estates of Gentlemen, remarkable for their Zeal to the House of *Hanover*. If you please to consult the Members for that Part of *Britain*, they will not dissemble their Fears on this Occasion. This Pretender himself is still at *Bar-le-Duc*, notwithstanding the repeated Instances to remove him; and the King of *France*, his ancient Friend and Patron, is so little careful to manage it decently towards Us, that he does not only suffer him to stay at *Bar-le-Duc*, but in further Contempt of us, the Great Monarch is building an Harbour at *Mardyke*, to serve in the same stead that *Dunkirk* did heretofore.

Now when there are these melancholy Prospects before our Eyes; when no one of the Family of *Hanover*, tho' long expected, is yet arrived in this Kingdom; and when many Weak People are under strange Apprehensions, because the Proclamation for bringing the Pretender to Justice, in case he should Land here, is put off; I say, when many things pass every Day on which *Jacobites* make Reflections to their own Advantage, and ordinary People, who cannot judge of Reasons of State, put all these things together, it creates in them a Chagrin and Uneasiness, which will be migh-

tily encreased by the passing a Bill that may be to the Mortification of the meanest Persons in the Protestant Cause.

It is therefore no time to do a thing, which will take off the Hands and Purfes of Half a Million of People, as Friends to the House of *Hanover*; Half a Million of People, as Enemies to the Pretender.

If this Bill passes, and the Pretender should come upon our Coast, I would fain know what could move a Dissenter to lift an Hand, or employ a Shilling against Him? He has at present no hopes of Preferment, and would by this Bill be under daily Apprehensions of the loss of the Toleration, as to himself, as well as being wholly bereft of it as to his Posterity. He would have certainly Promises from the Pretender of Liberty of Conscience, and he could but have those Promises broken, as in this Case he would have it to say they had been before, and must expect some Sweetnesses at a new Change for standing Neuter, or exerting himself for the Invader. Thus he would rather, according to his own Interest, wish an Invader Success than Disappointment; add to this, some Pleasure in the revengeful Hope of seeing us, who had Persecuted him, fall into the same Calamity.

This, dear Sir, is all I have to trouble you with on this Occasion; and tho' you accused me of being cast down with my Expulsion, you see I have not Dunn'd you to move, that the other Pamphlets may be examined, as well as the *Crisis* and the *Englishman*. Give my Service to poor *Tom* and *Ned*. I must confess they were the last I forgave, but I have forgiven

given them too now. I am thoroughly convinced, since this Bill, that I was not worthy: For now you have taken upon you Ecclesiastical Matters, and I should not have known how to behave my self among you as a Communion of Saints.

I doubt not, Sir, but your Voice and excellent Talents will be employed against this pernicious Bill: To oppose it strenuously, will be worthy that Resolution and Modesty for which you are so remarkably conspicuous; that Modesty which cannot incline you to bear hard against Persons or Things, when you happen to be with a Majority, and that Resolution which prompts you to assert what you think Truth, tho' under the Disadvantage of the most inconsiderable Minority.

I am, S I R,

Your most Obedient,

Obliged, Humble Servant,

Richard Steele

Mr



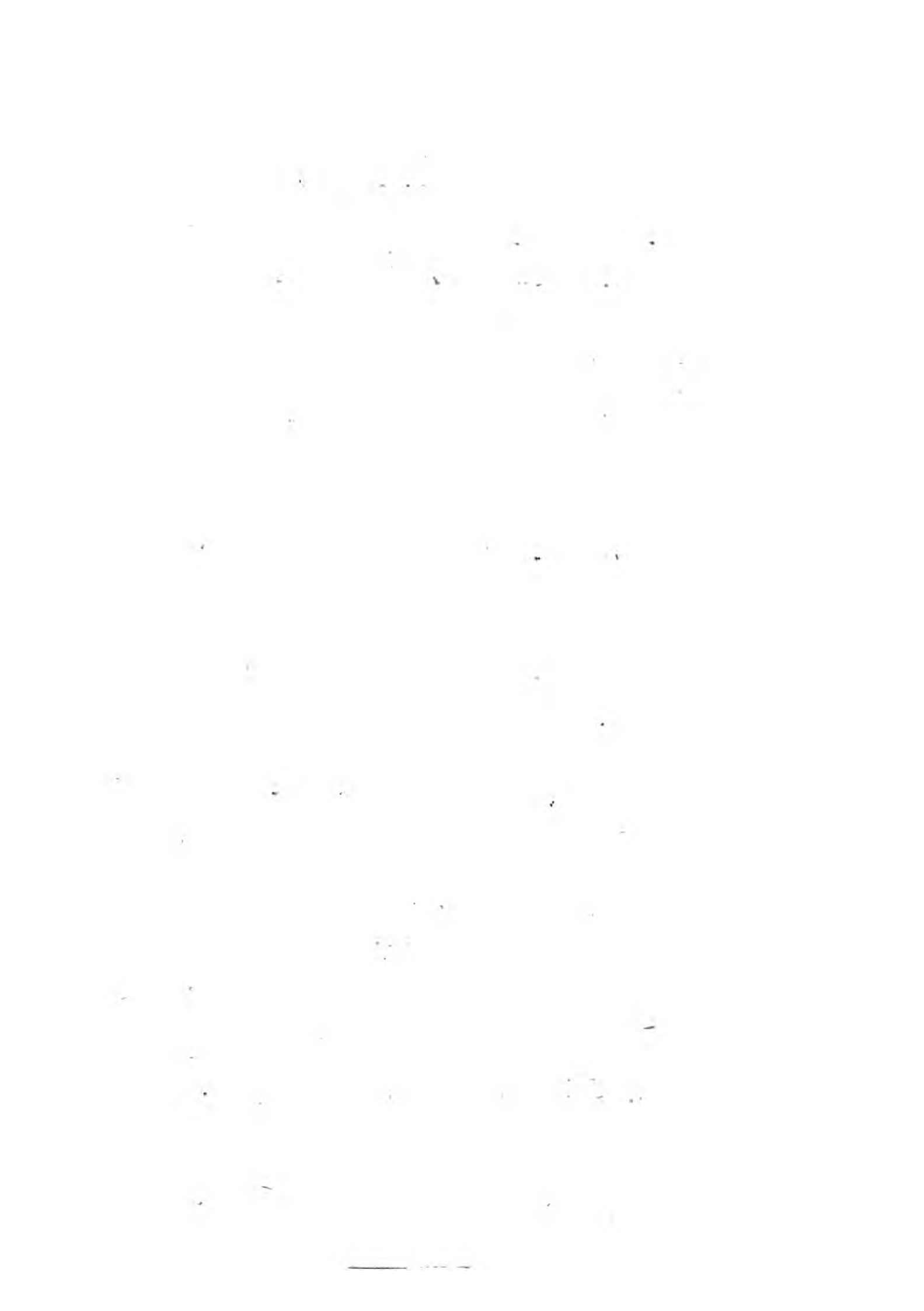
Mr. *STEELE*'s
A P O L O G Y
F O R
Himself and his Writings;
Occasioned by his
E X P U L S I O N
F R O M T H E
House of COMMONS.

