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THE
R I G H T
 OF
BRITISH SUBJECTS,
 TO PETITION and APPLY to their
REPRESENTATIVES,
 ASSERTED and VINDICATED.

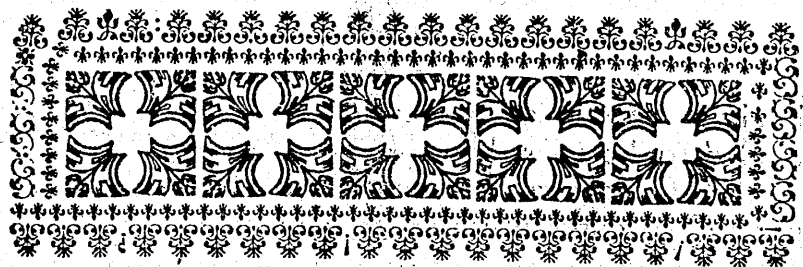
*In a LETTER to * * * * **

*It is only our not being either afraid or ashamed to appear in
 Defence of Liberty, which will give any of us a Title to
 be ranked amongst Those, who are, or design to be, thought
 Lovers of it; and not the adhering to vain and empty
 Names, when the Pretenders of them have manifestly departed
 from those Principles, which first gave them their Esteem
 and Respect amongst their Fellow-Labourers in this glorious
 Cause, and pursue those Practices, which have in all Ages
 been constantly opposed by the Assertors of Liberty and Lo-
 vers of their Country. State of the National Debt.*

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T H E
R I G H T
O F
BRITISH SUBJECTS,

To Petition and Apply to their REPRESENTATIVES, asserted and vindicated. In a LETTER.

To _____

S I R,



Was extremely surprized at the Declaration you made, when we were last together. I little expected you could for any Consideration, either at present, or in Expectancy, have treated the late Resolutions and Request of the Citizens, Merchants and Traders to their Representatives in the Manner you did. If the Proceedings of these Gentlemen are not in every Respect justifiable, I am at a Loss what Steps any Number of Persons are to be permitted to take, whenever they apprehend that the Trade and Manufactures, as well as the Liberty of the whole Kingdom are

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likely to be *affected* by any Scheme or Proposal intended to be offered to a House of Commons.

I am so concerned at your Conduct, that I cannot refrain expostulating with you in this publick Manner on the Occasion; which I chuse to do, not because I think it will be a Means of inducing you to alter your Measures in promoting a Scheme, in which I am assured you have *imbarked* your self; but to shew, that so far is there from being any Foundation from what you lay down that, on the contrary, the *Subjects* have a *Right* to *petition* the King, or either House of Parliament, and the *Electors* a *Right* to make *Application* to their Representatives. This is a Matter as certain and as little to be contested as any Thing in our Histories or Statute Books, which relates to the Preservation of the Constitution of our Government.

I have hitherto esteemed you a *Whig*, a Man of *Principle*, one passionately devoted to promote the publick Good and the common Service of your Country. One, who believed that Kings were instituted for the Good of the People, and Government ordained for the Sake of Those, who are to be governed; and that *Britons* have a *Right* to complain as well as to be heard, whenever any Thing is in Question, which they conceive, if rendered effectual, "will prejudice the *Trade*, *Manufactures*" and *Navigation* of the Kingdom, or indanger "the *Liberty* and *Property* of the *Subjects* of *Great Britain*."

I hope you will excuse me if I think otherwise of you than I have formerly done, and if hereafter I look upon you to be *guided* by Interest, and an *Apostate* from those Principles, to which is owing not only the *Revolution*, conducted by the glorious and immortal King *William*, but the Settlement

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Settlement of the *Protestant* Succession in the House of *Hanover* by the Act of Parliament in *his* Reign.

Principles only are to be regarded and not Men. The one are eternally the same, the other are almost constantly changing; and he only can make a true Judgment in the Consideration of any Matter, who regards Things and not Persons. Upon this Principle I readily approve what Mr. *Osborne*, alias *Socrates*, lays down, "that it seems reasonable that Men, who have no Property, but are absolutely at the Will of another, should have no Votes for Representatives in Parliament. Nor indeed have they, in Effect, Votes; for being at the Will and in the Power of another, they must vote as he would have them;" and am extremely pleased with the Justness of a Quotation by Mr. *D'Anvers*, "that *France* was once upon a right Foot, in Relation to its Liberties; for that they, who peruse their Histories, will find that arbitrary Power did not so much bring in high Taxes, as high Taxes introduced arbitrary Power; for when that golden Idol of an immense Revenue was set up, all the Nation bow'd to it."

