

Report of a Conference
the Succession to the
English & German dominions.

9
1737

An Account of what passed in a Conference concerning a Proposal contained in a Paper herunto annexed for establishing by Act of Parliament that in y^e Succession to y^e Crown, the male Descendants of His Majesty should in all cases be preferable to y^e Females & yf y^e Princes his Descendants not yet born, should not hold y^e Kingdom of Great Britain & his Majesty's Dominions in Germany together, in case of a Younger Brother or other male of a collaterall line, who might hold those Dominions in Germany, but yf those Dominions in such case should go to such Younger Brother or other male aforesd & his male Descendants.

The Particulars are more fully stated in y^e said annexed Paper.

The Proposall appearing to be his Majesty's wish was received & considered wth an earnest desire to find out proper ways to bring it to effect, but with a persuasion yf his Majesty expected, yf in de= liberating thereupon there should appear any Inconvenience likely to arise from y^e thing it self, or Difficultyes or Dangers in y^e methods of making it effectuell, y^e same should be faithfully represented to him for his Majesty's finall resolution thereupon.

The first part, w^{ch} related to ~~invention~~ y^e descent of y^e Crown of Great Britain to y^e males preferably to the females, is a matter so intrinically in his Majesty's Power with y^e consent of his two Houses of Parliament, & so agree= able to y^e known course of Descents here in other cases, yf there appeared no Difficulty, with relation to y^e method of effecting it, which is plain easy & effectuell by Act of Parliament

nor to y^e expediency, if His Majesty, should judge it to be right, & resolve to have it so.

But y^e later part, relating to y^e Separation of y^e Electorate & other Dominions in Germany, from y^e Kingdom of Great Britain, took up more time.

Two Points seemed to require Consideration 1. The Expediency, of y^e thing & y^e Advantages or Disadvantages attending it, & 2. The Method of effecting it.

The 1st is y^e principall, & foundation of all. For if no Advantage would flow from it sufficient to overballance y^e Difficulties & Dangers w^{ch} may stand in y^e way, (if any such there be.) probably it might not be thought worth while to attempt so great an alteration in y^e course of y^e Succession as this might make. And on y^e other hand if y^e Advantages were great, all Ways ought to be considered w^{ch} it might (if possible) be effectually, & securely done.

But yet y^e Discourse dwell^d little upon that Point because it is what is so perfectly w^{ch}in His Majesty's own Knowledge, y^t he will be able to form y^e best Judgment of it himself.

So y^e Discourse turned principally upon y^e 2^d point. The Method of effecting it, & began w^{ch} y^e present Laws of y^e Succession to y^e Kingdom & to y^e Electorate.

As neither of us was sufficiently acquainted with y^e Laws of y^e Empire, y^e Discourse as to them was very lame & proceeded upon Suppositions which possibly might be mistakes.

It was supposed, y^t y^e Electorate is descendible to y^e Males exclusive of y^e Females, & to y^e eldest Son & his male Descendants preferably to y^e Younger, & his Descendants, That y^e eldest Son may after his ffather's death renounce for himself & his Descend^{ts} in favour of his Younger Brother & his male Descend^{ts}. That nothing can give a Younger Son & his male Descend^{ts} any right or title to y^e Succession, but y^e renunciation of y^e Elder in his favour. And since the pres^t Proposall is, y^t y^e Younger Son shall have y^e Electorate & y^t this be established by Act of Parliam^t. it was supposed, y^t no new Law to alter y^e Succession to y^e Electorate can be obtained in y^e Empire w^{ch}out great Difficulty, ffor if there can, that would seem to be y^e most naturall & y^e most effectual way.

However it was supposed to be certain yt^e y^e right of Suc:
cession to any of y^e Parts of y^e Empire, cannot be altered
by any Act of Parliam^t of Gr Britain. And consequently
yt^e any, such Act would leave y^e Right to y^e Succession un:
altered, & in y^e state it would have been if the Act had not
been made: & therefore could affect y^e right only indirectly,
by making such limitations, with respect to y^e Crown of
Gr Britain, as should oblige y^e eldest Son to choose to give
up his right to y^e Electorate to secure his right to y^e Crown.

