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A  
DEFENCE  
OF THE  
CRISIS,

Written by Mr. STEELE.

CONTAINING,  
A Farther Vindication of the late  
Happy Revolution.

AND  
The Protestant Succession to the Crown  
of ENGLAND,  
IN THE  
Illustrious House of HANOVER.

16.

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A

# D E F E N C E O F T H E C R I S I S &c.

**T**HERE has not appear'd one Treatise against the *Crisis*, but it has been also against the *Revolution* and the *Protestant Succession*. It is very strange that those Wretches will not mind one Word of what they have been told so often from the Throne, that her M——y has nothing more at Heart than the Security of the Succession; and yet are they always doing what they can to render it Insecure by asserting *Principles* which are intirely Inconsistent with it, by vilifying the *Revolution* to which it is owing, and by advancing the Interest of the *French*, whose chief Interest it is to advance that of the Pretender.

As to what relates to the Clergy in the *Crisis*, I grant 'tis at this Time of Day very necessary to Speak them all Fair. A Privy Counsellor in *Ireland* has lately lost his Seat at that Board for speaking of them, as freely as he and I, and many more cannot help thinking of them. For my part, tho' the Author of the *Crisis* has carress'd them in so particular a manner, I despair of his having any good effect on the *Sa——ll's*, the *Milb——n's*, the *Hig——s*, the *Sw——fts*, the *B——s* and the like; or that our two Universities will ever recommend the Study of the Acts of Settlement, or that the Bulk of the Inferior Clergy will follow the Example of the Fathers of our Church, the Bishops, whose firmness as *Englishmen*, whose Learning and Piety, as Prelates, whose Charity, as Christians,

do Honour to their Religion and Country. The Pious and Moderate Clergy need not to be cajol'd. Their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the House of *Hanover*, is so Steady and Warm, that they will let not Occasions slip, of inculcating good *English* Principles into the Minds of their Auditors. They want not to be put in Mind of the *Abjuration Oath*, and I must confess, I am afraid the Author of the *Crisis* has not pass'd a very fine Complement on the Clergy, when he insinuates that there is a Necessity of remembering them, *That they have ty'd down their Souls by an Oath, to maintain the Protestant Succession, that they have gone much farther than is usual in Cases of this Nature, as they have personally abjur'd the Pretender to the Crown, and that expressly, without any Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever; that is, without any possible escapes by which the subtilty of temporizing Casuists might hope to elude the force of these Solemn Allegations.* I wou'd not confound such Clergymen with those, who abhor all such wicked Prevarications with God and Men; who when they abjur'd the *Pretender*, renounc'd all Principles that contribute to weaken the Force of that Oath, and have since, laid themselves out in Preaching against *Popery* and *Tyranny*. For tho' the Holy Order it self requires the utmost Deference and Respect, I own, I make distinctions in such Cases, between the Men and their Profession, and pay them neither Respect nor Deference, when they shew *they are made use of as Instruments and Examples to make the Nation break thro' the greatest Obligations.*

In a Word, those of our Clergy who preach up *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, knowing that our Church and Liberty were sav'd by Resistance at the Revolution, who assert *Hereditary Right*, knowing that King *William's* was, and that of the House of *Hanover* is, *Parliamentary* only, who inflame the People committed to their Charge, shall be so far from having an *Inviolable Respect* from me, that I shall always wish there were means us'd to teach them their Duty, as well as there are Laws that enjoin us to be taught by them. 'Tis certain that among these *Noise and Wrath pass for Zeal, and we see but little of the Pu'lick Spirit of Englishmen, or the Charity of Christians*; towards such the *Notions of our Respect and Veneration must needs be faint*, and if they don't love their Country, which no Man can love who is not for preserving its Liberty; no Body will love them. No Body at least that is  
not

not a Friend to *Popery* and *Slavery*, to *France* and the *Pre-tender*.— If they will have People mind their *Lessons*, they must shew them that they have their *Interests*, their *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* at Heart. Such as on the contrary shews they wou'd make no *Scruple* to *Sacrifice* every thing dear to *English-Men* to their *Ambition* or *Avarice*, cannot reasonably expect that we shou'd be so insensible of *Injuries* as to forgive them purely for the sake of a *Function* which they so much abuse. Let them themselves learn of the *Excellent Author* of the *Crisis*, and we shall be very willing and ready to learn of them.

