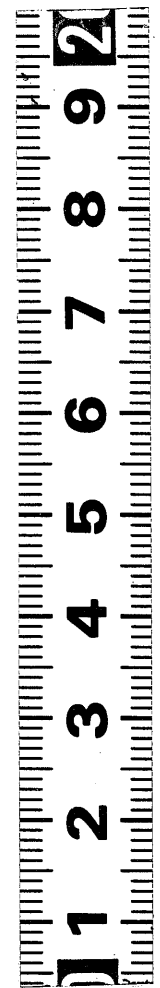


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Anglia Libera :
OR THE
LIMITATION and SUCCESSION
OF THE
Crown of ENGLAND
Explain'd and Asserted, &c.

A

0002
ANGLIA LIBERA: *E. e. 17.*

OR

Lauderdale

The *Limitation* and *Succession* of the
Crown of *England* explain'd
and asserted; As grounded

Lauderdale ON *Modesty* ~~by~~

His MAJESTY'S *Speech*;

The *Proceedings* in PARLAMENT;

The *Desires* of the PEOPLE,

The *Safety* of our RELIGION;

The *Nature* of our CONSTITUTION;

The BALANCE of *Europe*;

And

The *Rights* of all MANKIND.

By JO. TOLAND.

— *Quod optanti Divum promittere Nemo
Auderet, VOLVENDA DIES (en!) attulit ultro!*
VIRGIL. ÆN. Lib. 9.

L O N D O N,

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T O

The most noble and mighty Prince,

J O H N
Duke of Newcastle ;

Marquis and Earl of *Clare*, Baron
Haughton of *Haughton*; Lord Lieute-
 nant of the County of *Nottingham*,
 and Town and County of the Town
 of *Nottingham*; Lord Warden of the
 Forest of *Sherwood*; Lord Lieutenant
 of the East Riding of the County of
York; Governor of the Town and
 Fort of *Kingston* upon *Hull*; and
 Knight of the most noble Order of the
Garter.

May it please your GRACE,

THE inviolable Love which
 you have born from your
 Infancy to the LIBER-
 TY of your Contry, and the

A 3 parti-

Epistle Dedicatory.

particular Zeal you have exprest for the late Settlement of our Crown in the House of HANOVER, are sufficient Reasons of honoring this Book with your Name. It was observ'd among the *Romans* that as some noble Families (such as the *CLAUDII*) were Objects of the public Hatred, for the Insolence of their Temper, and their incurable Content of the Commons; so others (as the *VALERII*) were extremely popular and rever'd, for the Mildness of their Nature, the Easiness of their Manners, and the affectionat Esteem they paid their Fellow Citizens. On this last Account, my LORD, your most illustrious Progenitors have always commanded the Respect of the *English* Nation, which you derive from 'em by Education and

Epistle Dedicatory.

and Example; tho universally acknowledged to deserve it by a better Title, your own virtuous Inclinations. Nor was it scarce possible for your *GRACE* to degenerate, having bin the Darling, and (as it were) the Pupil, of the famous Lord *HOLLES* your great Uncle, the ablest Champion of *English* Liberty, and the sincerest Lover of the true Constitution of our Government, as well as the best Judg of the Improvements it was capable to receive. But, besides the Happiness of an excellent Disposition, you have likewise this Advantage over your Ancestors, that you far exceed 'em in the Greatness of your Estate, and indeed not them alone, but perhaps any other Subject in *Europe*. Constant Experience, and the Reason of the Thing it self,

Epistle Dedicatory.

self, have induc'd all Legislators not only to pronounce Men of Property to be the truest Lovers of that LIBERTY which begets, enlarges, and preserves it; but they have also decreed 'em a natural Right to share in the Government of any Place, where they have such an Interest to secure, and the People such a Pledg of their Fidelity. The View of such as these is to procure the common Good wherein their own is involv'd, to promote the Power and Glory of the Society: While others are commonly eager for preferments, either to raise their Fortunes, or perhaps by the Addition of som Title to make amends for the Obscurity of their Birth; and if these Things cannot be otherwise brought to pass, they have not seldom betray'd their
Trust

Epistle Dedicatory.

Trust and Contry to some domestic Usurper or foren Tyrant. But the Liberty of *England*, my LORD, is always sure in your Person of a very considerable support: for none of our own Princes can better your Condition or add to your Dignity, and, as for the Potentats abroad, the *French King* himself is not rich enough to offer a proportionable Bribe, cou'd he think you Subject to Temptation; tho, if you had bin born of a meaner Rank, the Goodness of your Principles, which are grounded on Virtue and Honor, wou'd have always answer'd for your Honesty, and make you principally Study the Happiness of your Contry. Tis true, you have hitherto declin'd accepting any of those Places, which others so ambitiously and indefatigably
Court;

Epistle Dedicatory.

Court; but in the mean Time you have not bin wanting to the Service of the Kingdom, of whose welfare you are continually Sollicitous. To this your Contry will bear Witness, and must ever gratefully remember your early promoting the *Revolution*, without any prejudice against the late King, or the Prospect of any Advantage to your self; your unshaken Loyalty to King WILLIAM and his Government ever since; but, above all, your great Concern for settling the Succession in the *Protestant* Line, the better to secure our Religion, Laws, and Liberty. These new *Limitations to the Crown* are the Subject of the following Discourse, which is written, first, to convince our own People of their future safety against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*;

Epistle Dedicatory.

Power; and that his present MAJESTY has not only made us a freer Nation than he found us, but has also rais'd our Liberty to a Degree scarce to be exceeded by all his Successors: Secondly, to show all Persons both at Home and Abroad, that the Proceedings of the PARLIAMENT on this occasion are agreeable to the Principles of Justice and the Ends of all good Government, as well as according to the constant Practice of this Kingdom: And thirdly, to acquaint the House of HANOVER with the true Nature of their Title, and the Frame of that Government to which they are like to succede; what Confidence our People repose in their Virtues from his Majesty's Recommendation; how alive they may command the Love
of

Epistle Dedicatory.

of their Subjects, and when dead injoy the Veneration of all Posterity. If this Undertaking shou'd be reputed any Service to the public, the Acknowledgment is properly due to your GRACE; since the surest way of gaining your good Opinion is to be an unfeign'd Lover of Liberty, and constantly to pursue the Interest of one's Contry. To this I must wholly attribute your Favors, whereof I shall always endeavor to merit the Continuance; and in every other Respect to approve my self,

My LORD,

*Your GRACE's most humble,
most dutiful, and Faithful Servant,*

JO. TOLAND.

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(1)

Anglia Libera, &c.

S E C T. I.

The true Principles of civil Society.

THŌ all Men are born
in the ſame Condi-
tion, and that, when
they com to Years of Maturi-
ty, they are equally free to
diſpoſe of Themſelves as Rea-
ſon ſhall direct them; yet they
find their Account ſo much in
becoming Members of civil So-
ciety, that every one incor-
porats with ſom Government
or other, according as he has
B Edu-

Education, Choice, or Opportunity. And this they do, not only by Reason of the Mutual Delights and Assistance they receive from each other, but also for a greater Security to their Persons and Possessions against the Fraud of the deceitful, and the Violence of Invaders. It being therefore for the good of the whole Community, and for every individual Member thereof, that Men enter into Society, they agree among themselves (or by such as they authorize to represent them) on certain Rules and Laws, which are to be the Measure and Standard of every Man's Actions; and they commit the Execution of them to indifferent Umpires, who are not only rewarded for their Pains,
and

and honor'd for their Fidelity, but also arm'd with sufficient power to see Justice done to the Righteous, and Punishment inflicted on Offenders. For if Men were left to judge in their own Cases, Partiality and Revenge might sometimes carry 'em too far, as at other Times good Nature or privat Gratifications might render 'em too remiss in making Examples of Evildoers. The Legislative Power is the Supreme Authority of every Society, tho the executive Power (which is ordain'd by and accountable to the legislative) is most frequently sty'd *the Government*; because the Legislative in som Contrys is not always in Being, but meets at certain Intervals; wheras
B 2 there

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there is a perpetual Need of of putting the Laws they have made in Execution. But tho the Legislative be the Supreme Authority of the Commonwealth, yet it neither has, nor ought to have an arbitrary Power over the Lives, Liberties, or Fortunes of the Subjects; and, shou'd they manifestly appear to aim at such an execrable Design, the whole People may justly call them to an Account. For the Legislative being only a fiduciary Power to make Laws for the good of the Society, and since no People can be suppos'd to intend their Liberty or Property shou'd be destroy'd by the Authority they delegat to their Representatives, tis plain that whenever these neglect to fulfil

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fil their Trust, or that they use it to contrary Ends from those design'd by their Principals (either by ambitiously assuming an arbitrary Power to themselves, or by corruptly granting it to any other) then they forfeit their Trust to those who gave it for other Purposes, and who may not only defend themselves against their Legislators (as well as from all others attempting to inflave or destroy them) but may likewise place this Power afresh in such Persons, and after what manner or form they shall think most conducing to their Security, Welfare, and Felicity. But this supreme Power of the Community never takes Place while there is any regular Commonwealth

B 3

wealth subsisting, but only after the Government is dissolv'd.

S E C T. II.

An Idea of Arbitrary Power.

TH E S E are the Fundamental Principles of all free Governments ; but in absolute Monarchies there are no Remedies against the worst Disorders of Human Nature. The Rule of Men's Actions is unconstant, dubious, or altogether unknown, since the Prince (without being accountable to any) can abolish to morrow what has bin solemnly establish'd to day ; he may be hurry'd by the Impetuosity of his Passions to vary every Moment ; and, if he's not himself

self of the worst Temper, yet to gratify a Mistress, a Favourite, or a Minister, he may not only frequently change his own Decrees, but also dispense with the very Laws of God, and oppose the clearest Dictates of Nature. This renders the Condition of the Subjects extremely miserable, no Body having any Security for his Estate, which destroys all Frugality of Course ; nor is Virtue or Valor more encourag'd, since what one thinks his Duty, may (for ought he knows) be made his Crime, and that all his Atchievements must only redound to the Glory or Profit of his Master. 'Tis own'd that some Law and Order is observ'd among the Subjects, when they have any Contro-

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versies among themselves; as Men keep their Beasts from hurting or destroying one another, for fear of diminishing their own Profit or Delight. But where the Prince is immediatly concern'd, or is gain'd to interest himself in another's Cause, no Redress can be obtain'd for Injuries receiv'd, nor is there any Defence against Injustice. These and the like Reasons make arbitrary Power so farr from being preferable to other Constitutions, or indeed from being properly any kind of civil Government (since all political Authority is design'd for the good and not for the hurt of Men) that it is infinitely worse than the very State of Nature: for there a
Man

Anglia Libera. 9

Man may judg of his Right, and preserve it as well as he can; but the Will of an arbitrary Monarch is not to be disputed. He has Religion prepar'd to justify, and Force to maintain him in whatsoever he dos, all his Subjects entirely depending on his Pleasure, in their Wealth and the Endowments of their Mind, as well as in the use and drudgery of their Bodies. Let any but consult antient History, or consider the State of those Places where arbitrary Power is now establish'd in the World, and he'll easily perceive that the Effects of it are sutable to the Maxims on which it is built. The People are extremely poor, because the Want of a Security to Property hinders all their
Indu-

Industry ; they are generally dispirited, for Slavery destroys their Courage ; they are purposely kept in Ignorance, lest Knowledge shou'd make 'em desirous of Liberty ; and they are abominably vitious, because sensual Pleasures are the only Satisfaction they have left, being debarr'd the Freedom of Conversation, Strangers to the Delights of Learning, and never imploy'd on a public Account : besides that the Prince, who denys 'em all the rest, indulges 'em in this, as the best Course to make them thoughtless of other Matters, and to render 'em effeminatly voluptuous, lest they should ever be tempted to vindicat their Freedom. Add to all this, the curst Ambition

bition of Reigning among the prime Officers, and the implacable Jealousies between all those of the Royal Family ; the Confusions of Interreigns, the Minority of Princes, and the Ambiguity of Titles ; the Madneis of foolish, luxurious, or unquiet Kings ; the Influence of Favorits, the Mischiefs of evil Counfillors ; the Vanity, Lewdness, Flattery, Violence, Fraud, Venality, Bribery, and Rapine of the servil and mercenary Courtiers ; lastly, the frequent Murthers, Proscriptions, Confiscations, Exiles, and other Calamities, by which the Monarch attains his unjust Ends, or protects his Ministers in oppressing the innocent People. But a principal Inconvenience in
Arbi-

Arbitrary Government is, that most of the Inhabitants are for ever excluded from all Hopes of changing the Condition of their Birth by any certain or regular Steps; whereas it is one of the noblest Effects of free Governments, that a Man may ascend from the meanest to the highest Degree according to his Merit; and questionless that must be the best Constitution, where this is ofteneft don, and with the greatest Ease.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Genius of free Governments.

THE Preeminence of a free State dos consist in the Injoyment of every thing which contributes to perfect the Felicity of Mankind. The Inhabitants of the Contry are numerous, industrious, sober, wealthy, and martial; Liberty and Laws secure 'em in their Possessions, which makes 'em as vigilant and valiant in Defence of the Government as to preserve their own Lives; the Buildings are constantly in Repair, excelling in Magnificence and Architecture; the Lands are improv'd with all manner of Culture

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ture, for Ornament and Delight, as well as the Profit of the Owners; the public Roads, Walks, Bridges, Edifices, and the like, are equally stately and commodious; the Rivers and Harbors are full of Ships which import whatever is useful or pretious in any Part of the Universe, and export the Superfluity of native Productions to such as need 'em elsewhere; all Orders of Men maintain their proper Characters, but the stoutness, neat Apparel, and good Air of the Common-people particularly demonstrat their Freedom and Plenty; the Magistrat is reverenc'd but not fear'd, enjoying Honors only short of Adoration, and whosoever would destroy his Person must first affas-

Anglia Libera. 15

assassinat all the Subjects; the Government is honor'd and fear'd abroad, true to their Allies, firm to their Friends, and terrible but not unjust to their Enemies; Arts, Inventions, and Learning are universally encourag'd, and in the most flourishing Condition; Strangers think themselves as free and safe as at Home; contrary Sentiments make no Difference of Esteem or Affection; no Variety of Worship is thought too much or grudg'd to the Deity; all Sects and Partys are agreed to part with their Lives sooner than their Liberty; they are for relieving the oppressed in every other Part of the World, and woud abandon their Contry only to remove into Heaven.
'Tis

Tis true, that among free Governments no small distinction is to be made, according to the different Natures of their Constitution, or the Degrees of Liberty they enjoy: but in this they all agree, to have known Laws of the People's making, either by themselves or their Delegates; and that all Matters are order'd for the common good of the Society.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Liberty and Government of England.