Fabula Quanta Fui !!

Hor.



Printed in the YEAR MDCCXV.



T O

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 Conveniences of Life. The Probability of being undone I could not but form to my self 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

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 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
Employ-

DEDICATION. 209

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 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, deafned 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

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

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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 Perswasion, 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 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

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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 sham'd; 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.

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.

T H E

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

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

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molishing 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 be made an Accusation before an House of Commons? But so it was; and there appeared in it Fellows born and contrived by Nature for such a Work; Creatures that could vex, but not make you angry, such mean Instruments of Iniquity, that the Wickedness was disparaged by their managing it, and the Flagrancy and dangerous Consequence of what was doing, was hidden by the Inconsiderableness 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 pares 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 Pblegm, insomuch that they

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 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*

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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 stich'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 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. Minshull, and another with Mr. Hoadly. I don't name Mr. Hoadly 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 what-

L

ever

ever 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 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.

A
L I S T
O F T H E
G E N T L E M E N

Who voted against the Expulsion
of Mr. *S T E E L E*.

J O H 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 Burrige, *Esq;*
 Daniel Harvey, *Esq;*
 John Baker, *Esq;*
 James Littleton, *Esq;*
 William Betts, *Esq;*
 William Coventry, *Esq;*
 Thomas Erle, *Esq;*
 George Pit, *Esq;*
 John Hedwith, *Esq;*
 Sir Tho. Webster. *Bar.*
 Sir Isaac Rebow, *Kt.*
 Thomas Stevens, *Esq;*
 William Dowdeswell, *Esq;*
 Benjamin Bathurst, *Esq;*
 William Grimston, *Esq;*
 William Hale, *Esq;*
 Sir Matthew Dudley.
 Robert Piggot, *Esq;*
 Lord Hinchinbrook.
 The Hon. Sidney Wortley.
 Sir Robert Marsham, *Bar.*
 Sir Samuel Ongley, *Kt.*
 Robert Heysham, *Esq;*
 Sir Thomas Johnson, *Kt.*
 Lord Willoughby.
 Sir John Brownloe, *Bar.*

Sir

Sir John Thorold, *Bar.*
 William Coatesworth, *Esq;*
 John Motgan, *Esq;*
Sir Charles Turner, *Kt.*
 Robert Walpole, *Esq;*
The Hon. William Feilding.
 Horatio Walpole, *Esq;*
The Hon. John Fitzwilliams.
 George Mountague, *Esq;*
The Hon. William Egerton.
 Paul Methuen, *Esq;*
The Hon. Tho. Wentworth.
Earl of Hertford.
Sir John Jermayn, *Bar.*
 Oley Douglass, *Esq;*
 Richard Hambden, *Esq;*
Lord Sherrard.
Lord Newport.
 William Whitmore, *Esq;*
 John Weaver, *Esq;*
 James Medicot, *Esq;*
 Norton Pawlet, *Esq;*
 Tho. Broderick, *Esq;*
Lord William Pawlet.
 Walter Chetwynd, *Esq;*
 William Thompson, *Esq;*
Sir Harvey Elways, *Bar.*
 Tho. Maynard, *Esq;*
 Edward Hopkins, *Esq;*
The Hon. Carr Harvey.
 Aubrey Porter, *Esq;*
Sir Richard Onslow, *Bar.*
 George Evelyn, *Esq;*
 Tho. Onslow, *Esq;*
 James Cocks, *Esq;*
 Paul Docminique, *Esq;*

The Hon. James Brudenell.
 Tho. Pelham, *Esq;*
 John Morley Trevor, *Esq;*
 Nathaniel Gould, *Esq;*
 Francis Chamberlayn, *Esq;*
The Hon. Spencer Compton.
 Lord Thomond.
 Lord Lumley.
 Daniel Willfon, *Esq;*
 Sir Richard Sandford, *Bar.*
 John London, *Esq;*
 Tho. Pit, Jun. *Esq;*
 John Eyres, *Esq;*
 Reynolds Calthrop, *Esq;*
 Edward Ash, *Esq;*
 Price Acourt, *Esq;*
 John Eyles, *Esq;*
 Sir John Rushout, *Bar.*
 Joseph Addison, *Esq;*
 Sir Tho. Read, *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

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.

N. B. The Honourable John Campbell, and William Thompson of Scarborough, Esq; were Omitted in the former Edition of this Book.

