

Months) of any Hardships impos'd upon them in it. That the Princes of the Empire, who contributed very little to the War, might have concluded their Peace upon reasonable Terms at the same Time the other Allies did; and would probably have done it, if the Emperor on his Part had been willing to sign together with them, which he is inform'd, at the Conclusion of any General Peace, has been seldom done; and particularly at the several Conventions of the Peace of *Munster*, that of *Nimeguen*, and that of *Ryswick* was not practiced. And he submits to your Lordships Consideration, whether the Emperor, having had all reasonable and equitable Satisfaction made him for his Pretensions to the Succession of the *Spanish* Monarchy, according to the Terms of the Grand Alliance, could have any just Reason to complain of the Queen's Ministers, or those of her Allies, for concluding a Peace, without insisting, on his Account, upon impossible Conditions; especially when no Provision was made, or offer'd to be made, to reimburse her Majesty any Part of those vast Sums she had already expended in Support of his Pretensions, whilst he fail'd of supplying his Quota, almost in every Part of the War, notwithstanding his new and great Acquisitions. But whether the Emperor, or any other of the Allies, had any just Ground of Complaint or not, still the said Earl presumes to insist, that it ought to have been signify'd to the Queen, who, upon such Complaint, had she found any of her Servants justly blameable, as disobeying her Orders, or misleading her by their Advice,* into unjustifiable and dishonourable Measures, might have punish'd them forthwith as their Offences deserv'd; but nothing of this kind having been done, he humbly leaves it to be consider'd by your Lordships, Whether the Silence of the Powers concern'd, doth not carry in it a strong Presumption, either that they had not real and just Ground of Complaint, in Relation to the Terms of the Peace it self, or at least did not look upon the Ministers of the Queen as any Ways liable to blame on that Account? And therefore he must again beg Leave to express to your Lordships his Concern, that he should be charg'd as a Criminal, by the Laws of this Land, for supposed Breaches of Treaties with Foreign States, which never were complained of, as such, by the States themselves, during the Life of her Majesty. He desires farther to observe to your Lordships, that wherever he is charg'd with carrying on a private and separate Negotiation, 'tis all along understood with regard only to the States of the United-Provinces, no Step that was communicated

communicated to them being censur'd upon this Account; whereas all the other Allies had, by vertue of their Treaties with the Queen, a like Right to a Communication of Councils; and her Majesty was under no Stipulations to act more in concert with any one than with all of them. He does indeed allow it to have been most agreeable to Reason; and to the Interests of State, that the Queen should act in a closer Conjunction with *Holland* than with any other of her Allies, because that next to *Great Britain*, *Holland* bore the greatest Share in the Charge of the War; but then he hopes it will be allow'd also, that the States being more interested in the Success of the War than *England*, and that *England* having submitted to a greater Share of the Burthen, in order to procure not only a fitting Security for the States, but such as brought great Advantages to them, though no Benefit to *England*, it was very reasonable for the Queen to take Care of the Interest of her own Kingdoms some other Way: And since the Advantages she demanded from the Enemy, were such as she might obtain, without any Prejudice to the States, it was as lawful for her to negotiate this Matter without communicating it originally, and in the first Rise of it to them, as it was for her and the States to concert their mutual Interests together, without the immediate and express Participation of the other Allies, which being known to be done without a Design to defeat any of the main Ends of the Alliance, was never complain'd of by any of the Confederates. And as for the Matters concerted previously with *France* for the particular Interest of *England* without the original Intervention of *Holland*, the States were so far from protesting against her Majesty's Measures, and condemning her Conduct in this Respect, that their Minister proffer'd several Times in their Name to have led the Way, in the most difficult Part of the whole Negotiation, and to have done his utmost to facilitate the Conclusion of it, provided his Masters might have a Share in the Affiento-Contract and Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, one of those Advantages which *France* had discover'd its Willingness should be allow'd previously and entirely to *England*.

These few general Observations the said Earl has thought fit to add in the Close of his Answer to the several Articles of his Impeachment, not only in his own necessary Vindication, but also in Defence of her late Majesty's Conduct in the negotiating and concluding a Peace, the perfecting of which she esteem'd as the greatest Happiness of

of her Reign. Upon review of the twenty two Articles with which he is charg'd, as he is not conscious of any Offence committed by him, with respect to any one of them, so it is with a particular Concern and Surprise that he reflects on those two, wherein he is accused of High-Treason, for endeavouring to procure *Tournay* to *France*, and so deprive the States of that intended Part of their Barrier; and for procuring *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the Duke of *Anjou*, upon his Renunciation of the Crown of *France*: Resetting himself to what he has said in his Answer to both these Articles, he here further assures your Lordships (and thinks it is sufficiently known both at home and abroad) that his Opinion and Endeavour, as Occasion offer'd, always were for *Tournay's* remaining, as it now does, to the States-General; and as to the latter, he doubts not but that what has lately happen'd in *France*, is a convincing Proof to your Lordships, and to all the World, that the Renunciation was the best Expedient that could have been propos'd towards hindring the two Kingdoms from being united under one and the same Monarch; that that Branch of the Treaty which relates to this Expedient has fully answer'd its End, and made good the Character given of it by the Queen, *that it would execute it self*; and therefore that whoever advis'd this Method of separating the two Crowns, was so far from being Guilty of any traiterous Design, that he eminently promoted the Welfare of *Great Britain*, and the Good of *Christendom*. The said Earl, with all the Assurances of an innocent Man, begs Leave to repeat, that as well in this as in all other Affairs of State, in which he had the Honour to be employ'd by her late Majesty, he ever acted according to the best of his Skill and Judgment, with sincere Desires and Intentions to serve the Publick, and without any View to his own private Advantage. As he was in several great Stations under her Majesty, he came into all of them by her own special Command, without his seeking or desiring them, and he serv'd in all with the utmost Respect, Zeal, and Faithfulness. And while he continu'd in these Stations for many Years, it was with great Wonder and Pleasure that he observ'd how her Majesty's whole Thoughts, Endeavours, and Time, were divided between her Duty to God, and her Love to her People, whose Good and Security she preferr'd always to her own Ease, and often hazarded her Health and Life it self, to procure it. He knew that the most effectual Way for any one to recommend himself to her good Opinion, was, to act upon the same Principles

Principles of Justice, and Love to his Country, that she did: And as she abhorr'd the Thoughts of any Thing burthensome or injurious to her People; so she often express'd herself with the greatest Satisfaction and Delight, when she reflected on the Advantages obtain'd by her for her own Subjects, and the Quiet and Repose she had gain'd for Europe, by that just and honourable Peace, for which, as the present Age does, so Generations to come will bless the Memory of that excellent and renowned Queen.

After the Reading of this Answer, the Lords order'd the same to be enter'd in the Books of their House; and on *Wednesday* the 7th of *September*, sent a Mess^{ge} to acquaint the Commons, that the Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer* had put in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him for High-Treason, and other High-Crimes and Misdemeanours, and to deliver to the House of Commons a true a Copy thereof. Hereupon the Commons order'd, that the said Answer be read upon *Friday* Morning next; but the same was put off till *Monday* the 12th of *September*, when, the said Answer being read accordingly, there arose a small Debate. Mr. *Walpole*, among other Things, said, 'He had not yet had Time to peruse and examine that Answer, but that he now heard it read with a great deal of Attention, and, in his Opinion, it contain'd little more than what had been suggested in Vindication of the late Measures, in a Pamphlet entitled, *the Conduct of the Allies*, and repeated over and over in the Papers call'd *the Examiner*. That the main Drift of this Answer seem'd to prove these two Assertions, 1st, That the Earl of *Oxford* had no Share in the advising and managing the Matters mention'd in the Articles against him, but that the late Queen did every Thing; and 2dly, That the late Queen was a wise, good, and pious Princess. That if the second Proposition were not better grounded than the first, the Reputation of that excellent Princess would be very precarious: But as every-body must own her to have been a good and pious Queen, so it was notorious that the Earl of *Oxford*, as prime Minister, was the chief Adviser, Promoter, and Manager, of the Matters charged upon him in the Articles: And therefore his Answer was a false and malicious Libel, laying upon his Royal Mistress the Blame of all the pernicious Measures he had led her into, against her own Honour and the Good of his Country: That he hoped the Earl's endeavouring to screen himself behind the Queen's Name, would avail him no-