*Absolute unlimited Power*, says he, in one Person, seems to have been the first and natural Recourse of Mankind from Disorder and Rapine, and such a Government must be acknowledg'd to be better than no Government at all. But all Restrictions of Power made by Laws or 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 wherever it subsists, verifies the Observation. For the subjection of the People to such Authority is supported only by Terrors, sudden and private Execution and Imprisonment, and not as with happy Britons by the Judgment in Cases of Liberty and Property of the Peers and Neighbours of Men accus'd and prosecuted. This Absolute Power in one Person as it is generally express'd, is not indeed Government; but at best *Clandestine Tyranny*, supported by the Confederates, or rather *Favourite Slaves* of the Tyrant.

It is too common for Authors to misquote and misrepresent the Writing of those upon whom they animadvert or Remark. That I may not be said to do the *Crisis* such Injury, I shall not take it by small *Parcels*, but give it the Reader by entire *Paragraphs*, that he may have the free liberty and use of his Judgment. I shall leave out the long Acts of Parliament recited by that Author; they are as well known and of as much Strength and Importance as *Magna Charta*, and where the *Crisis* has been deficient in somethings, I shall do my endeavor to supply it. It begins thus:

It

‘ 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,

‘ posed, by the artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of  
 ‘ our Constitution.

‘ It is a reasonable and honest Office to look into our  
 ‘ Circumstances, and let the Enemies of our present Estab-  
 ‘ lishment 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 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 Me-  
 ‘ thod 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, instated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life,  
 ‘ Liberty, and Property, rescued from the most imminent  
 ‘ Danger of having them all for ever depend upon the Ar-  
 ‘ bitrary Power of a Popish Prince.

‘ We should have been chained down in this abject Con-  
 ‘ dition in the Reign of the late King *James*, had not God  
 ‘ Almighty in Mercy given us the late happy Revolution,  
 ‘ by that glorious Instrument of his Providence the great  
 ‘ and memorable King *WILLIAM*. But though this won-  
 ‘ derful 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 be-  
 ‘ lieved 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.

The



The Declaration of Rights which was agreed upon by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the 1st of July 1688, shews the just Resentment of the People of *England*, of the Tyranny of that Reign, to which their Glorious Vote of the *Vacancy* of the Throne put an end. The Lawfulness of Resistance was asserted in the most Solemn manner, at the Tryal of the *Incendiary*, and own'd by the most Eminent of his Council. And as the Clergy of *London*, said in a notable Address of theirs, They did *Withstand*, and again will *Withstand*, when Nature is provok'd to Rebel against Principle, when indeed Principle and Nature goes together, Liberty, is as old as Law in the *English* Constitution; and there can be no Liberty, where there is not a Right to Defend it. The abovemention'd *Declaration of Rights* in *England* was follow'd by another in *Scotland*, where the *Scots* Nation declare, They did but in that Case *Vindicate their Liberties as their Ancestors in like Cases had usually done*. They did not mince the Matter, They spoke out as a Free People ought to do. They did not insist upon the Desertion or Abdication. But having enumerated the various Acts of Oppression and Injustice committed by the Prince, They Resolv'd,

*That all these 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. That was Right, and by that Forfeiture the Throne was become Vacant.*

To these Declarations of Right, were added Acts of Settlement of the Crown on King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*. The Princess *ANNE* of *Denmark*, or the Issue of the Two Princesses, and after them on King *WILLIAM*, to enjoy it during his Life, notwithstanding the Hereditary Right of her Royal Highness, the Princess. What a Jest do these Acts of Settlement make of all the Jargon that the Enemies to the Queen and Government publish about this Divine Hereditary, Indefeasible, and Unalienable. These Acts have taken place successively, and kept out the Pretender to this Kingdom, both Father and Son, if he was a Son, which is very much to be question'd.