OF the free Governments at this Time, and for som hundreds of Years past, this of *England* is one of the most considerable. Its Populoufness, Commerce, Wealth, Politeness, Power, and Reputation, is wholly owing to *Liberty*: for the Soil and Situation of som other Contrys are indisputably preferable, and *England* stood in the same Place when JULIUS CÆSAR discover'd it possess'd by a naked and savage People, with painted Skins, a Community of
 C Wives,

Wives, having only Bogs and woody Fastnesses for Citys and Fortifications, and without any better offensive or defensive Weapons than most of the wildest *Americans*. But our Liberty, since the first Foundation of it, has not continu'd always in the same Condition. Great and various have bin the Attempts to ruin it; and nevertheless, it has not only subsisted, while most Contrys of *Europe* are overwhelm'd with a Deluge of Tyranny; but of late Years it has prodigiously increas'd, and seems at present to be arriv'd at a Heighth which wants very little of Perfection. Our Historys are full of the Contestes between the King, the Clergy, the Nobility and Com-

Commons, about their severall Powers and Privileges, with their manifold and dubious Successes. But at length by an insensible progress in part, and partly from Causes visible to every Ey, the Overballance of Property (and consequently of Power) fell into the Scale of the Commons, where it seems to be now wholly fixt, and according to which the Government is in a manner new model'd (yet by unobserv'd Degrees) tho the antient names and Customs generally continue still the same. *Arca- num novi Status, Imago Antiqui,* says TACITUS: *The Secret of setting up a new Government is to retain the Image of the old.* No sooner did the Commons begin to discover their own

C 2 Strength

Strength, and that they wou'd neither bear any Hardships from the other two States, nor be without such Laws and Privileges as they thought beneficial, convenient, or necessary, but our Kings redoubl'd their Efforts to grasp at an arbitrary and unlimittèd Power, as the only means to keep their People in Subjection, and to secure their own Authority; a fatal and mistaken Policy as appear'd by the Event. I shall not mention what Progress was made by the Kings of the *Scottish* Race in this impious and accurst Design, nor the treacherous Assistance they receiv'd from several Orders of Men among us who depended on their Liberality or Power; neither

neither will I revive the odious Memory of those monstrous, absurd, and abominable Doctrins which were then coin'd, publicly spread with the greatest Industry, and under the most awful Impressions, to infect the Understandings of the People, and to make them eternal Slaves by their own Concurrence as well as Consent. On these or the like Miscarriages I shall not at all insist, not so much for being invidious, many of the Persons concern'd being still alive; but because I think it is now out of their Power, and (I really hope) no longer in their Wills, to bring us ever into the like Danger a second Time. The Happiness of our present Condition

tion is the Subject on which I propose to discourse; and if I touch on any Thing not hitherto remedy'd, or which I think amiss at this Time, 'tis not to reflect on any particular Persons, but because I cannot avoid it without betraying the Cause I have undertaken to defend, and being wanting in Duty to my Contry.

S E C T. V.

The Limitation and Settlement of the Crown on the Abdication of the late King JAMES.

KING JAMES the Second having forfeited his Right to the regal Government of these

these Nations by a notorious Neglect of his Declaration when he ascended the Throne, by an open Breach of his Coronation Oath, and of the natural Relation or original Compact between all Kings and their Subjects; but more particularly by endeavoring to extirpat the *Protestant* Religion, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and actually being guilty of several arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings, the free People of this Kingdom invited over the Prince of Orange, under whom they put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and successfully recover'd the just Rights of themselves and their Posterity. Their Oppressor, conscious of his Demerits, having abdica-

ted the Government by flying out of the Realm beyond the Seas, and their wonderful Deliverance from Popery and arbitrary Power being, as the Convention of our Estates worthily exprest it, *next under God, due to the Resolution and Conduct of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange,* they cou'd do no less than to chuse Him for their King, not only out of Gratitude for their fresh Preservation wherin he was so signal an Instrument, but also from a just Consideration of his extraordinary Merit, as the fittest Person to protect them hereafter from any Violation of the Rights they had so lately asserted, and from all other Attempts on their Religion and Liberties. The Nobility and People being likewise highly sensible

ble (to use their own Words) of the great Merit and eminent Virtues of her Highness the Princess of Orange, and of her true Zeal for the Protestant Religion, they associated her into the same Dignity with her Husband, the sole Administration to be only executed by Him during their joint Lives in both their Names, and then by the Survivor of them. After their Decease the Crown was to descend to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for default of such Issue, to her Sister the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; and in case she had none, then to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince of Orange. What mighty Things his Majesty has brought about and per-

perform'd at Home and Abroad, in Peace and War, during these 12 Years of his happy Reign, is not my Task at present to relate; and therefore I shall only say in general, that as the People have Reason to be pleas'd with their Choice, and to have their Judgment applauded by all *Europe*: so they may safely conclude, that no King can ever be so good as one of their own making; as there is no Title equal to their Approbation, which is the only divine Right of all Magistracy, for *the Voice of the People is the Voice of God.*

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

The Danger of leaving the Succession uncertain after the Decease of his present Majesty and the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and the Default of their respective Issues.

TH E Nation being thus restor'd to the free Possession and Injoyment of their Religion, Rights, and Liberties, *had no greater temporal Felicity to hope or wish (to speak my Sense in the Words of the late Act for further limitting the Succession, &c.) than to see a royal Progeny descending from his Majesty, to whom (under God) they were indebted for their Tranquillity, and whose Ancestors had*
for

for many Years bin principal Assertors of the reform'd Religion and the Libertys of Europe: and also from the late Queen MARY, whose Memory will always be precious to the Subjects of these Realms. But it having pleas'd almighty God to take away our said Soverain Lady, and also the most hopeful Prince WILLIAM Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving Issue of her royal Highness the Princess ANNE of Denmark, the Nation fell under the deepest Concern, considering that Death will put a Period to the noblest Lives, without sparing even their great Deliverer; and knowing that the ejected King, with a pretended Prince of Wales, were sure of Assistance from a powerful Monarch abroad, and much rely'd

ly'd on a formidable Party (as they gave out) at Home, who breath'd nothing but dire Revenge against the Friends of their Contry's Liberty, and were restless in their Indeavors to sett up arbitrary Power in the Hands of a Popish Prince. We know that to prevent all Possibility of introducing the Roman Idolatry, it was made a solemn Law after the late Revolution, and is renew'd in the last Act for limitting the Succession, that all who were or afterwards should be reconcil'd to, or hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome, or should profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist, shall be for ever excluded and made incapable to hold, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of these Kingdoms, and the Dominions thereunto

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unto belonging, or any part of the same; and that in all such Cases the People of these Realms shall be and actually are absolv'd of their Allegiance: and that the said Crown and Government shall from Time to Time descend to and be enjoy'd by such Person or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoy'd the same in Case the said Person or Persons so reconcil'd, holding Communion, professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead. But notwithstanding this timely and good Provision, the late King JAMES, and the pretended Prince of Wales, had no better Game in the World than to have the Succession left uncertain, after the Limitations to the Lives and Issues of the King and Princess shou'd determin. For in Regard the Nation

Anglia Libera. 31

Nation must needs in such a perplext Condition of Affairs be in great Confusion, the several Partys in different Apprehensions of Things, having contrary Interests, and being suspicious of each other, a specious Composition offer'd perhaps by the late King, a Shew of educating the pretended Prince of Wales in the Protestant Religion, the impending Terror of a French Invasion, and the Titles of several Families both of the Reform'd and Popish Religions who claim the Inheritance of the Crown, with other unforeseen or sudden Accidents; I say, whoever deliberately considers all this, will tremble when he perceives how farr the Conjunction of these or the like Circumstances might

might favor a second *Restoration*. But supposing the Issue to be doubtful, yet, should the Success prove answerable to the Probability, every Body can foretell the Consequence, which could be no other than either a total Subjection of these Nations at the very first stroke to *Popery* and arbitrary Power, or the most dismal and lasting Scene of Violence and Blood that can be imagin'd; the People on the one Hand contending for their Religion and Liberties, and the Prince on the other Hand with a foren mercenary Army establishing his Tyranny and Superstition, revenging the Outrage don to his Family, and especially the unpardonable Disgrace of a second Expulsion.

S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

The happy Success of his Majesty's Speech, recommending a further Provision to be made for the Succession in the Protestant Line, and for securing our Religion and Liberty.

NOW the Nation (as the present *Act of Succession* words it) having daily Experience of his Majesty's royal Care and Concern for the present and future Welfare of these Kingdoms, were yet agreeably confirm'd in this good Opinion, when, in such an uncertain State of Affairs as made the Disaffected insolent and all others dejected, he by his consummat

D Wisdom

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Wisdom dissipated the Fears of his loyal Subjects, and fixt an everlasting Barr against the Enemies or Envyers of our Liberty. For, being of the same Mind with all the well-dispos'd People of *England*, he thought it absolutely necessary for our Safety, Peace, and Quiet, to obviate (according to the Act) all Doubts and Contentions by Reason of any pretended Titles to the Crown; and to maintain a Certainty in the Succession thereof, to which his Subjects might safely have Recourse for their Protection, in Case he or the Princess fail'd of Issue: and being further zealously concern'd for preserving the Peace and Purity of the Protestant Religion, of which his Ancestors as well as himself were such illustrious

Anglia Libera. 35

ous Members and Protectors, he did at the opening of this present Parliament, on Friday the 14th of February last, particularly recommend from the Throne a further Provision to be made for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line; and his own Words on this important Subject were as following. Our great Misfortune in the loss of the Duke of Gloucester has made it absolutely necessary that there shou'd be a further Provision for the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line after me and the Princess. The Happiness of the Nation, and the Security of our Religion (which is our chiefest Concern) seems so much to depend upon this, that I cannot doubt but it will meet with a general Concurrence, and I earnestly recommend

D 2

mend it to your early and effectual Consideration. Nothing could be more reasonable, sincere, or moving, and have more of true Eloquence in It than this short but very weighty Paragraph. It evidently demonstrates with what a generous Ardor his Majesty's inflam'd to perfect the Deliverance he so magnanimously begun, and so gloriously continu'd; and that he did not com from one free Contry into another with the mean Design of procuring more Power to Himself, but with the godlike Resolution of acquring more Liberty to them. All his true Friends were transported with Joy to hear of this pathetic Representation to both Houses of Parliament, his Enemy's were

no

no less sorrowful to see themselves frustrated of all their Hopes, and to find their nicest Projects turn'd at best into golden Dreams. But no sort of People appear'd more astonisht than those visionary Politicians, who were so busy to insinuat, that his Majesty had a strange Inclination for the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and that he was very likely to recommend him for his Successor, if he had not already engag'd or made a Bargain to do it. Tis hard to conceive how this odd Notion could ever enter into any sober Man's Head, for it was too gross to pass for a malicious Reflection; but yet there were those, who are counted no Fools,

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selves on this Secret; and no
 Doubt they thought it a thou-
 sand pittys so refin'd a Scheme
 shou'd be wholly confounded
 by a Speech. But not to spend
 more Words on so trivial a
 Subject, it now appears to
 all the Word that his Majesty
 had it ever in his Thoughts,
 and was the main Point in
 which all his Actions center'd,
 not only to leave us a freer
 People than he found us, but
 also to settle *England* (as he
 promis'd in his Declaration)
above all Danger of falling at a-
ny Time hereafter under arbitrary
Power, and to establish our
 Liberty on a wise and no-
 ble Frame of Government.
 This is actually perform'd in
 the late Act for the further *Limit-*
ation of the Crown, and better se-
 curing

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curing the Rights and Liberties of
the Subjects. For tho we were
 a free Nation before, and that
 at one Time or other we en-
 joy'd the greatest Part of the
 Privileges contain'd in this
Act, yet there never was the
 Time wherin they all at once
 had the Force of Laws. Som
 of 'em were so long disus'd
 as to be justly reckon'd obso-
 lete, and the frequent Strug-
 gles to have 'em reviv'd shews
 they were not reputed obliga-
 tory under any Penaltys; som
 of 'em were thought very fitt
 to be enacted for the future,
 tho they had never bin so be-
 fore, and others left dubious
 whether ever they had bin
 Laws or no. But now all
 these Disputes are terminated
 by the most happy Concur-

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rence of his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, who have readily granted us the *Limitations* specify'd in this *Act*, and likewise have confirm'd in the same *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Rights* in CHARLES the first's Time, the *Declaration of Rights* on the late Revolution, with *the other Laws and Statutes of this Realm for securing the establish'd Religion and the Rights and Liberties of the the People*. Now of all these put together it may be truly affirm'd, that there is not a nobler Body of Laws, or a better Fence for Liberty and Property in any Commonwealth in the World. Indeed they are not all to take Place till after the Decease of his Majesty and the Princess, and
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the Default of their Issues respectively; and certainly tis one of the greatest Complements this Nation cou'd pass on his Majesty's Virtue, that they will leave him the use of those Prerogatives which (considering the sad Prospect of no further Issue from the Princess of Denmark) they dare not trust in the Hands of any mortal besides. But there's no Question to be made of his acting sutable to the Confidence they repose in Him, and the more He knows the Sense of the Nation (which is clearly express'd in this *Act*) the better he's capable to govern them. I remember it was once reported by those who envy'd his noble Designs of establishing Liberty, that
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he shou'd say, *the Crown shou'd never be the worse for his wearing,* which they wou'd have understood as if he never meant to suffer any of the Royal Prerogatives to be determin'd by positive Laws. But this cou'd not be his Meaning for two Reasons: First, because the Thing is absurd in it self, for *Prerogative (as it is well defin'd by som Body) is nothing else but the Power of doing public Good without a Rule,* that is, where the Law has left Things at large, the Magistrat is to act according to his Discretion for the common Benefit, and sometimes even against the Letter of the Law, where pressing Emergencies or unforeseen Accidents may justifie his Conduct. But if the Magistrat
thinks

