A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Late Parliament, ***A.D.*** 1689.

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A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ***Late Parliament*** OF ENGLAND.

An. Dom. 1689.

Being the First in the Reign of Their present Majesties King ***William*** and Queen ***Mary.***

LONDON, Printed for ***Dorman Newman,*** at the ***King***'s-***Arms*** in the ***Poultrey,*** 1690.

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A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE *Late Parliament* OF ENGLAND.

I. THE Proceedings of the late Parliament were so fair, so prudent, so necessary, and so advantageous to the Nation, to the Protestant Interest in general, and in particular to the Church of ***England,*** that all true English-Men must needs acknowledge they owe to the then Representatives of the Nation, their Privileges, their Liberties, their Lives, their Religion, their present and future security from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, had they done nothing else but enacted the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown. **[Page 2]**

So that it is now, and perhaps but now, that we may call our selves the Free-born Subjects of ***England,*** as being fully secured, for ever, by this Act, from the heavy and insupportable Yoke of Arbitrary Power, the necessary Consequence of a Power of dispensing, or suspending of Laws, without consent of Parliament.

II. Their settling the Crown upon the Head of a Protestant Prince, who is the very Centre, the chief Prop and Pillar of the Protestant Religion, secures all Protestants not only at home, but likewise in all other parts of ***Europe;*** insomuch that it is upon him only we ground all our Hopes of seeing, e'er long, ***Lewis*** XIV. called to a just account for all his Unjust, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Proceedings against his own Subjects, as likewise against his injured and weaker Neighbours.

III. Their not acting in the least, after the example of their Neighbours, against Prelacy, but rather favouring it by such Acts as fit only Episcopal Men for publick Imployments, gives all reasonable satisfaction to the Church of ***England,*** without any just offence, either given to the Dissenters, who, under the present Government, enjoy, to their own Hearts desire, their long wish'd for Liberty, without being liable to the lash of the Law, for serving God after their own way: Notwithstanding all this, so hard, yea, so impossible a thing it is to content all Parties; not a few vent their Malice in every Corner, yea, and in Print too, against the King and Parliament, though all their Proceedings hitherto tend so directly to the general good of the Nation, that we must either want common Understanding not to see it, or prove most ungrateful to our Representatives not to acknowledge such an evident truth as this is with our most thankful returns. To proceed with some method in this designed Vindication of the late Parliament, I shall, first, take a summary view of the late condition of our Affairs; and, secondly, give a full answer to whatever is maliciously **[Page 3]** suggested to the unthinking Multitude; yea, and in Printed Pamphlets likewise, to the seducing of the simple, and to the great encouragement of the professed Enemies and Disturbers of the present Government.

IV. If we consider in what condition we were in, the two last years of King ***James***'s Reign, we may remember we were given up for lost by all our Friends in ***Europe,*** and did think so to our selves, it being then impossible for us to imagine from whence our relief should come. A Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the execution of Laws, was already so fully established, that the very humble petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assum'd Power, was Crime enough for the Commitment and Prosecution of divers worthy Prelates: The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes was a sort of Inquisition; or, at least, a certain Fore-runner of the new way of converting People, by the irresistible Eloquence of arm'd Dragoons: The 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 the Parliament, was nothing else but a preparatory contrivance, to try afterwards a French experiment upon the Gold and Silver of the Nation: The horrible and illegal Punishments inflicted by corrupt Judges, excessive Fines and Bails, 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 levyed; and all the other Injustices, Grievances, and Irregularities of those days, were but previous dispositions to the new modelling of the Nation into a Frame, the more easily to be wrought upon by the ***Romish*** Priests, in case their weak Arguments could not prevail, as 'twas impossible they should have prevailed, in a Nation so well provided and stock'd with solid Learning, both against Error, and Superstition.

V. If this was our condition within our selves, it was made much worse by the dismal prospect of the **[Page 4]** threatning French Greatness: The French King's known and close Engagements with the late King ***James,*** the sudden Growth of his Power, both by Sea and by Land, seem'd to threaten all his Neighbours with the utmost Desolation, unless, by laying aside the use of their Reason, they acted all like Fools, and turned Papists; which could not secure them neither from Oppression and Slavery, since none are greater Slaves, nor so unmercifully oppressed as the French Papists themselves: This is but a short and summary view of the publick Calamities and Miseries we lay under, till our Deliverer came over to free us from them, by the best Methods our Representatives could fall upon for our safety in times to come; which are certainly such as give full satisfaction to all good Men, and Loyal Subjects, that are not still in love with Popery and Slavery, both of Body and Soul, which always attends it: So that the present posture of our Affairs is now such, that we have all reason to hope, if we can but agree among our selves, this Kingdom may become again, as 'twas of old, the terrour of ***France. Europe*** never bid fairer for a level of the French Monarch, he being now surrounded on all sides, by those he has made his irreconcileable Enemies, by his daily breaches of Oaths, by his Oppressions and Invasions, contrary to all Treaties made with him, either of Peace or Truce.