' thing: That 'tis, indeed, a fundamental Maxim of our
 ' Constitution, that *Kings can do no Wrong*; but that, a
 ' the same Time, 'tis no less certain, that *Ministers of*
 ' *State are accountable for their Actions*; otherwise a Par-
 ' liament would be but an empty Name; the Commons
 ' should have no Business in that Place; and the Govern-
 ' ment would be absolute and arbitrary. That though the
 ' Earl had the Assurance to aver, that he had no Share in
 ' the Management of Affairs that were transacted while
 ' he was at the Helm, yet he pretended to justify the late
 ' Measures: And therefore, in that Respect, his Answer
 ' ought to be look'd upon as a Libel on the Proceedings of
 ' the Commons, since he endeavour'd to clear those Per-
 ' sons, who had already confess'd their Guilt by their
 ' Flight.' Mr. Shippen could not be altogether silent on
 this Occasion: He said, ' That it would not become him
 ' to defend the Earl's Answer, since, as a Member of that
 ' honourable Assembly, he was become one of his Accu-
 ' sers: But that he could not forbear wishing, that this
 ' Prosecution might be dropt, and that the House would
 ' be satisfy'd with the two late Acts of *Attainder*. That
 ' this Wish of his was the stronger, because one of the
 ' principal Reasons that induc'd the Commons to impeach
 ' the Earl of *Oxford*, subsisted no longer, the Affairs of
 ' *Europe* having receiv'd a sudden Turn from the Death of
 ' the *French King*; whereby the Renunciation of King
 ' *Philip* began to take Place, in the Advancement of the
 ' Duke of *Orleans* to the absolute Regency of *France*.' Mr.
Aislaby answer'd thereupon, ' He hop'd 'twas to little Pur-
 ' pose the Gentleman who spoke last, endeavour'd to move
 ' the Pity and Compassion of the House, and persuade
 ' them to drop this Prosecution. That this was not a pro-
 ' per Time to examine and reply to the Earl of *Oxford*'s
 ' Answer; and therefore he would content himself with
 ' saying, in general, that it was a Contexture of the
 ' Shifts, Evasions, and false Representations, contain'd in
 ' the three Parts of the *History of the White-Staff*. That as
 ' to what had been suggested, concerning the Event which
 ' seem'd to have strengthen'd the Renunciation, he did
 ' not deny, there might be something in it; which was
 ' manifest from the great Joy the well-affected to the Go-
 ' vernment had shewn, on this Occasion, and from the
 ' Mortification and Despair that appear'd in the Faces of a
 ' certain Party: But that, after all, it could not yet be
 ' ascertain'd, that the Renunciation was in Force; that
 ' there was a vast Difference between the Regency and
 ' the

the Crown; that Time only would decide that Matter; but that even supposing that, by the Concurrence of unforeseen Events, King Philip's Renunciation should, at last, take Place, yet the same would not justify the Ministers who proposed and laid it as the Foundation of the late Peace, since they with whom they treated, were so frank and so sincere as to tell them, that it could never be valid, by the fundamental Laws of France.' After some other Speeches, it was order'd, 1st, That the Answer of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, be referr'd to the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment and prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords; 2dly, That the said Committee do prepare a Replication to the said Answer: Accordingly on Friday the 16th of September, Mr. Walpole, from the Committee, reported the said Replication, which he read in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd in at the Table, where the same was read, agreed unto, and order'd to be ingross'd. Three Days after, the ingrossed Replication was read, and order'd, that the Lord Coningsby do carry the same to the Lords: Which his Lordship did accordingly. The said Replication is as follows:

The Commons Replication to the Answer of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

THE Commons have consider'd the Answer of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled; and do with Aſtoniſhment obſerve, that the ſaid Earl, inſtead of giving a reaſonable and pertinent Answer, to the juſt and heavy Charge brought againſt him, by the Commons of Great Britain, has preſum'd not only to deny his adviſing and being concern'd in any Matters of State, in the Articles charged againſt him, though confeſſed to be under an Adminiſtration, wherein he was notoriouſly the firſt Miniſter and chief Director: But has alſo joined therewith a falſe and malicious Libel, laying upon his Royal Miſtreſs the Blame of every Thing, which, by impoſing upon her, he had effected againſt her Honour, and the Good of his Country; thereby attempting to reflect upon the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, and to caſt an Odium upon their Proceedings againſt him, as tending to aſperſe the Memory of the late Queen.

But the Commons are of Opinion, that if it were poſſible to add to the heavy Load of Guilt, in which the Treasons, and o-

ther most flagitious Crimes, committed by the said Earl, have already involved him; this base and ungrateful Attempt to impute them to his Royal Mistress, must bring such a new Weight of Infamy upon him, and so justly provoke the Indignation of the Commons, that they might think themselves oblig'd to demand your Lordships immediate Justice, for this unwarranted Attempt upon the Honour of the late Queen, and the Proceedings of Parliament.

But the Commons being sensible, that the Treasons and other Crimes whereof the said Earl stands impeached, and the Necessity of bringing him to speedy and exemplary Justice, require that all Occasions of Delay should be avoided; and not doubting that your Lordships will, in due Time, vindicate the Honour of the late Queen, and of the Commons of Great Britain, and the Justice of their Proceedings; the Commons do aver their Charge against the said Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, for High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, to be true; and that the said Earl is guilty of all and singular the Articles and Charges therein respectfully contained, in such Manner as he stands impeached; and that the Commons will be ready to prove their Charge against him, at such convenient Time and Place as shall be appointed for that Purpose.

The next Day, Mr. Walpole reported from the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and to prepare Evidence against the impeached Lords, that they having, pursuant to the Order of Reference from the House, consider'd of the State and Circumstances of the Commitment of Mr. Prior, thought proper to make the following Report thereupon to the House.

That in the Perusal and Examination of the several Books and Papers referred to the Committee of Secrecy, Mr. Prior appeared, through the whole Progress of the separate and pernicious Negotiations, carried on between the Ministers of Great Britain and France, to have been principally concerned, as an Agent and Instrument of those evil and traiterous Counsellors, some of which are already attainted, and other stands impeached of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours: And the Committee conceiving there were Matters contained in the first General Report, from which, Crimes of a very high Nature may be justly charged and imputed to the said Mr. Prior, whenever the House should think it proper to enter into that Consideration, as likewise that Mr. Prior was able to give great Lights into all those dark and secret Transactions, when he should be called upon by the great Council

Council of the Nation, or any Committee appointed by them, to give an Account of the Negotiations in which he was concern'd as a Publick Minister: The House, upon a Motion from the Committee for that Purpose, was pleas'd to order, before the Report was made, that Mr. Prior should be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, to prevent his making his Escape, upon Notice of what was contain'd in the Report.

That this Method of confining Mr. Prior is not only agreeable to former Precedents upon the like Occasions, but necessary and essential to that great Duty and Privilege of the House of Commons, of redressing Grievances, and bringing great Offenders to Justice.

That the Committee did, sometime after, pursuant to the Powers given them by the House, proceed to examine Mr. Prior concerning several Matters, of which there can be no doubt but he was fully apprised and acquainted with; in which Examination Mr. Prior did behave himself with such Contempt of the Authority of Parliament, and prevaricate in so gross a Manner, as most justly to deserve the highest Displeasure of the House.

But finding at last, after an Examination of several Hours, that it was impossible for him to disguise or conceal some Facts that were before the Committee, he was induced to declare upon Oath some Truths, which will be very material Evidence upon the Trials of the impeached Lords.

And the Committee having Notice, that Mr. Prior had, during his first Confinement, met and conferred with the Earl of Oxford, and his nearest Relations and Dependants, which Mr. Prior confess'd to be true, thought it their Duty to move the House that Mr. Prior might be committed to closer Custody.

From this short State of the Proceedings relating to Mr. Prior, the Committee submits it to the Wisdom of the House, Whether his Behaviour has so far merited the Favour and Mercy of the House, as to make that Confinement more easy to him, which his Contempt of the Commons of Great Britain, and his notorious Prevarication, most justly brought him into? And it seems worthy of Consideration, How far it may be thought adviseable for the House of Commons to set at Liberty a Person in their Custody, and committed according to the ancient Methods and Practice of Parliament; who is a material Evidence against high Offenders, under Prosecution of the Commons of Great Britain, and who, there is great Reason to

apprehend, would immediately withdraw himself, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the Justice of the Nation?

After the Reading of this Report, the Commons order'd, that the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and to prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords, be empower'd to sit, notwithstanding any Adjournment of the House.

The other Proceedings against the Earl of Oxford, together with his Trial and Acquittal, may be seen in the Historical Register, Page 313 to 347.

Having thus taken an uninterrupted View of the Proceedings of both Houses, relating to the impeached Lords, let's now attend other concomitant Transactions.