The Discourse therefore in y^e next place proceeded with
greater Certainty to y^e Law of Succession to y^e Crown of
Gr Brittain, which is y^e same now as y^e Law of Succession
to y^e Crown of England was before y^e Union.

By that Law y^e eldest Son succeeds preferably to the
Younger, all y^e Sons preferably to y^e Daughters, & y^e
eldest Daughter preferably to y^e Younger, & y^e Daughter
of y^e elder Son preferably to his Brother. But all
is alterable by Act of Parliam^t. And by Act of Parl^t
if y^e next in course be a Papist or married to a Papist
He or she is disabled to succeed to y^e Crown, & is considered
no otherwise than as a Person naturally dead.

And were there an Act of Parliam^t to limit the
Succession to y^e male line, y^e Course of y^e Descent of the
Crown would be just y^e same, as yt^e of y^e Electorate,
only, alterable by Act of Parliam^t.

In discoursing on y^e Law of Succession to y^e Crown,
one thing was mentioned, & thought to be of great
Importance; yt^e by our Law there is never any y^e least
Interregnum, but y^e moment y^e King or Queen dyes the
Successour is y^e same Mom^t compleatly King or Queen
& ipso facto invested with y^e whole Regall Power, & in
full Possession of y^e Throne & of y^e right to y^e Allegiance
of y^e Subjects, previous to any Ceremony, of being
crowned or proclaimed, or taking any oath or doing
any Act whatsoever.

The Act made in y^e Parliam^t of Scotland to be
preliminary to y^e Union of y^e two Kingdoms, for
securing y^e Protestant Religion & Presbyterian Church:
Governm^t in Scotland, enacts yt^e y^e Sovereign succeeding

to her Majesty & late Queen sh^d in all times coming at his
or her accession to y^e Crown, swear & subscribe to main-
tain y^e Settlement in that Act.

Upon y^e Queen's death Consideration was had of the
import of those words [at his accession to y^e Crown]
& upon maturely weighing y^e words & y^e nature of the
Case, It was thought not fit y^e his Majesty should defer
taking that Oath so long as till the Coronation when
y^e Oath relating to y^e Church of England was expressly
to be taken. Because y^e Coronation being a Ceremony in
use in Scotland, & therefore not unknown to that Parliam^t
& being y^e proper time for y^e King to give assurances to
his People to maintain their Rights, they would probably
have required it at y^e Coronation, but that they would
not let a Point which they put such a Value upon, wait
for that Ceremony, for which no time was fixed by Law,
but would have it early, & (if y^e words be taken in the
strict sence) at y^e very time of his becoming King. But
yet on y^e other hand, since by y^e Law y^e time of y^e King's
accession to y^e Crown was y^e moment of y^e Queen's death
at which time it was impossible for y^e King to take the Oath,
because it was impossible for him to have notice of it; &
our Constitution abhors an Interregnum so much y^e it
would not suffer y^e vesting of y^e Regall Power should
wait y^e taking of that Oath. It was held, y^e y^e proper
time for his Majesty to take y^e Oath, agreeably to both the
Act of Parliam^t & y^e Law of Succession would be when his
Majesty should first appear in Council, But, y^e y^e not
taking it sooner did not prevent the Regall Power from
vesting compleatly in his Majesty, & therefore his Majesty
was immediately proclaimed, y^e Governm^t administred
by y^e Lords Justices in his Majesty's name a Session of
Parliam^t held, & an Act of Parliam^t pass^d for continu-
ing y^e Revenue, before this Oath was taken, it was in y^e
first Council, many weekes after y^e Queen's death, & his
Majestyes accession to y^e Throne.

And it was observed y^e this Maxim, that there be
no Interregnum, has been esteemed here a valuable
part of our Constitution, as delivering us from those disorders
& Confusions, which naturally attend an Interregnum.

& endanger y^e Publi^k Peace & y^e rightfull Succession & expose y^e Lives & Liberties & Propertyes of y^e Subjects to Violence.

and that we have y^e greater Reason to be fond of it because y^e inestimable Blessing of his Ma^{ty}s Reign over is probably owing to it, which might have been in great danger of being wholly prevented & certainly ~~could~~ could not have taken place w^out bloodshed & the ravages of a civill war & dangerous convulsions, if his Majesty must have taken y^e Scotch Oath previous to his Accession to y^e Throne, & thereby given time to his & our Common Enemies to have concerted Measures for breaking y^e Protestant Succession before his becoming actuall King.