VI. We cannot then but highly commend the prudent measures of the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty with necessaries, towards a vigorous prosecution of this present War the Nation so long wish'd for in vain, the French Interest prevailing too much formerly at the Court of ***England,*** against the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of the English Nation. Such then as complain of some present hardships, always unavoidable in time of War, and would fain work the People into a belief of a happier condition under another change of Affairs, seem not to understand **[Page 5]** their true Interest; for must we expose our selves to a certain ruine, to the loss of our Lives and Liberties, by not contributing liberally to the maintenance of a War, so necessary in this present juncture of our Affairs? Our ***All*** lies now at the Stake, our Lives, Properties, Liberties, and Religion: Should any ***Tax,*** or ***Impost,*** put us out of Humor, and cause us to wish for a change, as if we could pretend to any security, in case things were settled again upon the same Foundation they were on before?

VII. Are we not sufficiently acquainted, from daily experience, with this undoubted Popish Principle, ***That a Papist is obliged to break his Oath taken not to extirpate Heresie, as soon as he is in a capacity to root out what he thinks Heresie, under a no less pain than that of Eternal Damnation?*** King ***Lewis*** has satisfied all the World, by what he has lately done, that this is no Calumny; and King ***James*** cleared all our Doubts upon the matter, by what he likewise really did, and endeavoured to doe.

VIII. But a late Seditious Pamphlet tells us a Tragical Story of the decay and loss of Trade by this present War, That ***the*** Dutch ***run away with our Trade at Sea, and the*** French ***with our Ships:*** This is but a meer groundless flourish, that can only make impression upon some weak Minds, that neither understand their own Interest, nor that of the Nation they are in; 'tis true, we have lost several Ships, and that is unavoidable in the beginning of any War as well as in this, till the Merchant-Men bound homewards are informed of a War declared, which must needs require some time; but of late we have lost none, or we have taken the equivalent of our losses from the Enemy; and for the time to come, his Majesty has taken such measures, that it shall not be hereafter in the Power of the French to put a stop to our Trade, either into ***Holland, Spain,*** the East Countries, or ***West*** and ***East Indies;*** and as for the Dutch, 'tis a groundless supposition, though too often in the Mouths of such as are disaffected to the Government, ***That*** **[Page 6]** ***they run away with our Trade,*** since the contrary may be easily made out to an unprejudiced Mind; Do we not Trade still, as well as the Dutch, both to the ***East*** and ***West Indies,*** to ***Sweedland, Denmark, Hamburgh,*** and ***Poland?*** Do the French allow them free passage more than to us? And if they send abroad greater Merchant Fleets, and perhaps under greater Convoys than we do; by so doing they rather lend us a helping Hand, than wrong us; because in the mean time they clear the Seas of French Privateers, which makes of course our Voyages the safer, and great Convoys not so absolutely necessary, as they would be at another time, when we were not in Union with the Dutch: So that such reflexions are either but idle and frothy Discourses, or made upon a design to raise Sedition, and stir up the Nation against the present Government: But grant that what this disaffected Pamphleteer says were really true, as it is not, in the full measure he would have it, let us balance our present decay of Trade on the one side, and on the other hand the consequences of not prosecuting vigorously the present War against the French, and we shall easily discover either the gross mistakes of such as discourse after this rate, or their real designs to ruine their Country, by preferring a small inconveniency of not so sull a Trade, to the very being of Liberty and Religion, and perhaps of the Nation it self.

IX. For let us allow to this pretended Politician, the desired change of Government he seems to aim at, this can never happen but in one of these three ways, either by the returning of King ***James*** again, or by the invasion of King ***Lewis,*** or by a Civil War at home; which last thing, if some do really intend, they design nothing else but their own ruine, and that of their Country; and if they would have King ***James*** to come again, must he come in by Conquest? If he ever recovers ***England*** by Conquest, where are then our Properties, our Liberties, our Religion, our **[Page 7]** Laws, and whatever Privileges we now glory in, and that no other Subjects in the World can boast of? Would they have King ***James*** come in again by agreement? Besides, the apparent impossibility of the thing, upon several and obvious accounts, I would willingly be satisfied, as I was saying before, how we can trust him after so many violations of his Word, and since by the Principles of his Religion, he is obliged in Conscience not to keep either Word given, or Oath taken, to protect and promote Heresie, if he is once in Power to destroy it. If our Pamphleteer pretends to a Change of Government, by a French Invasion, he must either be a professed French Papist, or a very bad English Protestant, and quite of a different temper from all true English-Men, who have stood in opposition from all times to the French Interest, not only upon the account of the Protestant Religion, but likewise because of their Civil Rights, which both they must of necessity part with, if the French ever got footing in ***England.***