On the 1st of September, according to the Order of the Day, for chusing by Ballotting, seven Persons to be Commissioners for putting in Execution the Bill to take, examine, state, and determine the Debts due to the Army: The Clerk and Clerk-Assistant of the House of Commons, went on each Side of the House with Glasses, to receive from the Members, the Lists of Persons Names to be the said Commissioners. The said Lists being receiv'd and brought up to the Table, a Committee was appointed immediately to inspect the same; which they did accordingly.

The next Day, Sept. 2, Mr. Yonge reported from the said Committee, that the Majority had fallen upon Thomas Smith of Glasgow, Esq; Thomas Pelham, Esq; Grey Nevil, Esq; John Plumptree, Esq; Leonard Smelt, Esq; Sir William Gordon, Bart. and Sir Thomas Palmer, Bart. After which, the Bill before mention'd being read the third Time, the Blank was fill'd up with the Commissioners Names, and other Amendments were made by the House to the Bill, which was pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

On the 3d of September, the Commons order'd a Clause to be inserted in the Bill for the enabling his Majesty to settle a Revenue for supporting the Dignity of her Royal Highness the Princess, &c. That the Annuity of 100,000*l.* per Annum, intended to be settled upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, be paid clear of all Taxes, and other Charges whatsoever: After which, the Commons, in a grand Committee, of which Mr. Secretary Stanhope was Chairman, went through the said Bill; which, on the 5th of September, was order'd to be ingross'd; and, on the 6th, pass'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, and sent up to the Lords.

The next Day, Sept. 7, the Lord William Powlet made the Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the

the Author, Printer, and Publisher of the scandalous and traitorous Libel, entitled, *The Evening Post*, from Tuesday June the 21st, to Thursday June the 23^d, which he read in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd in at the Table.

On the 8th a Bill was order'd to be brought in, For passing Accounts of Stewarts, Bayliffs, Chamberlains, or others concern'd to pass Accounts, commonly call'd Property Accounts in Scotland, as they were in Use to be pass'd before the Union.

The next Day, Sept. 9, a Complaint being made to the House of Commons of great Abuses in franking Post-Letters, tending to the lessening his Majesty's Revenue, and to the dispersing of seditious and scandalous Libels, it was order'd, *Nemine Contradicente*,

1st, That no Member of this House do presume to frank any Letter, unless the whole Supercription of such Letter be of his own Hand Writing.

2^{dly}, That no Letter directed to any Member of this House be carry'd free of the Duty of Postage, unless such Member then actually resides at the Place to which such Letter is directed.

3^{dly}, That no Member of this House do presume to frank any publick News-Papers to be sent to the Country, but such as are printed.

And resolv'd, 1st, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleas'd to give proper Directions to the severall Offices where Letters are frank'd, to prevent the Abuses in sending and receiving Letters free of the Duty of Postage.

2^{dly}, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleas'd to give Directions to the Governor General of the Post Office, to keep an Account of all such Letters as are carry'd free of the Duty of Postage.

On the 10th of September, the Commons proceeded in the further Hearing the Merits of the Election for the Borough of Minehead, in the County of Somerset, and resolv'd,

1st, That neither Sir William Wyndham, Bart. and Sir John Trevylian, Bart. Petitioners, nor John Milner, and Samuel Edwyn, Esqs. sitting Members, were duly elected Burgesses for the said Borough.

2^{dly}, That the said Election was void; and order'd, That no new Writ do issue, during this Session of Parliament, for the making out of a new Writ for the electing

Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the said Borough of Minehead.

Sept. 13. The Lords having sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and demanded of him, and of the Usher of the Black Rod, at their own Bar, whether *James Duke of Ormond*, or *Henry Viscount Bolingbroke*, had surrender'd themselves to either of them, pursuant to the limited Time given them; and being answer'd, *They had not*: Their Lordships thereupon order'd the Earl Marshal to raze out of the List of Peers, the Names and Coats of Arms of *James Duke of Ormond*, &c. and of *Henry Viscount Bolingbroke*. Inventories were also order'd to be taken of their personal Estates; and the Atchievement of the Duke of Ormond, as Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, to be taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

Sept. 21. Mr. Secretary Stanhope acquainted the Commons, That he was commanded by the King to communicate to the House, that his Majesty having just Cause to suspect, that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, Sen. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Jun. Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, are engag'd in a Design to Support the insended Invasion of this Kingdom, hath given Order for apprehending them; and his Majesty desires the Consent of this House to his causing them to be committed and detain'd, if he shall judge it necessary so to do, in Pursuance of the late Act of Parliament for empowering his Majesty to commit and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government. Hereupon it was resolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, returning the Thanks of this House for his gracious Message this Day, and for his tender Regard to the Privileges of this House; and to desire, that he will be pleas'd to give Orders for the committing and detaining the several Members nam'd in the said Message, pursuant to the Act of this Sessions of Parliament for that Purpose.

The same Day, the Lords sent a Message to acquaint the Commons, That their Lordships having address'd his Majesty, humbly to desire, that he would be pleas'd to cause Directions to be given to the proper Officers for preparing a Scaffold in *Westminster-Hall*, for the Trial of *Robert Earl of Oxford* and *Earl Mortimer*, who now stands impeach'd by this House of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, his Majesty had been graciously pleas'd

to say, He would give Directions to the proper Officers pursuant to the said Address.

The same Day likewise the King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Speaker, upon presenting the Money-Bills, made the following Speech to his Majesty :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, have now finish'd the Supplies granted to your Majesty for the Service of this present Year. Your Commons had much sooner offer'd these Supplies to your Majesty, had not their Zeal for your Majesty's Service, and the Duty they owe to their Country, led them into Enquiries which have drawn this Session to an unusual Length.

But your Commons could not see, without the utmost Indignation, the Glories of her late Majesty's Reign tarnish'd by a treacherous Cessation of Arms ; the Faith of Treaties violated ; that ancient Probity, for which the English Nation had been justly renown'd throughout all Ages, expos'd to Scorn and Contempt ; and the Trade of the Kingdom given up by insidious and precarious Treaties of Commerce, whilst the People, amused with new Worlds explor'd, were contented to see the most advantageous Branches of their Commerce in Europe lost, or betray'd.

Such was the Condition of this Kingdom, when it pleas'd the Divine Providence to call your Majesty to the Throne of your Ancestors, under whose auspicious Reign your Commons with Pleasure behold the Glories of the Plantagenets (your Majesty's Royal Ancestors) revive ; and have an unbounded Prospect of the Continuance of this Happiness, even to the latest Posterity, in a Race of Princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing might be wanting on the Part of your Commons, to establish your Majesty's Throne on solid and lasting Foundations, they have apply'd themselves, with unweary'd Diligence, to vindicate the Honour of the British Nation, and to restore a mutual Confidence between this Kingdom, and its ancient and faithful Allies, by detecting the Authors of these pernicious Counsels, and the Actors in these treacherous Designs, in order to bring them to Justice, by the Judgment of their Peers, according to the Law of the Land, and the Usage of Parliament.

It was not to be expected, but that the Enemies to the Nation's Peace, would use their utmost Endeavours to obstruct your Commons in these Enquiries; but despairing of any Success in the Representative Body of the Kingdom, they fomented Tumults among the Dregs of the People at Home, and spirited up the Pretender to an Invasion from Abroad. This gave your faithful Commons fresh Opportunities of shewing their Affection to your Majesty's Person, and their Fidelity to your Government, by their unanimous Concurrence in granting such Supplies as were sufficient to disappoint the one, and by their passing such Laws as were necessary to suppress the other; and, in every Respect, to express their Abhorrence of a Popish Pretender, concerning whom, nothing remains unsuspected, but his Bigottry to Superstition, and his Hatred to our Holy Religion; for the Advancement of which your Majesty has express'd your pious Care, by recommending to your Commons the providing a Maintenance for the Ministers who are to officiate in the new Churches. This your Commons readily comply'd with, trusting, that the Prayers there offer'd to the Almighty, will bring down a Blessing on all your Majesty's Undertakings; and not doubting, but that the Doctrines there taught, will be a Means to secure the Quiet of your Kingdoms, and the Obedience of your People.

The Revenue set apart for the Uses of the Civil Government, your Commons found so much intangled with Mortgages and Anticipations, that what remain'd, was far from being sufficient to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown: This your Commons took into serious Consideration, and being truly sensible, that on your Majesty's Greatness the Happiness of your Subjects entirely depends, they have put the Civil Revenues into the same State, in which they were granted to your Majesty's glorious Predecessor, King William, of immortal Memory; and thereby enabled your Majesty to make an ample Provision for the Prince of Wales, whose heroick Virtues are the best Security of your Majesty's Throne, as his other personal Endowments are the Joy of all your faithful Subjects.