\* The above-mentioned Acts of Settlement of the re-  
 \* spective Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* ought to be writ-  
 \* ten in the Hearts of every true *Briton*, and engraven on  
 \* Columns of Brass, to be erected in all the Cities and Bo-  
 \* roughs 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 Gratitude reverence the Memory of the glorious  
 \* Deliverer, the Immortal King *WILLIAM*, to whom, un-  
 \* der God, are owing whatever Rights, whether Religious  
 \* or Civil, they or their latest Posterity shall enjoy.

\* Thus appear the Causes each Nation had for the late Re-  
 \* volution, and the just Reasons for limiting the Entail of  
 \* their respective Crowns in the Manner above mentioned.

\* 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 Necessity 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  
 \* 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 *WIL-*  
 \* *LIAM* 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 fu-  
 \* ture from a numerous Train of Roman Catholick Princes,  
 \* all, or most of whom, were very 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, to settle the Succession on the House of *Hanover*. This Succession was thought of by King *WILLIAM*, so early as the first Act of Settlement, but for the Reasons before alledg'd, the Parliament did not think fit to have that Illustrious House mention'd at that time; not long after an Act pass'd to *Attaint the pretended Prince of Wales of High Treason*. And another Act enjoying all *Ecclesiastical Persons Members of the Universities, School-masters, Lawyers, Attorneys, Solicitors, Proctors, Clerks or Notaries; all Peers and Members of Parliament* to take a Solemn *Abjuration Oath*, by which they Renounce the *Pretender*, and Swear to Support and Defend the *Protestant Succession in the House of HANOVER*, which Act was confirm'd by another in the first Year of Her Majesty's Reign.

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

The last mentioned Acts of Parliament are the Legacy that great Prince left the *English Nation*, infinitely more valuable than if he had, without them, left Places 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*.

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 renowned 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.

In the Fourth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, the Princess *Sophia*, Electress Dowager of *Hanover*, and her issue were Naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament, and another Act pass'd which points directly against *Bedford* and other Treasonable Writers. For it makes it High Treason, by Writing or Printing, to Declare, 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 styles 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 and Title to the same, otherwise than according to these Acts of Settlement; which establishes the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*. Now to assert the Legitimacy of the Pretender, and the Hereditary Right is quite contrary to those Acts of Settlement; or whether he be an Impostor or not, to assert the Hereditary Right, is in direct Opposition to these Acts of Settlement; there being above Forty Princes and Princesses, who by the pretended Divine Right of Succession, asserted in the late *Treasonable Folio*, ought to Succeed before any one of the Princes or Princesses of the House of *Hanover*; let the Reader judge then, whether that Author, be he who he will, has not broke that Law, deserv'd and expos'd himself to the Punishment of it; especially since it makes it High Treason, by Writing or Printing, to affirm that the Kings or Queens of England, with and by the Authority of the Parliament 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; which is deny'd throughout that Vo-

ominous Collection of Treason, and *Lesley* said before, that *Hereditary Right* was of too tough a Nature to bend to an Act of Parliament, in defiance of this Law. For which and other such Impudent Assertions of his, he was mightily caress'd by the Ignorant and Immoral part of the Inferiour Clergy, both in Town and Country; For, God be thank'd, the Enemies to the Government are not to be found among the Pious and Learned; to Preach, Teach, Declare, or Maintain such Trayterous Tenets in Violation of the Acts of Settlement, is a *Pramunire*, and I hope some of those Traytors will be made to bend to these Acts, whatever *Hereditary Right* does.

All these Acts of Parliament in favour of King *WILLIAM*, Queen *MARY*, Queen *ANNE*, and the House of *Hanover's* Title to the Crown were confirm'd by the First and Second Article of the Treaty of Union with *Scotland*, which Treaty of Union between the Two Kingdoms was Approv'd, and Ratify'd by the Parliament of both Nations. After which an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* was pass'd, approving and Ratifying the Treaty, and among others the two first Articles relating to the *Hanover* Succession.