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thinks that to be his Right which was left to his Judgment for the public Good (for no Body can have a Right to do Hurt) and he abuses it to the Damage of the Society, or that any Contests arise concerning It, then tis absolutely fit it shou'd be determin'd by exprefs Laws. And therefore I say in the second place, that his Majesty cou'd not mean as abovesaid, because that in Effect he has defin'd the Bounds of more Prerogatives by Law than any King of *England* ever did, witness the *Declaration of Rights*, several excellent Laws since that Time, and, above all, those unvaluable *Limitations* which make the Subject of this Book. Now, if a Man's Actions be the best Interpreter of
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his Thoughts, I may be allow'd without Presumption to affirm his true Meaning was, that he shou'd so much enlarge and secure the Peoples Rights and Liberties on the one Hand, and so well specify and limit the Office of the King on the other Hand, by taking it out of his Power to do Hurt if he wou'd, and giving him all the Opportunitys of doing Good he shou'd Desire, that there cou'd be no Danger of any Differences between the King and the Subjects hereafter; and that consequently our present Form of Government, particularly the *regal* part of it, (which we commonly express by *the Crown*) shou'd never be abolisht. Men of Sense have seldom fail'd of infallible Answers.

swers when with due Application and a pure Mind they consult the Oracle of their Reason: but wise Men are also mightily confirm'd in their Judgment by Examples, and therefore I cannot forbear thinking that his Majesty had a Story at that time in his Ey, which I desire permission to relate on this Occasion. THEOPOMPUS King of *Sparta* (as VALERIUS MAXIMUS * writes) when he first ordain'd that the EPHORI, or Overseers, shou'd be created at *Lacedemon*, to be such a Restraint on the Kings there, as the Tribuns are on the Consuls at Rome,

* Cum primus instituisset (Theopompus Spartanorum Rex) ut Ephori Lacedamone crearentur, ita futuri regiae potestati oppositi quemadmodum Romae consulari Imperio Tribuni plebis sunt objecti; atque illi Uxor dix-

the Queen complain'd to Him that by this means he transmitted the royal Authority greatly diminish'd to his Children: I shall leave it less indeed, answer'd He, but more lasting. And this, adds our Author, was excellently said; for that Power only is safe, which is limited from doing Hurt. THEOPOMPUS therefore, by confining the Regal Power within the Bounds of the Laws, did recommend it by so much the more to the People's Affections as He remov'd it from being Arbitrary. I made the Application of this Story be-

isset, Id egisse illum ut Filiis minorem Potestatem relinqueret: relinquam, inquit, sed diturniorem. Optimè quidem; ea enim demum tuta est potentia, quæ viribus suis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur, legitimis Regnum vinculis constringendo, quo longius a Licentia retraxit hoc proprius ad Benevolentiam Civium admovit. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. De Externis, § 8.

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fore I told it; and so now I proceede to give an Account of the Progress of this Affair of the Succession.

S E C T. VIII.

The Proceedings of the House of Commons about limiting the Succession of the Crown, and securing the Rights of the People

TIS impossible fully to relate or describe what Joy the Body of the Nation express'd as soon as they understood his Majesty had so directly declar'd himself on this Subject. Tho' from the Beginning of his Reign, and I may say long before it, he gave all possible Marks of his Concern

cern for the Happiness of the *English* Nation ; yet so little were they us'd since Queen ELIZABETH to the Love of their Princes, to their Care for the *Protestant* Religion or the Liberty of the Subjects, that they begun like the *Romans* to abhor the very Name, or at least to despair of having any King that shou'd have no separat Interest from the Nation, and much less that shou'd concern himself for their Welfare after his Decease. The *Papists* and *Jacobites* laught at the Proposal every where, tho they wou'd not declare the true Reason, which yet every Body knew as well as themselves ; and they thought the *Republicans* from a quite different view wou'd be against naming

naming any Successor, not doubting but they shou'd outwit them in the End, or at least put all Things into that Confusion and Disorder wherein alone they cou'd find their Account. Nevertheless to their great Surprize and Disappointment, there was not one single Person of the real or reputed *Republicans* in the whole Kingdom who did not heartily concur with his Majesty's Judgment, and were unanimously for naming the Princess SOPHIA and her Descendents in the House of *Hanover*. But, what was the chiefest point of all, the Proposition was receiv'd in the honorable House of *Commons* with all the Unanimity and Chearfulness that cou'd be
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expected; and every Body began to ominate well to this matter, when a Person of such acknowledg'd Learning, and unparallel'd Ability in Parliamentary Affairs, as Mr. HARLEY the present Speaker, was observ'd occasionally to drop his Sentiments about it som Days before it came to be the proper Business of the House: and afterwards one of the Members happening to mention our Danger from the pretended Prince of *Wales* if the Succession were left uncertain, the Speaker said, that *He hop'd in a little Time our infamous Distinctions and Partys, but particularly Jacobitism, should be wholly abolisht and extirpated; and that it was too great an Honor for that pretended Prince to have his Name*
as

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as much as mention'd in that Assembly. Nothing could be pronounc'd more true or pertinent, since the new Limitations to the Crown entirely take away all Hopes of restoring the late King, which is the best and surest Method of destroying his Party. And as for the other Factions, commonly call'd the Court and Contry Parties, nothing can possibly abolish 'em, except drying up the Spring of their contrary Interests, which is certainly don by the Limitations now past into an Act, and which I may probably guess the Speaker had then in his View, tho as yet they were not so much as mention'd in the House: for, not to speak now distinctly of the rest,
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how great a way towards effecting so desirable a Union must that particular Article go, which provides, that no Person, who has any Office or Place of Profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable to be a Member of the House of Commons. But of this hereafter. When the Consideration of the Succession came regularly before them, it was with one Consent voted in the House, that a further Provision should be made for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line; but before they would be more particular they came to a wise and noble Resolution, not more worthy an *English* Senat than becoming the most generous Spirit of Liberty; and it was, that, before they nominated any to the

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the Succession, there should be a further Provision made for securing the Protestant Religion, and maintaining the Rights and Liberties of the People. They well knew that more advantageous Terms could be obtain'd before the Nomination than at any Time hereafter; besides that their Election being purely free and voluntary, they could dispose of the Crown under what Restrictions they pleas'd, and he that would scruple to accept it on the Conditions they offer'd, could not mean well to Liberty, and consequently deserved not to enjoy or exercise the Government. It was also very convenient on divers Accounts to agree first on the Limitations; for to go about it after any certain Person was

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nam'd wou'd seem a particular Distrust of Him, wheras the doing it before must relate to all alike. But, which was their chiefest Reason, most People are apt (as we speak) to adore the rising Sun; and, if the Person were first design'd, they were afraid lest many wou'd be for complementing Him with the fewest Restraints on his Prerogative that cou'd be, and every Man be more backward than another to propose any Limitations (however willing to do it himself, or persuaded the Thing shou'd be don by others) lest it shou'd be afterwards remember'd to his Prejudice. Moreover, the Person appointed, if he were of an ill Disposition, wou'd be
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for no Bounds at all to his Authority; and, if he were of a generous Temper, tis probable he wou'd be fond of doing Good without any other Obligations than those of Duty and Virtue, that all his noble Actions might appear wholly to flow from his own Inclinations. The *Commons* therefore, maturely considering all these Reasons, agreed first on the *Limitations*, which pass'd their House with none or little Opposition, and then proceeded to the worthy Nomination of the Person; wherupon they order'd a Bill to be brought in according to their Resolutions, and, after readily passing it in the usual Forms, they sent it up to the House of Lords.

E 4 SECT.

S E C T. IX.

The Proceedings of the Lords about the Succession; the Usefulness of a Nobility in a free Government; and a particular Remark on the Family of NASSAU.

I SHOUD be very partial and defective if on this Occasion I shoud not do Justice to the most illustrious Order of the *English Nobility*, having in this perillous Conjunction of the Affairs of Christendom appear'd such hearty Friends to the Liberty of the People, so zealous for preserving the *Protestant Religion* both at Home and Abroad, but chiefly for expressing such
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frequent Resolutions of opposing the destructive Measures of the *French King*, and of firmly adhering to our other Allys as well as to the States of *Holland*, in order to restore and maintain the Ballance of *Europe*. The same good Disposition is uniform and stedy in their other Proceedings, but particularly conspicuous in the Act for abolishing those *Privileges* of either House of Parliament, which, however reasonable at their first Institution, came by Degrees to be the Scandal of those that enjoy'd them, and the insupportable Grievance of all others. True Nobility dos not consist in Titles, Ornaments, or Attendance (tho I see no Hurt in such Distinctions) but in being the Leaders of the People

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ple in Warr, as well as their Protectors and Guides in Peace. Indeed under arbitrary Monarchs there is a mighty Noise made about *Nobility*; but it wholly consists in som useles or imaginary Titles, in the unworthy Privileges of contributing Nothing to the Support of the Public, or of insolently domineering over the common People, and they have the inglorious Honor it may be of being imploy'd in the most servil Offices about the Prince's Person. But in free Governments the Nobility make a substantial Part of the Constitution, and are the very Soul of the State. Such as insinuat therefore, that a *Nobility* is incompatible with a *Commonwealth* shamefully forget the
Patri-

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Patricians of Rome, who made a greater Figure than all the Kings of these or the former Times; and they are ignorant likewise of the *Athenian*, *Spartan*, and the present *Venetian* Nobility. But, not to multiply Examples, let's hear what's written to this purpose by JAMES HARRINGTON, the celebrated Author of *Oceana*, and one of the greatest *Republicans* that ever liv'd in the World. *An Army*, says He, *may as well consist of Soldiers without Officers, or of Officers without Soldiers, as a Commonwealth (especially such a one as is capable of Greatness) consist of a People without a Gentry, or of a Gentry without a People.---* There is something first in the making of a *Commonwealth*, then in the governing of it, and last of all in the
leading

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leading of its Armys, which (tho there be great Divines, great Lawyers, great Men in all Professions) seems to be peculiar only to the Genius of a GENTLEMAN. MOSES had his Education by the Daughter of PHARAOH; THESEUS and SOLON, of noble Birth, were held by the Athenians worthy to be Kings; LYCURGUS was of the royal Blood; ROMULUS and NUMA Princes; BRUTUS and PUBLICOLA, Patricians; the GRACCHI, who lost their Lives for the People of Rome and the Restitution of that Commonwealth, were the Sons of a Father adorn'd with two Triumphs, and of CORNELIA the Daughter of SCIPIO, who, being demanded in Marriage by King PTOLOMY, disdain'd to become the Queen of Egypt: To these I may add one long behind them in Time, tho equal to

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to most of 'em in Fame, the Founder of the Dutch Commonwealth, WILLIAM of NASSAU, Prince of Orange, and great Grandfather to his present Majesty; who may likewise himself be justly number'd with those Heroes, in as much as it is not less glorious to restore or enlarge Liberty, than to found a Commonwealth. And truly this Family may have bin Protectors of Liberty a longer Time than most Men are apt to imagin. Tis certain, notwithstanding the Change of som Names, and the Addition of temporary Customs, that the main Part of the Government was the same in the time of the Romans as at this time it continues to be among the Dutch and the free Places of

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of Germany, viz. several petty Soverainty's associated into greater Leagues, and under elective Magistrats, or such hereditary ones as rather had the Authority of persuading (says TACITUS) than the Power of commanding. Now JULIUS CESAR tells us, that Ambassadors came from *Triers* to acquaint Him, * *that a hundred Squadrons of the Suabians had incamp'd on t'other side the Rhine, and wou'd attempt to pass the River under the Command of two Brothers NASUA and CIMBERIUS.* Now I think it very plain that NASUA is NASAU, the last Letters be-

* Pagos centum Suevorum ad Ripam Rheni confedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis præesse NASUAM & Cimberium Fratres. *De Bello Gallico, Lib. 1.*

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ing only transpos'd to give it a softer Termination after the Manner of the *Romans*, who constantly join'd the Inflections of their own Language to all exotic Names, but alter'd none so little as This, not adding or taking away one Letter. There is no Improbability but that the Family as well as the Place might have existed under this Name so long ago, since divers other Places still retain their antient Denominations: besides that the City of *Nassau* (whether it gives the Family its Name, or rather receives it from this or som other Hero) is exactly situated according to CÆSAR'S Geography. But to return to our Subject, the Lords receiv'd the Bill, as a Present from

from Heaven for the Good of the *Brittish* Dominions; and tho they might justly make som Additions to it in Favor of their own Body, yet they were so apprehensive of doing any Thing which might retard or hinder it from passing into a Law, that they quickly went thro it in their House, and agreed to pass it without any Amendments. The *Lords Spiritual* show'd a particular Zeal on this Occasion, being sensible how much the Bill conduc'd to the Preservation of the *Protestant* Religion, nor were they less fond of it because it enlarg'd our civil Liberties. For tho the late Kings had so artfully practis'd on this venerable Order, as to lead many of 'em

'em into unhappy Mistakes about Religion and Government, and created others on purpose to serve 'em in their Designs of introducing Popery and arbitrary Power, which made them odious to the Nation, and cast a Scandal on the whole Profession; yet his most implacable Enemy must do King WILLIAM the Justice to acknowledge, that, as a sincere Defender of the true Faith, he promoted none to the Episcopal Dignity who were not elected to it by the concurrent Desires of all good People before, som for their extraordinary Learning and Merit, others for their unblemish'd Lives and holy Conversation, but all of 'em for their indefatigable Care of Religi-
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on at Home, their tender Concern for the foren re-form'd Churches, their brotherly Charity to such *Protestants* as in any Place dissented from them in Opinion, and their remarkable Affection for the temporal Constitution of their Contry. These Virtues have now render'd them unsuspected abroad, at Home they are reverenc'd by the honest Men of all Persuasions, and hated by none but a sort of High-flyers little better than *Papists*, and the known Enemies of the present Government.

S E C T.

S E C T. X.

An Account of the Persons appointed in the new Settlement of the Crown, and som of the Conditions they must perform before they assume the Administration of the Government.