X. I confess, as things now stand, there is little or no danger at all of their attempting the Conquest of their ancient Conquerors, the ***English,*** because of our Union at present, against ***France*** with so many powerful Allies; but yet if we take not hold of this opportunity by the Fore-look, I know not what may happen in another Scene of Affairs, in case we were lest alone to deal with the French, who by the connivance of the last two Reigns, are become so formidable at Sea, as to be a match either for Us, or the Hollanders. Now can any Man of reach blame the King for recommending so often to the late Parliament, the absolute necessity of prosecuting vigorously the present War, in this present juncture of our Affairs; or find fault with the Representatives of the Nation, for supplying him with the necessary Sinews of War; especially, since he has offered to give them an Account of the disposal of their Money for the very uses they designed it for: Neither can we be jealous of his Majesty's Design in calling in Foreigners, in order **[Page 8]** to the speedy reduction of ***Ireland;*** because 'tis a matter of great Consequence, for the Humbling of ***France*** both by Sea and by Land; together with our Allies, to put an end to our Domestick Broils, with all possible expedition; and this cannot be better performed, than by joining to our own Forces a Body of veterane and experienced Forreigners.

XI. But this looks, say some of our Male-Contents, as if his Majesty mistrusted his own Subjects, which if narrowly looked into, is a meer groundless aspersion, since all his Majesty's Forces both by Sea and by Land, an inconsiderable number of Foreigners excepted, are Natives, either of ***England, Scotland,*** or ***Ireland:*** Does the French King mistrust his own Subjects, because of his joyning with them several Foreign Nations, as ***Switzers, Italians,*** and both ***English, Scotch,*** and ***Irish,*** upon occasion; the true reason of this common Practice is, that an Army consisting of Forces of different Nations, is upon this account more formidable than it would be if it consisted of meer Natives, that both those Foreigners, and the Natives, fighting through emulation, leave no stone unturned to out-doe one another; the observing of this Maxim made the Dutch a free People, to the pitch we see them in at this day: The French likewise owe in part their present Greatness to the valour of the ***English, Scotch,*** and ***Switzers,*** who fighting not so much out of any particular kindness to them, as for their own reputation, were wont to overthrow whatever stood in their way, to the great advantange of the French, under whose pay they then were; undoubtedly this is his Majesty's design in sending for Foreigners, that the Natives may act their parts the better by Emulation and Example: So that though it be allowed to be true, as certainly it is, that King ***William*** has a sufficient number of his own Subjects to reduce ***Ireland,*** and those of an unquestionable Valour too; yet it is prudence in him to call in Strangers, to give Life and a new Vigour **[Page 9]** to his Armies upon occasion.

XII. But in our case there is another reason not to be dissembled, why the present Government thinks it necessary to make use of Foreigners for our assistence, and it is this: That though the Nation be full of stout and valiant Men, that might alone doe the business, yet 'tis to be considered in this unparallel'd juncture of our Affairs, that if we divide the three Kingdoms into six parts, two I doubt, at least, would prove, either ***JACOBITES,*** or disaffected to the present Government: Now what if the King raised an Army, consisting in part of ***Jacobites,*** or of Persons disaffected to the present Government, since 'tis hard to know the bottom of Men's Hearts, what if, I say, this hapned, might not such an accident as this, not altogether impossible, endanger the whole Nation, and throw it into the greatest confusion imaginable, either by setting up King ***James*** again, and the French Interest, or by converting this ancient and moderate Monarchy into a Common-Wealth, which would prove perhaps no less the ruine of the Nation, than an Absolute, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Government? Is it not then more advisable now, and I am sure those that love their Religion, and the present Interest, will be of my Opinion, to make use in this juncture of Foreigners, together with the Natives, to keep a little in awe the hidden ***Jacobites,*** and such as are disaffected to this Government, lest they undertake to ruine the Nation, upon the first fair opportunity to execute their treasonable and pernicious designs? This complaint of our Male-Contents had been more plausible in another juncture of time, than in such an one as this is, which once successfully over, and a Peace concluded, we are secured by our Laws from our own standing Forces, as well as from

Foreigners. In the mean time we ought to look to our selves, as all Wise Men ought to do, and secure our [Page 10] selves against pressing and present dangers the best way we can, without minding remoter accidents, and meerly possible events, that are not yet so much as in prospect; for upon meer Apprehensions, and groundless Fears, of what is never like to happen, to put a veil before our Eyes, hindring us to see the brink of the Precipice we now stand upon, is an unaccountable piece of Folly, or rather Madness, that no Man having his Wits about him can be guilty of; yet we must needs prove guilty of such a piece of Madness and Folly, if through a groundless fear of what can never happen in ***England,*** as things are now ordered; we should scruple to secure our selves by the help of Foreigners from the ***Jacobites,*** and the Malecontents who might perhaps get the upper hand, if not prevented in time by some good Method as this is now thought to be.