I should but ill discharge the Trust reposed in me by the Commons, did I not lay before your Majesty, with what Cheerfulness they receiv'd your Majesty's gracious Intentions for her Royal Highness the Princess; and with how much Readiness and Unanimity they enabled your Majesty to settle a Revenue suitable to the Dignity of a Princess, whose Piety, and steady Adherence to the Protestant Religion, is the Glory of the present Age, and will be the Admiration of all future Generations.

May

May it please your Majesty,

The Bills which the Commons have prepar'd to compleat the Supplies for this Year's Service, and for the other Purposes I have mention'd, are severally entitl'd,

1. An Act to enable his Majesty to settle a Revenue for supporting the Dignity of her Royal Highness, &c.

2. An Act for enlarging the Capital Stock and yearly Fund of the South-Sea Company, &c.

3. An Act for making Provision for the Ministers of the fifty new Churches, &c.

Which they with all Humility now present to your Majesty for your Royal Assent.

After this, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the three Acts before mention'd, as also to

4. An Act to prevent Disturbances by Seamen and others, and to preserve the Stores belonging to his Majesty's Navy Royal; and also for explaining an Act for the better preventing the Embezzlements of his Majesty's Stores of War; and for preventing Cheats, Frauds, and Abuses, in paying Seamen's Wages; and for reviving and continuing an Act for the more effectual suppressing of Piracy.

5. An Act for appointing Commissioners to take, examine, and state the Debts due to the Army.

6. An Act for taking and stating the Debts due and growing due to Scotland, by Way of Equivalent, in the Terms of the Union, and for Relief of the Creditors of the Publick in Scotland, and the Commissioners of the Equivalent.

7. An Act for continuing several Laws therein mention'd, relating to Coals, Hemp, and Flax, Irish and Scotch Linen, and the Assize of Bread; and for giving Power to adjourn the Quarter Sessions for the County of Anglesea, for the Purposes therein mention'd.

8. An Act for repealing an Act, entitl'd, An Act for repealing Part of an Act pass'd in the Parliament of Scotland, entitl'd, An Act for discharging the Tule Vacance.

9. An Act for allowing a Time for two hundred and thirteen Families of Protestant Palatines, now settled in Ireland, to take the Oaths, in order to entitle them to all the Benefits intended them by the Act pass'd in the 7th Year of her late Majesty's Reign for naturalizing foreign Protestants.

And to nine private Acts.

Then

Then his Majesty was pleas'd to declare from the Throne, that he had order'd the Lord Chancellor to deliver his Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, in his Majesty's Name and Words, which he did accordingly, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am perswaded you are all by this Time very desirous of some Recess, and that it cannot be deferr'd longer, without great Inconvenience to your private Affairs.

But before I part with you, I must return you my most sincere Thanks for your having finish'd, with so much Wisdom and Unanimity, what I recommended to your Care; and particularly I must thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the Provision you have made, as well for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as for the other necessary Occasions of the Publick; especially for your having done it by Means so little burthensome to my People; which, I assure you, recommends the Supplies to me above any other Circumstance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The open and declar'd Rebellion, which is now actually begun in *Scotland*, must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the Hands of a Popish Pretender, of the Dangers to which we have been, and are still expos'd.

I thought it incumbent upon me, to give you the earliest Notice of the Designs of our Enemies, and I cannot sufficiently commend the Zeal and Dispatch with which you empower'd me, at a Time when the Nation was in so naked and defenceless a Condition, to make such Preparations as I should think necessary for our Security. You shall have no Reason to repent of the Trust and Confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other End than for the Protection and Welfare of my People.

It was scarce to be imagin'd, that any of my Protestant Subjects, who have known and enjoy'd the Benefits of our excellent Constitution, and have heard of the great Dangers they were wonderfully deliver'd from by the happy Revolution, should, by any Arts and Management, be drawn into Measures that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, and subject them to Popery and arbitrary Power; but such has been our Misfortune, that too many of my People have been deluded, and made

Instrumental

Instrumental to the Pretender's Designs, who had never dar'd to think of invading us, or raising a Rebellion, had he not been encourag'd by the Success his Emissaries and Adherents have already had in stirring up Riots and Tumults, and by the further Hopes they entertain of raising Insurrections in many Parts of my Kingdoms.

The endeavouring to perswade my People, that the Church of *England* is in Danger under my Government, has been the main Artifice imploy'd in carrying on this wicked and traiterous Design. This Insinuation, after the solemn Assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all Opportunities, to do every Thing that may tend to the Advantage of the Church of *England*, is both unjust and ungrateful: Nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a Calumny can make any Impression upon the Minds of my faithful Subjects, or that they can be so far misled, as to think the Church of *England* is to be secur'd by setting a Popish Pretender on the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken Duty and Affection to me, and of their Love and Zeal for the Interest of their Country, will recommend you to the good Opinion and Esteem of all who have their Religion and Liberty truly at Heart, and has laid a lasting Obligation upon me; and I question not, but by your further Assistance in the several Countries to which you are going, with the Blessing of Almighty God, who has so frequently interpos'd in Favour of this Nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the Designs of our Enemies.

Our Meeting again to do Business early in the next Winter, will be useful on many Accounts; particularly, that the sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that Season of the Year which is most convenient; and that as little Delay may be given as is possible to your judicial Proceedings; and I shall at present give such Orders to my Lord Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my Power to meet you on any sudden Occasion.

And then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command,
said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I*t is his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure, that both Houses should forthwith severally adjourn themselves to Thursday the Sixth Day of October next.*

On the 6th of *October* the Parliament being met at *Westminster*, pursuant to their last Adjournment, it was order'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, That Mr. Speaker's Speech, upon his presenting the Money-Bills to his Majesty, which pass'd the Royal Assent on the 21st of *September* last, be enter'd upon the Journals of this House. Then Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* acquainted the House, That it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Parliament should be adjourn'd for a Fortnight; and therefore desir'd that this House would adjourn itself until Thursday the 20th of *October*: Which the Commons, as well as the Lords, did accordingly. Being met again on the Day before-mention'd, the Commons order'd, That the Reverend Mr. *John Wright*, Residentiary Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of *Chichester*, be desir'd to preach before this House at *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, upon the 5th Day of *November* next, being appointed for a Day of Thanksgiving for the happy Deliverance of King *James* the First, and the three Estates of *England*, from the most traiterous and bloody intended Massacre by Gunpowder; and also for the happy Arrival of his late Majesty King *William* for the Deliverance of this Church and Nation; and that Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr. *Thomas Pelham*, and Mr. *Naylor* do acquaint him therewith. It was order'd also, That Mr. Speaker do issue out his Warrants to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out new Writs for electing several new Members, viz.

1st, A Burgess for *Lynn-Regis*, in the Room of the Right Honourable *Robert Walpole*, Esq; lately made First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.

2dly, A Knight of the Shire for the County of *Rutland*, in the Room of the Right Honourable *Daniel Finch*, Esq; commonly call'd Lord *Finch*.

3dly, A Burgess for *Wenlock* in *Shropshire*, in the Room of *Thomas Newport*, Esq; both who had accepted the Office of one of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer.

And 4thly, A Burgess for the Borough of *Petersfield* in the County of *Southampton*, in the Room of *Leonard Bilson*, Esq; deceas'd.

After this, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* acquainted the House with his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Parliament be adjourn'd until Saturday the 5th of *November* next: Upon which the Commons adjourn'd themselves to that Day.

Pursuant

Pursuant to which Adjournment the Parliament met, and it being Gunpowder Treason Day, the Commons went to the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where Mr. Wright, Prebendary of Chichester, preach'd before them; who being return'd to their House, order'd Thanks to be return'd him for his Sermon; and then, according to his Majesty's Desire, signify'd to them by Mr. Secretary Stanhope, further adjourn'd 'till Monday the 21st of November, as did also the House of Peers. On that Day both Houses met again, and, according to his Majesty's Pleasure, adjourn'd further to the 14th of December. The next Day, I mean the 22d of November, his Majesty, in Council, sign'd the following Proclamation, requiring the Attendance of the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

GEORGE R.