TH U S the Bill pass both Houses with an Unanimity never before known on the like Occasion, and not expected now; which shews above all other Arguments how heartily the main Bulk of the Nation is engag'd for Liberty, and how vain or desperat is the Cause of those who still adhere to King JAMES and the pretended Prince of *Wales*. It is enacted

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therefore and declar'd by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembl'd, and by the Authority of the same, that the most excellent Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Dutches Dowager of Hanover, Daughter of the most excellent Princess ELIZABETH late Queen of Bohemia, Daughter of King JAMES the first, be and is declar'd to be the next in Succession in the Protestant Line to the imperial Crown and Dignity of these Realms of England, France, and Ireland, with the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, after his Majesty and the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and in Default of Issue of the said Princess or of his Majesty respectively: and that from and after the Decease of his

his said Majesty our now Soverain Lord, and of her royal Highness the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and for Default of their Issues, the Crown and regal Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, with the royal State and Dignity of the same, and all Honors, Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions, and Authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, shall remain and continue to the said most excellent Princess SOPHIA, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants. And thereunto the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, shall and will in the Name of all the People of this Realm, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs and Posterity; and do faithfully promise that after the Decease of his Majesty and her royal Highness, and the Failure

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Failure of the Heirs of their respective Bodies, to stand by, to maintain, and defend the said Princess SOPHIA, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, according to the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in this Act specify'd and contain'd, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any Thing to the contrary. Provided always and enacted, that all and every Person or Persons, who shall or may take or inherit the said Crown by virtue of the Limitation of this present Act, and is, are, or shall be reconcil'd to, or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be subject to such Incapacitys as in such a Case or Cases are recited in the Act above

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bove mention'd, and made in the first Year of the Reign of his present Majesty and the late Queen. And that every King and Queen of this Realm, who shall com to and succede in the imperial Crown of the same by virtue of this Act, shall have the Coronation Oath administred to Him, Her, or Them, at their respective Coronations, according to the Act of Parliament likewise made in the Reign and Year abovesaid, entituled, **An Act for establishing the Coronation Oath**; and shall make, subscribe, and repeat the Declaration contain'd in the Act first above recited or quoted, in the Manner and Form therby prescrib'd. Now perhaps it will be expected that I shou'd give a Character of this Family, I mean of the Persons next in Succession; for the great

F 4 Dignity

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Dignity of the Dukes of *Brunswick*, the several Branches of the House of *Lunenberg*, and their potent Relations, are well known all over *Europe*: and I shall have occasion before I have don to be somewhat more particular on this Head. But as to those immediatly concern'd in this Discourse, I cou'd not without extreme Injustice speak to their Prejudice, having never heard the least thing reflecting on their Honor, Principles, or Practices; nor cou'd I without Flattery be lavish of my Commendations being yet a perfect Stranger to that Contry. But if I may rely on the public Voice, the Princess *SOPHIA* is one of the most learned, polite, and accomplisht Ladys in the
World

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World; nor likewise was she less celebrated for her Beauty, and that deservedly if the Picture shown me by the right honorable the Earl of *OXFORD* bears any Resemblance with the Original. I concur with the Expectations of all good Men from his Highness the Elector himself, whose Power and Reputation make a great Figure in *Germany*. The electoral Prince is very young, and those who have often seen Him, say that he's sprightly, ingenious, welltemper'd, and gives in all Respects extraordinary Hopes of his Person: wherfore I hope the Parliament (as I heard the *Speaker* declare his Opinion som Months ago) will Address his Majesty to send for him presently

sently over, and have him educated here, as befits his Rank, to the Religion, Language, Manners, and Laws of *England*. But should any of the Race ever degenerate (a Thing that often happens in the best of Families) yet we may comfort our selves with this Thought, that in attempting to invade our Liberty (which God forbid) they may well bring Ruin on themselves, but can do no Hurt to us if they would, by Reason of the admirable Care our excellent Legislators have taken in the Provision they have made for securing our Laws and Liberties, the established Religion, and the Rights of the People.

S E C T.

S E C T. XI.

Further Limitations to the Crown, for securing our Religion, Laws, and Liberty.

I MENTION'D before how the Commons, to their eternal Honor, agreed on the *Limitations* before they nam'd the Person, tho now, to observe the usual Form, this order is chang'd in the Act, and the *Limitations* added in the last Place. Besides the Repetition of the Laws already in Force about excluding *Papists* from the Crown, and such as marry with any of that Religion; besides obliging our future Kings and Queens to take the

the Coronation Oath (as before) to subscribe and repeat the Declaration; I say over and above all these, and the like, the new Limitations are about 8 or 9 in number, and I shall insert them here word for word as they appear in the Act.

In the first Place it is enacted, That whosoever shall com to the Possession of this Crown, shall join in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law establisht.

Secondly, That in Case the Crown and imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter com to any Person, not being a Native of the Kingdom of England, this Nation be not oblig'd to ingage in any Warr for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the Consent of Parliament.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That no Person who shall hereafter com to the Possession of this Crown, shall go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the Consent of Parliament.

Fourthly, That, from and after the Time that the further Limitation by this Act shall take Effect, all Matters and Things relating to the wellgoverning of this Kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the Laws and Customs of this Realm, shall be transacted there; and all Resolutions taken thereupon shall be sign'd by such of the Privy Council, as shall advise and consent to the same.

Fifthly, That after the Limitation shall take Effect, as aforesaid, no Person born out of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the Dominions thereunto belonging, altho

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altho' he be naturaliz'd or made a Denizon (except such as are born of English Parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Trust, either civil or military; or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown, to Himself, or to any other or others in Trust for Him.

Sixthly, That no Person, who has any Office or Place of Profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons.

Seventhly, That, after the said Limitation shall take Effect, Judges Commissions be made *Quam diu se bene gesserint*, and their Salarys ascertain'd and establisht; but upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them.

Eightly,

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Eightly, That no Pardon, under the great Seal of England, be pleadable to an Impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

Ninthly, and whereas the Laws of England are the Birthright of the People thereof, and all the Kings and Queens who shall ascend the Throne of this Realm ought to administer the Government of the same according to the said Laws, and that all their Officers and Ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same: the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do therefore humbly pray, that all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm for securing the establisht Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People thereof, and all other Laws and Statutes of the same now in Force, may be ratify'd and confirm'd; and the same are by his Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of

the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, and by the Authority of the same, ratify'd and confirm'd accordingly.

I shall make no particular Remarks in this Place, contenting my self with that necessary Evidence which the Things carry along with them, besides the frequent Occasions I have to mention 'em throout this whole Discourse.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

That the Proceedings of the King and both Houses of Parliament about the Succession, are according to the Desires of all the People; and first of the Royalists.

THESE Articles, with the Laws already in Force, are all the People of this Land cou'd wish or desire for their Security; if any thing be still wanting, it may be easily built on so large and noble a Foundation, capable of administering the Empire of the World. Our Government is now, I hope, as fixt and durable as our Iland. The pernicious Contentions about Prerogative and Privilege are quite

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at an End for ever. All orders of Men have their several Stations, Dutys, Rights, and Preeminences, clearly stated and determin'd by exprefs Laws; and the Nobility and Commons in this present Parliament will be famous to all Generations for applying the proper Remedy, and discovering the only Expedient capable of reconciling and extinguishing our Differences. I shew'd before under what terrible Apprehensions the People labor'd to see the Uncertainty of the Succession, and their greater Joy when His Majesty recommended a Provision to be made in this Case. The Lords and Commons had no sooner agreed to it; but (what was thought absolutely impossible before) the two great Partys, which have
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so long divided this Kingdom, were equally pleas'd, being suddenly united in promoting the true Intrest of their Contry, and their opposit Denominations will probably henceforth be bury'd in Oblivion. The Terms of their Accomodation are the most reasonable, as well as just and honorable, that cou'd be possibly imagin'd: for the *Royalists* have still a King, under which Magistrat they thought Liberty the most secure: and the *Republicans* enjoy Liberty under a King, tho they once thought them Things dissociable and scarce to be reconcil'd; so that neither Party was forc'd to submit or condescend to the Other, but their common Interest happen'd to meet in a third Point, which, during their long Misunderstandings,
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neither of 'em probably foresaw. But to speak first of the *Royalists* by themselves (or such as ever adher'd to our antient Form of Government, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons) they are pleas'd to find in the present Settlement the best Provision made for the Freedom of the Subjects; and a *King* (as hitherto) at the Head of the Government, having a share in the Legislative, and being Supreme in the executive Power; he is the General of our Forces; receives the Ambassadors of foren States; is Master of a prodigious Revenue to maintain the Civil List, and support the Pomp and Dignity of the Nation; distributes Honors and Marks of Distinction to Men deserving well of the Public; and has all the Orders of the Com-
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monwealth running in his Name. No People were more sincere Lovers of Liberty, or more bravely contended to preserve it, than most of those who were always for keeping up the regal Office in this Nation, and judiciously thought that our Fundamental Constitution was capable of whatever Improvements shou'd be found conducing to the Happiness of the People. There are, as we all know, a Sort of Men that go under this Name of *Royalists*, passionat Admirers of the absolute Power of Kings in civil Matters, allowing no Manner of Liberty in Points of Religion, obstinat Sticklers for the Divine Right of Monarchy, and particularly engag'd in the Interests of the late King and the pretended Prince of *Wales*. But these are

so easily distinguish'd from the rest by their Temper, their Language, and the Smallness of their Number, that no Regard ought to be had of them in Considerations of this Nature; and tis rather not to be wanting in Accuracy than for any weightier Reason that I mention 'em in this Place: for as I hold it impracticable for them to Succeed in their Designs against the whole Bent of the Nation, so I wou'd not invidiously promote any other Rigor against their Persons than such as is necessary to keep the common Peace; and we shou'd be sensible what Allowances ought to be made to Education, Interest, a mistaken notion of Gratitude, and, above all, to Want of Thinking.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

That the Republicans are unanimously pleas'd with the new Limitation and Succession of the Crown, and entirely agreed in this matter with the Royalists.

AS for the *Republicans* they have that eternally secur'd and fixt, which they more than once began to despair of seeing in this Nation, I mean the noble Cause of LIBERTY. This is the Cause for which they have so often and so manfully appear'd; for which they have suffer'd in their Reputation, in their Estates, and in their Lives; for which they bore Imprisonment, Exile, Proscriptions, and all manner of

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Hardships ; and, to say it in a word, tis the Cause to which they retain'd an inviolable Constancy, and which they have gain'd at Last by a meritorious Perseverance. I need not use many Arguments to persuade them in this matter ; for from the very Beginning they appear'd to a Man for the Person as well as the Limitations, to the utter Disappointment of those who thought to profit by our Divisions, and to make use of their united Strength for a different End. And truly if the *Republicans* (as they were call'd) had not so heartily join'd with the *Royalists*, they ought to have past for a Pack of Enthusiasts that were fond of Names and ignorant of Things, or rather of seditious Fellows that cover'd
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an ill Design under a fair Pretence ; nor cou'd any Thing be thought too severe or unjust that was ever laid to their Charge by their Adversaries. *Liberty* under any Form or Denomination, is the only Thing we can conceive they aim'd to obtain : and questionless tis not the Name of any Magistrat, but his Power that ought to be chiefly consider'd. The Word *KING*, for Example, has no other Force or Right than what particular Nations are pleas'd to annex to It. The *Roman CESARS* did not for som Hundreds of Years assume the Stile of *King* ; the *Grand Segnior*, the *Cham of Tartary*, the *Great Mogul*, and the *Czar of Muscovy*, have never yet took this Name into their Titles, tho they be absolute Monarchs, and their Sub-
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jects miserable Slaves. But it was the known Designation of the antient oriental Monarchs: tho even among them it often signify'd tributary Governors, whence the Kings of *Persia* and *Babylon* were call'd *Kings of Kings*; and we read that threescore and ten *Kings* pickt up the Crums under *ADONIBEZEK'S* Table. A long Time after This, *Kings* were not only frequently depos'd and sett up by the *Commonwealth* of *Rome*; but were usually Clients to the Nobility, paid their Duty at the Levées of the great Men, and went about Sollicitting to their Houses, in the Forum, and in the Lobby of the Senathouse. The *Roman Kings*, before *TARQUIN the Proud*, were but the chief Magistrats of a free Government; so were the antient *Kings* of *A-*
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thens; and the two Kings of *Sparta* (tho hereditary) were but as the two *Consuls* in the Commonwealth of *Rome*. Tis a Thing to be observ'd, that in Government the Names are often chang'd when the Power is still the same, as at other Times the Power is actually chang'd tho the Name remains unalter'd, and the same Titles (of which we have already given som Examples) have various Significations in different Places. The *Kings* of *Poland* have no greater Authority now than they injoy'd two hundred Years ago, when they went by the Name of *Dukes*; nor has the Elector of *Brandenburgh* acquir'd or lost more Power by lately assuming the *regal* Dignity in his Dominions. In *England* *Dukes* are Subjects; in *Savoy* and *Tus-*
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can they are Soverains; and the *Venetians* might as well have stil'd their chief Magistrat a *King* as a *Duke*, without investing Him with any greater Authority than he has already. But to avoid Ambiguity, let it be remember'd that in this Section, as well as before and after, I mean by the word *Commonwealth* not a pure Democracy, nor any particular Form of Government; but an independent Community, where the Common Weal or Good of all indifferently is design'd and pursu'd, let the Form be what it will. Now upon the whole Matter, I fancy all considering Men will agree that the *Royalists* and *Republicans* have always meant the same Thing, tho the Name of *King* was somtimes odious to the latter by Reason of their

their Manifold Attempts to obtain arbitrary Power. But since the late happy Revolution they are better satisfy'd in this Point; they perfectly agree about it with the *Royalists*, they'll heartily concur with them to maintain the present Settlement, and are ready to pay all good *Kings* not only Obedience but double Honor. Now therefore is the blessed Juncture quite to abolish and forget our unnatural and fatal Distinctions; the *Government of England* is the properest Name for our Constitution, which, as now establisht and improv'd, and considering the wonderfull Agreement of the two grand Parties about it, I may without Hesitation affirm to be according to the Desires of all the People.

S E C T. XIV.

The late Act for limittin the Succession is the greatest Security of the Protestant Religion in general, as well as of the establisht Church of England; and the Author's particular Vindication on this Subject.