For in that case till y^e Oath taken, & known to be taken, none would owe him allegiance, nor could be guilty of Rebellion or High Treason against him, nor one could act in his name, nor could y^e well affected have known with certainty their duty or their Authority, or when his Ma^{ty} did become their King: they would have been uncertain what course to take, when out of all beaten paths of our Constitution, in a Wilderness without track or light; y^e disaffected at y^e same time pursuing their wicked purposes w^out feare of those Laws which guard y^e sacred Person of y^e Sovereign & his Crown & Dignity, when once he is King.

The Discourse then proceeded to y^e present Proposall. And it was observed, y^e had the Succession to y^e Dominions in Germany been under y^e Regulation of y^e King Lords & Comons of Gr Brittain in Parliamt as y^e Succession to y^e Countyes Palatine in England, & to y^e Plantations are, there would have been no difficulty in this case.

An Act of Parliamt can make any Part of Great Brittain or Ireland or y^e Dominions therunto belonging to descend to y^e second Son & his male descents, while y^e Crown is in his elder Brother or his descendants, & upon failure of either of y^e two lines, to joyn again w^oth y^e Crown in y^e other line, & separate again, when severall male branches should again exist; & in y^e case y^e second Son would have as good & clear a Right upon his ffather's Death.

6) death to y^e part so allotted him, as any subject of Great Britain has to any part of his estate of own acquisition or descended to him from his ancestors, & a like remedy at Law for y^e enjoyment of it.

We have an instance as much out of y^e Common course, in y^e case of y^e Duchy of Cornwall, which by virtue of an Act of Parliamt made in y^e time of Edward y^e 3^d in favour of Prince Edward his son called y^e Black Prince, descends to this day, to the eldest son of y^e King, whenever there is ~~one~~ a son, & when there is none, is united to y^e Crown, till there is another eldest son, & then next goes again to him.

But as was observed before, no Law made here can alter y^e Law of Succession to y^e Dominions in Germany & therefore y^e eldest son will succeed to them notwithstanding any Law which can be made here.

Consequently all y^e can be done by any Act of Parliamt here is to oblige y^e eldest son to give up his right to that Succession by certain terms & conditions annexed to y^e Crown of Great Britain.

Two methods were thought of for y^e doing this

1. One ~~to~~ to permitt y^e eldest son to succeed to y^e Crown immediately upon his fathers death according to y^e Law as it now stands, but to declare & make it a part of the Constitution, y^e he shall make a renunciation of the Electorate & other Dominions in Germany.

2. The other to require the renunciation previous to his taking y^e Crown or being King.

1. The former was first spoke of, as being most agreeable to our Constitution, & less violent, & therefore more eligible, if it will be effectual.

Some Instances were taken Notice of, of what has been done

The Act of Parliamt in y^e 12th & 13th years of King Wm w^{as} declared y^e most excellent Princess Sophia Mother of his present Majesty, to be y^e next in Succession in the Protestant line to y^e Crown, & settled y^e Crown on her Highness & y^e Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, takes notice y^e it was requisite, y^e some farther Provision should

be made for securing our Religion Laws & Liberties & therefore enacts severall particulars, ^{some} relating to the Sovereign, his Comunion wth y^e established Church, his not going abroad, his Power of pardoning Impeachments one to his Dominions abroad, y^t this Nation should not be engaged in a War for y^e defence of them, others with relation to y^e Judges, & to fforeigners, & one to Persons having Offices, to make them incapable of serving as members of y^e House of Commons. And then it declares y^e Laws to be y^e Birthright of y^e People, & yf all the Kings & Queens of this Realm, ought to administer y^e Governmt according to y^e same.