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, Entituled, 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 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,

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 my self, 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 my self 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,

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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

low 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 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 Cases, 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 quit opposite Fate, was to do nothing but what should be dislik'd, because he was odious.

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This Disposition against him appeared the very first Day of the Session; what happened 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 Hammer* 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. Fodrell,

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 my self 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 increased; at the Words, Doing him

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 easie a Thing to speak in the House — He fancies, because he can scribble —* and the like deep

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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 Entitled, 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, Entituled, 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. 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.

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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 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. Steele 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

lar Orator stood up, and endeavoured to warn 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 Complexion Tawny, his Mein disturbed, 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, in-much that *Mr. Steele* grew in fear he should have

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 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

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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 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.

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 my self 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 was his Time to stand up; and making use of his Papers he sometimes spoke, but chiefly read as follows: *Mr.*

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 these 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

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 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

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 fallen 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 befel 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

fest 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

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

‘ But

‘ 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 In-
‘ clinations 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 lay-
‘ ing 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 Pas-
‘ sion 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 Pre-
‘ tender? Or, does it further secure the Pro-
‘ testant Succession?

M

‘ These

' These are my Questions, which I make the
 ' Test of Men and Opinions; and if a Man
 ' does a thing that may advance 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 heredi-
 ' tary Right, and then follow it with Profes-
 ' sions 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 Rehearsal of
 ' the Creed.

' I speak all this because I am much afraid
 ' of the Pretender; and my Fears are encrea-
 ' sed, because many others laugh at the Dan-
 ' ger. 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 Preten-
 ' der's Friends, because I think my self a very
 ' good Judge of Men's 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 Stile, but what
 ' the Sailor did when he fired out of the Stage-
 ' Catch 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 Ministry, before they can bring the
 first of these Paragraphs within their Complaint.

I cannot suppose that any *Englishman* 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, 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 re-
‘ duce it self to an Absurdity, from their Vi-
‘ olence of 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 In-
‘ defeasible. Let them both agree that the
‘ Queen is vested in all the Rights inherent in
‘ the Crown of *England*, and in Default of
‘ Issue, the same Titles devolved upon the House
‘ of *Hanover*. When we talk of Hereditary

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‘ 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 supe-
‘ rior 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 other ex-
‘ tinct 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
‘ Man, will join in a common Indignation a-
‘ gainst those who would perplex our Obedi-
‘ ence, 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 listed 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

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 *CRISIS*. 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 other 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 suppose, Sir, those who have marked this Passage, would fetch an Inuendo 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 intitled *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,

*Written by Mr.
Steele himself.*

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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.

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 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 Monuments of the Virtue of our Ancestors,*
are in their very Nature 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 Daughter
of Liberty,*

It

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 is one thing which deserves your most serious Consideration. You have bound yourselves by the strongest Obligations that Religion can lay upon Men, to support 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 Equivocations or
 • mental Reservations whatsoever; that is,
 • without any possible Escapes, by which the
 • Subtlety of temporising Casuists might hope
 • to elude the Force of these solemn Obligati-
 • ons. You know much better than I do,
 • whether the calling God to Witness to the
 • Sincerity of our Intentions in these Cases;
 • whether the swearing upon the holy Evange-
 • lists in the most solemn Manner; whether
 • the taking of an Oath before Multitudes of
 • our Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Christians
 • in our publick Courts of Justice, 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 voluntarily entered into
 • these Engagements, should be made use of as
 • Instruments and Examples to make the Nati-
 • on break through them, not only the Succes-
 • sion to our Crown, but the very Essence of
 • our Religion is in Danger. What a Tri-
 • umph would it furnish to those evil Men a-
 • mong us, who are Enemies to your sacred
 • Order? What Occasion 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 Professors: 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 ap-
 • pear in the Eyes of their Posterity, and even to
 • the Succession of their own Order, under a
 • Govern-

' Government introduced and established 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 mis-led 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 Inuendo 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
M 5 that

that there is such a Disposition among 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 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

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 overlook 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 seeming 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

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' against a Body of Men, whom of all o-
 ' thers a good Man would be most careful not
 ' to violate, I mean Men in holy Orders. Per-
 ' sons who have devoted themselves to the Ser-
 ' vice of God are venerable to all who fear
 ' him; and it is a certain Characteristick of a
 ' dissolute ungovern'd Mind, to rail or speak
 ' disrespectfully of them in general. It is cer-
 ' tain that in so great a Crowd of Men, some
 ' will intrude who are of Tempers very unbe-
 ' coming 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 unreason-
 ' able Author villifie the whole Order? He has
 ' not taken the least Care to disguise his being
 ' an Enemy to the Persons against whom he
 ' writes, nor any where granted, that the In-
 ' stitution of religious Men to serve at the Al-
 ' tar, and instruct such who are not as wise
 ' as himself, is at all necessary or desirable; but
 ' proceeds without the least Apology to under-
 ' mine their Credit, and frustrate their Labours.
 ' Whatever Clergymen, in Disputes against
 ' each other, have unguardedly uttered, is here
 ' recorded in such a Manner as to affect Reli-
 ' gion it self, by wresting Concessions to its
 ' Disadvantage from its own Teachers. If this
 ' be true, as sure any Man that reads the Di-
 ' scourse must allow it is; and if Religion is
 ' the strongest Tye of Human Society; in what
 ' Manner are we to treat this our common E-
 ' nemy?

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 con-
 tains the following Words:

But

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 Institution as that of the Christian Priesthood, which is now become the Scorn of Fools.

This most reasonable and amiable Light in which the Clergy are here placed, comes from that modest 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 propagate them by their Discourses and Writings, to inform their Fellow-Creatures of the Being and Attributes 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 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

' ry 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 En-
 gagements 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 Hero; 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 Pro-
 ' fessors and Teachers of this Sacred Faith en-
 ' joy, and object to them the Miseries and Ne-
 ' cessities of 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 E-
 ' nemy does his Business more successfully in
 ' an Embrace than a Blow. But since the Ne-
 ' cessaries, 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

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 Governors in the Church of *England*, 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 exemplary Spirits, that can conquer the Difficulties and Enchantments of Wealth itself.