BUT civil Liberty (tho an unvaluable Jewel) is not the only Blessing that generally recommends the present Settlement: It is likewise the most effectual Security of the *Reformation* every where, and in a more special manner of the *establisht Church* in this Kingdom. Tho such as call their Religion under Examination do often differ

fer in their Notions about It, yet in all Contrys of the World the greatest Part of the People give themselves up to the Public Leading in divine Things, as well as in other Matters; and this they do, whether the generally receiv'd Opinions happen to be true or erroneous. It were to be earnestly wisht, no Doubt, that every Region were free from Error, and had sincerely receiv'd the Truth; but tho Men deny themselves this Happiness by indulging their Vices, minding nothing but their Business, or for Want of Consideration: yet Religion it self is not more natural to Man, than it is for every Government to have a *national Religion*, or som public and orderly Way of worshipping God, under the Allowance, Indowment, and

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and Inspection of the civil Magistrat. It was the highest Favor this Iland cou'd receive from Heaven to be deliver'd from the intolerable Yoke of *Popish* Superstition, and to have the purer Worship of God imbrac'd by the Majority of the People. And tho *Protestants* in general are unhappily divided among Themselves about som Articles of more or less Importance, yet they are all agreed about the main Points of Religion, and jointly abhor the Idolatry and Tyranny of the *Romish* Clergy. Wherefore (after the numberless Artifices of the common Enemy to increase their Divisions) I hope they are all now com to so good an Understanding and so charitable a Disposition, as to allow that altho each of 'em may think his own

Disciplin

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Disciplin or Doctrin to be better than any of the rest; yet that, when he happens to be in another Contry, he may safely join with the *Protestants* of that place, without any Danger to his Soul or Scandal to his Profession. But as to our own Kingdom in particular (where the different Sects are more numerous Bodys, with Relation to one another, than in any other place) the *national Church* is much the best Constitution in it self, naturally allows of a more generous Latitude than the others, and is infinitely the most accommodated to our civil Government, which is a material Point in the Disciplin of every *national Church*. But supposing that any of the rest might equal it in these Respects, yet being already and so long establisht,

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blisht, it were the highest Folly as well as Injustice in the Government to change it on this Account, especially since it has at least as few Errors as any other Church in the World. And here I must beg Leave to speak a few words in my own Behalf, both to undeceive the mistaken, and to silence the malicious. It were a great Presumption, I readily confess, for any privat Person to think the World can be any way concern'd about his Opinions, nor am I at all ambitious of this Sort of public Character: but tis notorious how som People have bin pleas'd to make my Belief the Subject of their Writing or Discourse; and being therefore publicly aspers'd, I hope no Body will grudg me the Favor of a public Defence. But

But (not to troble the Reader with the Repetition of the Doctrins laid to my Charge, and never acknowledg'd by me; but drawn from Consequences I wou'd not allow, or taken from the Report of Strangers to my Person) I here declare that, after the most deliberat Consideration, my real Opinion is what I have already deliver'd in this Section; and that for very good Reasons it is my fixt Intention never hereafter to ingage in religious Controversies, unless for any Thing already past I receive such Provocations as may sufficiently justify my Conduct. But I also declare that by approving the *national Church*, and owning my self a member of the same, I do not think it a Doctrin of this Church to persecute or

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disturb those of another Religion which dos not teach or practice any Thing that's cruel, immoral, or profane. The *Liberty* of the Understanding is yet a nobler Principle than that of the Body, if this be not a Distinction (as we say) without a Difference; and where there is no Liberty of *Conscience* there can be no civil Liberty, no Incouragement for Industry, no proper means of rendring the Contry populous, no possibility of Men's freely informing themselves concerning the true Religion, nor any Refuge or Protection for the Distrest, which is the greatest Glory of free Governments. But as the *national Religion* ought not to oppress the *Dissenters* from it in their Persons or Possessions, nor to exclude 'em from any Privileges

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privileges in the State to which they have a Right by Birth, Naturalization, or otherwise; so the *tolerated Religions* must maintain their own Teachers (their Dissent from the Public being voluntary) and not pretend to the Places of Worship, or to the allow'd Maintenance, nor to any other Rights or Emoluments of the *national Church*, under pain of being accounted Hypocrits grasping at Dominion instead of designing Reformation, to have their Liberty taken away, and their Persons to be put out of the Protection of the Government. But whatever Indulgence may be due to other Persuasions, *Papists* ought not to be tolerated in any free State, because they not only deny Liberty to all others, and pronounce 'em eternally damn'd;

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but also because they are Subjects to a foren Head whose Authority they prefer to that of their native Magistrats, and that their Doctrin of Dispensation leaves 'em under no Tyes of Oaths or other Ingagements, as their allowing *no Faith to be kept with Heretics* makes 'em incapable of any fellowship on the Square with such as are not reckon'd *Orthodox* by their infallible Head, another Doctrin inconsistent with all privat Faith or public Society. Sad Experience has put these Things beyond Question in every part of the World; and therefore they can never be too much consider'd by the States of the *reform'd Religion*. We in *England* ought to be doubly Zealous to extirpat this root of perpetual Danger and Disquiet, when we remember

ber their frequent and bloody attempts to reestablish themselves by secret Conspiracies, open Divisions, Seditious, Assassinations, Massacres, Murthers, Invasions, and a thousand other treacherous or barbarous Methods, nothing being counted unlawful for increasing the Authority or enlarging the Bounds of holy Church. We can never be too much put in mind of the Genius of their Persuasion, and what we are always to apprehend from them: wherefore * *I hope I need not spend many words to persuade Englishmen that Popery in general is an Extract of whatever is ridiculous, knavish, or impious, in all Religions; that it is Priestcraft ar-*

* Art of Governing by Partys; Cap. 8. P. 145.

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riv'd at the highest Perfection; that it contains peculiar Absurditys, never known in any other Persuasion; and that it is the most insolent Imposition that ever was made on the Credulity of Mankind. I might here truly represent the mischievous Influence of this abominable Superstition on the Morals and Understandings of its Professors; how it Subjects 'em to all manner of Tyranny and Oppression; drains their Purses, as well as it deprives 'em of their Reason; how most of its Doctrins are calculated for the Advantage of the Priests; what Authority they exercise over the Laity; their Idolatry, Hypocrisy, Licentiousness, and Cruelty: but I shall only wish that future Parliaments wou'd think of completing those Laws so effectually begun in the last for suppressing the Power of Popery in England. But before I finish

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nish this Head, I wou'd put our Church in mind of what she particularly owes to his Majesty and the present Parliament: for tho it was always reasonable that a Protestant Contry shou'd have a Protestant Government, and the Mischiefs were self-evident which must procede from Princes of an unfettl'd or contrary Religion; yet till the late Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Libertys of the Subjects, it was never a positive Law that whosoever comes to the Possession of this Crown, shall join in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law establisht. But more hereafter of the Benefits which accrue to the Protestant Religion, by our electing the House of Hanover: only for the better obtaining of God's Blessing on this Nation and
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to make it favorable and fortunat to *England*, I think it highly necessary that the Names of the Princess SOPHIA and her Issue be inserted in our public Prayers, with the rest of the Royal Family.

S E C T. XV.

The present Limitations to the Succession of the Crown are historically prov'd to be according to the Nature of our Constitution, and the constant Practice of the English Nation.

I COM now to shew that the present Limitation of the Succession is according to the Nature of our Constitution, that it takes away no Body's Right on Earth, and that consequently none are injur'd by it, nor can have any Reason to complain of our Parliament,

lament, or to arraign (how much soever they may envy) the Successors they have thought most fitting to appoint. Whether the People of *England* had ever practic'd it or no, yet it hitherto has bin, now is, and always will be their Right to dispose of themselves in the Manner they shall think most likely to secure their Liberty or their Wealth, and to procure their Happiness in any other Respect. But they have likewise actually follow'd this Principle since ever they were known to be a Nation; and, if at any Time they found themselves deceiv'd in the Person, or mistaken in the Form, they seldom fail'd immediatly to apply the proper Remedys, and to rectify their past Miscarriages, or to prevent the like future Inconveniences.

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veniences. Hence the Ignorance or Calumny of Those may be confuted, who count us the most variable People in *Europe*: for how frequently soever we alter our Measures (which shou'd be always don when they prove insufficient) yet never was there a Nation more constant in attaining the End, which is LIBERTY, and the flourishing Condition it necessarily begets. In Effect, our Manner of constituting the chief Magistrat is the laudable Mean between two most vitious Extremes; for to elect the Person anew on every King's Death or Demise, wou'd expose us to all the Uncertainty, Confusions, civil Warrs, Bribery, and other Mischiefs so frequent and familiar in *Poland*: as on the other hand to make the Succession absolutely

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solutely hereditary, wou'd subject us without Remedy to be govern'd by Tyrants, Madmen, Fools or Idiots. But in all Ages our known Method has bin to limit the Succession under Conditions to a certain Line, for avoiding all the Contests and Disturbances at frequent Elections; and yet to reserve a Power of excluding the next of Kin if under any Incapacity of Reigning, or tho capable yet somtimes not so fit as a worthier in the same Family, and very often for great and important Reasons quite to transfer the Right of Succession from one Line to another. This is so evident by our Laws, and so express in our Historys, that no *Englishman* can be suppos'd ignorant of it; especially since it has bin so well handl'd by many able Pens,
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and particularly in a Book entitul'd, *The brief History of the Succession*. Nevertheless I shall yet more briefly (tho I hope not less truly or clearly) deduce this Argument from WILLIAM the *Norman* to this very Time; first to undeceive those (or their Adherents) who may think themselves injur'd for being now set aside, tho they be next of Kin; and secondly to shew those appointed in the present Limitation of the Crown, that they have no other Right or Claim than the good Opinion and free Choice of the People of *England*, which ought to render the mutual Affection and Obligations of both Partys the more strong, sincere, and lasting. We find the Succession regulated so in the *Saxon* time, that you always hear almost of every King's *Election* before his

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Coronation; and the last of 'em, EDWARD the Confessor, did not succede by Proximity of Blood, for his Elder Brother had a Son then alive, EDWARD the Father of EDGAR ATHELING. And when the *Confessor* dy'd, the People without any Respect to his Nephew EDGAR, elected one of foren Blood, HARALD the Son of GODWIN Earl of *Kent*, an utter stranger to the *Saxon* Line, a worthy and heroic Prince. To WILLIAM the first of the *Norman* Race, succeded not his eldest Son ROBERT, but WILLIAM RUFUS his second Son, who desir'd the People's Approbation of his Father's Will, and was by them maintain'd in the Right they gave him against all the Attempts of the *Normans*, or any other Abbettors of Duke ROBERT; who was a second

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cond time rejected by reason of his Averſion to the *English* Nation, and the Cruelty of his Diſpoſition: whereas on the third Son HENRY's promiſing to reſtore the ancient Liberties of the Nation, and to abrogat ſome ſevere Laws which his Father had made, the People conſented to make him King. He dying, his Daughter MAUD the Empreſs was laid aſide, and STEPHEN Earl of *Bologne*, Son to *Adela* the Conqueror's Daughter, was by the conſent of the Clergy and People of England elected King, tho his eldeſt Brother THEOBALD Earl of *Blois* was then alive. He afterwards adopted HENRY the ſecond for his Heir, tho WILLIAM a Son of his own was then living, and HENRY was accordingly declar'd the Succeſſor in Parliament, notwithstanding

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ſtanding the previous Right of his Mother. To him Succeeded RICHARD the firſt, confirm'd in the Succeſſion during his Father's Life, and on his Death ſolemnly elected by the States of the Realm. Having dy'd without Iſſue, ARTHUR the Son of his next Brother ought to have Succeeded hereditarily; but JOHN his younger Brother was prefer'd before him, at whoſe Coronation HUBERT the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* deliver'd for ſound Doctrin, that no Body had any Title to the Crown who was not unanimouſly elected by the whole Kingdom; and that if any of the deceas'd King's family was more worthy than the reſt, they ought more willingly and ſpeedily conſent to his Election: So that the deſerving Perſons of the Royal Family were only preferable to other
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Men of Merit. JOHN was afterwards depos'd for degenerating into a Tyrant, and LEWIS the *French* King's Son elected in his Room; but attempting to introduce arbitrary Power contrary to the Terms on which the Crown was set on his head, and for discovering a Design of extirpating the very name of the *English*, he was by a unanimous Consent of the Nation expell'd the Iland, and HENRY the third elected to Reign. After him came his SON EDWARD the first, tho the House of *Lancaster* always maintain'd that his brother EDMUND was the eldest, only for the Deformity of his Body made incapable to wear the Crown. To EDWARD the first succeeded his SON EDWARD the second, who, growing an intolerable Tyrant, was

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was in a Parliament summon'd by himself formally accus'd of Misgovernment, and on his own acknowledging the Truth of this Charge solemnly depos'd. When his SON EDWARD the third was elected with universal Consent, WALTER the Archbishop of *Canterbury* preach'd the Coronation Sermon, and took these words for his Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, The voice of the People is the voice of God: so little did they Dream in those days of the Divine Right of Monarchy; or that all Power did not originally derive from the People, for whom and by whom all Governments are erected and maintain'd. In this King's Life time, RICHARD the Son of the *Black Prince* was constituted the Successor; who after he came to reign, degenerat-

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ted into a Tyrant, and was compell'd to resign the Crown and Government to the States of the Kingdom. Hereupon the Parliament elected HENRY the fourth, who had no hereditary Title (as he once pretended) from HENRY the third, since there was still in Being the Issue of LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to HENRY the third, whereas HENRY the fourth was descended from JOHN of *Gaunt* the fourth Son. There was an Act in his time to settle the Succession, wherby the Crown was limited to the Heirs of his Body and their Issue respectively, being after the Extinction of his Family to be dispos'd by the States. But it appears from what follow'd, and is evident from the Nature of the Thing, that such Settlements suppose

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suppose where they do not express the Well-governing of the King, and that Parliaments reserve a Power to themselves of restraining the Exorbitancy of Princes, and deposing Tyrants. To HENRY the fourth succeeded his Son HENRY the fifth, in the Reign of whose Son, HENRY the sixth, there was made a new Limitation of the Crown; for tho he had a Son living, yet it was enacted that he shou'd enjoy the Crown during his Life, and that RICHARD Duke of *York* shou'd be Heir apparent; that on the Death or Resignation of HENRY, the Crown was limited in Remainder to RICHARD and his Heirs, with a Proviso, that if HENRY or any in his behalf shou'd endeavor to frustrat this Act, that then RICHARD shou'd have the present Possession

of the Throne. Accordingly the Duke of *York* attempted to possess himself of the Crown by Virtue of this Act, alledging that HENRY had broke the Conditions; and his Son EDWARD did actually get himself created King, pretending to no other Title but what he had by the said Act of Limitation. EDWARD the fourth being driven out of his Kingdom, the Parliament did again intail the Crown on HENRY the sixth and the Heirs Male of his Body, with the Remainder to GEORGE Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to EDWARD the fourth, who was also declar'd Heir to RICHARD Duke of *York*. Thus you see all Titles of Blood, Inheritance, Gift, or Conquest, dispens'd with by Acts of Parliament, and *Election* not only the most

most frequent, but the most firm Basis and Support of the Regal Throne. Both the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* paid such a Deference to the Power of the People as to claim by Acts of Parliament; and after EDWARD the fourth had recover'd the Kingdom, he got the Law repeal'd which was made during his Expulsion, and left the Crown to his Son EDWARD the fifth. But his Uncle RICHARD Duke of *Glocester*, having secur'd this Young Prince and his other Nephew in the Tower, and having perswaded the Nation they were not legitimat, alledging that EDWARD the fourth had another Wife living at the Time of his Marriage with their Mother, he was elected King as Heir to RICHARD Duke of *York*, on whose Issue the Crown

was intail'd, as aforesaid, by Authority of Parliament. But having barbarously murder'd his Nephews, he was so universally detested for this Black Deed (tho otherwise none of the worst Kings) that the Nation was resolv'd no longer to yield him Obedience: so they set up against him HENRY Duke of *Richmond*, who had no Manner of Right in the World; or in case his Title had bin good, yet his Mother was still living, tho his claim must be as her Heir. This he knew as well as any Body, and so neither relying on his own nor the Title of ELIZABETH his Queen, much less on that of Conquest from the Victory which the People of *England* gain'd at *Bosworth* field, he procur'd himself to be confirm'd in his Kingship by Act
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of Parliament, for avoiding (as that Law has it) of all *Ambiguity and Questions*: whence it follows that this Prince believ'd an Act of Parliament cou'd limit, transfer, supersede, or annul all other Titles whatsoever. In the 25th Year of the Reign of his Son HENRY the eighth, An Act past wherein the Parliament say, *they were bounden to provide for the perfect Surety of the Succession.* And accordingly they intail the Crown on HENRY the eighth and the Heirs of his Body by QUEEN ANNE, and their Heirs according to the Course of Inheritance; and for Default of such Issue, to the Sons of his Body in like manner; and on the Failure of these to the Lady ELIZABETH; after her to any other Issue in Tail; and then the Remainder is limited to the right
Heirs