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, 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 Horror; for as, I humbly presume, there is no possibility of returning 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

‘ and inexplicable Causes of Anger boiling in their Bosoms,  
 ‘ which would render them incapable of living quiet Neigh-  
 ‘ bours, 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 No-  
 ‘ bility as *England*, and the Representatives of their Com-  
 ‘ mons were also very Numerous; they have by the Ar-  
 ‘ ticles of Union consented to send only Sixteen Peers, and  
 ‘ Forty Five 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* Re-  
 ‘ presentatives 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 Com-  
 ‘ mons 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 *Scot-*  
 ‘ *land* respectively, the Succession to the Crown of *Great Bri-*  
 ‘ *tain*, and all other Articles of the Union, were never to  
 ‘ be controverted.

In the Sixth Year of her Majesty’s Reign, the Acts of  
 Settlement before mention’d, with the Pain and Penalties of  
 High Treason and *Premunire*, were extended throughout the  
 whole United Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and from the *Ara* of  
 our Union, to which it is so easy to look back, every *Briton* may  
 date thier happy Conclusion; that all the Notions of *Here-*  
*ditary Right*, but that of her Majesty and the Heirs of her  
 Body, and in default of such Issue, that of the most Illu-  
 strious Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Pro-  
 testants, are at an End.

‘ 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 Settle-  
 ‘ ment of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line,  
 ‘ and

and cannot possibly plead Ignorance of 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 self 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

' 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 a-  
 ' gainst a Power in their own Nation, which is practised 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 *Pharamond*, 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 Ti-  
 ' tle of his present most Christian Majesty. But to come  
 ' to fresh Instances, 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 Grand-  
 ' son 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 Sa-  
 ' cred 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.

As to what this Author says of the *French* many Instances  
 might be given, the breaches made there upon their Un-  
 alienable Indefeasible Right, infinite are the Examples of it  
 among



among all other Nations; but I chuse to speak of the *French* because the late Peace has endear'd me to them, and besides what the *French* do, or may do, must have great Thought with us, who have of late enter'd into so strict Engagements with them. The Form of the *Coronation* in *France*, as well as in *England*, shews that the Origin of their Government was not founded in Descent. *Hunc vultis hunc jubetis esse Regem.* This is he, whom you Will and Require to be your King, which is spoken to the People whose Election is mention'd, and the King call'd Elect. In the Form of the *Coronation* publish'd by *Hugo Menardec Benedictine*, *Lewis XIth* acknowledges in *Philip de Comines*, that the King of *France* cannot make Peace or War without the Consent of the States General, by whom their History informs us, all Kings are liable to be depos'd, as was *Childerick*, Father of *Clovis*, as was also *Lewis the Good* by an Assembly of the States at *Thionville*. The same we find by *Charles the Great*, and of *Charles the Simple*. *Hugh Capel* was chosen King in Prejudice of the Rights of *Charles of Lorraine*, the next Heir of *Lewis the Vth*, for no other Reason but because *Charles* seem'd to be in the *German* Interest. The Successors of this *Charles* are the Princes now Reigning in *Lorraine*, in a Slavish Dependance on the *French* King, to whose Dominions their own Hereditary Right is so well asserted. 'Twould be endless if I shou'd go about to say all that might be said to prove that Liberty is the Right of *French* Men as well as others; and 'tis in Violation of that Right, that the *Bourbon* Family have reduc'd that one free Constitution to its present Miserable Condition. I shall content my self with one Proof more, which is that of *Monfieur Joly*, a Canon of the Church of *Paris*, who in the Year 1663, publish'd a Book with this Title, *Important Maxims for the Edication of a King*. In which he very vigorously affirms by the Testimony of Kings themselves, Chancellors, Ministers of State, Lawyers and Historians of *France*, that they were always of Opinion in that Kingdom, *That the King holds his Authority from the People; That the Power of the King is limited; That the French Monarchy is a Monarchy ally'd and temper'd with Aristocracy and Democracy; That the Kings can do nothing without the States General*, which is the very same thing with our Parliament; *That the Judges are the People's Officers; That the Words so much abus'd, such is Our Pleasure, signify only, This is the Decree of Our Court,*