I have carried this Inclination to the Advancement of Virtue so far, as to pursue it even in things the most indifferent, 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 amongst 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 improper Entertainment in a Christian Commonwealth.

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 Horrour.

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

effor for the Church; for this Play was damn'd for its Piety.

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 ap-
proved it. It is written with the Spirit of one
who has seen the World enough to underva-
lue it with good Breeding. The Author must
certainly be a Man of Wisdom as well as Pie-
ty, 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 unseasona-
ble 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

*Written by
Mr. Steele him-
self.*

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' a Gentleman, and goes to Heaven with a
' very good Mien.

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 o-
' ther Day together, is an Ora-
' tor. 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 Beha-
' vour that it must attract your Attention.
' His Person, it is to be confessed, is no small
' Recommendation; 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 Dis-
' course, 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 con-
' vinc'd your Reason. All the Objections
' which he can form are laid open and dis-
' persed, before he uses the least Vehemence
' in his Sermon: but when he thinks he has
' your Head, he very soon wins your Heart;
' and

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—

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 believe, all that are taken from him by his want of Industry, are to be demanded of him. I dare say, *Favonius* 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 Example 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 Expectation of the next. His Voice and Behaviour are the lively 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 distinguish 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 Dictates of Nature, as well as to those of Grace.

*Written by
Mr. Steele him-
self.*

In fine Sir, the last Passage which I shall cite out of that Work, is taken from the Preface to the

the fourth Volume, published in 1711, where it is said,

‘ What a Man obtains from the good Opinion and Friendship 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 Exceptions 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 *Favonius* is acknowledged to be *Dr. Smalridge*, and the amiable Character of the Dean in the sixty sixth *Tatler*, drawn for *Dr. Atterbury*, I hope I need say no more as to Impartiality.

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

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 * *Speaking*
‘ Supine, and our Anxiety for * It *of Liberty.*
‘ is abated, in proportion to the
‘ Danger to which it is every Day more expo-
‘ sed, by the artful and open Attacks of the
‘ Enemies of our Constitution: It is a Season-
‘ able and Honest Office to look into our Cir-
‘ cumstances; and let the Enemies of our pre-
‘ sent Establishment behold the Securities which
‘ the Laws of the Country have given those
‘ who dare assert their Liberties, and the Ter-
‘ rors they have pronounced against those who
‘ dare undermine them. For, whatever is the
‘ Prospect before our Eyes, it is the Business
‘ of every honest Man, to look up with a Spi-
‘ rit that becomes Honesty, and to do what in
‘ him lies for the Improvement of our present
‘ Condition, which nothing but our own Pu-
‘ sillanimity can make desperate.

‘ The most destructive Circumstance in our
‘ Affairs seems to be, that by the long and re-
‘ peated 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

' 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
 ' Honour, Truth, and Justice; and that we
 ' are, by all the Laws of God and Man, insta-
 ' ted 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.

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 Condi-
 tion of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and
 Property, rescued from the most imminent Dan-
 ger of having them all for ever depend upon the
 Arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince.* The fol-
 lowing Paragraph, which determines these
 words, runs thus,

' We shou'd have been chained down in this
 ' abject Condition, in the Reign of the late
 ' King *James*, had not God Almighty in Mer-
 ' cy given us the late happy Revolution, by
 ' that *Glorious Instrument of his Providence the
 ' Great and Memorable King William.*

And now, Sir, can any one say, that we were
 not instated in a Condition of enjoying Reli-
 gion, Life, Liberty, and Property, by the late
 happy Revolution? Or that we were not be-
 fore in the most imminent Danger of having
 them all depend upon the Arbitrary Power of
 a Popish Prince? I appeal to the Acts of Par-
 liament

liament 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 *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*

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.

the Enemies of our Constitution, the Enemies of our present Happy Establishment, the Terrors 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 practis'd 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 practis'd 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

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 Provisi-
‘ ons 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 vanish be-
‘ fore the glaring Light of Law and Reason.

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 Occasi-
‘ on, 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 Reso-
‘ lutions, 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, Imparti-
‘ ally 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 Bri-*
‘ *tain* in the Protestant Line, and cannot pos-
‘ sibly

‘ sibly 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 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 Fo-
 ‘ reign Courts, were effectual Means towards
 ‘ ending the War, and reducing them to a Condi-
 ‘ tion 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

her Generals for want of Success in their Conduct; so *Britain* changes hers, after an uninterrupted Series of Conquest. 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'ing the Glory of *Great Britain*, it self. His Enemies were not to be softened 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 *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 sensible, 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 *Utrecht*. The Peace is concluded between *Great Britain* and *France*, and between *France* and the *States-General*. 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)

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‘ that the House of *Bourbon* is at this
‘ Juncture become more formidable, and bids
‘ fairer for an universal Monarchy, and to en-
‘ gross the whole Trade of *Europe*, than it did
‘ before the War.

‘ All the World knows with what Frank-
‘ ness the *Dutch* have been treated to deliver
‘ up *Traerbach* to the *Imperialists*, as an Expe-
‘ dient for the *French* to besiege it; because
‘ forsooth it lies convenient for their Incur-
‘ sions upon the Empire. This Extravagant
‘ Demand must give a melancholy 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 Sedition, 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 Encomiums 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. 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,

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, 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 immediately 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

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

‘ These Incidents happen when the Capital
‘ of *Austria*, the Residence of his Imperial Ma-
‘ jesty, is visited with the Plague. The Male
‘ Line of that House is likely to terminate 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 bid
‘ fair for the Imperial Dignity; after which
‘ Day, farewell Liberty, *Europe* would be
‘ *French*.