I say, I approve what is said by Mr. *Osborne*, and am pleased with what is quoted by Mr. *D'Anvers*, though it is very well known one is a *ministerial* and the other an *anti-ministerial* Writer. But I am greatly displeas'd when I hear Persons, of known *Affection* to his Majesty's Person and Government, represented as *Enemies* to both, because they are determin'd, with great Numbers of their Fellow-Subjects, as well as Fellow-Citizens, Merchants and Traders, "with the utmost Unanimity, and by all dutiful and lawful Methods, strenuously to oppose any *new Excise* or Extension of the *Excise* Laws under whatever Name or Pretence it may be attempted." This

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This is very extraordinary *Treatment* of a Body of Men, who, I am sure, ought to be *cherished* and *esteemed* as the most *useful* and most *beneficial* of any of his Majesty's Subjects, and who neither seek or expect any Posts or Preferments, and have no other Thing in View, by opposing the intended Scheme, but to preserve their *Trade* and *Liberty*, and quietly to *reap* the *Fruits* of their *honest Industry*; and who have not, in any *Step* they have taken, done any thing either *undutifully* or *illegally*, or which they are not fully *justify'd* in by the *Precedents* of former Times.

I have turned over some of my Books since your Declaration and find that as it is our unquestionable Right, so in all Ages the Usage has been, by *Petition*, to inform our Kings of our Grievances.

In the Reign of *Edward II.* and *Edward III.* Petitions were frequent for Redress of publick Grievances, and for Parliaments.

In the 5th Year of King *Richard II.* the whole Body of the Realm petitioned, *that the most wise and able Men within the Realm might be chosen Counsellors.*

King *Henry VIII.* told his Subjects, then in Arms against him in Yorkshire, *that they ought not to have rebell'd, but to have apply'd themselves to him by Petition.*

King *James I.* by a Proclamation published in the 12th Year of his Reign, begins thus, "The Complaint lately exhibited to us by certain Noblemen and others of our Kingdom of Ireland, suggesting Disorders and Abuses, as well in the Proceedings of the late begun Parliament, as in the martial and civil Government of the Kingdom, we did receive with extraordinary Grace and Favour.

And

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And by another Proclamation, in the twelfth Year of his Reign, he declares, "That it was the Right of his Subjects to make their immediate Addresses to him by Petition." And in the 19th Year of his Reign he invites them to it.

In the 20th Year of his Reign he tells his People, "That his own and the Ears of his Privy Council did still continue open to the just Complaints of his People, and that they were not confined to Time and Meetings in Parliament, nor restrained to particular Grievances, not doubting but that his loving Subjects would apply themselves to his Majesty for Relief, to the utter abolishing of those private Whisperings and causeless Rumors, which without giving his Majesty any Opportunity of Reformation by particular Knowledge of any Fault, serve to no other Purpose but to occasion and blow abroad Discontent.

It appears by the Journal 1640, that the House of Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, *Nemine Contradicente*, voted Thanks to those Lords, who petitioned the King at York to call a Parliament; and the King, by his Declaration printed in the same Year, declares his Royal Will and Pleasure, that all his loving Subjects, who have any just Cause to present or complain of any Grievances or Oppressions, may freely address themselves, by their humble Petitions to his sacred Majesty, who will graciously hear their Complaints.

Soon after the *Restoration*, the Inhabitants of the County of *Bucks* made a *Petition*, that their Country might not be overrun with the King's Deer; and the same was done by the County of *Surrey* on the like Occasion.

In the same Reign many *Cities, Counties* and *Boroughs* petition'd his Majesty for the calling and the

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the fitting of a Parliament for the *Redress* of Grievances, and to *preserve* the Religion and Liberties of the People of *England*; to confirm which, it may be necessary to give the following Extract from a Book entitled *An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster October 21, 1689.*

Sir *GILBERT GERRARD.*

“ I crave Leave to mind you of a great Infringement, which hath been made of the Liberty of the Subject since the last Session of Parliament. Sir, many good Protestants thinking it very strange that Parliaments should be dissolved without doing any Thing material against Popery, and a Third so often prorogued in a Time of such imminent Danger; and foreseeing the Ruin such Delays might bring upon them, resolved to petition his Majesty; and accordingly, in several Counties and Corporations, Petitions, humbly praying his Majesty to let the Parliament sit, were drawn up and sign'd by many Thousands of his Majesty's good Subjects, in a peaceable and quiet Way, and deliver'd to his Majesty by no greater Number of Persons than is allow'd. But although this was conformable to Law, and the Duty of good Subjects, considering what Danger his Majesty's Person and the Protestant Religion was in, yet it was traduced by his Majesty as *seditious* and *tumultuous* and forbidden by a Proclamation, and great Affronts and Discouragements given to such, as either promoted or delivered the said Petitions; and at last several Persons, in many Places, were set up to declare, at the Assizes and

“ other

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“ other publick Places, an *Abhorrency* and *Detestation* of such Petitioning.

“ Sir, I humbly conceive *the Subjects of England have an undoubted Right to petition his Majesty for the sitting of Parliaments and redressing of Grievances*, and that considering the Circumstances we are under, we have no Reason to lose it. If it should be our Unhappiness to have a Popish King, may he not be surrounded with Popish Counsellors, so as that poor Protestant Subjects may be debarr'd of all other Ways whatsoever of making known their Complaints to him, and must we lose this too? Sir, I think it so necessary and material a Privilege of the Subject, as that we ought, without Loss of Time, to assert our Rights to it; and therefore I humbly move you to make some Votes to that Purpose.