The Scotch Act above mentioned, ^{which was to be part of y^e foundation of y^e Union} requires y^e King & Sovereign at his acception to y^e Crown to swear to maintain y^e Establishmt in that Act

The English Act preliminary to y^e Union that the Sovereign at his Coronation, shall take & subscribe an oath to maintain & preserve inviolable y^e Settlement of y^e Church of England as by Law established

The Act for setting y^e Succession of y^e Crown made in y^e first year of King William & Queen Mary enacts, y^t every King shall on y^e first day of y^e meeting of y^e first Parliamt next after his coming to y^e Crown, sitting in his Throne in y^e House of Peers in y^e presence of y^e Lords & Commons therein assembled, Or at his Coronation which shall first happen make subscribe & repeat the Declaration therein mentioned ag^t Popery. And if he shall happen to be then under y^e Age of 12 years, then at his Coronation or y^e first day of y^e first Parliamt as aforesd, which shall first happen after he shall have attained y^e Age of 12 years.

A like Provision might be made in this case, enacting yf y^e King (intended to be bound thereby,) shall make & seale a solemn Renunciation of y^e Electorate &c in favour of his Younger Brother & his male descendants & do all other Acts necessary to y^e putting his Brother in full possession thereof, & this might be required to be done, at his acception to y^e Crown, or at his first

(8) Council, (ndr wd be in effect y^d something) or before his Coro-
nation, or before the first day of y^e first Parliamt next
after his coming to y^e Crown.

But then there was a doubt how far this would be
certainly effectuell.

It was observed y^t y^e Statute of y^e 1st year of King
William & 2^d Mary, w^{ch} requires making y^e Declaration
against Popery in Parliamt^r or at y^e Coronation, does not
say [at y^e first day on which a Parliamt shall sit] but
[at y^e first day on which y^e first Parliamt next after his
coming to y^e Crown shall sit] y^e is, y^e first day on
which his first NEW Parliamt shall sit.

Which is a very materiall Difference because as
y^e Law now stands, when y^e Sovereign dyes y^e Parliamt^r
if there be one, otherwise y^e last preceding Parliamt are
to immediately to meet & sit, & therefore y^e first day
of a Parliamt meeting after y^e death of y^e Sovereign,
will be y^e same day on which he dyes, at which time
no solemn Act can well be done or be ready to be done
And in y^e case of our present most gracious Sovereign,
his Majesty was at Hanover, y^e first day of y^e meeting
of y^e Queens last Parliamt, & therefore could not possibly
make y^e Declaration aforesd in y^e House of Peers y^e day:
but his Majesty did make it at y^e Coronation, which
happened before y^e first day of y^e meeting of his
first Parliamt.

The Reason of this remark was, y^t it hence appeared,
y^t there would always be a certain opportunity of re-
pealing this Law (if there should be a disposition so to do)
before y^e renunciation ^{is to be} made, & then y^e obligation to
make it it would be taken off, & y^e Provision intended
would be defeated

As upon His Majesties happy accession to y^e Throne
severall of y^e Articles in y^e Act of Settlement were repealed
particularly that w^{ch} restrained his Ma^{ty} from going
abroad, & y^t which required y^e Resolution taken in y^e
Privy Council to be signed by those who advised them,
& that, which disabled Persons having offices to sit
as Members of y^e House of Commons: all which being
restraints & clogs upon His Ma^{ty} & his Government

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not laid upon His Royall Predecessors, & not necessary for y^e
publick Welfare, were readily given up by y^e Parliamt.
tho' parts of y^e Act of Settlement.

The next Inquiry therefore was what security there
would be, yf an Act for such a Renunciation will not be
repealed, & yf a Prince in full possession of the Throne, &
having likewise an undoubted title to y^e Electorate will
give it up.

The Provisions in y^e Act of Settlement & other Acts above
mentioned, which remain unrepealed, are for securing
y^e Religion established in y^e respective parts of Great
Britain, or for Points that have y^e appearance of a
manifest advantage to y^e Subjects of Great Britain
& the Zeale of y^e People to preserve them on y^e one hand
& y^e prudent Care on y^e other hand ^{which will probably in all times be had} not to begin a
Reign with an attempt to breake in upon or weaken
their Religions or civill Rights make up together the
Security, & a reasonable one, & perhaps y^e only one,
that these will not be repealed also.

And should y^e People of Great Britain be as
fully persuaded, y^t y^e keeping y^e Dominions in Germany
together with the Kingdom of Great Britain would
be prejudiciall to this Kingdom, such Opinion would
probably secure such Act made for y^e separation of
them, from being repealed.