Heirs of HENRY the eighth. Som
Years afterwards this Act was re-
peal'd, and the Parliament in-
tail'd the CROWN on the King,
and the Heirs of his Body by
Queen JANE. A Power is also
given the King, in case he has
no Issue, to dispose of the Suc-
cession by his *Will* or Letters Pa-
tents. They are grossly mistaken
therefore who alledg this Exam-
ple to justify the late King of
Spain's Will: for supposing that
Prince had neither bin weak of
Understanding, nor shamefully
govern'd by his Priests, and that
his Will had not bin a mere Piece
of PORTOCARRERO's Forgery, as
his Confessor seems to own; yet
neither he, nor any King on
Earth, has a Right to alienat his
Kingdom, or to dispose of his
Subjects, as if they had bin no-
thing

thing else but his Herd and Inhe-
ritance, to be convey'd like the
Boors in *Denmark* with the Estate,
as well as the Water, the Stones,
or Trees. HENRY the eighth was
only a Trustee appointed by the
Parlament; and it makes their
Power to be the greater that they
can at pleasure delegat it to ano-
ther. There was afterwards an
Act made that after his Death,
and the Death of Prince EDWARD
without Issue, the Crown shou'd
descend to the Lady MARY and
and the Heirs of her Body, sub-
ject to such Conditions as the
King shou'd appoint, and on the
Nonperformance of the Condi-
tions, that the Crown shou'd go
to the Lady ELIZABETH as if MA-
RY had bin dead without Issue;
And that if ELIZABETH, neglected
to fulfil the Conditions, then it
shou'd

shou'd go to such other Persons as the King shou'd appoint. EDWARD the sixth succeeded his Father, and took on him to dispose of the Crown (as the late King of *Spain* is said to have don) by his last Will; being ill advis'd by his Ministers, who shou'd have got this don in Parliament. But this being no Act of the Nation, nor authoriz'd by their Representatives, his eldest Sister MARY succeeded; and after her the renown'd Queen ELIZABETH, according to the Limitations of the Statute made in the 35. *Hen. VIII.* Tis agreed by all, that one of the Sisters cou'd have no other Title but this *Act*; for Queen CATHERINE was alive when ELIZABETH was born. Now if her Marriage was unlawful, MARY was not legitimat; and no more was Queen
ELIZA-

ELIZABETH, if the Marriage of Queen ANNE was not valid. In the first Year of Queen ELIZABETH the Parliament made a Recognition of her Title, founded on the mention'd Act of Limitation, 35. *Hen. VIII.* In her thirteenth Year it was enacted, that if during her Life any Person claim'd a Title to the Crown for himself or any other, or refus'd on Demand to acknowledge her Right, *he shou'd be disabl'd during hts Life to have the Crown in Succession, as if he were naturally dead, &c.* This Statute makes it also Treason during the Life of the Queen, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Decease, *to affirm that the Queen with and by the Authority of Parliament is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown*
of

of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof; or that this or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queen's Assent, is not or ought not to be for ever of sufficient Force to bind and govern all Persons, their Rights and Titles, that may claim any Interest or Possibility in or to the Crown, in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Succession, or otherwise. There can be nothing more express about the Power of Parliaments with Relation to the Succession, and to show the World that the Parliament of *England* on this present occasion is guilty of no Innovation, but has only apply'd the Fundamental Rules of our Constitution to particular Persons, for those Ends which they are intrusted by the Nation to promote and secure. In the 27th of Queen
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ELIZABETH it was enacted that all Invasions, Rebellions, or other Practices discover'd and adjudg'd against her, by, for, or with the Privity of any one who pretended a Title to the Crown, all such Persons shou'd be excluded and disabl'd for ever to have or claim the Crown. By virtue of some Clauses in this Statute MARY Queen of *Scotland* was afterwards justly executed; and her Son was so sensible of the Force of this Law, that he pretended to no manner of Title during the Life of Queen ELIZABETH, who wou'd never suffer him to be declar'd her successor. The Act of Recognition, made on King JAMES's coming to the Throne, particularly insists on the Act of Parliament made in favor of HENRY the seventh, wherby he came in as Heir to
that

that Entail, the Issue of *Henry* the VIII. being extinct in Queen ELIZABETH. To King JAMES succeeded his Son CHARLES the first; the History of whose troublesom Reign and tragical Death is known to every Body. His Son CHARLES the second enjoy'd the Crown for his Life; but there were several Attempts made to exclude his Brother the Duke of York from succeeding him. The Reasons for this proceeding were so cogent, just, and universally convincing, that the Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, did pass the Bill; tho' the Artifices and the Influence of the Court, as well as the mistaken Notions of all the Bishops and of some Temporal Peers, made it be rejected by the Lords. But the evil Day was only put a little further

further off, for in four Years and some odd Months Reign, he made such havock of all Laws Human and divine; drove so furiously at setting up *Popery*, executed so barbarous a Rage in the West, and appear'd to be so firmly leagu'd with the King of *France*, the natural Enemy of *England*, that at last the whole Nation rose up in Arms against him, and call'd in the Prince of *Orange* to their Assistance, wherupon he abdicated the Government, which by the Convention of Estates was settl'd as at large recited before. The Administration was only in King WILLIAM, tho' Queen MARY was among us the acknowledged Heir of the late King. And tho' his other Daughter, her royal Highness the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, show'd a particular

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ticular Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion, and no less Regard to the Liberty of her Contry on the late Revolution; yet the Prince of *Orange* by her own Consent was to reign before her, as the fittest in those dangerous Conjunctions to defend the Peace of the Nation against the disaffected at Home, and our potent Enemys abroad. Nor did that Convention, or the present Parliament, so much consider (as som wou'd fain believe) whose Right it was to Succede, as to whom they shou'd give a Right of Succeeding to the Crown and regal Government of *England*: wherfore if the Houses of *Savoy*, *Orleans*, or *Condé*, were not already incapacitated by professing the *Popish* Religion, yet they have no claim but what the Parliament might very well supersede according to constant

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stant Practice and the Nature of our Constitution. And therefore all the World must acknowlege that the Dutcheſs of *Savoy's* Protestation to both Houses of Parliament was null in it self: for if she thinks the Crown to be absolutely hereditary, she has no Room to com in while the late King or any of his Issue is alive; or if she approv'd of the Limitations at the Revolution, and owns the same Power to remain always in the Parliament, then she has no Reason to find Fault with their Proceedings, unless she qualify'd her self and Issue as by Law prescrib'd, of which she gave no previous Hopes or Intimation. The same Arguments wou'd be of equal Force against the pretended Prince of *Wales*, if no Doubts had ever bin rais'd about the Legitimacy

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gitimacy of his Birth: nor is it at all on this last Account that our Representatives had no Consideration of Him in their Proceedings.

SECT. XVI.

The Menaces of the Popish Claimants to the Crown are not to be fear'd or valu'd; nor are the present Limitations any Hardship on Successors of foren Birth.

BUT we are still told that those of the *Popish* Line, conceiving their own Claim to be good, will assert it by Arms; to which it is answer'd that the Nobility and People of *England* have (in the late Act of Succession) faithfully promis'd to stand by, to maintain,

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maintain, and defend the Princess SOPHIA and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, to the utmost of their Power, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any Thing to the contrary. Besides, if those of the *Popish* Line were able to gain the Crown of *England* by the Sword, without the Color of such a claim they cou'd not miss of plausible Pretences for a Warr. However, in such a Case we are not only secure by our native Strength, but also by the new Limitations have made such an Addition to it, as leaves us at Home no Room to fear, nor those abroad any reasonable Grounds for Hope. And as for the *French* King's interesting himself for the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; we care no more for his future Titles to *England*, than

he probably values the Claims of our Kings to *France*. But those of the *Popish* Line shou'd not be much concern'd for the Loss of a Crown, which they affirm is not worth accepting under such Conditions as we bestow it. 'Tis a common saying in the Mouths of their Favorers, that we made our King no better than the Duke of *Venice* or a Stadtholder of *Holland*; and for the poor People's sake, I heartily wish the King of *France*, with som other Princes I cou'd name, were but half as good tho forty times less Powerful. Those of the *Protestant* Line are quite of another Disposition, and far from being displeas'd at the old or new Limitations to the Crown; nor indeed cou'd they reasonably think themselves under any Hardship, considering that

that we were at Liberty to dispose of our Government as we shou'd think fit, and that we made several Conditions with the Prince of *Orange* who merited so much at our Hands. As for the Limitations which relate more particularly to Princes of foren Birth, tis no new Thing in *England*, nor proceeding from the least Distrust of the House of *Hanover*. In the Act (for Example) touching Queen *MARY*'s Marriage with *PHILIP* the second of *Spain*, it was expresly stipulated. 1. That no stranger shou'd be promoted to any Office or Trust, and only those born in the Queen's Dominions to be capable of preferment. 2. That he shou'd entertain a competent Number of *Englishmen* about his Person; and keep no Foreners who might be displeasing to the
K 4 People,

People, or in such a Case to expel them his Court. 3. That he shou'd innovat Nothing in the Laws or Customs of *England*, but preserve to all Orders entire their Rights and Privileges; and that all Matters shou'd be transacted in the Tongue they were wont to be by the Natives of the Realm. 4. That he shou'd not remove the Queen, unless she pleas'd, out of her Dominions; or her Children, unless to the Successions agreed on. 5. That he might not remove out of the Kingdom the Jewels of the Crown, or other things of Value; nor the Ships, Guns, or other warlike Ordinance. 6. That the Realm of *England*, by Occasion of this Matrimony, shou'd neither directly nor indirectly be concern'd in his Father's Warrs abroad. 7. That, in case he sur-

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viv'd the Queen, he shou'd not challenge any Right at all in the Kingdom; but peaceably suffer the Succession of the same to come to them to whom it shou'd belong by the Laws of the Land. And lest the Crown shou'd be thought to descend according to the ordinary Laws or Customs of Inheritance to Estates, and the like Cases, it was particularly specify'd *that*, after the Queen's Decease, *No Right, Title, Estate, Claime, or Demaund, was to be given, come, or growen, unto the said most noble Prince as TENANT BY THE CURTESIE of this Realme, or in or by any other meane, by force of the said Marriage, &c.* But (what shows the great Love which the People of *England* always had for Liberty). they did not only make an excellent Provision

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vision for their proper Security in those Articles of Marriage ratify'd in Parliament; but they did also nobly covenant with the Prince, and, as much as in them lay, oblig'd his Successors to preserve in their foren Dominions the Liberty of the Subjects, which is an Example not more deserving Praise than constant Imitation. Their words are, *Provided nevertheless and expresly reserv'd in all and singular the abovedeclared Cases of Succession, that whatsoever He or She be that shall Succeed in them, they shall leave to every of the said Realms, Lands, and Dominions, whole and entire their Priviledges, Rights, and Customes; and the same Realms and Dominions shall administer, and cause to be administered by the natural borne of the same Realms, Dominions, and Lands;*
and

and in all Things faithfully procure their Utility and Quiet, and shall rule and nourish them in good Justice and Peace according to their Statutes and Customes. But I shall add no more on this Head, the Instances out of our History carrying their own Light along with them; and the other Arguments being, as I suppose, of Force enough to prove our Parliament is guilty of no Innovation, and that the present Limitation of the Crown is wholly conformable to our antient Constitution, which is founded on the clearest Reason and the eternal Principles of Justice.

SECT.

SECT. XVII.

The Settling of the Crown in the House of Hanover, is the likeliest Way of enabling England to restore and maintain the Balance of Europe.