Sir *FRANCIS WINNINGTON.*

Mr. Speaker. Sir,

“ I Am not only of Opinion with that worthy Member that spoke last, as to making a Vote for *asserting the Right of the Subject to petition their Prince*, but also for *chastizing* Those, who have been so *wicked* and *abominable* as to *traduce* it and *abhor* it. And to that Purpose, I think, Sir, it will be convenient that we find out who advised or drew that Proclamation against it, and examine how a Petition, that was made in *Berkshire*, was ordered to be taken off the File at a Quarter Sessions, if worthy to be call'd so, there being but four Justices of the Peace, and two of them such obscure Persons as I cannot get their Names. And so make some Inspection into those Addresses, that have been

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“ made

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“ made against Petitioning, and by whom contri-
 “ ved, sign'd, or deliver'd. But this must be a
 “ Work of Time ; for the present I humbly move
 “ you to pass one Vote to assert the *Right* of the
 “ Subject to *petition* the King; another of Cen-
 “ sure on those Persons that have traduc'd it, and
 “ appoint a Committee for your farther proceeding
 “ herein.

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

Resolved, “ *That to traduce such petitioning as*
 “ *a Violation of Duty, and to represent it to his*
 “ *Majesty as tumultuous or seditious, is to betray*
 “ *the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the*
 “ *Design of subverting the antient, legal Constitu-*
 “ *tion of this Kingdom, and introduces arbitrary*

Resolved, “ *That a Committee be appointed to*
 “ *enquire after all such Persons that have offended*
 “ *against the Right of the Subject.*

SILAS TITUS.

Mr. Speaker,

“ I Am very glad these Votes have pass'd so
 “ unanimously; for Popery and arbitrary Go-
 “ vernment can never be set up in this Nation; if
 “ we could be sure of frequent Parliaments; and
 “ therefore the asserting the Right of the Subject
 “ in any Thing, which tends to That, may be of
 “ great Use to this Nation. But, Sir, seeing you
 “ have taken this Business into your Consideration,
 “ I think we may do well to go a little farther
 “ with it, even at this Time. I am inform'd some
 “ Members of the House are guilty of having
 “ acted

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“ acted contrary to these Votes ; and I am of Opi-
 “ nion, that as they were not willing that we
 “ should sit here, so that we should be as willing
 “ not to have them sit amongst us ; for if it were
 “ a great Crime in others, much more in Those,
 “ that are chosen to assert the Rights and Liber-
 “ ties of the People. It is very unlikely that Men
 “ of such Principles should make good Parliamen-
 “ Men ; and I think it will very well consist with
 “ the Justice of the House to begin with a Refor-
 “ mation amongst ourselves ; and therefore I hum-
 “ bly move we may first proceed against such.

Being commanded to name such Members, he
 named Sir *Francis Withins*, who, not being in the
 House, was order'd to attend the next Day ; where,
 after he was heard in his Place, was order'd to
 withdraw, and censur'd to receive the Sentence
 of the House upon his Knees, and to be expell'd
 the House.

This was the Sense of the House of Commons
 at that Time, and by the Act declaring the Right
 of the Subject on the Revolution, it is enacted
 among other Things, “ That it is the Right of
 “ the Subject to petition the King; and all Com-
 “ mitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning
 “ are illegal.

Thus is shewn the indubitable Right of the Sub-
 ject to petition; but because it will probably be ob-
 jected, that the Act of the 13th *Car. II. Chap. 3.*
 may be a Restraint of that inherent Right in the
 People; I shall give the Clauses of the Act itself
 at full Length, which will give us a plain and in-
 fallible Rule to walk by in Petitioning.

It is entitled, *An Act against Tumults and Dis-*
orders upon Pretence of preparing and presenting
publick Petitions, or other Addresses to his Majesty,
or the Parliament.

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And

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And the Preamble recites, “ Whereas it hath
 “ been found by sad Experience, that tumultuous
 “ and other disorderly soliciting and procuring of
 “ Hands by private Persons to Petitions, Com-
 “ plaints, Remonstrances and Declarations, and
 “ other Addreses to the King, or both or either
 “ Houses of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters
 “ establish'd by Law, Redress of pretended Grievances
 “ in Church or State, or other publick
 “ Concernments, have been made Use of to serve
 “ the Ends of factious and seditious Persons, gotten
 “ into Power, to the Violation of the publick
 “ Peace; and have been a great Means of unhappy
 “ Wars, Confusions and Calamities in this Nation.