WHereas the two Houses of our Parliament stand adjourn'd unto Wednesday the Fourteenth Day of December next ensuing, we, with the Advice of our Privy Council, do hereby publish and declare our Pleasure, That the said Parliament shall, on the said Fourteenth Day of December next, be held and sit for the Dispatch of divers weighty and important Affairs. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and Commissioners for Shires and Boroughs of the House of Commons, are hereby requir'd and commanded to give their Attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said Fourteenth Day of December next.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 22d Day of November, 1715. And in the Second Year of our Reign.

On the 14th of December the Parliament of Great Britain being met according to the last Adjournment, the Commons order'd two new Writs to be issu'd out; one for electing a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Town of Carmarthen, in the Room of Richard Vaughan of Derwith, Esq; who, since his Election for the said Town, had accepted the Office of one of his Majesty's Justices for the Counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan; the other, for electing a Burgess for the Town of Newark upon Trent in the County of Nottingham, in the Room of the Honourable Conyers Darcy, Esq; who, since his Election for the said Town, had accepted the Office of being one of the Commissioners for executing the

the Office of Master of the Horse. It was also order'd, That *Robert Walpole, Esq;* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, *Daniel Lord Finch*, and *Sir Edward Northey*, Attorney^c General, be added to the Committee of Secrecy: The two first having been rechosen Members of the House, by Virtue of the new Writs issu'd out, upon their being made two of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and as for *Sir Edward Northey*, he was added to the Committee of Secrecy, in the Room of *Sir Richard Onslow, Bart.* who since his having accepted the Place of one of the Tellers of his Majesty's *Exchequer*, was not rechosen, but gave his Interest to his Son. It was order'd likewise, that Mr. Speaker do write circular Letters to all the Sheriffs of this Kingdom, to summon the Members in their respective Counties to attend the Service of this House upon Tuesday the 10th Day of *January* next: After which, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* acquainted the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty to this House, sign'd by his Majesty; which he deliver'd to Mr. Speaker, who read the same, and is as follows, viz.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty understanding, that many, both of the House of Lords and Commons are detain'd in the Country, as well by their private as the publick Business; and the Holidays being so near, (during which there is usually a Recess) it is his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Parliament adjourn to Monday the Ninth Day of *January* next; at which Time his Majesty intends the Parliament shall sit to do Business.

Then the House accordingly adjourn'd 'till Monday the 9th of *January* next; and the House of Lords did the same.

The Reader will find the Continuation of the Proceedings of this Parliament, in the *Historical Register*, N^o II. Page 139. And the Proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland in the Year 1715, are inserted in the *Historical Register*, N^o I. Page 63. We proceed in the next, according to the Method constantly observ'd in our subsequent Registers, to give an Account of the

Proceedings

*Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,
during the Year 1715.*

On the 4th of May the Assembly met in the great Church of St. Giles's, where a Sermon was preach'd by Mr. Mitchel, the last Moderator, according to Custom; after which, his Majesty's Commission to the Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes was read; as was likewise his Majesty's most gracious Letter to the Assembly, which was to this Effect.

Supraſcribitur, George R.

Right Reverend and Well beloved, We greet you well:

WE are ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Proofs the Church of Scotland have given of their ſteady Adherence to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in our Family; the Loyalty and Affection they have ſhewn to our Perſon and Government, and their conſtant Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt, that we very willingly countenance with our Authority this firſt Aſſembly of our Reign.

We have made choice of our right truſty and entirely beloved Couſin, John Earl of Rothes, to be our Commiſſioner, and to repreſent our Royal Perſon in this Aſſembly; believing that none can be more acceptable to you than he, who upon all Occaſions has eminently diſtinguiſh'd himſelf for the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and of the eſtabliſh'd Church of Scotland. We cheerfully embrace this Opportunity of aſſuring you, that we will inviolably maintain the Preſbyterian Church of Scotland, her Rights and Priviledges, as we engag'd to do upon our Acceſſion to the Crown, and will protect her from any illegal Inſults and Encroachments being made upon her, of what Kind ſoever.

Nothing can be more acceptable to us, than the promoting of true Piety, ſuppreſſing of Vice and Immorality, and preventing the Growth of Popery, as we have declared in our Royal Proclamation; and we doubt not but you, on your Parts, will do every thing that can contribute thereto.

We earneſtly wiſh that the vacant Churches may be ſupplied with Men of Learning and Probity; and we recommend to you to take effectual Care, on your Parts, to do every thing that may tend to ſo good and pious an End, and in all your Actings, to ſtudy Unanimity and Cha-

rity; and make our People sensible of the Blessings they enjoy, and of the bad Consequences any Kind of Division would have to the present Tranquility, as well as to their future Happiness.

We have had such satisfactory Accounts of your former good Conduct, as gives us full Confidence, that you will act in such a Manner as we shall have Reason to be satisfy'd with: So we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 23d of April, 1715.

In the first Year of our Reign. By his Majesty's Command.

Sic subscribitur Montrose.

After the Reading of this Letter his Majesty's High Commissioner address'd himself to the Assembly in the following Speech:

Right Reverend and Right Honourable,

IT must be a very agreeable Reflection to us all, when we consider the great Share which this Church has in those Advantages which have accrued to the Protestant Churches in general, by the happy and peaceful Accession of a Protestant Prince to the Throne of Great Britain; whose consummate Wisdom, Prudence, and steady Adherence to the Protestant Interest, does at once leave our Enemies without Hope, and makes us entirely satisfy'd, that our Religion and Civil Rights are thereby (under God) fully settled and secur'd. What high Value ought we to put upon this happy Settlement, when we have so fair a Prospect of its being continued to us, by a Succession of Protestant Princes descended of his Majesty's Royal Person?

It's the greatest Satisfaction to me, that I have the Honour, by his Majesty's particular Commands, to give you new Assurances in his Name, at this your first Meeting under his Reign, of his firm Resolution to protect and maintain the Presbyterian Church-Government in Scotland, and to support you in the Possession of your Rights and Privileges, against all illegal Insults and Encroachments whatsoever.

His Majesty's pious Intentions for promoting Religion and Virtue, and effectually discouraging all Prophaneness and Immorality, and his Zeal against Popery, are so conspicuous in the several Acts of his Government, and his gracious Letter to you, that I need but mention them.

from July 1714, to Jan. 1716. 131

The constant Zeal which this Church has at all Times shewn for the Protestant Succession, and whereof I myself have with great Pleasure been a Witness, as it has united your Interest to that of his Majesty, so your your steady pursuing of these same Measures, must infallibly secure you to his Royal Favour and Countenance.

I must earnestly recommend to you that Unanimity and Moderation in your Proceedings, which is so becoming and essential a Character of a Christian Church; you cannot give a better Proof to his Majesty of your entire Confidence in him, than by discouraging every thing that may tend to Division; and sure 'tis the most effectual Way to disappoint your Enemies, who would always be ready to improve it to your Hurt.

I shall believe, that my Concern and Interest in this Church are so well known to you, as I may hope ye will all chearfully concur with me in bringing this Assembly to such an Issue, as may be for the Advantage of Religion, the Credit of the Church, and his Majesty's Satisfaction.

The Assembly being by the Lord Commissioner directed to chuse a Moderator, the Choice fell on the Reverend Mr. Garstain, who immediately took the Chair, and made the following Answer to his Grace's Speech :

May it please your Grace,

THe great Things that the God of Heaven hath done since the Meeting of the last general Assembly of this Church, for preserving and securing our holy Religion and valuable Civil Liberties, which ought to be our dearest Concerns, as we are Men and Christians, are of so surprizing a Nature, that they may force an Acknowledgment of Divine Providence, even from those that deny it, and cannot but raise Admiration in those who believe and reverence it.

That the Protestant Successor, upon the Demise of our late Sovereign Queen Anne, should be brought to the Possession of that Throne, to which he alone had the just and undoubted Title; and that those who were inveterate Enemies to his Right, and devoted Friends to the Interest of a Popish Pretender, should not dare to make the least Opposition thereunto, is plainly the Work of him who doeth in the Kingdoms of Heaven and of Earth what pleaseth him.

When we consider the Misery and Confusion that these Nations must have been involved in, and that Popery and Slavery would have been their Plagues, had the Wishes and Designs

signs of the Enemies to the Protestant Succession taken Effect; we cannot but magnify the Divine Wisdom and Goodness, in giving us with so much Tranquillity so happy a Settlement as now we enjoy, under the Great King George, whose steady Adherence to the Protestant Interest, whose Zeal for the Liberties of Europe, whose Justice, Faithfulness to his Word, Abhorrence of Oppression, and of stretching the Royal Prerogative beyond its just Bounds, and his many other Heroick Virtues, are bright Ornaments to the Crown he is rightly possess'd of.