XIII. No farther incroachments upon our Rights and Privileges are to be feared in time to come, since the bad success of all our late Kings, is an example to all their Successors, wherein they may read their Destiny, if they understood so little their own Interest, as to act arbitrarily, as some of their Predecessors did, to the great disturbance indeed of their Subjects for a time, but at last to the utter ruine of Themselves, and their Adherents: His present Majesty is so fully persuaded of this Truth, ***viz.*** That the Sovereign's Greatness, in ***England,*** depends chiefly and only upon the love of his Subjects; that taking his Interest and the People's to be the same, as really it is, and always ought to be, to shun the dangerous Factions of Court and Country, he prudently complyed with their just desires, to whatever they thought fit to be done for the common good. I am then of Opinion, that ***England*** was never so happy as 'tis now, [saying aside the consideration of the present War so absolutely necessary,] because of the good understanding of the King and his Subjects, though our Seditious Pamphleteer leaves no Stone unturned to divide them; whoever he is, he [Page 11] must needs be a Man of a strangly disaffected Spirit, since he blames the late Parliament for allowing his Majesty so much Power as makes him a true King, and not the hate representation and shadow of One, an be would really be, if according to the project suggested by this Man, he should not be allowed so much as the liberty of choosing his own Councellors, nor of Proroguing Perliaments either, upon occasion, ***&c.***

XIV. The suspending and stopping, or ***stabbing,*** as he calls it, of the ***Habeas Corpus*** Act, puts him in a great fit against the late Parliament, as having by this suspension wronged the liberty of the Subjects; yet if before we give our last judgment upon the matter, we consider as we should do all things impartially, not suffering our selves to be byassed by a wrong apprehension of things, we shall easily discover, that the suspending of that Act, at that time, was the only way to secure our Properties and Liberties, by preventing a Civil and Domestick War, which in all likely hood had ensued, had it not been prevented in time, by impowering the King to secure such as, because of their Quality, or their former Engagements with the Papists, and with the then Male contents, were likeliest to prove Ring-leaders to new disturbances, in a time when things were not as yet settled upon so sure a Foundation as they now are.

XV. But nothing more insufferable in this Seditious Pamphleteer, than his affected jealousie of his Majesty's being a sincere Protestant, as if the Nation should be the more affraid of him upon this Account, because for sooth the Parliament is likelier to give him more Power, than if he were a Papist, or of a contrary Religion to that of the Nation: This is such an unaccountable Reflexion, that I cannot but wonder to hear it from the Mouth of any Man, that either pretends to common sense, or reason; for, First, At this rate of arguing, it would be better for us to have a [Page 12] sting we hated, and feared, than one of the same Religion we loved, and were sure of; which is such an absord inference, that node but a Madman can propose it as reasonable. Secondly, Grant what he says to be true, as it is not, our Religion however is secure, and perhaps the securer, the greater Power we trust him with. But, Thirdly, As our late Representatives gave so much Power to our Glorious Deliverer, as made him a King, and a powerful one too; so on the other hand, they have had so much regard to the safety of the People, as to secure their Privileges and Civil Rights from any future incroachments of the Prerogative, as may easily be made out by the late Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession or the Crown.

XVI. The Popish Subjects are generally so oppressed by their absolute Sovereigns, that through an excessive flattery, and fear of blows, they seem to Worship their Kings as Gods, allowing them an illimited Power, which no Man of Sense can admit of in a Being of a limited Nature, or at least allowing them to be the Fathers, and absolute Masters of their People, though the Kings generally came out of the Peoples Loins, as being at first made by them, and not the People out of theirs; and though Subjects ought not to lord it over their Sovereigns, as Masters, yet they ought not to be their Slaves neither, but are to enjoy under their Government such Privileges and Liberties, as may settle them in an unalterable State of Happiness, that the Princes themselves may not destroy at pleasure; for as nothing is more rational than that we should submit in all things to the absolute Power of God over us, so nothing is more unreasonable than a blind obedience to earthly Princes, as if they were as infallible as God himself; whereas their very Kingship proves sometimes an occasion to make them the more liable both to Errour, as being often mis-informed [Page 13] of things, and to Sin likewise, if they are not truly Religious, as King ***William*** undoubtedly is, because of their uncontrolled Power of doing what they please.