Therefore, for preventing the like Mischiefs for
 the future, it is enacted, “ That no Person or
 “ Persons whatsoever shall from and after the first
 “ Day of *August*, 1661, solicit, labour or procure
 “ the getting of Hands or other Consent of any
 “ Persons above the Number of Twenty, or more,
 “ to any Petition, Complaint, Remonstrance, Declaration
 “ or other Addreses to the King, or both
 “ or either Houses of Parliament, for Alteration
 “ of Matters established by Law in Church or
 “ State, unless the Matters thereof have been first
 “ consented unto and ordered by three or more
 “ Justices of the County, or by the major Part of
 “ the Grand Jury of the County, or Division of
 “ the County, where the same Matter shall arise, at
 “ their publick Assizes or general Quarter Sessions;
 “ or, if arising in *London*, by the Lord Mayor,
 “ Aldermen and Commons, in Common Council
 “ assembled; and that no Person or Persons whatsoever
 “ shall repair to his Majesty, or both or either
 “ Houses of Parliament, upon Pretence of
 “ presenting or delivering any Petition, Complaint,
 “ Re-

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“ Remonstrance or Declaration, or other Addreses,
 “ accompanied with excessive Numbers of
 “ People, at any Time, with above the Number
 “ of ten Persons, upon pain of incurring a Penalty
 “ not exceeding the Sum of 100 *l.* in Money and
 “ three Months Imprisonment, without Bail or
 “ Mainprize, for every Offence; which Offence to
 “ be prosecuted at the Court of King's-Bench, or
 “ at the Assize or General Quarter Session, within
 “ six Months after the Offence committed and
 “ proved by two or more credible Witnesses. And
 “ It is provided, “ that this Act, or any
 “ Thing therein contained, shall not be construed
 “ to extend to debar or hinder any Person or Persons,
 “ not exceeding the Number of ten aforesaid,
 “ to present any publick or private Grievance or
 “ Complaint to any Member or Members of Parliament
 “ after his Election, and during the Continuance
 “ of the Parliament, or to the King's Majesty,
 “ for any Remedy to be thereunto had; nor to extend
 “ to any Addres whatsoever to his Majesty, by all,
 “ or any of the Members of both, or either Houses
 “ of Parliament, during the Sitting of Parliament;
 “ but that they may enjoy their Freedom of Access
 “ to his Majesty, as heretofore hath been used.

So that by this Act it appears, that though the
 Parliament; being willing to provide against any
 Inconveniences, which might arise to the Government
 from tumultuous Petitioning, do not allow any
 great Numbers to petition for the Alteration of
 Laws, unless the Matter of the Petition be consented
 to, in such a Manner, as the Law directs; yet that,
 nevertheless, in all other Cases they leave the
 Subject to their free undoubted Liberty, as well
 knowing that there could arise no possible Inconvenience
 from it; but, on the contrary, that to
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bar the People of that humble Way of making their Wants known might force them upon worse Ways of doing it.

My Lord Chief Justice *Hobart* tells us, " that it is lawful for any Subject to petition the King for Redress in an humble and modest Manner. For, (says he) *Access to the Sovereign must not be shut up in Case of the Subjects Distresses.*" It was one of the Crimes, for which the *Spencers* were banished by Parliament, *that they hindered the King from receiving and answering Petitions from great Men and others*; and one of the Articles against the Earl of *Strafford*, *that he issued out a Proclamation and Warrant of Restraint, to inhibit the King's Subjects to come to the Fountain, their Sovereign, to deliver the Complaints of their Wrongs and Oppressions.*

Mr. *Finch* (late Earl of *Aylesford*) lays it down in the Bishop's Trial, *that it is the Right of all People, that apprehend themselves aggrieved, to approach his Majesty by Petition*; and in the same Trial, says Sergeant *Levintz*, *the Subjects have a Right to petition the King in all their Grievances; so say all our Law Books, and so says the Statute of 13 Cha. II. cap. 5.* And a Writer, in Justification of the People's petitioning in the Year 1679, thus expresseth himself.

" It never yet was thought seditious, or tumultuous in any Government, for the Subjects, in an humble Manner, to beg that he, who has the only Power to do it, would redress our Grievances. It is the Way by which we apply ourselves to the King of Heaven, who knows all our Wants, and yet expects from us, that we should daily express them to him in humble Petitions; and the Wisdom of the Church, which has appointed Liturgies and Forms of Common
" Prayer

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" Prayer, seems to instruct us, that God is pleased when huge Numbers join in the same Petition. Why should not then suppliant Subjects, with like Humility, and in like Manner, address themselves to the God on Earth? Especially, since Kings cannot know our Desires, or our Grievances, till we our selves inform them what they are. I remember some wicked Counsellors of *Darius* did once obtain a Law to be made, that none should petition any one but the King for thirty Days; but there never was yet found so absurd a Statesman, as to advise a Law, *that Subjects should not supplicate their Prince.* It is probable it would be well for some Favourites, who are near a King, if such a Right could be taken from the People; for then all their false Suggestions and Informations might pass undiscovers; but, it is impossible that a King should long be safe in such a Condition. I will suppose a malicious Statesman, intending to raise a Jealousy in the Mind of the Sovereign, should inform him, in dangerous Times, that he was not beloved by his People, and that he was not to trust them. How could the Subjects, in such a Case, recover the Prince's good Opinion, in the Absence of a legal Representative, but by humble and affectionate Addresses? Or, suppose some good Protestant Prince should be so unfortunate, as to have some Counsellors near him, who are conceal'd, and others, whose Crimes make them fear Parliaments; it is easy to suppose, that the one Sort will be filling his Ears with Stories, that a great Part of his Kingdom are inclined to Popery; and the other Sort, that the best of his Subjects are quite out of Love with Parliaments, as factious and seditious Assemblies. Into what unfortunate Circumstances would such
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“ a Prince be apt to fall, if his People were precluded from addressing themselves, and opening their Desires to him?