*Courts of Judicature*; That they have no Right to levy any *Imposition* without the Consent of the States. And many other Articles of the like Nature. As to Instances out of our own Laws and Histories, it wou'd be Imprudent to give what is so well known. The Lineal Succession since the Conqueror has been broken almost as often as it has been kept, and we who have so many Kings in our Statute Books, whose Authority gave Sanction to our Laws, and who had themselves no pretence to a Title by Descent, shou'd of all People be mad to assert Principles, which were never practis'd, and have no Foundation in Scripture, Law or Reason. But most mad are they, who having the Law and the Government against them, pretend to advance Tenets which are made Treason by so many Recent Statutes.

‘ When I reflect on these many solemn strong Barriers of  
 ‘ Laws and Oaths, of Policy and Religion of Penalties with-  
 ‘ out, and Conscience within, methinks all Fear vanisheth be-  
 ‘ fore 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 endeavour to represent it. But  
 ‘ my Thoughts will not let me rest here; I ask my self, be-  
 ‘ fore I am aware, what are the Marks of a lasting Security?  
 ‘ What are our Tempers and our Hearts at Home? — In  
 ‘ what Hands is Power lodg'd Abroad? Are our unnatural  
 ‘ Divisions our Strength? Or it is 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 never be revived? —  
 ‘ Or are Popery and Ambition become tame and quiet Neigh-  
 ‘ bours?

‘ These uneasy Questions are enough to satisfy 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 judg-  
 ‘ ed of, but from the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe*  
 ‘ in general, as well as of *Great Britain* in particular.

‘ That I may representt his 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 affect-  
 ing to be remembred. 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, Li-  
 berty and Justice. The *French* for near an Age had been al-  
 ways triumphant in their Encroachments on their Neigh-  
 bours; from the number of their Troops, their early tak-  
 ing 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; the long Series of their good For-  
 tune 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 Bra-  
 very of the *British* Troops, under the Conduct of her Ma-  
 jeſty's late General, the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

We had the Glory of having deliver'd the *German* Empire  
 from the Tyranny of *France*, and ſettled the Imperial Scepter  
 in the Hand of *Leopold*; we had deliver'd all *Europe*, by the  
 Valour and Conduct of that ever Victorious General, from  
 the Slavery of an Universal Monarchy in the Houſe of *Bour-*  
*bon*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, in a Campaign, recover'd  
 thoſe many Towns in the *Netherlands*, which *France* had been  
 Twenty Years buying and taking; that Illuſtrious Prince  
 having beaten the Armies and Mareſchals of *France* all round,  
 made the Citizens of *Paris* tremble in their Houſes, and  
 wanted but One Campaign more, after he had labour'd in-  
 defatigably, to put a Glorious end to the War, by a Treaty  
 of Peace at the *Hague*, to end it by deſtroying the Power of  
*France*, beyond recovery, and once more ſpreading the *Eng-*  
*liſh* Banner in the Bowels of *France*, notwithstanding which,  
 as our Author tells us.

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 Ad-  
 verſaries attack a Reputation, which could not well be  
 impaired without ſullying the Glory of *Great Britain* it  
 ſelf;

self; his Enemies were not to be softened by that Con-  
 sideration; 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, withdrew themselves from their  
 Confederates. The *French*, now no longer having the *Bri-*  
*tons*, or their great Leader to fear, affect no more strong  
 Garrisons 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 re-  
 covered from his fright, he acknowledged he in a man-  
 ner 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 con-  
 tinue the War! I shall not presume to enter into an Exa-  
 mination 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 Mo-  
 narchy, 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 Impe-  
 rialists, as an expedient for the *French* to besiege it; be-  
 cause, forsooth, it lay convenient for their Incurfions up-  
 on the Empire. This extravagant Demand must give a  
 melancholy Prospect to other Nations.