XVII. For these and other reasons of that kind, though ***William*** the Third, whom God long preserve, be the mildest and moderatest Prince that ever sate upon the ***English*** Throne, yet our Representatives, to secure us from the encroachments of this, and all succeeding Ages, have thought fit to declare and establish the Rights of the People, so fully, and upon such a sure Foundation, that ***England*** now is the securest, and the happiest Nation in the World, if the Natives can be but sensible of their own Happiness. ***Foelices nimium bona si sua nôrint Agricolas!***

XVIII. Four things especially declared in this Act, secure us from Oppression, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power. First, The rejecting of either a dispensing, or suspending Power. Secondly, All grants of Money for, or to the use of the Crown reserved to the Parliament for the time in being. Thirdly, The disbanding of standing Armies in time of Peace, unless the Parliament give consent to the keeping them on foot. Fourthly, The settling of the Succession of the Crown. I need mention nothing else contained in this Act, to shew that we are the only Subjects in the World, that can boast of Freedom and Liberty, in case our Princes cannot dispense with our Laws, as they cannot without our leave, since they are not to give us, for the only reason of their Kingly Actions, ***Tel est nostre bon plaisir, Their Good Will and Pleasure,*** as the French King does; for however the French Modes have taken with us of late, we could never yet fall in love with so absolute a Mode as this. As our Kings must act by Law, and not absolutely, though real Kings, they do nothing of moment but by and with the advice of their Parliaments: Our Happiness then consists in this, that our Princes are tied up to the Law, as well as we, and upon an especial account obliged to keep it up in its full **[Page 14]** force; because if they destroyed the Law, they destroy at the same time themselves, by overthrowing the very Foundation of their Kingly Grandeur, and Regal Power: So that our Government not being Arbitrary, but Legal, not Absolute, but Political, our Princes can never become Arbitrary, Absolute, or Tyrants, without forfeiting at the same time their Royal Character, by the breach of the essential Conditions of their Regal Power, which are to act according to the ancient Customs, and standing Laws of the Nation. If we are happy upon this account, that our Kings can neither suspend, nor destroy our Laws, we are no less to be envyed that our Purses are secured from the encroachments of an aspiring Covetousness, by that part of this Act, which tells us, ***that levying Money for, or to the use of the Crown by prerence of Prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.***

XIX. We may easily think our Security greater than that of any other Nation in ***Europe,*** if we reflect but a moment upon this important Article, that we are never obliged to open our Purses, but by the order and consent of our Representatives, whom we have trusted with the care of our Interest, which being equally theirs at the same time, we have no reason to fear that they ever lay any Taxes upon us, but when 'tis absolutely necessary for the preservation of our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, as all seeing Men confess it to be, in the present juncture of our Affairs, to prevent the return of Popery, and Arbitrary Power. This Privilege has made our Government to be envyed by all the Neighbour Nations, and the happiest that can be imagined; for there being no surer way for a Prince to become Absolute, Arbitrary, and a Tyrant, than to impoverish his Subjects, to that degree of Want and Misery, as may force them **[Page 15]** for subsistence to comply with all his desires, whether just, or unjust, he is disabled by this Act from doing them any mischief that way, I mean by squeezing the Blood out of their Veins, that is the Money out of their Pockets, for any design he might have of ruling over them as meer Slaves: To the want of Privilege, we may chiefly ascribe the Slavery the French Nation groans under, their Prince disposing absolutely of their Estates at pleasure, and laying such heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, as leave them not Money enough to buy Leather Shoes, instead of which they are forced to make use of Wooden ones; so that the French are not so much in the wrong, as one would think, when in their flattering Panegyricks they style him sometimes their God, since they in a manner are his Creatures, whom he creates, or destroys, by the least Word of his Mouth; for so absolute his Power is, that his Will is the only Law they can depend upon; insomuch that when he publisheth his Orders for gathering of Money, if his Subjects cannot supply him otherways, they must sell their Goods, and whatever they have, to give him what he demands; yea, I have known in ***France*** poor People sell their Beds, and lie upon Straw, sell their Pots, Kettles, and all their necessary Houshold Goods, to content the unmerciful Collectors of the King's Taxes. By this little hint we may easily see how much happier we are, as being laden with noburthens but what we are able to bear, and enjoying securely our Estates, and whatever we can call our own, under the protection of our Laws. Should we then leave any Stone unturn'd to keep our selves as we are, by opposing to our utmost such a cruel Conqueror, as the French King would undoubtedly prove, if he ever to our great misfortune subdued us?