If then the People of *Great Britain* have a Right (and it appears this Right is undoubted) to petition the King for the sitting of Parliaments, and for the Redress of all their Grievances, it will certainly follow that they have a Right to petition a Parliament, setting forth their Hardships and Grievances; and also to lay before their immediate Representatives any Thing, which may be doing in Parliament, or intended to be brought into Parliament, that they apprehend either prejudicial to the Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, or dangerous to the Liberties of the whole Kingdom. The Act of 13 *Car. II. cap. 5.* is a Proof of This; since it is there declared, “ that not any Thing therein contained, shall be construed to extend to debar, or to hinder any Person or Persons, not exceeding the Number of Ten, to present any publick or private Grievance, or Complaint to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the King's Majesty, for any Remedy to be thereunto had.

And as the People of *Great Britain* have a Right of applying to their Representatives, relating to any publick or private Grievance or Complaint; so there are numberless Instances, which might be produced, that they have constantly made Use of this Right; but I shall content myself with only giving the following very remarkable Applications of this Kind of two great Cities, and two considerable Counties.

To

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To the Hon. Sir Robert Clayton, *Knt.* Thomas Pilkington, *Alderman*, Sir Thomas Player, *Knt.* and William Love, *Esq;* late (and now chosen) Members of Parliament for this Honourable City of London.

“ WE, the Citizens of this City in common
 “ Hall assembled, having experienced the
 “ great and manifold Services of you, our Representatives in the two last Parliaments, by your
 “ faithful and unwearied Endeavours to search into, and discover the Depth of the horrid and
 “ hellish Popish Plots; to preserve his Majesty's
 “ Royal Person, the Protestant Religion, and the
 “ well-established Government of this Realm; to secure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments; to assert our undoubted Rights of petitioning, and to punish such, who would have betray'd those Rights; to promote the happy and
 “ long wish'd-for Union amongst all his Majesty's
 “ Protestant Subjects; to repeal the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the Corporation Act; and especially for what Progress hath been made towards
 “ the Exclusion of all Popish Successors, and, particularly, of *JAMES*, Duke of *York*, whom
 “ the Commons of *England* in the two last Parliaments, have declared, and we are greatly sensible is the principal Cause of all the Ruin and
 “ Misery impending these Kingdoms in general, and this City in particular. For all which, and
 “ other your constant and faithful Management of
 “ our Affairs in Parliament, we offer and return to
 “ you our most hearty Thanks, being confidently
 “ assured that you will not consent to the granting any Money-Supply, until you have effectually secured us against Popery and arbitrary
 “ Power; resolving, (by divine Assistance) in Pursuance
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“ fuance of the same Ends, to stand by you with
 “ our Lives and Fortunes.

To the Hon. Sir William Pulteney, and Sir William Waller, Knts. unanimously elected Members of the ensuing Parliament for the antient City of Westminster.

“ **W**E, the Inhabitants of this City and the
 “ Liberties thereof, assembled, retaining
 “ a most grateful and indelible Sense of your prudent Zeal in the late Parliament, in searching
 “ into the Depth of the horrid and hellish Plots
 “ of the Papiſts againſt his Majesty's Royal Perſon,
 “ the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of
 “ the Realm, and in endeavouring to bring the
 “ Authors of wicked Councils to condign Punishment; and remembering alſo your faithful Discharge of that great Truſt reposed in you, *in vindicating our undoubted Right of petitioning his Majesty, that Parliaments may ſit for the Redreſs of our Grievances; which hereditary Privilege ſome bad Men would have wreſted out of our Hands,* upon whom you have ſet ſuch a juſt Brand of Ignominy, as may deter them from the like Attempts for the Time to come. And farther, reflecting upon your vigorous Endeavours to ſecure to us and our Poſterity, the Profeſſion of the true Religion, by thoſe juſt, legal and neceſſary Expedients, which the great Wiſdom of the two laſt Parliaments fixed upon, and adhered to; do find our ſelves obliged to make our open Acknowledgment of, and to return our hearty Thanks for your eminent Integrity and Faithfulneſs, your indefatigable Labour and Pains in the Premiſes; not once queſtioning, but you will maintain the ſame good Spirit and
 “ Zeal

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“ Zeal to ſecure his Majesty's Royal Perſon, and
 “ to preſerve to us the Proteſtant Religion (where-
 “ in all good Subjects have an Intereſt) againſt the
 “ ſecret and ſubtle Contrivances, and open Assaults
 “ of the common Enemy; as alſo our civil Rights
 “ and Properties againſt the Incroachments of arbitrary Power. In Purſuance of which great and good Ends, we ſhall always be ready, as we are obliged, to adhere to you, our honoured Re- preſentatives, with the utmoſt Hazard of our Perſons and Eſtates.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Ruſſel and Sir Humphrey Munnox, elected Knights for the Shire of Bedford, on the 14th of February, 1680-1.