Here is the Paragraph that follows :

‘ But the Scene is not yet closed; *Por-*
‘ *tugal*, which, during the War, supplied to us
‘ the place of *Spain*, by sending us vast Quan-
‘ tities of Gold in Exchange for our Woollen
‘ Manufactures, has only at present a Suspension
‘ of Arms for its Protection, which Suspension
‘ may possibly last no longer than ’till the *Ca-*
‘ *talonians* are reduc’d; and who knows but
‘ the old Pretensions of *Spain* to *Portugal*
‘ may be then revived? I mention the *Catalo-*
‘ *nians*, but who can name the *Catalonians*
‘ without a Tear! Brave unhappy People!
‘ drawn into the War by the Encouragement
‘ 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 Resent-
‘ ment 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
‘ N 4. besieged.

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besieged in *Barcelona*, they chuse rather, like their Countrymen 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 treating, 'till he had made the most honourable Conditions 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 marked out this Paragraph for taking Pity on the poor *Catalonians*, 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,

Sir, I am afraid I have tired out the Patience of this Honourable 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 Offence. The greatest part of it consists of faithful Quotations 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 several Considerations from the present Situation of Affairs in *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

N 5

and

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 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

nary 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.

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.

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

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,

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‘ 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 in-
‘ stead 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
‘ misled a Second time. Many who are a-
‘ bove 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 Romantick Heat of Brain. Treasonable
‘ Books lately dispersed amongst us, that have
‘ apparently struck at the Protestant Succession
‘ in the House of *Hanover*, have passed almost
‘ without Observation from the Generality of
‘ the People; Subtile Queries have been Pub-
‘ lished, about the Birth of a certain Person,
‘ which certain Person every Body knows to
‘ be intended for the Pretender; The Author
‘ of the Conduct of the Allies has dared to
‘ drop Insinuations about altering the Succes-
‘ sion; and a late Treasonable Book, on the
‘ Subject of *Hereditary Right*, has published
‘ the Will of King *Henry the Eighth*, which
‘ seems to be intended as a Pattern for the like
‘ Occasion.

‘ The

‘ 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 himself 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 Papists, 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 Solemn, even the Coronation Oath, to his Protestant Subjects. All Oaths are as insignificant and as soon forgotten, 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 Banished his Protestant Subjects, who preserved the Crown on his Head?

‘ Did

' 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
 ' Cruelties of that Reign were such, that mul-
 ' titudes of Men, Women and Children were
 ' burnt for being Zealous Professors of the
 ' Gospel of the Lord Jesus. In short, nothing
 ' less than this can be expected from a Popish
 ' Prince; both Clergy and Laity must share
 ' the same Fate; all universally must submit
 ' to the fiery Tryal, or renounce their Reli-
 ' gion. Our Bishops and Clergy must all lose
 ' their Spiritual Preferments, or submit to An-
 ' richristian Tyranny: And should they submit
 ' to every thing, they must notwithstanding
 ' part from their Wives and Children, which,
 ' according to the Church of *Rome*, are Har-
 ' lots and Spurious. The Laity, possessed of
 ' Lands that formerly belonged to the Roman
 ' Catholick Clergy, must resign their Estates,
 ' and perhaps be made accountable for the Pro-
 ' fits received.

' What can be more moving, than to reflect
 ' upon the Barbarous Cruelties of Papists be-
 ' yond all Example? And these not accidental,
 ' or the sudden Effects of Passion or Provoca-
 ' tion, but the settled Result of their Religion
 ' and their Consciences.

' Above 100000 Men, Women and Children
 ' were murdered in the Massacre of *Ireland*.
 ' How

‘ How hot and terrible were the late Persecu-
‘ tions of Protestants in *France* and *Savoy* ?
‘ How frequent were the Massacres of the
‘ Protestants through the whole Kingdom
‘ of *France*, when they were under the Pro-
‘ tection of the then Laws of that Country ?
‘ How Barbarous, in a particular manner, 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 Asser-
‘ ter of the Protestant Interest, was inhumanly
‘ Murdered, and the Body of that Heroe dragged
‘ Naked about the Streets, and this by the Di-
‘ rection 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 escaped the Disa-
‘ aster, his Mother the Queen of *Navarre* ha-
‘ ving not long before been poysoned by the
‘ same Faction.

‘ These are some Instances of what must e-
‘ ver be expected. No Obligations on our
‘ side, no Humanity or Natural Probity on
‘ theirs, are of any weight; their very Religion
‘ forces them, upon Pain of Damnation, to
‘ forget and cancel the former, and to extin-
‘ guish all Remains of the latter. Good God !
‘ To what are they reserved, who have no-
‘ thing to expect but what such a Religion can
‘ afford them? It cannot therefore be too of-
‘ ten repeated. We should consider, over and
‘ over again, that should the Chain of the Pro-
‘ testant

' testant Succession be once broke in upon,
 ' 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 Heirs; 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 Religion, Laws and Liberties, the rest
 ' would certainly do it.