XX. But let us speak one Word to the third thing I mentioned before, that by this Act we are to have no standing Army in time of Peace, the advantage whereof we may easily conceive, if we look a little aside towards our Neigh- **[Page 16]** bours the French; they suffer patiently in time of War the heaviest Taxes, and would not think themselves so much to be pityed, as now they are, if a Peace concluded with the Enemy bettered their condition; for they are then in a worse conditon, in a manner, than they were before, because the standing Armies impower their Prince to doe what he pleases in time of Peace; 'tis then that he looks about him, to consider who has got together any considerable Treasures, that he may ease them of them, though lawfully gained, and by good services done to the Crown; so that it

is no wonder if the French Subjects chuse at any time War, rather than Peace, because in time of Peace, their King's Armies are wholly imployed against them, whereas in the time of a settled War, they are partly taken up in opposing a Foreign Enemy. Let the impartial Reader judge from the Premises of the Happiness of the English Subjects, compared with the miserable Condition of the French.

XXI. The late Parliament has done another thing, without which, nothwithstanding all our other advantages contained in this Act, our Happiness had not been lasting, as it is now like to be for ever, and it is the settling of the Succession of the Crown upon Protestants, and none but Protestants: The Words of the Act are so remarkable, that I think it fit to insert them here, before I give you my Reflexions upon them.

Whereas it has been found by sad experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety 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 [Page 17] ***Person, and Persons, that is, or shall be reconciled to, or 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 uncapable to Inherit, Possess, or Enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and*** Ireland, ***and the Dominions thereunto 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, or 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 Person, or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited, and enjoyed the same, in case the same Person, or Persons, so reconciled, holding Communion, or Professing, or Marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.***

XXII. Nothing more certain than what is here asserted, that it is inconsistent with the safety of this Protestant Kingdom to be govern'd by a Popish Prince, or by any King, or Queen, Marrying a Papist: If we look back to the publick Transactions in the days of King ***Charles*** the First, we shall soon be convinced of this undeniable Truth, since we may derive all our Domestick and Civil Disturbances from his Marrying a Popish French Princess, who at last became so troublesome to him, that he was forced to send home, to ***France*** again, all her Attendants, in hopes to bring her to a better temper, by removing from her such Popish Emissaries, as were thought to put her upon some dangerous designs, which made the Nation jealous of her secret Intrigues with ***France,*** yea, and sometimes of the [Page 18] very King's Religion, as if he had been perverted by the Queen, or her Priests, or had shown himself somewhat too much inclined to the Popish way of Worship; but whether things were just as the People fansied them, or not, it is certain this unlucky Match was the occasion of our Civil Wars, and of so much bloodshed in thee three Nations: Such another suspicion as this, was the secret spring of all our late Domestick Troubles, during the Reign of King ***Charles*** the Second, for though he professed outwardly the Protestant Religion, yet the People, upon what grounds I know not well, could not be sometimes satisfied, but that he was either a Papist, or popishly inclined; and upon this very account the Nation was always apprehensive of French Pensioners, of Popish Plots, of Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: Now such apprehensions and fears could not but be the seed of Divisions among us, of Heart-burnings, and either of grounded, or groundless Jealousies, to the endangering the Peace and Safety of the whole Kindgom: So true it is, that it is inconsistent with the safety of this Kingdom to be governed by a Prince thought to be popishly affected, but sure far more to be governed by a sincere, zealous, and professed Papist, as we all know King ***James*** gloryed to be; how near we were the brink of our ruine during his Reign, and how unavoidable our entire ruine was, had he reigned longer over us, is so evident to all seeing Men, that I need not enlarge upon the matter here. I shall only add in this place, in order to make out the Truth of what is asserted by the late Parliament, ***that it is inconsistent with the safety of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Papist,*** that when our Prince is a real Papist, he is obliged by the Principles of his Religion, to doe his utmost endeavours to submit his Subjects to the Pope's jurisdiction.