“ **W**HEN it pleaſed his Majesty to ſummon
 “ his Peers and Commons, of this his
 “ Realm, to meet him at *Westminster* in the laſt
 “ Parliament, we accordingly then choſe you to
 “ act on our Behalf; and being abundantly ſatisfy'd, not only in your Courage, Integrity and Prudence in general, but alſo in your particular Care, and faithful, conſcientious Endeavours.
 “ 1. To aſſert our Right of legal petitioning for Redreſs of our juſt Grievances, and to puniſh thoſe, who were ſtudious to betray it. 2. To ſecure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments (already by Law provided for) for the Preſervation of our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and for the Support of his ſacred Majesty, and even of the Government itſelf. 3. To repeal the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, whereby all true Proteſtants might poſſibly, in Caſe of a Popiſh Succeſſor (from which God of his infinite Mercy defend us) be liable to utter Ruin, Abjuration, and perpetual Banishment. 4. To ſe-
 “ cure

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“ cure his Majesty's Royal Person, the Protestant
 “ Religion and well-established Government of this
 “ Realm. 5. To destroy and root out Popery. 6.
 “ To use the most effectual Means conducing to
 “ so good an End, *viz.* The Exclusion of a Popish
 “ Successor, both by Name and otherwise. We
 “ have therefore now chosen you again to repre-
 “ sent us, in like Manner, in this Parliament called
 “ to be held at *Oxford*; in full Trust and Confi-
 “ dence that, with the same Courage and Integri-
 “ ty, you will persevere in the same good Endeavours,
 “ pursuing all Things that (by joint Con-
 “ sent of your Fellow-Members) shall be found
 “ for our publick Good and Safety; and in full
 “ Assurance that you will not consent to the Dis-
 “ posal of any of our Money, till we are effectually
 “ secured against Popery and arbitrary Power,
 “ do resolve (by divine Assistance) to stand by
 “ you therein.

*To Arthur Onflow and George Evelyn, Esqrs.
 elected Knights for the County of Surrey in the
 ensuing Parliament; whose Session is appointed
 at Oxon the 21st of March 1680-1.*

“ **WE** the Freeholders of the County of
 “ *Surrey*, having in two former Parliaments
 “ chosen you to be our Representatives; and being
 “ satisfied in your Faithfulness and Care to preserve
 “ the Protestant Religion, his Majesty's royal Person,
 “ the good Government of the Nation by Law, and in
 “ securing our Rights and Liberties; for your real
 “ Endeavours herein we jointly return our hearty
 “ Thanks; and have now chosen you again, to be our
 “ Representatives in this Parliament. And though we
 “ have not the least Suspicion or Doubt of your
 “ Wisdom and Integrity,

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“ Integrity, in acting for our common Good (now,
 “ as we apprehend, in great Danger) yet we judge
 “ it expedient to discover our Minds and hearty
 “ Desires in the Particulars following, *viz.*
 “ 1. That you'll continue vigorously to prosecute
 “ the horrid Popish Plotters, and endeavour that
 “ they may be brought to condign Punishment;
 “ especially all Sham-Plotters, which we esteem
 “ the worst of Villains.
 “ 2. That you will insist on a Bill for excluding
 “ all Popish Successors to the Crown; which we
 “ believe an effectual Means (under God) for pre-
 “ serving the Protestant Religion, his Majesty's Life
 “ and Tranquility, with the well-establish'd Go-
 “ vernment of the Kingdom, and securing it to
 “ our Posterity.
 “ 3. That you endeavour passing a Bill for re-
 “ gulating Elections and the Frequency of Parliaments,
 “ (for dispatching of those weighty Affairs of the
 “ Nation that shall from Time to Time be before
 “ them) which we judge the best Prevention of
 “ an arbitrary Power.
 “ 4. That you persevere in asserting our Right
 “ of legal petitioning, for removing our just Grievances,
 “ and pass a Bill (if there be no Law) to punish
 “ such that shall obstruct it.
 “ 5. That you will use your utmost Endeavours
 “ to bring in a Bill against Pluralities of Church
 “ Livings, Non-Residency, and scandalous Ministers;
 “ of which there are too many in most Counties.
 “ 6. That you will endeavour to preserve his
 “ Majesty's Person, to root out Popery, and prevent
 “ arbitrary Government; and use your utmost
 “ Endeavours to unite his Majesty's Protestant
 “ Subjects.

“ *Lastly,*

“ *Lastly*, that you will not consent to any Money Bill, till the aforesaid Particulars be effected; and in so doing, we hereby promise to stand by you with our Lives and Fortunes.

It is to the same Purpose that almost all the Counties, Cities and Boroughs apply'd to their Representatives in the Year 1681; and some of them recommended to their Representatives the following Articles.

“ That you will use your utmost Endeavour to put a Brand upon those abominable Monsters, which were PENSIONERS in the late long Parliament, that thereby the *Generations to come* may be deterred from attempting the like unheard-of Villany.