' 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 Suc-
 ' cessor, the Life of her Majesty will certainly
 ' be in most imminent Danger; for there will
 ' never be wanting bloody Zealots of that Per-
 ' swasion, 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 Ter-
 ' rors, 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

of God and Man, and by all the Ties of *Law*
and *Conscience*. Let those who act under
the present Settlement, and yet pretend 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 dispensing with
the most solemn Oath to this Establishment,
whilst they think themselves bound only till
Opportunity shall serve to introduce another.
God be thanked, neither we, nor our Cause,
stand in need of such detestable Prevarication.
Our Cause is our Happiness. Our 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 influ-
ence the Mind of Man. The Terrors of
God, added to the Demands of our Country,
oblige and constrain us to let our Hearts and
our Hands follow our Wishes and our Con-
sciences; and out of Regard to our Queen,
our Religion, our Country, our Liberty
and our Property, to maintain and assert the
Protestant Succession in the illustrious House
of *Hanover*. It is no time to talk with
Hints and Inuendo's, but openly and honest-
ly to profess our Sentiments, before our E-
nemies have compleated and put their Designs
in Execution against us. As divided a Peo-
ple as we are, those who are for the House
of *Hanover*, are infinitely superior in Num-
ber, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts Military
and Civil, to those in the contrary Interest;
besides which, we have *the Laws*, I say *the*
Laws

' *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 irresistable Prepos-
 ' sessions against every thing in its former Chan-
 ' nel, sanguine Men might conceive Hopes of
 ' leading them their own Way. But the Build-
 ' ing erected upon that Quicksand, the Favour
 ' of the Multitude, will sink, and be swal-
 ' lowed 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 Destruction; but not so
 ' easie to effect that Ruin, when they are come
 ' to themselves, and are sensibly and reasona-
 ' bly affected with Thoughts for their Preser-
 ' vation. We cannot help it, if so many
 ' Thousands of our brave Brethren, who laid
 ' down their Lives against the Power of *France*,
 ' have died in vain; but we may value our
 ' own Lives dearly, like honest Men. What-
 ' ever 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
 ' Colours to fly to, no Discipline to preserve
 ' us,

‘ us, but are devoted, and have given our
‘ selves up to Slaughter and Confusion.

‘ While we act manfully under them, we
‘ have Reason to expect the Blessing and Assist-
‘ ance 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 irrevocably removed. We
‘ have no Pretensions to the Divine 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 In-
‘ vocation of his Sacred Name, after preparing
‘ our Selves at his Altar, so frequently and so-
‘ lemnly Sworn to defend. This plain, un-
‘ perplexed, unalterable Rule for our Conduct,
‘ is visibly the Work of his Hand to a favoured
‘ People. Her Majesty’s Parliamentary Title,
‘ and the Succession in the Illustrious House of
‘ *Hanover*, is the Ark of God to *Great Bri-*
‘ *tain*, 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 if God spares the good Queen’s Life
‘ from such secret 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 support-
‘ ing her Government with their Interest, can-
‘ not carry their Elections but by representing
‘ all

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 Preferments and Places, hath not made them guilty of one seditious, or even undutiful Action. When she shall see that those noisie Men who embarrass the Nation in every Question, with calling out *the Church*, are but like the Weather-Cocks and Clappers of the Steeple; and that the sober, and laborious, and peaceable Church-men, are its real Support 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 Favour, 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 Justice 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 Humours 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

‘ 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 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 Sycophants instead of Friends; and
‘ rob her of her best Treasure, 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 cer-
‘ tainly be in most Imminent Danger: For
‘ there will never be wanting bloody Zealots
‘ of that Perswasion, that will think it merito-
‘ rious 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

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 was
 ‘ more need of them than at this time, but be-
 ‘ cause the best and greatest Part of the Clergy
 ‘ (especially those placed in eminent Stations)
 ‘ have in all Ages, so far as relates to our Na-
 ‘ tion, 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 Paragraph, for Reasons best known to himself, that I speak disrespectfully of the Clergy: But how he will be able to make this out, from an Elogium which is given to their past Conduct, and a Presumption that their Future will be conformable to it, is past my Comprehension. I suppose he will not deny, notwithstanding his new and inexpressible Tenderness 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 Impor-
 ‘ tance

‘ tance of it. For I insisted upon the Demoli-
‘ tion of the Mole and Harbour; and instead
‘ of that, they have, as exactly as if Mr.
‘ *Tuggbe’s* Memorial had been the Direction in
‘ this Case, demolished the Works, and left the
‘ Harbour, 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 Demolition 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 Ad-
‘ dresses, 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 Sophistical 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* Manufactures, it was
‘ absolutely necessary to give both *Spains* to the
‘ friendly House of *Bourbon*: But lest a great
‘ Monarch should be tempted by Ambition,
‘ to use that Trust for his own, rather than
‘ our Interest, it would be expedient to keep a
‘ Check upon him by dismissing all our Allies.
‘ For our further Security within our selves
‘ and

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‘ and to prevent all Invasions on Liberty and
‘ Property, one might very lately have said,
‘ the Dignity and Authority of Parliaments
‘ could not be better strengthened, than by
‘ placing a despotick Power in the Sovereign.

‘ We have so little Publick Spirit amongst
‘ us, that these Things passed like Mathemati-
‘ cal Truths, ’till each Man grew afraid for
‘ his own Pocket.

‘ A Man who was uneasie before this Acci-
‘ dent, for the Publick Welfare; and has ob-
‘ served nothing since that puts us in a better
‘ Condition; a Man, I say, who from only
‘ hearing the News contradicted, that the Pre-
‘ tender 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 Fel-
‘ low-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 exposed by le-
‘ velling the Works to the Mercy of the *French*:
‘ And the Mole and Harbour, which were first
‘ to be demolished, stand as they did, *The Ter-
‘ ror 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 complaining of this
‘ open Violation of her Treaty in the most Im-
‘ portant Article of it.

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

‘ I wish, Thirdly, That his Electoral High-
‘ nefs of *Hanover* would be fo grateful as to
‘ fignifie to all the World, the perfect 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*, would be very pleaſing to all of us who
‘ are Churchmen, becauſe if the Elector ſhould
‘ be any way diſobliged, 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 Inuendo, 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 diſpleaſed 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 ſtopped 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,

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is, because her Majesty, as I before said, was pleased 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 signify 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

gainst 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 Inuendoes. 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* Trial, in the following Words.