XXIII. First, Because he must then of course look upon his Subjects as real Hereticks, and Schismaticks, [Page 19] whom if he do not root out by all possible means, he is liable to be deposed by the Pope, according to the famous and known decision of the third Council of ***Lateran;*** How then can a Protestant Nation put any trust in such a Prince, whose whole business is, and ought to be, to destroy their Religion, and force them to return to the old Romish Superstitions again? And if Subjects cannot trust their Sovereign, it is but rational to think they will take all imaginable measures to prevent their own ruine, and that of their Religion, always dearer to them, if they have any Piety at all, than their very lives; but these very measures, how just soever, must needs breed stirs in a Nation, to the general disturbance of the Natives, since the Politick Body, no more than the Natural, can be a moment in a quiet temper, without a free and friendly intercourse and communication between the Head and the Members. Secondly, If a Popish Prince is obliged in Conscience, as I elsewhere intimated he is, neither to stand to his Promise, nor Word given, to protect Hereticks, and Heresie, how can he sincerely promise to maintain and defend our Church; or rather how can we be so silly as to

believe he will maintain it, since it is not in his Power to do it, in case he finds himself in a posture to undertake its ruine? But, Thirdly, to be somewhat more particular, the safety of this Nation was inconsistent with the Government of the late King ***James,*** upon a particular account that I shall here mention.

XXIV. Of all the different Persecutions of the Church of God, none can be compared to the late Persecution of ***France,*** both for its Cruelty, and Novelty. The ***Roman*** Emperors, I confess, exercised all imaginable Barbarities upon the Bodies of the Primitive Christians, but never attempted, or pretended any right over their Souls, and [Page 20] Consciences; they banished them, tortured them, invented all sorts of Death to destroy them; but the art of Dragooning Men into Religion, was reserved to be the contrivance of ***Lewis*** the Fourteenth, though he was engaged by the most solemn Edicts of ***Nants*** and ***Nime,*** and by his Coronation Oath, to protect and defend the French Protestants, with all their Rights and Privileges: Had he declared he would suffer no longer the ***Hugonots*** in his Kingdom, and ordered them upon that account to depart out of it, if they could not change their Religion, we had not complained so much of his severity, how Anti-Christian soever, but not to suffer his Subjects to leave him, nor to live with him, without turning to his Principle, and that not by Argument, but by all the Wounds the Dragooning Swoord could inflict, that of Death only, which in this case was the least, excepted, is such an example of Cruelty, as is not to be parallell'd by the greatest Fury of the Roman Persecutions; and which without doubt contributed not a little to our late happy Revolution, by determing the English through an absolute necessity to do what they did for their own safety; for had they not reason to look to themselves, considering the proceedings of the French King, contrary to all his Oaths and Promises, to maintain, defend, and protect the ***Hugonots;*** they could not but know that the late King ***James*** was more devoted to the interest of the Church of ***Rome,*** than ***Lewis*** the Fourteenth himself; so that they could not in prudence but take the measures they have so successfully taken, for their own preservation, and that of the Protestant Interest in general. In one Word, nothing could be more terrible to the English, who are so much in love with Liberty and Property, than to see themselves threatned to be Dragoon'd out of both, by the help of such a powerfull Allie as ***Lewis*** the [Page 21] Fourteenth: The late Parliament then considering the great progress King ***James*** had made, in a very short time, towards the bringing in of the French Method of converting People to Popery, and what impressions such a Precedent as that of ***France*** might make upon a Prince, that needed no spur to the promoting of his own Religion, thought it fit, and absolutely necessary, for the safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of this Kingdom, to exclude for ever from the Imperial Throne of ***England*** all Popish Princes, whereby not ***England*** only is secured from such Troubles, as always ensue upon any jealousie between the King and the People from different Principles of Religion, but likewise all the Protestant Princes abroad, are incouraged to stand their ground against Popish Invaders, since they may be sure of seasonable succours upon occasion, from the Protestant Princes of this powerfull Monarchy.

Though what has been hitherto said, does sufficiently justifie all the proceedings of the King, and late Parliament, to the satisfaction of all such as are but impartial Men, and not disaffected to the present Government; yet because some Men seem discontented at two things not done by the late Parliament, and which they think ought not to have been omitted, as being undoubtedly of no small consequence for the publick Concerns, and Peace of the Nation; it may not be amiss in this place, to clear all their scruples upon these two Heads, ***viz*** Why the late Parliament neither settled the Militia of the Kingdom, nor passed the Act of Indempnity, though earnestly pressed to it by the King, in order to the quieting of Peoples Minds. As to what relates to the settling the Militia of the Kingdom, it is to be considered, that how necessary soever it may seem to be, it was neither perhaps possible as [...] [...] then things stood, nor expedient to settle it, by reason of the uncertain, [Page 22] [Page 21] [Page 20] and unknown disposition of most Men's Minds at first, in all great and sudden Revolutions, but more especially in such an extraordinary and unprecedented one as ours was; for since our greatest strength consists in our Militia, can any Man of Sense think, or say, 'twas either fit, or secure, in the then posture of our Affairs, to deliver up the very Bulwark of the Nation, into the Hands of such high Officers, as the Lieutenants of the Militia are in ***England,*** till it was better known if those who were fit for such Places, were really Men of such a temper, as the present Government might trust to, and rely upon: For extraordinary Revolutions of State being much of the Nature of great Waters, tossed to and fro by boisterous Winds, do always require some time before they are settled again, in such a calm as may encourage both private Men to follow their former measures, and likewise those who sit at the Helm to undertake, and prosecute the fittest Methods for securing themselves, and the People under their Government, from new Dangers and Storms, always to be feared after a sudden and unexpected Calm, as ours was; we were under such a dismal Cloud of imminent and threatning dangers, a little before the Heavens cleared up from the Dutch coast, that we do wonder at this very Day, to see our selves escaped such an unavoidable Shipwreck, as we thought our selves then exposed to; but it is not enough that we are got on Shore, and a ***terra firma*** to stand upon, unless by looking nearer into the matter, we consider seriously with our selves, how to maintain our ground, and settle what we have done upon a sure foundation; for as our late happy Revolution was a real one, how odd soever, and unlooked for, so considering how easily Men change their Resolutions, and because it might be immediately. succeeded by an unhappy one after the [Page 23] like manner, it was a piece of great prudence in our late Representatives, not to be over hasty in settling the Militia of