“ That some Laws may be made for the preventing the Excesses, and Exorbitances in the Election of Members of Parliament, and of undue Returns; and that some effectual Provision may be made for the meeting of frequent Parliaments, and for their sitting to redress Grievances; and to make such wholesome Laws as shall be necessary for the Welfare of the Nation.

“ That you will purge out the Corruptions, which abound in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; that you will be sparing of our Money until we are effectually secured against Popery and arbitrary Power; and a sure Foundation laid of an happy Union between the King and his People, by the Removal of those *evil Instruments*, who thro' private Interest and Ambition make it their Business to divide their Affections.

This was the Manner of the People's applying to their Representatives in former Times; and because

cause it may be seen that a *Regard* was had by the Representatives themselves to these *timely* and *right* Applications of the People, it may be necessary to give the two following Speeches, which were made on the Occasion; the one by a Representative of the City of *London*, and the other of the County of *Bedford*.

Sir ROBERT CLAYTON.

“ I confess I have been full of Expectation of some Expedient to secure the Life of the King and the Protestant Religion, without the Bill for excluding the Duke, &c. My Expectation is from those, who opposed the Expedient of the Bill (for I can call it no otherwise). I have in my weak Judgment weighed all Expedients I have heard of, and they seem to me all to be a Breach of the Constitution of the Government, and to throw us into Disorder and Confusion. I have heard it has been an *antient Usage*, that Members have consulted their Cities, Boroughs, and Counties in any Thing of Weight, as well as Money, before they resolved it. The Practice was good, and I wish it were continued; we can discharge our Trust no better than in observing the Direction of those, who sent us hither. I received an Address from the City of *London*, (having the Honour to be one of their Representatives) in the Matter of this Bill of excluding the Duke, &c. I heartily wish some Expedient may be found out to save our Religion without it. But I must pursue my Trust; therefore I move a Bill may be brought in to exclude all Popish Successors, and particularly JAMES Duke of York.

Lord

(24)

Lord RUSSEL.

“ I Have the same Obligation upon me as the
 “ worthy Person that spoke last, from the
 “ County I have the Honour to serve for. I have
 “ been long of Opinion that nothing but this Bill
 “ can secure us from Popery. In the long Par-
 “ liament 'twas said that the Duke was a Papist,
 “ and the Danger of his Power will be more now,
 “ and every Day informs us of the sad Conse-
 “ quences of it. I should be glad if any Thing
 “ but this Bill could secure us; I know nothing
 “ else can, and therefore I humbly move for it.

Thus have I laid before you, in this public Man-
 ner, the People's Right of *petitioning* and *applying*
 to their Representatives, and I hope shewn that
 you were as wrong in making the *Declaration* you
 did, as in having *embarked* your self in a *Scheme*
 so *universally* disagreeable to the *Opinion* and *In-*
clination of your Fellow Subjects, and shall not de-
 tain you nor thy Readers any longer than to sub-
 mit the following Passage, wrote by the *greatest*
Man * of his Time, to yours and their Confide-
 ration.

“ A gradual Method of destroying our Nation's
 “ Right is the most dangerous in its Consequences.
 “ The Safety, which our Forefathers, for many
 “ hundred Years, enjoy'd under this Part of the
 “ Law (Juries) especially, and have transmitted
 “ to us, is so apparent to the meanest Capacity,
 “ that whoever shall go about to take it away or
 “ give it up, is like to meet with the Fate of
 “ *Ismael*, to have every Man's Hand against him,
 “ because

* Lord SOMERS.

(25)

“ because he is against every Man. Few Men at
 “ first see the Danger of little Changes in Funda-
 “ mentals; and Those, who design them, usually
 “ act with so much Craft, as besides the giving spe-
 “ cious Reasons, they take great Care that the true
 “ Reason shall not appear. Every Design therefore
 “ of changing the Constitution ought to be most
 “ *warily* observed, and *timely* opposed; and it is
 “ the Interest of the People, that such Fundamen-
 “ tals should be duly guarded, for whose Benefit
 “ they were first so *carefully* laid.

S I R, Yours, &c.

The Counties and Corporations throughout
 England were generally so well satisfy'd with the
 Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons
 in the Parliament, held at *Westminster*, *Octob. 21*,
 1680, prorogued the 10th, and dissolved the 18th
 of *January* following, that as soon as they heard
 of its Dissolution, they resolved to chuse the very
 same Persons again, and contrived to make their
 Elections, without putting the Gentlemen chosen
 to any Charge, thereby to crush the pernicious
 Practices in the Choice of Members, which, by
 the Continuance of one Parliament so many Years,
 had been introduced in that Reign, not only to the
 scandalizing of the Nation, but the almost destroy-
 ing the very Constitution of our Parliaments. The
 following are Copies of four of the many Letters,
 which were wrote at that Time.

D

A LET-

(26)

A LETTER of Thanks from the Grand Jury of the County of Worcester to the Knights of this Shire.