But it seemed a very great doubt whether they
would ~~tho' it were made~~ be of that Opinion or not,
& would be exceeding dangerous to endeavour to convince
them of it, because then they might be apt to be uneasy
at their being ever kept together, & their uneasiness
would rise higher & discover it self in more dangerous
Instances, & perhaps at nice conjunctures, in propor:
tion as y^e Inconveniencies should be represented greater
& their apprehensions of them should increase. And
then that Humour which must be relyed upon to
preserve the Law for a separation, might possibly
force on a perpetuall separation, though y^e Younger
Line should fail, and perhaps sooner than is intended.

But it seemed most probable ^{y^t} they would be pretty in-
different about ^{y^t} Separation; and if they were, it was
most likely, ^{y^t} ^{y^t} debt would be repealed, in case ^{y^t} new
King should desire it; partly by ^{y^t} persuasion of Ministers
& artfull representations of Advantages real or immaginary
to Great Britain, by keeping ^{y^t} Dominions in Germany
united to it, & partly through ^{y^t} Complaisance of both
Houses to ^{y^t} new King at his first accession in a thing
personall to himself, & in which they would at least
apprehend no prejudice to Great Britain, especially
if their former experience in severall successive
Reigns previous to this debt taking place, should have
shewed them none.

It was then a little deliberated, whether if ^{y^t} debt
should be repealed, it would not have been happier
^{y^t} it had never been paid, lest ill disposed Persons
might take occasion from ^{y^t} repeale to breed ill blood
in ^{y^t} Prince ^{y^t} Younger Brother & work him into a
Resentm^t for having been ill used, & on ^{y^t} other hand
infuse Jealousyes of him into ^{y^t} King & create a
misunderstanding in ^{y^t} Royall Family which might
have a fatall influence on ^{y^t} publick affairs.

But that soon gave way to another Consideration,
if that should come to be ^{y^t} case, ^{y^t} through the
complaisance of ^{y^t} Parliam^t, ^{y^t} continuance or
repeale of such an debt should come to depend in
a manner upon ^{y^t} Pleasure of ^{y^t} new King, what
would then remain to trust to.

Such a Law solemnly made by a Prince who
first had fixed ^{y^t} Crown in his Family notwithstanding
^{y^t} many difficulties his Maty has had to struggle
with, might indeed have some force to induce his
Descendants to submit to such & conform themselves
to such a declaration of his Royall Pleasure. And on
^{y^t} other hand a Prince of ^{y^t} strictest Honour & Justice
might possibly be led to think himself at full liberty
to repeal it.

The desire of Power is very naturall to all men, &

so far as it keeps within y^e bounds of Justice, & aims only at doing more good, it must be owned to be a noble Design & becoming a Great Prince.

It was then supposed for Argument sake, y^t a Young generous Prince newly settled on y^e throne of Great Britain & in possession of y^e Regall Power, & intitled to succeed to y^e Electorate sh^d be told, y^t there is an Act of Parliam^t requiring y^e he renounce y^e Electorate &c in favour of his Brother; but y^t at y^e same time those about him sh^d tell him y^t it was in his Power to repeal y^e Law & keep y^e Electorate &c. and, perhaps out of flattery & to recommend themselves to him by a seeming zeal for his Grandeur, perhaps honestly, from their own real Opinion of things, sh^d persuade him y^t to separate ^{those dominions from} y^e Kingdom would be a prejudice to both, y^t by keeping y^e Electorate he would be enabled to advance y^e wealth & happiness & mutuall advantages of both: if they sh^d tell him (perhaps to give their persuasions greater weight, perhaps truly) y^t y^e body of his Subjects desired to have them preserved together, y^t as to y^e Law in being, the Parliam^t of Gr Britain then had as much right to repeal it, as a former Parliam^t had to make it; y^t his Brothers pretensions subsisted merely by an Act of Parliam^t made in prejudice of his Birthright, and would cease with it: y^t his younger Brother would have no more right ^{to complain} of an Act of Parliam^t to restore his right of Primogeniture than he y^e then King had to complain of that which took it away; nay indeed y^t that Act did not take away his right, nor could affect an Inheritance in y^e Empire, & y^t his present right to y^e Electorate &c. was owned by y^e very Act which requires him to make a Renunciation of it, & by those who then pressed him to do it, y^t that his Brother has no right at present, nor can have any but what y^e Young King shall give him; y^t he is under no obligation but to act agreeably to y^e Laws of y^e Kingdom, which he will do, & keep y^e Electorate too, if y^e Act be repealed; y^t he ought indeed to have a dutyfull respect to y^e Will & Pleasure of his Royall Ancestors,