As this great Blessing was that which some former Assemblies did earnestly recommend to all the Members of this Church to be earnest in their Prayers to God for; so 'tis not to be doubted, but 'tis with a peculiar Satisfaction and Joy, that this venerable Meeting doth see conspicuous Proofs of the wonderful Goodness of their God in giving such surprizingly kind Returns to their Prayers; and that it will be their particular Care to manage themselves, under Divine Direction, so as it may be seen they have a just Sense of the signal Mercies of the Father of Lights, and the Duty they owe to so gracious a Sovereign as they are now blessed with.

The gracious Letter with which his Majesty hath been pleas'd to honour this Assembly, is so full of Goodness, and gives such an Assurance that nothing shall divert him from making good his Royal Word and solemn Engagements in protecting this Church in all her legal Rights and Privileges, and securing her against all tumultuary and illegal Injures, as that we may be fully at Ease as to this Matter.

There are indeed some Grievances that we groan under, to which our Sovereign alone cannot give a Redress, which yet we hope in good Time we may, through his Majesty's kind Interposition, be eased of. But as there is a Season for every Thing, in which alone 'tis beautiful; so I hope this venerable Assembly shall be so guided by the good Spirit of God, as to have a Conduct that shall be without Offence, either to God or their Sovereign; and shall give no Handle to the Enemies of our happy Settlement in Church and State, to flatter themselves with Hopes of having any Advantage either by Division among our selves, or cooling in Affection to our gracious King George.

May it please your Grace,

We cannot but with all Thankfulness acknowledge it to be a signal Proof of his Majesty's particular Favour to this Church, that he hath honour'd your Grace to represent his Royal Person in this Assembly. Your Grace's noble Birth, your Christian and

pious Education, your steady and immoveable Zeal in all Circumstances for the Protestant Succession, and your known good Affection to our establish'd Church, which was so far from being abated, that it was the more enflamed by the Opposition that was made to it by many of your Grace's Neighbours, who were possess'd with groundless Prejudices against it: These Things and many other commendable Qualities that adorn your Grace, cannot but endear your Grace to this Assembly, and possess them with such thankful Resentments of your kind Appearances for the Interest of this Church, as will influence them to have a Management that may be a Proof of the high Value they have for your Grace, and their sincere Concern for your Satisfaction; and I assure your Grace it shall be my Endeavour, in my Station, to contribute what I can to its being thus.

After this, the Assembly appointed several Committees: One for preparing an Answer to his Majesty's most gracious Letter; one for receiving Overtures; one for Bills of References and Appeals; and another for revising the Commissions to the Members of this general Assembly, for censuring Absence, and for taking Lists of Probationers for the holy Ministry, and Students of Divinity.

The Assembly spent the second Day of their Meeting wholly in praying to God Almighty, for his Blessing on their Proceedings; and the next Day, after they had named a Committee to revise the Proceedings of the late Commission, and another for examining the Books of the several Synods; the Committee appointed to draw up an Answer to his Majesty's most gracious Letter, reported the same as follows:

May it please your Majesty,

IT was with a particular Joy and Satisfaction, that we received the gracious Letter with which your Majesty was pleas'd to honour us. We esteem'd your peaceable Accession to the Throne of these Nations, upon the Demise of our late Sovereign Queen Anne, so great a Blessing, that we were servent in our Prayers to God for it, and we can never be thankful enough for the merciful Return he hath given to our Requests: For it is to your Majesty, under God, we owe the Preservation both of our holy Religion, and our valuable Civil Liberties; and we must have been Betrayers of both, if we had not been zealously concern'd for the Succession in your Royal Family. And tho' your Majesty, in your great Goodness, is pleas'd to express a

Kind Resentment of our firm Adherence to it, yet we presume not to plead Merit upon the Account of that to which both Duty and Interest did oblige us: But your Majesty's Countenancing us with your Authority, gives us no small Comfort, and engageth us to thankful Acknowledgments of your Royal Favour to us, and to be concern'd to manage our selves so, as not to lose the Happiness of the good Opinion your Majesty is pleas'd to have of us.

We cannot but look upon it as a signal Proof of your Majesty's Favours to us, that you honour us with such a noble Person as the Earl of *Rothes*, to represent your Majesty in our Assembly: None cou'd have been more acceptable to us than he, who in all Turns and Changes of Affairs, did, with a peculiar Zeal, stand up for the Protestant Succession, as the true Interest of his Country, and who was never either afraid, or ashamed to manifest his unbiass'd Affection to our Church; and we hope that there shall be nothing in our Management that shall give him the least Uneasiness, in the Discharge of the Duties of his high Trust.

The solemn Engagement your Majesty did sincerely come under, at your first Accession to the Crown, to maintain inviolably the Rights and Privileges of the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*, of which you have the Goodness to give us renew'd Assurances, as also of protecting us against all illegal Infringe and Encroachments being made upon us, of what Kind soever, leaves us no Place for Doubts and Fears, as to any Success that our Enemies may have in their Designs against us, under your Majesty's happy Government, and obligeth us to all the Returns of Gratitude and Duty that we are capable of.

Your Majesty's pious Concern for suppressing Vice and Immorality, and preventing the Growth of Popery, cannot but endear your Royal Person and Government to all truly wise and good Men, and we hope shall bring down Blessings from Heaven, upon your Majesty and Royal Family, and prevent Judgments from God upon your People; and we have good Grounds to be assur'd, that under your Majesty's auspicious Reign, such shall be employ'd as shall faithfully execute the Laws against Popery, and all such Practices as are a Stain to the Christian Profession, and against which, your Majesty hath signify'd your Displeasure in your Royal Proclamation.

We are deeply sensible of the Necessity of a holy and well-qualify'd Ministry for advancing the great Ends of the Gospel of our Redeemer, and that prophane Churchmen are one of the greatest Plagues that either a Church or Civil Society can have; and we shall not be wanting in using our utmost Endeavours to answer what your Majesty can expect of us in our present Circumstances as to this Matter.

We should be unworthy of your Majesty's Favour, if we had not a dutiful Regard to what you are in your great Goodness pleased so kindly to recommend to us, even with Respect to our own Interest, as to Charity and Unanimity. We are, Sir, very sensible that it must be a great Unhappiness, especially to religious Societies, to be plagued with Divisions, and therefore we look upon our selves as under peculiar Obligations to be aware of them: And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that as we have unanimously, at all Times, witnessed our hearty Zeal and Affection for the Protestant Succession in your Royal Family; so it is our firm Resolution, to testify, by all Methods proper to be taken by us, the Sense that we have of the wonderful Goodness of God in Blessing us with so good and so wise a Sovereign, and to possess all under our Charge with just Impressions of the Mercy of the over-ruling God, in bringing your Majesty to the Throne, which hath confounded the Hopes of the Enemies to the true Interest of these Nations, and given a comfortable Prospect of great Advantages to the Protestant Churches at home and abroad: And it shall be our Care, to manage our selves so in all our Proceedings in this Assembly, as it may appear, that, next to our Duty to God, it is our sincere Desire to approve our selves to your Majesty, in bringing this Assembly to such an Issue as shall shew our hearty Concern for the Honour and Quiet of your Government.

That your Majesty may be always under Divine Protection and Conduct, and may be long preserved for the Defence of the true Protestant Religion, the Welfare and Prosperity of all your Dominions, and of this Church in particular; that their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and their Royal Issue, and all your Royal Family, may be highly favoured of God, and long preserv'd for Publick Blessings in the World, and that there never may be wanting one of your Royal Progeny to sway the Scepter of these Nations, and that all Designs against our happy Settlement under your Majesty, the Peace of your Government, and the Security of the

Protestant Succession in your Royal Line may be brought to nought, is and shall be the constant and fervent Prayers of,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most faithful,
Most obedient, and most
loyal Subjects,
*The Ministers and Elders met in
this General Assembly of the
Church of Scotland.*

Edinburgh, 6th of
May, 1715.

Signed in our Presence, in our
Name, and at our Appointment,
by, *sic subscribitur*, Will. Carstairs,
Moderator.

This Answer having been unanimously approved, was presented to the High Commissioner to be transmitted to his Majesty; after which, three Letters directed to the Moderator, were deliver'd to him, viz. one from the Synod of Perth, another from Sterling, and another from Fife, containing a Representation of the Hardships that had been put on the Church of Scotland by the late Acts of Toleration, Patronage, Yule-Vacance, &c. and desiring the Assembly to address the King, that he would be pleas'd to procure the Repeal of those Acts, as also an Act to rectify the Abjuration Oath; and to vest the Kirk with the sole Power of ordaining and appointing Fasts and Thanksgivings. The Moderator having, privately, look'd over these Letters, and judging that such extravagant Demands could never be obtain'd, would fain have lain them aside; but some Members, who took Notice of the Delivery of the Letters, and knew already the Contents of them, mov'd that they might be read to the Assembly: However, after a Dispute that lasted near four Hours, it was carry'd that they should not be read, but referr'd to the Committee of Overtures, who should report the same to the Assembly.