Honoured Sirs,

WE, the Grand Jury of the County of Worcester, at the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace held for the said County, do hereby, in the Behalf of our selves, and the County, for which we serve, return you our most hearty Thanks for your constant and unwearied Attendance upon the Service of his Majesty and your Country, in Parliament, in a Time of such imminent Danger; and especially of your Concurrence in those Methods, that have been taken for the Security of his Majesty's sacred Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Properties of his Majesty's Subjects, against the hellish Plots of the Papists, and their Adherents; and we do humbly request your Continuance, and shall ever pray for the Preservation of the Person of our most gracious Sovereign, and that God will direct and unite his Councils; and, upon all Occasions, testify what we are,

Honoured Sirs,

Your very humble, obliged,

and thankful Servants.

This was signed by all the said Grand Jury, and directed to the Honourable Colonel Samuel Sandys, and Thomas Foley, Esquires.

A LET-

(27)

A LETTER, from the antient and loyal Borough of North-Allerton in Yorkshire, to their Burgeses in Parliament.

Honoured Sirs,

THE unexpected and sudden News of this Day's Post preventing us from sending those due Acknowledgments, which the Greatness of your Services for publick Good have merited from us, we have no better Way, now left us, to express our Gratitude, and the highest Resentment of your Actions before, and in your last Sessions of Parliament, than to manifest our Approbation thereof, by an Assurance, that if a Dissolution of this present Parliament happen, since you have evidenced so sufficiently your Affections to his Majesty's royal Person, and Endeavours for the preserving the Protestant Religion, our Laws and Liberties, we are now resolved, if you are pleased to continue with us, to continue you as our Representatives; and do therefore beg your Acceptance thereof; and farther, that you will continue your Station during this Prorogation, faithfully assuring you, that none of us desire to give, or occasion the Expence or Trouble of a Journey in order to your Election (if such happen) being so sensible of the too great Expence you have been at already, in so carefully discharging the Trust and Confidence reposed in you, by

GENTLEMEN,

Your obliged, and

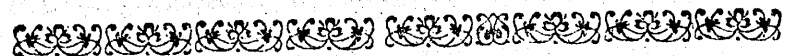
faithful Friends and Servants.

D 2

Sign'd

(28)

Sign'd by the Burgeſſes and Electors of *North-Allerton*, and directed to Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* and Sir *Henry Calverly*, Burgeſſes for the Borough of *North-Allerton* in *Yorkſhire*.



A LETTER from the famous Town of *Kingſton upon Hull*, to Sir *Michael Wharton, Knt.* and *William Gee, Eſq;* Burgeſſes for that Town in the late Parliament.

Worthy Gentlemen,

WE underſtand you have ſignify'd to our Magiſtrates your Willingneſs to repreſent us in the enſuing Parliament, and that they have gratefully accepted of your generous Offer; which if they had communicated to us, our joint Compliance would have been readily manifeſted; for we are ſo ſenſible of your Integrity in the late Parliament, by your indefatigable Care and Pains, in endeavouring the Security of his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, as alſo our Religion and Property, that we cannot but rejoyce you are pleaſed again to offer us that Kindneſs, which your former good Service hath engaged us to become Suitors for. We do therefore return you our hearty Thanks; and you may be confident, without your *Appearance*, or the leaſt *Charge*, to have all our Suffrages, *Nemine Contradicente*, and will, as our Obligations bind us, ſtand by your Proceedings, as becomes loyal Subjects and true Engliſhmen; ſubſcribing ourſelves

Your obliged, and affectionate Friends and Servants.

Which

(29)

Which was ſubſcribed by *Matthew Johnson, Eſq;* Sheriff of the ſaid Town, and 122 more of the moſt eminent Burgeſſes and Electors.



A LETTER from *Lewis* in *Suffex* on the like Occaſion.

To their late worthy Representatives, *Richard Bridget,* and *Thomas Pelham, Eſqrs.*

Gentlemen,

WE are ſenſible of the great Trouble and Charge you have been at, as our Representatives, and of your great Care and Conſtancy; for which we return you our hearty Thanks, with our earneſt Requeſt, that you would be pleaſed once more to favour us in the ſame Capacity; and you will thereby much oblige,

Your faithful

Friends and Servants.

This was ſubſcribed by near 150 of the Inhabitants of *Lewis* aforeſaid.

The next Houſe of Commons, which was ſummoned to meet at *Oxford*, no ſooner aſſembled, but a Member * made a Speech to this Effect.

WHEN there has been Corruption, and all have not done their Duty, you ſhould diſtinguiſh and give Thanks to Them, that have. Formerly you have done it to Officers for doing their Duty

* Mr. SWINFEN.

(30)

Duty in Suppression of Popery, when through the Corruption of the Times some have not done their Duty. Nothing is more Parliamentary than to return Thanks to Those, who have freely and without Expence chosen you Members ; and I desire that the Members so elected may be ordered to send their Thanks to Those, who chose them.

— And the following Vote passed.

“ It being represented to this House by several Members, that many Counties, Cities and Boroughs have freely, without Charge, elected many of the Members in this present Parliament, according to the ancient Constitution of Election of Members to serve in Parliament ;
“ *wherefore this House doth give their Thanks to such Counties, Cities and Boroughs for their Election.*

F I N I S.