the Nation, till both they and the King were throughly acquainted with those who were to be trusted with Commissions of such an high concern; but it being impossible they should understand their real temper, while all things were as yet on float, no wonder if they deferred the settling of the Militia, till the Hearts of Men were known to be first settled, which Time only could inform them of. As to the Act of Indempnity, it is clear there was little or no inconveniency to defer it for a while; for since it relates mostly to such as have been guilty of Irregularities, and Illegal Proceedings in the late Reign, where is the harm if the Government keep them somewhat in awe, by deferring their Pardons to more fettled times, lest they might prove Ringleaders to new Changes, if they were not check'd by the fear of the punishment their past crimes deserve? For it is a groundless reflexion to say, that the not passing of the Act of Indempnity encourageth them to doe their utmost endeavours towards the bringing in of King ***James*** again, since it is clear to all Men acquainted with the present posture of his Majesty's Affairs, both at home and abroad, that they must needs despair of ever being secure, if they hope for no security till King ***James*** is settled upon his Abdicated Throne again: And may not I be allowed to say, that to judge of things to come, by the present temper of the Nation, they are in no danger at all, or at least not so great as some would have them apprehend it to be, because of the great moderation the Government has hitherto shewn, and will undoubtedly shew hereafter, to all such as are willing to comply with the present, that is the Protestant Interest, in opposition to Popery, and the French King's Designs against our Properties, and Liberties, if by the help **[Page 24]** of the ***Irish*** Papists, and other Male-Contents, he were enabled to conquer us. But to mention here another pressing particular relating to this Subject, since it is well known, that at the sitting down of the late Parliament, the King, by the advice, yea, and earnest request too of our late Representatives, entered into a necessary War against ***France*** on the one hand, and against the Irish Papists in ***Ireland*** on the other hand, I would fain know from any not designing Man, what was fittest to be done in this case, was the time to be trifled away with the settling of the Militia, and passing an Act of Indempnity, before any supplies had been granted his Majesty, for maintaining this Kingdom, and his Subjects, against the formidable French King's Fleets at Sea, and his Irish Forces at Land, commanded by the late King ***James*** in ***Ireland?*** Sure all Men of Sense must needs confess, that this ***Principal*** was first to be minded before any such ***Accessories,*** as undoubtedly these were, in that juncture of our Affairs. Now it is methinks evident, that the ordering the Sinews of great Warlike Preparations both by Sea, and by Land then, as now so necessary, could not but take up a great deal of time, especially when the Money is to be levyed, in due proportion, upon all the chief Subjects of the Nation; the necessary debates upon such occasions, about the Summ it self to be raised, upon what, and the manner how it is to be gathered, are things of such a Nature, as cannot be done on a sudden, whatever Men's endeavours may be to bring them in a short time to a period. The late Transactions of the last Parliament, besides the Nature of the thing it self, are evident proofs of what I do here affirm, to all such as understand any thing in Affairs of this kind, never done in ***England,*** otherwise than by Meetings, Conferences, Committees, Debates, Votes, **[Page 25]** and such other like Methods used in Parliament, upon all matters of a General, and National Concern. To conclude, notwithstanding all that I have said, grant it was expedient, though I have sufficiently proved it was not, to settle the Militia of the Kingdom, and pass the Act of Indempnity, before any thing else; these so much talked of omissions, are both inconsiderable in themselves, since we smart not yet for them, and not at all dangerous in their Consequences, which if really hurtful, may easily be prevented by the next Parliament.

FINIS.

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