The next Day, the Assembly took into Consideration the Affair of Mr. Simpson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, who was charged by Mr. Webster, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, with Socinianism, Arminianism, and with teaching many Heretical Opinions, particularly, that the Dam'd in Hell cannot Sin; that the Children of unbelieving Parents may be saved without Baptism, and the like. And after some Debate, that Controversy was referr'd

referr'd to the Committee of Overtures. The same Day, the Assembly heard the Report of the Committee for considering the Commissions to the Members of the Assembly, which were all approved.

Mr. James Maitland, Minister of Innerkerchie, and his Brother, Mr. John Maitland, Minister of Forgan, having been suspended by the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen, for not observing the 25th of January last, as the Day of Thanksgiving for his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, and for not praying for his Majesty by Name, they did appeal from the said Synod to the General Assembly, who having consider'd the Appeal, and the Reasons alledg'd for and against it, did on Monday the 9th of May, by an unanimous Vote, approve the Synod's Proceeding in that Matter; and the two said Ministers refusing to answer any Questions for removing the Suspicion they lay under of Disaffection to his Majesty, the General Assembly did by another Vote, depose them *simpliciter* from the Office of the Ministry, and appointed their Churches to be declared vacant.

The same Day, the Committee of Overtures, came to a Resolution, that the Affair of Mr. Webster and Mr. Simpson should be referr'd to a select Committee of thirty six Members, who should examine the Matter, and report the same to the next General Assembly. The next Day, the Assembly did nothing material; and only translated a Minister from one Place near Dundee to another.

All this while, the Jacobites and other disaffected Persons, were not wanting in their Endeavours to sow Discord among the Members of the General Assembly. In order thereto, they publish'd and dispersed several Libels; and among the rest the following Letter from a Scots Member of Parliament at London, to a ruling Elder of the General Assembly.

SIR,

I Had the Favour of yours from Edinburgh, with an inclosed Copy of the Memorial for the Church of Scotland, by the Commissioners of the late General Assembly.

I think, Sir, the Points offer'd in that Memorial are all very modest, just and necessary. The Toleration granted to the Episcopal Dissenters is (as you very well term it) boundless, and the taking away of the Patronage is against the Liberties of a Christian People.

No Man is more sensible than I am, of the Encroachments made by those Masters upon the Settlement of our Church, so
unalterably

unalterably secured to us by the Articles of Union; and no Doubt, in this our united State, we of the Church of Scotland shall have a very constant and unequal Struggle with the Power of the Church of England, so far predominant in a British Parliament.

I am afraid we shall not easily get these Matters repair'd in an open Way, and therefore we must move with more than ordinary Caution, especially at this Time, when our Enemies, the Jacobites, are ready to catch all Opportunities of doing us Mischief, by prompting us to give Uneasiness to the Government; and I wish some of their hellish Craft has not made its Way at present amongst some well-meaning Men amongst you, to tempt you to push on a Matter of this kind, which though just in itself, may perhaps be very unseasonable, in the same Manner, and with the same pernicious Views as they promote a National Address for dissolving the Union.

You may remember, Sir, what I wrote against that Address, in a Paper entitled, Circular Letter against addressing against the Union with the Jacobites. I now earnestly recommend to you, and all our honest Friends, the perusal of that and some other Papers written at that Time, and there, no doubt, you will observe, that the same Objections which we raised against those Addresses at that Time, are still in Being against your moving at this Time in the Matters contained in the Memorial you sent me, as will appear by drawing the Parallel betwixt that Case and this.

At that Time the Grievances mentioned in these Addresses affected the whole Body of the Scots Nation; at this Time the Grievances mentioned in your Memorial affect a great Part of the Nation.

You will observe, that in those mentioned Papers we told the Nation, that though their Addresses were in dutiful Terms, praying a Redress of these insupportable Grievances, yet it was not now the proper Season; that their addressing was a Jacobite Plot, contrived to disturb the Government, and to straiten the King and his Ministry with Addresses; and if you should now address the King and Parliament, what should hinder the People to return our own Argument upon us, and what Defence can we make for forbidding our People to sign these Addresses in so National a Concern?

At that Time we told our honest Friends, that the King and his Ministers should not be disturbed with Addresses for repairing of Grievances; until first the King's Title were recognized, and some new Laws made, for the farther Security of the Protestant Succession. The same Objection stands good at this Time against your Memorial, and indeed, I apprehend, ever will;

for

for to be plain, the Succession seems to want no farther Security of new Laws; and if we should now move in such Matter as you point at, the Nation would open their Mouths against us, and would say, our Practices betray our Principles.

Besides, Sir, I must acknowledge, that the Protestant Succession being now effectually secured by his Majesty's happy Accession, the People of England seem very easy about the Dissolution of the Union; and according to my best Observation, the Tories, as one Man, and not a few of the Whigs, are desirous to have it dissolved.

But here, perhaps, you will say, that seeing, on the one Hand, we shall have a very hard Labour in obtaining a Redress of these Grievances of our Kirk in a British Parliament, where the Church of England Party may chance to be alarmed, and may obstruct our Demands; and that, on the other Hand, we may have a more easy Prospect of obtaining the Dissolution of the Union, our Enemies will reproach us for obstructing so favourable an Opportunity of having all our Misfortunes cured at once; that if we are restored to the same State we were in before the Union both in Church and State, (the Settlement of the Succession being only excepted and preserv'd) in that Case, all the Grievances mentioned in your Memorial, with a great many others, are struck off at once. That therefore, it were more to our Honour and Interest to repent in Time, and to concur with these National Addresses for dissolving the Union.

As to this, Sir, it's true we lie under some small Difficulties, and perhaps Reproach in this Point. But in the first Place, tho' I confess the Facts freely to you as a Friend, yet we are by no Means to own them to our Enemies; we must deny the Possibility of obtaining a Dissolution of the Union, and if we the Scots Members stand firm, I can promise, it shall not be dissolved; nay, rather than fail, you must preach up, that the Union is a good Thing, that we shall amuse the English, and get it made better; you know we have a gracious Protestant Prince of consummate Wisdom, who gives every Man his own, and therefore he must not be disquieted by begging Addresses of any kind; that we have a faithful self-denying Ministry, who regard neither Place nor Pension; that they have nothing in their View but the true Interest of the Constitution both in Church and State; that we need only whisper to them our Grievances, and we shall be sure of a Remedy in due Time; that we cannot be safe in joining with the Tories, even in the best of Things; that we ought not to desire any Thing where the Jacobites can share in the Benefit. These Jacobites join with these Egyptians: No, Lies are their Refuge, Deceit is in their Lips, Villany in their Designs; be sure to oppose all Manner of Addresses (even in the

the General Assembly) which point at redressing of Grievances, except in most general Terms, otherwise they may prove unreasonable. Be constant and fervent in Prayer, and leave the Event to kind Providence, our gracious Sovereign, and disinterested Ministry. This, Sir, is the most sincere Advice of,

Sir, &c.

P. S. We may read our Fate very plainly by the Disappointment our Friends the Presbyterians, and other Dissenters in England, are like to meet with. They promised themselves from this honest Parliament, where we have so great a Majority, a great many Redresses, and no small Encouragement; but when they address their best Friends in Parliament to execute their Promises, all the Answer they get is, That it is not now seasonable; That the Church of England must not be alarmed at this Time; it is not unlikely indeed that we may get the Term of the Christmas Vacance somewhat abridged in Scotland, but I fear we shall not get it quite taken away.

At the same Time, there was publish'd at Edinburgh, the following Discourse of the Necessity and Seasonableness of a unanimous Address for dissolving the Union.

WHEN now, after a long Train of Mismanagements in the Publick Councils of State, which were like to have sunk the Protestant Interest, endanger'd the Succession in the Illustrious House of *Stuart*, and ruined the Liberty, Trade, and Publick Credit of Britain; to have brought in a Popish Pretender, a Creature of France, to rule over us; and to have either subjected us an irretrievable Condition of Slavery, or made the Kingdoms a Field of Blood, by a Civil War: When, I say, after all these Mal-administrations, we are, in the unspeakable Goodness of God, in a great Measure emerg'd out of that imminent Danger, and by his Majesty's happy and peaceable Accession to the Throne, have our Religious and Civil Rights secured from these impious Attempts of a Popish Jacobite Faction: No Man that was then touched with any just Concern for the sinking Condition of these valuable Interests, but now begins to have a more pleasing Relish of true Liberty, and in his proper Capacity, to enquire how the Blessing may be both more largely diffused among us, and more firmly established and continued to Posterity.