The most important Article between *France* and *England*  
 is the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, which they have begun Con-  
 temptuously and Arbitrarily, their own way: The Mole  
 and Harbour, which only are dreadful to us, are yet  
 untouched, and just Suspicious 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 fa-  
 tal 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 Resident of his Imperial Majesty, 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 up vast quantities of Gold in exchange of 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 a 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 chose rather, like their Country-men, 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 Priviledges; 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

‘ Doom of those who shall in thy fight 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 set-  
 ‘ tling 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 entred into a Secret  
 ‘ and Strict Alliance with the House of *Bourbon*, and may  
 ‘ therefore very well add to our fears of a Popish Suc-  
 ‘ cessor.

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

‘ In the next place how are we disposed at Home, for  
 ‘ the Reception of such an Attempt? The Passions of many,  
 ‘ which were raised so high by an Impudent Suggestion of  
 ‘ the Church's Danger, seem to have subsided into a Le-  
 ‘ thargick 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 a-  
 ‘ gainst being moved at any thing else; least they should  
 ‘ fall into the Mortification of being misled a Second time.  
 ‘ Many who are above being blinded by Popular Noise  
 ‘ and

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 Published, 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 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 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.

I cannot but wonder why so much stress is laid on the *Pretender's* turning *Protestant*; Will that make him ever the less an *Impostor* or *Pretender*? Will that be an Antidote against the Poison he has suck'd in by his *French* Education? Will his Dissembling with God in the matter of *Religion*,  
make

make him not Dissemble with us in the matter of *Government*? Let him turn *High-Church-Man*, and what wou'd the People of *England* be the better for that, if they wou'd be so mad as to take him. Is to Turn *High-Church-Man*, to turn *Protestant*, 'tis no Turn at all; Prince *Eugene* is a *Papist*, and yet I wou'd sooner trust him with the Cause of Liberty than any *High-Church* Champion in *Britain*. If he does not turn *High-Church-Man*, but does really turn *Protestant*, the *High-Church* will have nothing to do with him. *Protestant* and *High-Church* are two contrary Parties, and *Papists* are not worse. The *Impostor* knows what he has to do; he knows *High-Church* likes him never the worse for being a *Papist*, and that tho' he shou'd turn *Hugonot*, the True Church of *England* wou'd not trust him. But we need not give our selves any Trouble about this Matter. He scorns to pretend to our Religion; He will come in attended with *French Men*, *Nuncio's*, *Abbots*, *Fryars*, *Relicks*, *Crucifixes*, *Whips*, *Wheels*, and the like; some for the use of his Friends, and some for the use of his Enemies. We cannot have his Religion with his Power, and he will make us both *Papists* and Slaves, that we may have some resemblance to our Neighbours the *French*, among whom he has had his Breeding; and to whom he is indebted a long Bill, for Five and Twenty Years Nursing, Board, Cloaths, Schooling, Coach-hire, Shipping to the *French* and back again. Not to mention the Debt he owes to Father *Ounson*, for Fleets, Armies, &c. All which he cannot well Pay without some certain Friends shou'd fall into his Clutches.

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

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

' Did not the Princess *Mary* promise the Men of *Suffolk*,  
' who joyned with Her against the Lady *Jane Grey*, that she  
' would



' 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 multitudes of Men, Wo-  
 ' men and Children were burnt for being Zealous Pro-  
 ' fessors of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. In short, no-  
 ' thing less than this can be expected from a Popish  
 ' Prince; both Clergy and Laity must share the same  
 ' Fate, all universally must submit to the fiery Tryal, or  
 ' renounce their Religion. Our Bishops and Clergy must  
 ' all lose their Spiritual Preferments, or submit to all An-  
 ' tichristian 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 Papiests beyond all Example:  
 ' And these not accidental, or the sudden Effects of Passi-  
 ' on or Provocation, but the settled result of their Re-  
 ' ligion and their Consciences.