‘ My Lords, if there be a double Sense, in
‘ either of which these Words are equally ca-
‘ pable 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 a-
‘ gainst 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 Pro-
 ‘ secution 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 Se-
 ‘ ditious People in the Kingdom, to revile the
 ‘ Government at pleasure, that by the happy
 ‘ Constitution under which we live, a Subject
 ‘ of *England* is not to be made Criminal by a
 ‘ labour’d Construction of doubtful Words;
 ‘ or, when that cannot serve, by departing
 ‘ from his Words, and resorting to his Mean-
 ‘ ing. Too many Instances there were of this
 ‘ nature before the late happy Revolution; but
 ‘ that put an end to such Arbitrary Constru-
 ‘ tions.

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? Why should I see Persons, whose particular Province it is to prosecute Seditious Writers in the
 Courts

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 Obeysance 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

stice 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 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

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 Tryals 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
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has writ or published. He first became an Author when an Ensign of the Guards, a way of Life expos'd 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 call'd 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 reckon'd 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 call'd *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,

Play, and this, with some Particulars enlarged upon to his Advantage, (for Princes never hear Good or Evil 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 *Tuttler*, 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

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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 contrary 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

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 any thing 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, but for that Reason are those Princes to be loaded with the Guilt? or would a Man that should complain of those Crimes, be supposed to intend Treasonably, or to assert that they are owing to his Prince's
Admini-

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Administration? Should a Man be robbed, and when he asked for a Warrant against the Offender be answered by the Magistrate, 'tis arraiging Her Majesty's Administration to report any such Thing? If any Epithets may be added to any Persons and Things, provided they add the Words, *under Her Majesty's Administration*, Approbation and Blame in those that use them will be both alike, and *Safe, Honourable*, or any other Adjectives will lose their Force, as well as the Words, *Seditious and Scandalous*. It is very possible the worst Designs imaginable may be laid, under Her Majesty's Administration, and Her Sacred Majesty's Honour no way impaired, as She (without Disparagement to Her Wisdom it may be supposed) may not be conscious of all that passes. Therefore on this Occasion, I repeat that the Phrase *under Her Majesty's Administration*, is only a feint way of coming up to my Indictment, and amusing the Populace with a show of what is not in Reality.

But to proceed with the Evidence on the side of the Offender. Taking the Words of the Resolution as they lye: It would be a Contradiction to all Mr. Steele's past Writings, to speak to the Disadvantage of the Nobility and Gentry. The War that the *Tattler* brought upon himself, for stigmatizing and expelling Sharpers out of their Company, is a Merit towards them, that will outweigh this Allegation, though it comes whence it does. That Gamesters, Knaves and Pickpockets are no longer the Men of Fashion, or mingled with so good an Air among People of Quality as formerly,

formerly, is much owing to *Mr. Steele*; that a licentious Treatment of a Clergyman, as a Clergyman, is less practised, either on the Stage or in Common Conversation, is much owing to the Contempt and Ridicule on all such false and scandalous Pretensions to Wit, in the Writings which the Publick has had from *Mr. Steele*: That an University Education is reckoned a necessary Qualification to an *English* Gentleman, and the less Accomplishments without those Arts appear frivolous, though of great use with them, is more owing to *Mr. Steele* than to any other Author, Transcriber, or Publisher (or under whatever Class you Rank him) that ever made use of Pen and Ink: But it seems the Courtship in these Resolutions was to be made with no less a Resignation than that of all their Sense and Conscience.

All this is as clear and known as the Sun at Noon-day. But it may be answered, that though as to his former Writings this may be true; our Author or Publisher might grow Vain and Impertinent, and conceive new Thoughts of himself, from borrowed Excellencies of other Men, his Correspondents; and without Fear or good Manners run into the Crimes of which he here stands accused. I shall therefore give an account of the principal Thing laid to his Charge, which is the *Crisis*, and the occasion of its being written.

Mr. Steele happened one Day to make a Visit to a Gentleman of the *Temple*, who fell into Discourse on Publick Transactions; and complaining that dangerous Insinuations were
every

every Day thrown among the People, ended his Discourse, by saying, that he thought *Mr. Steele*, from the kind Reception the World gave to what he published, might be more Instrumental towards curing this Evil, than any private Man in *England*. After much Sollicitation, the Gentleman observ'd, the Evil seem'd only to flow from meer Inattention to the real Obligations under which we lye towards the House of *Hanover*; if therefore, continued he, the Laws to that Purpose were reprinted together with a warm Preface and a well urged Peroration, it is not to be imagined what good Effect it would have. *Mr. Steele* was immediately struck with the Thought, and told him, that he hoped so good a Design would repay his turning his Thoughts wholly to it for a Day or two, under Promise of half what the Sale of a Work, which would be every Body's Reading, should produce. This was agreed; and there is hardly a Sentiment or main Position in the Pamphlet, which that Gentleman did not put together, as lawful and warrantable to be said, and deliver into *Mr. Steele's* Hands to be published in the Dress and Manner he should think fit. But *Mr. Steele* was not content with writing the *Crisis* on this Plan, and Revising each Paragraph with this Gentleman only, but he also sent different Copies to Men of different Talents and Capacities; and with all their Corrections, according to the Authority of the Corrector, *Mr. Steele*, with his Council at his Elbow, put the last Hand to what he published under the Name of the *Crisis*. Very able Men passed and approved every
Word

Word of it. *Mr. Steele* therefore thought it a most necessary, seasonable and worthy Action to publish it.

The Care and Caution with which it was writ appears sufficiently in that it much offended, and the Author was not in the Courts of Justice brought to answer for the Offence. But alas! He was to suffer for it, where of all Places in the World he ought to have been encouraged and protected.

But I will hasten to a better Defence than all this, which is:

That the Gentlemen in the List at the Beginning of this Narrative, gave their Negative to the Votes against the Author.