(12) but y^e good & great Prince who passed this Act did not then foresee y^e present state of Affairs, & shewing or pretending to shew materiall differences in y^e Situation of Affairs, & adding y^e had y^e state of Affaires at y^e time of passing that Act been y^e same as that young King found them, y^e Act w^d never have been thought of. And it was very much doubted whether after this, y^e young King might make any difficulty to consent to y^e Repeal of this Act, or y^e Parliam^t be backward at making their complement to him therein

There did not occur any method suffic^t to prevent the Repeale of y^e Act.

A clause to make an attempt to repeal it, High Treason, was mentioned, but at y^e same time it could not but be owned, that a method had been actually put in practise in England to break through it

One Act for setting y^e Succession of y^e Crown in y^e Reign of King Henry 8 declared his Marriage wth his first ~~Queen~~ wife Queen Katherine void, & her divorce valid, & his daughter by her illegitimate. Another declared both his marriages with his 1st & wth his 2^d Queen to be null & void & his ~~two~~ daughters by them who were afterwards Queen Mary, & Queen Elizabeth to be illegitimate & made it High Treason to go about to repeal it. The two daughters were afterwards by another Act let into the Succession by name, without repealing y^e former Act. But when Queen Mary came to y^e Crown it was thought fit to repeal so much of it as related to y^e Marriage of her mother & her own legitimacy, & y^e method taken was this. when her first Parliam^t met, an Act was passed, y^e nothing should be High Treason but what was so declared by a Law made for y^e purpose in the 25th Yeare of Edw^d 3, & then y^e Parliam^t before any thing else done was prorogued for 3 days, & the penalty being thus gone, at their meeting again y^e Act of Henry 8 was repealed, & her mother's marriage declared good & she legitimate.

yet this was ~~not~~ materall ~~for her~~ as it affected her & her mother in point of Honor, because legitimate or illegitimate if Crown was settled upon her, & therefore Queen Elizabeth never repealed that part of it which related to her own Legitimacy.

In if present ^{case} ~~case~~, where the Power of if Prince & if extent of his Dominions would be directly concerned if there should be if like inclination to a repeal, if way is chalked out already.

There was but one thing more thought of under this head; which was, to make it a forfeiture of the Crown not to renounce in a time to be fixed, & that for default of Renunciation at that time, if next in course of descent should succeed to if Crown as if the Person so making default were naturally dead.

The inconveniencies of that were ^{not} particularly considered, because it was plain if it would be liable to be defeated in like manner by a Repeal.

2. The other Method spoken of, was to require the elder of if two Princes, sons of if deceased King to make if Renunciation previous to ~~be~~ his being King, if is, to make if eldest son incapable of if Crown till he renounce if Electorate, making his renunciation a necessary preliminary to his succeeding to if Crown by providing, if when a King shall dye leaving two Sons (not yet born) if eldest, previous to his being King, or having if Regall Power vested in him, shall renounce if Electorate &c & if he refuse if younger & his male descend^{ts} shall succeed preferably to the Elder & his male descend^{ts}

But then a Question arose whether if danger attending this Method would not over ballance if Advantages of it.

The obvious objection to it was if great violation it would be of if Constitution in a very important point by not fixing if Regall Power in if Success^r if moment if

14) King dies, but leaving it under uncertainty for some time
& perhaps a long time

For it was doubtfull how long y^e uncertainty might con-
tinue.

Should y^e eldest son of y^e deceased King happen to be an
Infant of tender years, it would be many years before
he would be capable to make a renunciation, but how
many, precisely, would depend upon y^e Laws of y^e Empire
fixing y^e Age at which Acts of y^e kind may be valid, wh^{ch}
were not known to us, neither was it known what was
necessary after an Instrum^t of renunciation signed, to
make it compleat, & what power those who are to receive
it, might have to ^{delay} deferre it, upon pretence of judging
of y^e Validity of it, or of being satisfied in y^e proof
of its being rightly & fairly done, for it was thought of
great consequence not to put y^e Settlement of y^e Crown
here into y^e Power of any Prince or Council abroad
to delay it & keep it in suspense at their Pleasure.