Several convincing Instances of this Temper have very appeared, both here and in England, among Persons of all Ranks and Qualities, since this late happy Turn of Affairs.

fairs. The universal Joy that appeared in the Countenances and Conduct of all well-affected to the Protestant Interest upon his Majesty's Accession, in hopes of having our Religion secured, and our Grievances redressed; the Care that has been taken to elect for the present Parliament, such Men as would enquire into the late Councils and Projects that had been calculated for the Overthrow of the present happy Settlement; the Forwardness of many for setting on Foot an Address to lay before his Majesty the Grievances and Miseries we in *Scotland* groan under, on Account of the Union, and to pray that he would be graciously pleased to grant us his Royal Assistance for dissolving thereof. These and other Things of like Nature, are very encouraging Proofs, that People universally begin to have a more sensible Value for Liberty, and the Security and Settlement thereof in this Isle.

This last, is what I intend to say something about; not that there are no other Papers writ upon the same Subject, or that I pretend to do it better than 'tis done already, but to do my Part in reminding my Countrymen, in a few Words, of what I think most necessary and present Duty.

That the Union was, and still is, a Thing most destructive to the Interest of this ancient Kingdom, is what needs not many Arguments to make it evident. If one reviews but the great Number of Addresses from all Corners of the Kingdom, that crowded the last Parliament of *Scotland*, he may easily see, that this was then the Sense of the Nation; that that Treaty was violently crammed down our Throats; and that it was not any private View or Interest that so entirely engaged the whole People, of whatsoever Station, Principles or Interest, to declare against it, but a hearty Concern for their own and Country's Good.

I will not here make any Reflections on those who had the chief Hand in making the Union; I don't doubt, but many who went too easily into it, had some good Ends in View, as judging it the best, nay only Means of settling and securing the Succession in his present Majesty's Royal Family, and disappointing the Designs of *Jacobites* here, (yet I must say these good Ends might have been obtained with less Cost than the Ruin of *Scotland*;) However, now that these Views are no more to influence the Continuance of the Union, and that it is found such an insupportable Burden and Grievance to this Nation, that till we be rid of it, and restored to our former State, the

Minds

Minds of the People can never be easy, nor the Effects of his Majesty's benign Administration so sensibly felt and acquiesced in, or mutual Jealousies and Seeds of Discord removed, which in Time may produce the same or worse Effects, than what the Union was at first designed to prevent; it naturally follows, that we should betake our selves to some expedient and proper Means for having the Union dissolved, and the Nation's former Privileges re-integrated.

There has not yet, for what I know, any Measure or Concert been entered into for that End, more proper and reasonable, or that in Appearance will be more successful, than addressing his Majesty, and laying before him the Uneasiness of the Nation under it, and their universal Inclinations of being restored to their former Estate; nor can any other Way be more Dutiful towards his Majesty, or more acceptable to him, than the legal Way of humbly addressing.

A tumultuary Way of Proceeding, is what I believe no good Subject will be fond of; and as it would be unjustifiable, without the utmost Necessity, and failing of all other Means of Redress, which we have no Ground to suspect under so good a King, if it be not our own Fault; so the Event would be uncertain, and the Mischiefs certain and unavoidable.

Nulla salus Bello.

To bring in a Bill in Parliament for its Dissolution, without first laying before his Majesty the Necessity and Expediency thereof, and acquainting him with the universal Inclination of his People in this Kingdom thereanent, would be both unmannerly and preposterous, and in all Probability have the like Success as a former Attempt of that Nature, and be turned off with the like Arguments, viz. That her late Majesty having had a great Share in the making, it's fit his present Majesty be first applyed unto, for the dissolving of it. That the Union having been designed for securing the Succession in his Royal Family at first; none is more deeply interested in its Dissolution, than his Majesty and his Progeny.

It remains then, that in the first Place an Address be framed, wherein his Majesty may be informed of our Sufferings and Miseries, under that Treaty; of the unallayable Discontent and Uneasiness of the Whole of his People under it, and their pressing and earnest Desires of having it dissolved, as the only possible Way to deliver us from Ruin and Destruction, render us easy under his Majesty's just and
wise

wife Administration, and remove all these Discontents and Murmurings amongst the Subjects, which may in Time be improved, for the Interest of a Pretender, and weaken or obstruct the Peace of his Majesty's Government.

Next, that this Address be so conceived, that his Majesty's Title be therein solemnly acknowledged; and the People engaged to support it, in Opposition to all Pretenders whatsoever; and our National Church, as established in Doctrine, Worship, Presbyterian Church-Government and Discipline, be expressly and plainly asserted, and all necessary Care taken for securing thereof to us; and removing all the Invasions and Encroachments made thereupon since the late Union, and providing against the like in all Time coming, and that our Parliament and all our Civil Rights and Privileges be restored intirely, as before the Union.

An Address of this Nature and Comprehension, so contrived as to take in all the Interests both of his Majesty and Successors, and of his People's Sacred and Civil Liberties, as it cannot but be very acceptable to his Majesty, who being *Pater patriæ*, is of such remarkable Humanity, that the Groans of so many of his People cannot but touch his Royal Heart with a sensible Repentment, when he sees they are not the designing Intrigues of a Faction disaffected to his just Title, but the earnest Complaints of these who have remarkably shown the highest Regard and hearty Affection to his Majesty and the Succession in his Royal Family; so it cannot be thought that any will scruple the Subscription of it who are Friends to his Majesty and their Country; and if any who have formerly been in the Pretender's Interest shall subscribe, who should or can hinder them? Since thereby they shall plainly renounce their former Principles; or if they dissemble and secretly retain them, yet their joint Subscription of that Address can do no real Prejudice to his Majesty's Government; and the present Settlement, seeing it tends to extinguish the Hopes of the Pretender and his Friends, by removing these Seeds of Discontent, upon which alone he and they do ground their Expectations, and consequently confirms his Majesty's Government.

I shall not need to insist much longer on the Reasonableness and Expediency of addressing his Majesty; for unless People intend only to put off the Thing with some trifling Amusements; I see not what they can object against it.

If they say, we are as happy now, as we can be supposed to be without the Union; such may delude themselves with that Way of Thinking, who having enjoyed Places of Profit under the Government all the while, have not felt the miserable Effects of it; but if they take a View of the State and Circumstances of their Country, the Experience of almost all, will tell them the contrary.

They have told us, this Parliament would take Care to relieve us of the Hardships which are laid upon us in our Sacred and Civil Concerns, contrary to the Stipulations of the Union, though it be a Doubt with many, if we get Relief until we ask it; yet the easing us in some Things, takes away the Mischiefs of the Treaty itself, nor gives us Security for the future, that we shall not be further enslaved by some subsequent Parliament of Great Britain. And though the Justice of our King, and the present Parliament, should make us easy for the Present, yet we ought not to abandon the Interests of Posterity, nor entail Slavery on them for the present Ease. And the most proper Time to prevent the evil Consequences of a bad Government, is, that People bestir themselves when it's in good Hands, and the Parliament sitting. And yet we have heard of no Motion made that Way, though it's seven Weeks since the Parliament begun.

If it be said, that it's the Business of a Parliament, and therefore to what Purpose trouble his Majesty with addressing; his Majesty cannot relieve us if he would, unless the English consent. I grant it's the Parliament's Affair; but I don't see that our Addressing his Majesty tends to hinder, but rather makes Way for its being debated in Parliament. And none can deny, but as it is a Business which eminently concerns his Majesty, considering his Interest in, and tender Concern he was for the Good and Welfare of so great a Body of his loyal Subjects; so the Matter may succeed the better in Parliament, if we first satisfy his Majesty, that what we demand does not weaken his Right and Title, is but doing Justice to Scotland, and may prevent further Mischiefs both to England and us.

Nay, it is not improbable, the English, at least a good Part of them, would not stick much to give their Consent to such a Dissolution, when they see us unanimous and earnest for it; for whatever Gain some few of them may have by the Bargain; sure I am, the Advantage that Nation has, is not equally sensible to them, as our Loss to us. But if we shall postpone the Publick Good of our Country to our own private Views, and be indifferent or divided