That the Map at the End of this Book is the State of the Case of *Dunkirk*, and explains that the True Design of the *French* was only to make *Dunkirk* stronger.

That there are these Words in Her Majesty's Proclamation of the first of last Month, concerning the *Pretender* at *Barleduc*, *Notwithstanding We have since insisted upon and renewed Our Instances in the most pressing Manner for that Purpose, Our Endeavours have not proved effectual, but he still continues and is entertain'd there.*

These Circumstances of *Dunkirk*, and the Stay of the *Pretender* at *Barleduc*, do strongly maintain the Grounds all Men ought to have for Suspicion of our being in imminent Danger; to improve that Suspicion has been the Chief Aim in all the Political Writings of this Author: That it was sincere in him, will appear

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pear from this Letter, wherein he resigned his Office to my Lord Treasurer.

To the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*.

Bloomsbury Square, June 4. 1713.

My Lord,

I Presume to give your Lordship this Trouble, to acquaint you, that having an Ambition to serve in the ensuing Parliament, I humbly desire your Lordship will please to accept of my Resignation of my Office as Commissioner of the Stamp Revenue.

I should have done this sooner, but that I heard the Commission was passing without my Name in it, and I would not be guilty of the Arrogance of resigning what I could not hold. But having heard this since contradicted, I am obliged to give it up, as with great Humility I do by this present Writing. Give me Leave on this Occasion to say something as to my late Conduct, with Relation to the late Men in Power, and to assure you whatever I have done, said or writ, has proceeded from no other Motive, but the Love of what I think Truth. For merely as to my own Affairs, I could not wish any Man in the Administration rather than your self, who favour those that become your Dependants, with a greater Liberality of Heart than any Man I have ever before observed. When I had the Honour of a short Conversation with you, you were pleased not only to signify to me, That I should remain in this Office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more Value, which would be
more

more commodious to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular Dependance on your Lordship, and will tell you with the Freedom of an indifferent Man, that it is impossible for any Man who thinks and has any publick Spirit, not to tremble at seeing his Country, in its present Circumstances, in the Hands of so daring a Genius as yours. If Incidents should arise that should place your own Safety, and what ambitious Men call Greatness, in a Ballance against the General Good, our All depends upon your Choice under such a Temptation. You have my hearty and fervent Prayers to Heaven, to avert all such Dangers from you. I thank your Lordship for the Regard and Distinction which you have at sundry times show'd me, and wish you, with your Country's Safety, all Happiness and Prosperity. Share, my Lord, your good Fortune with whom you will; while it lasts, you will want no Friends; but if any adverse Day happens to you, and I live to see it, you will find I think myself obliged to be your Friend and Advocate. This is talking in a strange Dialect from a private Man to the first of a Nation; but to desire only a little, exalts a Man's Condition to a level with those who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordship's Pardon, and am with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant,

Richard Steele.

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There is nothing here said like a Male-content, but like an honest Man, who gave up every thing to the Love of his Country; where Obsequiousness interfered with that, he was ready to force a Temper, the most unhappily ductile, to go through all Oppositions and Discountenances in the Way to his Duty. It has been frequently said in the Writings of this Publisher, that all Merit consists in the Regulation of the Will, and that is the only Merit pretended to in this Apology. The Wit, the Eloquence, the Learning in his Writings, the Town may as it pleases give to others, but the Application of them all must be ascribed to this Publisher; and I cannot but again and again repeat, that there is no Man on whom a Censure, with *maliciously* in it, could fall, from whose Character it could be more remote. The Writings excepted against were sufficiently defended in the House, and nothing said in opposition to all that was urged in favour of the accused Member. Therefore as those accused Writings were Innocent, and all the drift of his other Writings uncontestably Virtuous, What can any Gentleman say to himself, or his Country, for joining in so unreasonable a Vote against him? Let any Gentleman consider, if the Vote had been proposed to take away this Man's Life, with what Horror would the whole Assembly, except the Messengers of the Treasury, have rejected such a Motion? But let any Gentleman think on, and he will find, that this Resolution against Mr. Steele's Property in the House, and his good Name in the World, was only the same Injustice, in a less degree.

degree. Why then would they suspend their Good-nature and Generosity, as *Englishmen*, the natural bent of their Country, of running to the Aid of the Afflicted, to be made Tools, and form a *Posse*, to assist the Messengers of the Treasury against their Fellow Member?

No Man could help plainly seeing, that *Mr. Steele* in these Writings had gone as far as he could with any Safety to his Liberty or Life, and that he got into the House of Commons, for no Reason but to say more for the Good of his deluded Country: And must the House of Commons frustrate this Design?

There are many Instances of Punishments in the House for being too obsequious to the Court against the People; but Mr. Steele is the first that fell there for being Audacious towards Ministers, in behalf of his Country.

But be all that was done against him forgotten, and the Names of the Actors in it, except the Messengers themselves, never mentioned with this Circumstance of their Lives; but let those who were for an oppressed Gentleman, their Fellow-Citizen, against as high an Insolence as ever was offered to the Legislature, be had in everlasting Remembrance. Many of them have taken care of that for themselves, by illustrious Actions; many of them, with the Assistance of personal Accomplishments, as well as Youth, Birth, and Fortune, are blooming and growing in the Pursuits of Virtue, and Honour; the rest of them are Men of the greatest Fortunes in this Realm, who are come to the Evening of honourable Days, and have nobler Prospects in View, than to follow Mercenaries

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cenaries with their Vote against an *Impotent Patriot*; who attempted, from the irresistible Force of the Love he bears Mankind, with Poverty and Disgrace staring in his Face, to rouse his Country out of a Lethargy; a Lethargy from which she has awaked only to behold Her Danger, and upon seeing it too great has only sigh'd, folded her Arms, and returned to her Trance.

F I N I S.