' Above 100000 Men, Women and Children were Mur-  
 ' dered in the Massacre of *Ireland*. How hot and terri-  
 ' ble were the late Persecutions of the Protestants in *France*  
 ' and *Savoy*? How frequent were the Massacres of Pro-  
 ' testants through the whole Kingdom of *France*, when  
 ' they were under the protection of the then Laws of  
 ' that Country? How Barbarous, in a particular 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 Asistor  
 ' 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

' 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 Dis-  
 ' aster, his Mother the Queen of *Navarre* having not  
 ' long before been Poisoned by the same Faction.

The Butcheries of the Bloody *Irish* Papists, ought to  
 keep all Protestants on their Guard in that Kingdom, to  
 prevent the growing of that Power, which was so fatal  
 in *Forty One*, and afterwards in King *James's* Time; to  
 have a Care of their *Irish* Conversion, and never to put  
 Weapons in their Hands, by letting them steal into Com-  
 mission. either Civil or Military. No body can give the  
 the least encouragement to the Papists in *Ireland*; whose  
 Interest is Incompatible with the Safety of Protestants;  
 but they must be Enemies to *England*, to our Queen,  
 our Church and Nation; Friends to *France*, and the *Pre-*  
*tender*.

' These are some Instances of what must ever be ex-  
 ' pected. 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 pre-  
 ' sent 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 King-  
 ' dom'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 Libertjes, 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 shoud there be the least Hopes given to a Popish Successor, the Life of Her Majesty will certainly be in most imminent Danger; for there will never be wanting bloody Zealots of that Perswasion, that will think it meritorious to take away Her Majesty's Life, to hasten the Accession of such a Successor to Her Throne.

The only Preservation against these Terrors are the Laws before-mentioned, relating to the Settlement of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*. Thanks be to Heaven for that Settlement. The Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants, are the Successors to Her present Majesty, upon Her Demise without Issue. The Way is plain before our Eyes, guarded on the Right Hand, and on the Left by all the Sanctions of God and Man, and by all the Ties of *Law* and *Conscience*. Let those who act under the present Settlement, and yet 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 disputing 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 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 Innuendos, but openly and honestly

' honestly to profess our Sentiments, before our Enemies even  
 ' have compleated and put their Designs in Execution a-  
 ' gainst us. As divided a People 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* on our side. And those who by  
 ' their Practices, whatever their Professions are, have dis-  
 ' cover'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 Prepossessions against every thing  
 ' in its former Channel, sanguine Men might conceive  
 ' Hopes of leading them their own Way. But the Build-  
 ' ing erected upon that Quicksand, the Favour of the Mul-  
 ' titude, will sink, and be swallowed up by that treache-  
 ' rous Ground on which the Foundation was laid.

' It is easie to project the Subversion of a People, when  
 ' Men see them unaccountably turned for their own De-  
 ' struction; but not so easie to effect that Ruin, when they  
 ' are come to themselves, and are sensibly and reasonably  
 ' affected with Thoughts for their Preservation. We can-  
 ' not help it, if so many Thousands of our brave Brethren,  
 ' who laid down their Lives against the Power of *France*,  
 ' have dyed in vain; but we may value our own Lives  
 ' 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, when  
 ' ever 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

‘ be such, by our many wonderful Deliverances, when all  
‘ Humane Assistances and ordinary Means of Succour seemed  
‘ irrevocably removed. We have no Pretensions to the Di-  
‘ vine Favour, but from our firm Adherence to that Set-  
‘ tlement, which He has, by so many Wonders and Bless-  
‘ ings, after such great Difficulties and Misfortunes, be-  
‘ stowed upon us, and which we have in his Sight, and  
‘ with the Invocation of his Sacred Name, after prepar-  
‘ ing our Selves at his Alter, 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.

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F I N I S.

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