FOR many Ages successively it has bin the greatest Glory and uncontested Province of the *English* Nation to terminat the Differences of other States, to be the Mediators and Umpires of their Quarrels, to incline the Scale to which Side they pleas'd, and to maintain the Sentence they had finally pronounc'd. This gives a great Idea of our Power, but a much nobler one of our Justice; for in all Disputes
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of this Kind, the Arbiters have never made any Demands for themselves, as others in the like Cases have usually don, either from Pretences plausibly ground- ed, or as extorted Concessions from the Party they design'd to favor: and this, in my Opinion, is a more glorious Way of giving Law to the World, than by parcelling the Globe into tributary Provinces and Colonys. It was always our chiefest Reason of State to hold the Balance of *Europe* steady, or to keep such an equal poize among foren States that none of 'em shou'd grow so great in gaining on any Other, as that we our selves might com to be losers by it, or Suffer the Liberty of the rest to be indanger'd. Our Reputation in this Respect was considerably lessen'd during

during the Reign of the *Scottish* Race, till His present Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne reviv'd the Fame of the *English* Valor abroad, and restor'd us to the Figure we formerly made in the World. But his finishing Stroke in making us the Arbiters of *Europe*, as well as a particular Balance against *France*, was the present *Act of Succession*, wherby the Crown of *England* descends to one of the powerfulest Families in the *Empire* for their Territory, and more diffusive than all the rest in their Kindred and Alliances. Almost the whole House of *Lunenburgh* is to be reunited in the present Elector of *Hanover's* Person, after his Uncle and Father in Law the great Duke of *Cell's* Decease: nor is it probable the Duke of *Wolfembuttel* and the other

ther lesser Branches can long remain in a separat Interest from that of their original Stock. Their Relation to so many *Protestants*, the King of *Denmark*, the Family of *Hesse-Cassel*, and that of *Brandenburgh*, will always ingage those Princes on the Side that *England* takes abroad. But the nearer Relation of the Queen of *Prussia* is not the only Ty on her Husband; we also by this third northern Crown and the ninth Electorat may expect reciprocal Obligations of Friendship and Assistance between those Princes and the *Emperor*, from which we may hope for signal Advantages to the *Protestant* Religion, if not even the reviving of it in *Hungary* and *Bohemia* considering the King of the *Romans* (who is likewise King of those Nations) is an avow'd Enemy

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my to the *Jesuits*, and of a very merciful and generous Disposition. All the *Protestant* States are by this Family as well as their Principles united to us; the Elector *Palatin* himself, tho of the *Popish* Religion, is yet observ'd not to be insensible of the Interest of his Blood; besides that the Queen of the *Romans* is descended from the Princess *ELIZABETH* Queen of *Bohemia* Daughter of King *JAMES* the first, and Mother to the present Dutchess Dowager of *Hanover*, who is next Heir to the Crown of *England* in the *Protestant* Line. I might be much more particular in showing that settling the Succession in the House of *Hanover* is the most likely way in the World of restoring and preserving to *England* her ancient Privileg'd Greatness of holding the Balance of *Europe*:
but

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but from the Hints I have already given, any Body may easily make this Matter clear enough to Himself. Indeed the domestic Enemies of our Liberty are busie to insinuat Suspitions against all Princes of *foren Birth*; but (not to insist now on a self-evident Argument from our Experience of his present Majesty's inviolable Affection to our Contry, and his Jealousie of any way diminishing our Glory or Power) 'tis no difficult Paradox to maintain that a Prince of foren Birth or Family is advantageous to *England*, not only with respect to his Interest abroad (of which Point we have already treated) but also by increasing our Wealth and securing our Liberty at Home. Provinces and Colonies are ac-
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knowledg'd to transmit all their Riches to the Seat of Empire; but where several Independent Governments are united under one Head, the Riches of the rest must flow of Course into that Contry where the Prince chuses or is oblig'd to keep his Court, of which we need not go out of this Iland for Examples: nor is it the Princes chief Treasury, or the Necessity of coming to solicit Him in Person, that are the only Reasons of this Thing; but this is not a place to handle this Matter. Now as to our Liberty (which is our chiefest Concern, as being the Parent of all our Happiness) a Forein Prince is in every respect the most likely to enlarge it, to which many Causes jointly contribute, as (to produce a few Instances)

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his own Fears of giving Umbrage to his Subjects, their watchful Ey on all his Actions, his having no other Dependance in the Nation but what follows on his being at the Head of the Government, and (which is our particular Case) the Distance of his other Dominions if he shou'd attempt any Thing against these Kingdoms by their Assistance; a thing in it self absolutely impossible, considering the several Contrys lying betwixt us, especially our good Friends of *Holland*, of whom it is now high Time to discourse more distinctly.

I. 2 S E C T.

SECT. XVIII.

The Union of England and Holland is the only Means of preserving the Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of Europe as well as their own.

BESIDES maintaining the Balance of Europe, it has bin likewise another Maxim of England since the Reformation, to keep it self the Head of the Protestant Religion all over the World, which was effectually don by Queen ELIZABETH; but neglected by the Envy, Pusillanimity, and Lukewarmness of King JAMES the First, and almost wholly lost under his

his Successors, of whom the two last cou'd not be Protectors of the Reformation abroad, while with all their might they were themselves laboring to re-introduce Popery into their own Dominions. But their Grandfather led the Dance by his vain Endeavors to obscure the Fame of Queen ELIZABETH, his neglecting to assist his Son-in-law the King of Bohemia, his unaccountable Passion for the Spanish Match, and his total going over to the Popish Party (if not out of Choice, yet from his cowardly Apprehensions of being assassinated by the Jesuits) notwithstanding the direful Curses he imprecated on himself and his Posterity. I need not mention the betraying of Rochel and the Protestant

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terest in *France* to Cardinal RICHIEU in CHARLES the First's Time; nor King JAMES the Second's openly professing and laboring to establish the *Popish* Religion. But tho his Elder Brother CHARLES the Second made a Show of being a *Protestant* till his usual Dissimulation cou'd do him no further Service; yet he favor'd *Popery* underhand all he cou'd, and commonly chose such Ministers and Favorits as wou'd be sure to serve him in his wicked Designs. Contrary to the Interest of his Contry, he continu'd to his dying Day a Friend and Pensioner to the *French* King, and heartily join'd with him to destroy the Republic of the United Netherlands, which,
next

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next to *England*, is the strongest Support of the *Protestant* Religion. Since its first Foundation it has bin the principal Seat of Liberty and Truth; it has bin the Refuge of the Miserable and Persecuted of every Contry; afforded a sure Protection to those of all Persuasions, who fled from the Tyranny of their native Princes; and ever promoted the Common Good, the Freedom, and Quiet of *Europe*. No People in History have more gloriously asserted and maintain'd their Liberty, with greater Resolution, or equal Courage. Having therefore establish'd their State on the Principles of Justice, and continu'd to govern it hitherto by a sutable Administration, the Almighty
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Disposer of the World cou'd not but reward such Virtue with his choicest Blessings, which rais'd 'em from inconsiderable Beginnings to be one of the most powerful People on Earth. No other Place can proportionably equal the Number and Beauty of their Cities, the various Improvements of their Contry, their flourishing Colonies abroad, their immense Trade and Riches, their Armies by Land, their Fleets at Sea, and the eminent Rank which they bear among other Princes and States in all the known Regions of the Earth. But their unshaken Love of Liberty and the *Protestant* Religion, ought chiefly to endear 'em to this Iland. And truly the Body of the People as well as the

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the most understanding Part of the *English* Patriots, have ever had such an Esteem for them, that they thought our Interests to be (as doubtless they are) absolutely inseparable: for if either of us falls, the other cannot possibly stand long after, which ought to oblige both never to let things com to such a Point. Since the Beginning of his Majesty's Reign (which God long continue) we may perceive the infinit Advantages of our Union, and what noble and mighty things we may perform both for our selves and others who need our Assistance or Protection. On the other Hand, we may learn the destructive Consequences of any Mis-understanding between us, by what hapned in
CHARLES

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CHARLES the Second's Reign ; tho, to speak the naked Truth, those at the Head of Affairs, in our Government were then the Betrayers of the common Cause, while the People on both sides wish'd all Happiness to one another, as manifestly appear'd when ever there was a proper Occasion of showing their true Disposition, and especially on the late Revolution. Since that time to this, it is remarkable that as a few *Papists* are the only People in *Holland* who speak unkindly of the *English* ; so no Body dislikes the *Dutch* in *England* but the avow'd Enemies of our Government or Religion : insomuch that to hear a Man railing against the *Dutch*, is one of the certain Marks to distinguish his Disaffection to King WILLIAM'S Person,

as

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as well as to our Legal Constitution ; and he deserves worse of his own Contry, than he can possibly do of any other. This puts me in mind of the two principal States in antient *Greece*, *Athens* and *Sparta* ; where, tho their Governments were different, and their Interests often divided by ill-dispos'd Persons, yet the *Laconizers* in *Athens*, and the Favorers of *Athens* in *Sparta* were always found to be the best Friends of their Contry, and truest to the Common Cause of *Greece* against the *Mezas Banius*, the great King of those times ; I mean the *Persian* Monarch, whose Designs against all free Governments were the same with those of the *French* King in our Age. Nor were the *Persians* then less polite in their Manners or

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Fashions than the *French* are now; on the contrary most of the Neighboring States were corrupted by their Luxury and Ef-feminacy: but they were stil'd *Barbarians* by the *Greecs*, not so much for their common Reason of calling all foren Nations by this Name, as from their arbitra-ry and *barbarous* Form of Despo-tic Government, and their indea-voring to subdue all other People without any just Cause of War, but only for their Glory, and to increase the Number of their Slaves. Against this Grand and Common Enemy was the *Amphic-tionian* Council instituted, con-sisting of Deputies from several States of *Greece*, to preserve *Friend-ship among themselves*, says * Dio-

* Φίλοι μὲν ἀλλήλοις, λυπηροὶ δὲ τοῖς Βαρβαροῖς καὶ φοβεροί. Lib. 4.

NYSIUS

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NYSIUS HALICARNASSÆUS, *but to becom strong and formidable a- gainst the Barbarians.* Where-fore since the Fate as well as the Interest of *England* and *Holland* is so evidently the same, it were not amiss if they had a common Deputation after this Example to make their Union the more sin- cere, durable, and beneficial; which I hope may be one of the Blessings of his Majesty's Reign, and must be very acceptable to the House of *Hanover*, whose In-terest is so heartily espous'd and promoted by the *Dutch*. This wou'd quite abolish the mutual Disgusts which have bin indu- striously fomented between the two Nations, the *Dutch* being made jealous of our Liberty, and we not less envious of their Trade. But as of late Years the former

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former have found that keeping of us under Tyranny proves a false and mistaken Policy: so I hope the latter will discover some Way to adjust the material Differences that may happen about Trade, always taking care not to be angry with Others for being more industrious than themselves, and never to make such a ridiculous Objection to the *Dutch*, as that they mind their own Interest above all Things else in the World; which can be no Injury to us, since our Grand Interests are still and ever must remain the same. The Support of the *Protestant* Religion is an undeniable Motive that now requires a firmer Union between us than ever. I shew'd before how much the Reformation was betray'd by
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our late Kings; and it has bin somtimes a base and little Artifice in us not to own the *Protestants* in other Contries, for fear of displeasing our Catholic Confederats; which makes some of our suffering Brethren imagine that the Influence of *CHARLES* and *JAMES* the Second's evil Counsellors is not wholly spent with the detested Reigns of their Masters. But this unjustifiable Neglect, as it lessens our Interest with the *Protestants*, so it increases that of the *French* King with the *Papists*, for whose Advantage he wisely concerns himself where he has no other Reason to intermeddle. And I must here observe, that had the *Protestants* of *France* bin supported, their Prince cou'd not have made a Merit of their Destruction

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etion with the *Pope* and his Adherents every where, but especially with the *Spaniards* and the *Jesuits*. As the Beauty of Virtue shines no where with greater Lustre than in the Exercise of Gratitude; so the mutual Kindnesses past between this Kingdom and the States of *Holland* must oblige us to assist them with all our Power at this Juncture, with no less Zeal than we are mov'd to do it from a Sense of Religion, or to restore and preserve the Balance of *Europe*. There's scarce a Family in *England* that formerly appear'd on the Behalf of Liberty, but owes its Preservation, or that of the principal Persons in it, to the secure Retreat afforded them by that generous Republic; and

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and their Hospitality and Assistance to those Gentlemen in Distress, are still gratefully remembered by themselves or their Relations, which makes 'em now to be doubly concern'd about the Safety of their Protectors. But the two Nations themselves have likewise had their turns of saving one another. The powerful Succors granted by Queen *ELIZABETH* to the States in their Infancy, were amply retaliated by the Fleet and Army they sent to deliver us from *Popery* and Slavery on the late Revolution; and now it is become again our Turn to yield them speedy and effectual Assistance, which none can be found to oppose, but such as betray the *Protestant* Religion, and are for

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making a Complement of our Liberty to the *French* King, or his design'd Viceroy, the pretended Prince of *Wales*. 'Tis next to a Miracle, that some People (even without endeavoring to disguise their Intentions) shou'd obstruct as much as in them lies, our seasonable interposing for the Rescue of *Europe*, till the great Ravisher has fully secur'd the Possession of the *Spanish* Dominions, and becoms thereby enabl'd to seize without Resistance on all remaining Kingdoms and Commonwealths. But 'tis yet a greater Wonder to find only a small Number of Men continuing obstinate in this bare-fac'd Treachery, contrary to the Bent and pressing Desires of the whole Nation, which cannot be long
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resisted; but must certainly fall with a dreadful Weight and deserv'd Vengeance on the devoted Heads of such as act contrary to the public Safety. How incredible wou'd it appear some Years ago, if any shou'd prophesie, that at such a Juncture as this, instead of calling aloud for Arms, and flying to the Assistance of our Friends and Allies, you shou'd hear of nothing in our Streets but the *New* and the *Old Ministry*; not in Panegyrics for their disinterested Administration or the mighty Things they have done for their Contry: but their Friends or Creatures, and the Candidats for the Favor of those they think shall next be the prevailing Party, exposing the Meanness and Corruption of
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the one, and the heinous Crimes of the contrary Faction; without having more to say for their own Patrons than, that, in the one or other of these Respects, they are not quite so bad as their Enemies. But if they suspect that any Man has Access to the King, without owing this Honor to their Influence, or being inroll'd in their Faction, there's no Treatment thought too base or dishonorable for such a Person; and they sometimes carry their Malice to a Degree that renders themselves ridiculous. Thus we find 'em highly displeas'd with Mr. METHVEN the Chancellor of *Ireland*, because they can't like his *Phiz*, which in my Opinion, ought to make that Gentleman increase his Value for himself: For it
may

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may be easily believ'd that they wou'd gladly charge him with higher Crimes if they knew of any; since som of those who are so angry with his Countenance, have little Reason to boast of their Beauty, and might count themselves very happy if nothing but ugly Faces cou'd be objected against them. But this is only a single Example among many I cou'd allege. And what's the strangest thing of all, we are ignorant still who these Managers and State-Mountebanks are; for our Government knows no such thing as a *Prime Minister*: we read of no Rank, no Business, or Salary, establish'd for such a Person; and the great Officers of the Nation are bound to act according to the Laws, which

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prescribe his Duty to the King, no less than to the meanest of his Servants; or if any thing was defective in this Particular, tis sufficiently remedy'd by som of the Limitations in the present *Act of Succession*. Instead therefore of troubling our selves for those who were never trobl'd for us, let us unanimously and speedily resolve on the most effectual Measures of supporting the *Protestant Religion*, of opposing *France* and preserving *Holland*, of assisting the *Emperor*, setting *Spain* at liberty, and restoring the Balance of *Europe*. If our Native Contry, our Liberty and Property, or the Government we have so lately improv'd, be worth preserving, let's all supplicat his Majesty in the Words
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of the LORDS in their Noble *Address*, and with the same Spirit that they spoke it, let us represent to him our *Sense of the great and imminent Danger to which the States General are at present expos'd*; and that we perfectly agree with them in believing that their *Safety and ours are so inseparably united, that whatsoever is Ruin to the one, must be fatal to the other*: that he wou'd be pleas'd to enter into a strict *League Offensive and Defensive with them for our common Preservation*; and invite into it all the *Princes and States who are concern'd in the present visible Danger arising from the Union of France and Spain*. Let us further beseech his Majesty, to enter into such *Alliances with the Emperor as he shall*