But it was supposed y^t in all cases it must take up
some time, & it would require consideration how y^e
Government here sh^d be carryed on & who must be King
or have y^e Regall Power during that time

An absolute Interregnum would be a perfect Anarchy
w^{ch} would carry ruin with^{it} & not to be born or thought
off.

It was ~~necessary~~ therefore ~~to~~ considerd where the
Regall Power ^{might} ~~shall~~ be in that time lodged, & how y^e
Person one possessed of it, shall be obliged to part wth
it again.

It was said that whoever has it, must of course be
judge of y^e performance of y^e Conditions required
of y^e Prince y^e eldest son, & by artifice or perhaps
violence at home & intrigues abroad may delay y^e
compleat performance or however may deferre y^e
owning it, till there be strength to get y^e old Law
of Succession repealed & y^e Crown sold on him
who was intitled only to be temporary King, &
y^e rightfull heire quite excluded.

That if y^e Person pitched upon to have the Regal Power in the Interim be the younger Brother, It might be thought a Hardship to make his elder Brother his Subject by a Law, though but for a day, & might prove dangerous in y^e Event.

When our first King William, commonly called William y^e Conquerour dyed, his second Son William Rufus got possession of the Throne of England, & kept it to his death, & forced his elder Brother Robert to rest contented with the Duchy of Normandy.

If it should be lodged in any set of men, there seems no way of ascertaining who they shall be, but by taking ~~some~~ y^e great Officers for the time being or some of them.

But ~~tho~~ it would be exceeding doubtfull, whether the Prince would be more safe with them than with his Brother, & some ^{one} amongst them might have skill & power & wickedness enough to settle himself in y^e Throne. Certainly there would be lodged in them a power sufficient to do this, if they should agree to make use of it.

But if they should return their Duty to their Master's Son, & resolve to make him their Sovereign, y^e they would ^{then} act wholly in complaisance to him, & ~~as~~ they would then be the same reasons for them to labour to ingratiate themselves with him, as if at first he had been their King & they his Ministers, & if in that case they would have persuaded him to repeal the Law, in this case they would do it themselves.

In the mean time, the Hazards which would be run seemed to be frightfull, & the incertainties when one Reign should be ended, & the other begun almost insuperably great for what at present appeared.

Which last Consideration brought to mind the Preamble of that glorious Act of Settlement in the 12th & 13th of King William to which we owe our present Happiness.

16.
in having his Maty to reign over us, which represents
it to be absolutely necessary for the safety peace
& quiet of the Realm To maintain a certainty
in the Succession thereof to which the Sub-
jects may safely have recourse.

Upon recapitulation, we could not draw any
certain Conclusion from what had been discoursed
But we had this Doubt

y^a a Law for a Renunciation, after y^e eldest
Son should be King, would want inforcem^t, &
might be repealed by him

That a Law for a renunciation before his
being King, might exclude him for ever, or
overturn the Constitution, or might be repealed

That if such Law should prove too weak
to attain y^e end desired, or should be repealed
it might yet be a source of misunderstanding
& trouble & contention, & serve for a pretext for
claims & pretensions, & perhaps y^e interposition
of foreign Powers, when other Circumstances
should yield a proper Occasion.

This is the Substance of every thing which occurred to us upon this important Subject, Drawn out ~~to a length~~ for feare of not being exact, to a length which stands in need of great Indulgence

The Views may be too short, & contrivances defective, & Reasonings imperfect, as what arose upon the first consideration of this great Affair; but such as they are, in obedience to your Majesty's Commands we humbly lay them before you submitting them intirely to your Majesty, & begging your Majesty to do us & Justice to be ~~per-~~ persuaded, that upon this & all other Occasions our thoughts are & shall ever be intirely bent upon promoting every thing that yo^r Ma^{ty} shall think for your Honour & Service, with the utmost Zeal Submission & Fidelity.

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