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think fit, pursuant to the Ends of the Treaty of one Thousand six hundred and eighty nine; which were [That if the late King of Spain dy'd without Issue, we and the States of Holland wou'd assist his Imperial Majesty or his Heirs, in taking the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy with its Dependancies; and in obtaining and securing the quiet possession therof against the French and their Adherents, who shall directly or indirectly oppose this Succession, and with Force repulse the Force they bring against them.] Towards all which, let all of us in general, and every one in particular, assure his Majesty of our hearty and sincere Assistance: not doubting but whenever he shall be engag'd for the Defence of his Allies, and for
securing

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securing the Liberty and Quiet of Europe, Almighty GOD will protect his Sacred Person in so righteous a Cause; and that the Unanimity, Wealth, and Courage of his Subjects, will carry his Majesty with Honor and Success thro all the Difficulties of a just War. And finally let us most earnestly intreat his Majesty, that he wou'd at no time hereafter conclude any Treaty with the King of France, without first obtaining a REAL SECURITY for the due Performance of the same: since the constant Experience of a long Tract of Years abundantly demonstrats, that tis not Religion, Virtue, or Honor; Alliances, Kindred, or Affinity; neither awful Imprecations, sacred Oaths, or solemn Contracts;

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tracts ; nor any sort of Engagements for preserving public or privat Faith, that can bind this Monarch to keep his Word : of whom therefore such Pledges must be expected as put the most savage, barbarous, and perfidious Nations in the World under a necessity to fulfil their Promises. As for the Forces to be rais'd on this indispensable Occasion, the Parliament may concert such Measures before-hand as shall render their Disbanding safe and easie to us as well as agreable, honorable, and profitable to the Soldiers. The ready Compliance of the last Army with the Orders of the Parliament is no less an Indication that they enter'd into his Majesty's Service for no mercenary Ends, but

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but for asserting the Liberty of their Contry, than it is a Noble Example of Fidelity and Obedience to all that shall be rais'd for the same Cause, or as good Reasons at any Time hereafter. The Parliament's allowing Half-pay to the Disbanded Officers, will not only bring them all readily to ingage again (being sure of receiving a double Portion of Rewards and Honor) but likewise make others the more willing to list themselves, being thus encourag'd by the good Treatment of their Fellow-Soldiers, and the Justice and Liberality of the Nation. The *Romans* exceded all the rest of the World in their Military Gifts, and the Distinctions they conferr'd on those who signaliz'd themselves in the Service of

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of their Contry. It was an ordinary Thing, besides many valuable Privileges and Gratuitys, to bestow Portions of the Lands they had conquer'd *viritim*, or on every individual Person in the Army; but as we are not fond of foren Acquisitions or Provinces, we have don very wisely to give the Officers not only their Half-pay, but also to privat Men the Freedom of following their several Trades in all the Corporations of the Kingdom. And tho on the last Peace we were sollicitous to see 'em disbanded, and will be so as much on the next; yet if I were worthy of having my Opinion consider'd, the Half-pay shou'd be continu'd for their Lives, with som Marks of Distinction to such as shall serve
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the ofteneft; which is entertaining so many experienc'd Officers and Soldiers ready to lose their Lives for the People when-ever they shall need their Service: nor in this Case can they possibly mistake themselves to be the Slaves of the Prince, but the Servants and Friends of the Nation, of which they themselves are a very considerable, honor'd, and priviledg'd Part. But not to confine my self to the Army alone, I hope I may say of *England* as C I C E R O did on the like Occasion of *Italy*, * that the whole Contry *is inflam'd with the Love of LIBERTY; the City can indure SERVITUDE no*

* Tota Italia Desiderio Libertatis exarsit; servire diutius non potest Civitas; serius Populo Romano hunc vestitum atque Arma de-
longer;

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longer; we have deliver'd Habilitments and Arms to the Roman People later than they impatiently desir'd 'em. Indeed we have undertaken the Cause of LIBERTY with so great a Hope, as amounts almost to a Certainty: but granting that the Issues of War are dubious, and MARS to be neuter; yet we ought to contend for LIBERTY with the Peril of our Lives. For Life dos not consist in Breathing, and consequently there is no Life at all in a SLAVE. All other Nations may indure

dimus quam ab eo flagitati sumus. Magna nos quidem spe & prope explorata, Libertatis Causam Suscepimus: sed ut concedam incertos Exitus esse Belli, Martemque communem; tamen pro Libertate vitæ periculo decertandum est. Non enim in Spiritu vita est; sed ea nulla est omnino Servienti. Omnes Nationes Servitutem ferre possunt,

S E R.

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SERVITUDE, but our Commonwealth cannot suffer it; nor is there any other Reason for this, but these avoid Labor and Pain, to be rid of which they can bear any Condition; but we are so educated and principil'd by our Ancestors, that we make Virtue and Honor the End of all our Actions and Designs. So glorious a Thing is the gaining of LIBERTY, that Death ought not to be shunn'd in Restoring it! But supposing Immortality shou'd follow on esca-

nostra Civitas non potest: nec ullam aliam ob Causam, nisi quod illæ Laborem Dolorumque fugiunt, quibus ut careant, omnia perpeti possunt; nos ita a Majoribus instituti atque imbuti sumus, ut omnia Consilia atque Facta ad Virtutem & Dignitatem referamus. Ita præclare est Recuperatio Libertatis, ut ne Mors quidem sit in repetenda Libertate fugienda! Quod si Immortalitas consequeretur præsentis periculi Fugam, tamen

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ping the present Danger, yet ought it so much the rather to be refus'd, as thereby SLAVERY is render'd the more lasting. Seeing therefore that every Night and Day we are beset in all Shapes by Death; it becoms not a Man, and least of all a Roman, to doubt whether he shall part with that Breath for his Contry, which he must shortly pay as a certain Debt to Nature.

eo magis ea fugienda videbatur quod diuturnior servitus esset. Cum vero Dies & Noctes omnia Nos undique Fata circumstent; non est viri, minimeque Romani, dubitare eum Spiritum, quem Naturæ Quis debeat, Patriæ reddere. *Phillipic. 10.*

S E C T.

S E C T. XIX.

C O N C L U S I O N, *Showing that the Measures we have taken to secure our Laws and Religion, are the Rights of all Mankind; with an Exhortation to other States to maintain and recover their Liberty.*

I H A V E hitherto asserted the Liberty of *England* in particular, as well as more specially explain'd and justify'd the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in the *Protestant* Line. In performing this Task, I cou'd not but say many Things which related to other Nations no less than to our Selves, such as the Effects of free Governments and Arbitrary

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trary Power, with several Matters besides which may be easily apply'd by the Reader on proper Occasions. I did not forget to hint somtimes that all others had the same Right of securing their Liberty and Property; or if I had bin wholly silent in this Point, yet it wou'd be never the less true in it self, and might be evidently concluded from what I had deliver'd on the Subject I purposely treated. Nor is it only when a People first agree on their Government, that they have a Power of putting it into what Form they please; but if afterwards the chief Magistrat or any other Members of the Society shou'd manifest a deliberat and settl'd Design of enslaving the rest, they may justly defend themselves

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selves, and disarm or punish those who wou'd otherwise ruin Them: for such Persons (let 'em be what they will) are to be treated after no other manner than Wolves or Tygers, which will be sure to destroy us if we are not beforehand with them; and whoever attempts to gain an arbitrary Power over others, dos it only in order to govern them as he pleases, and so to save or destroy 'em according to his Fancy. But if all the People of a Contry be born under Tyranny; or that they are themselves the Persons who were actually Subdu'd, and forc'd to promise an unlimited Subjection to the Commands of their Conqueror; yet they may honestly recover their Liberty when-

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ever they are able, since no Body can have a Right to govern others to their Hurt or Damage, all Men entring into Society for the better Preservation of their Liberty and Possessions, for none can be suppos'd to put themselves under any Government to make 'em in a worse condition than they were before. And as for the Obedience without Reserve to which they were compell'd to swear, tis the same thing as a Robber's obliging me with his Sword at my Breast to Promise that I shall never demand my Purse again, which yet I have a Right to retake as soon as ever I may do it with Safety to my Person: nor ought the Ignorance or Folly, the Fear or Flattery of their Ancestors be
any

any Obligation on a People, whenever God has put the Power into their Hands of breaking the Yoke, and settling themselves in a secure and lasting State of Freedom and Happiness. Princes who are already absolute, or that aim at being such, are so sensible of this natural Law of Self-preservation, and how little Right they have to oppose it, that they neither trust the Promises and Oaths of their miserable Subjects, nor the Force or Terror of their own Cittadels and Armies; but about the middle of the last Century they found out a new Devise to persuade the People by the most awful Impressions of Religion, and under no less a penalty than eternal Damnation, to a *Nonre-*
N 3 *sistance*

sistance and *Passive Obedience* to the Princes Commands of what nature soever; and that if by himself or his Orders they were attack't in their Religion, property, or very Lives, they must have Recourse to no Defence but Prayers and Tears. We may easily conjecture what must have bin our lamentable Fate, if this Doctrin had prevail'd among us; and do we not actually see the Religion of som Contrys alter'd wholly, or for the most part, by those very means? A good many of the Ministers in *France* were gain'd to Preach in this Court Dialect, to the dsarming of som, and the Discouragement of the rest of the *Protestants*. There is nothing so modish now as this Doctrin
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in *Denmark*, witness *MASIUS's* Treatise of the *Interest of Princes to support the Confession of Ausburg*, because, according to Him, it invests 'em with more power than the Principles of any other Church, tho Time was that som of our Divines wou'd never yield him this Point. Do we not see what Havock the *Electoꝛ Palatin* has made of the *Protestant Religion* in his Contry, notwithstanding that it only descended to him by the Extinction of another Line, and that the People might have bound him to what Conditions they pleas'd if they had a true sense of Liberty, or thought they might lawfully Stipulat with their Princes, and keep 'em to the Observation of the
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Compact they had made? Whenever we hear that any Prince has actually chang'd his Religion, or gives reasonable suspitions to believe he designs it, do we not immediatly give the *Protestant* Interest for lost in his Dominions; because we know the Divines must Preach passive Obedience, and that the People are kept down by an Army? Nay tis com to be such a fettl'd Affair in som parts of *Germany*, that Princes are thought to have the same Right to the Religion as to the Government of their Contry; and tis a maxim in one of their Treatys, *Cujus est Regio ejus est Religio* I have not sufficient Opportunity now to show the gradual Loss which the *Protestant* Religion has made since the
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the *Reformation*. Tis a Subject lately toucht in several Pieces. But from all of 'em, and our own Observation, we may positively conclude that the Success of the *Protestant* Religion, Politically speaking, depends on the Liberty of the several States of *Europe*: for in those Contrys where the *Inquisition* is establisht, tis next to impossible for a Man to Preach any Doctrin but what sutes the Conscience or Interest of the Prince; and so it is wherever the Government is arbitrary, which makes all such Princes sooner or later grow out of conceit with the *Protestant* Religion, because the more Knowledge any People have the more they value Liberty, which makes 'em of Course the less dispos'd
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to be Slaves. This shou'd heartily engage all Protestant Countries to preserve their Liberty if they have any, and to recover or enlarge it where they labor under arbitrary Power; because it will not only make 'em happy in their temporal Concerns, but also better preserve the Purity, as well as more increase the Members of the true Religion: for the most ridiculous, absurd, or impious Notions imaginable may be maintain'd by Dragoons, the Fire, the Gibbet, or the Rack; and indeed tis only Error that needs the help of Force to propagat it, Truth recommending it self by its own Worth and Evidence, nor can the believing or professing of it be any better than the grossest

fest Error of Education to a Man, who dos not imbrace it out of Persuasion and Conviction. Let the other places of the world but view those potent and flourishing Governments which are founded on the Liberty of the People, and think at the same Time that they have an equal Right to be and to make themselves as happy. Let the valiant, generous, and Understanding Persons among 'em consider and imitat the glorious and immortal Fame of TIMOLEON, JUNIUS BRUTUS, WILLIAM the Old Prince of *Orange*, or ANDREAS DORIA: but let 'em also remember that the Veneration which Posterity pays those Sacred Names is not grounded on their feats of Arms, wherin, tho greatly excell-

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ling, they were frequently outdone by the worst of Tyrants; but for delivering so many Thousands from miserable Servitude, and providing for the Happiness of future Generations in settling or confirming of free and equal Commonwealths. O that I had a more than *Stentorean* Voice which might reach to all the Regions of the World, and call Mankind aloud to LIBERTY! O that my words cou'd effectually rouze the Souls of those who droop or despair, and engage 'em so farr in their own Interest as resolutely to vindicate their Freedom, or nobly to perish in the Attempt; and not with Reluctance spin out their Lives, as they bear their Burdens. How much greater was the Solid Joy of FLAMI-

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NIUS than the glad Surprize of the *Grecians*, when at the *Isthmian* Games he proclaim'd all Greece to be free by the Voice of a Cryer! not transported with the Shouts and Blessings, the Garlands and Flowers, bestow'd on him by the wondring and adoring crowd; but from his inward Satisfaction of Mind for being the chosen Instrument of making so many Millions and their Posterity happy. Let the other States of *Europe* follow the worthy Example we have continually set before them in maintaining, recovering, or enlarging our Liberty. And let every *Englishman*, as well as the *English Government*, be always ready to forward and procure the Happiness of others, in the first place of our fellow *Protestants*; and

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and afterwards of the very *Papists, Heathens, or Jews: of Turks, or Persians*; nay even of the servil *French* or the now more servil *Spaniards*: for he cannot be true to the Liberty of his Contry, who is not true to the Cause of Liberty it self, by being a hearty Friend and Lover of all Mankind. But I must set Bounds to these Thoughts; and conclude with the greatest Satisfaction in having pitcht on this Subject, since his MAJESTY ended as he began, and has bin graciously Pleas'd at his Passing of the Act, to return his hearty Thanks to both Houses of Parliament for the Care they have taken to establish the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line.

FINIS.