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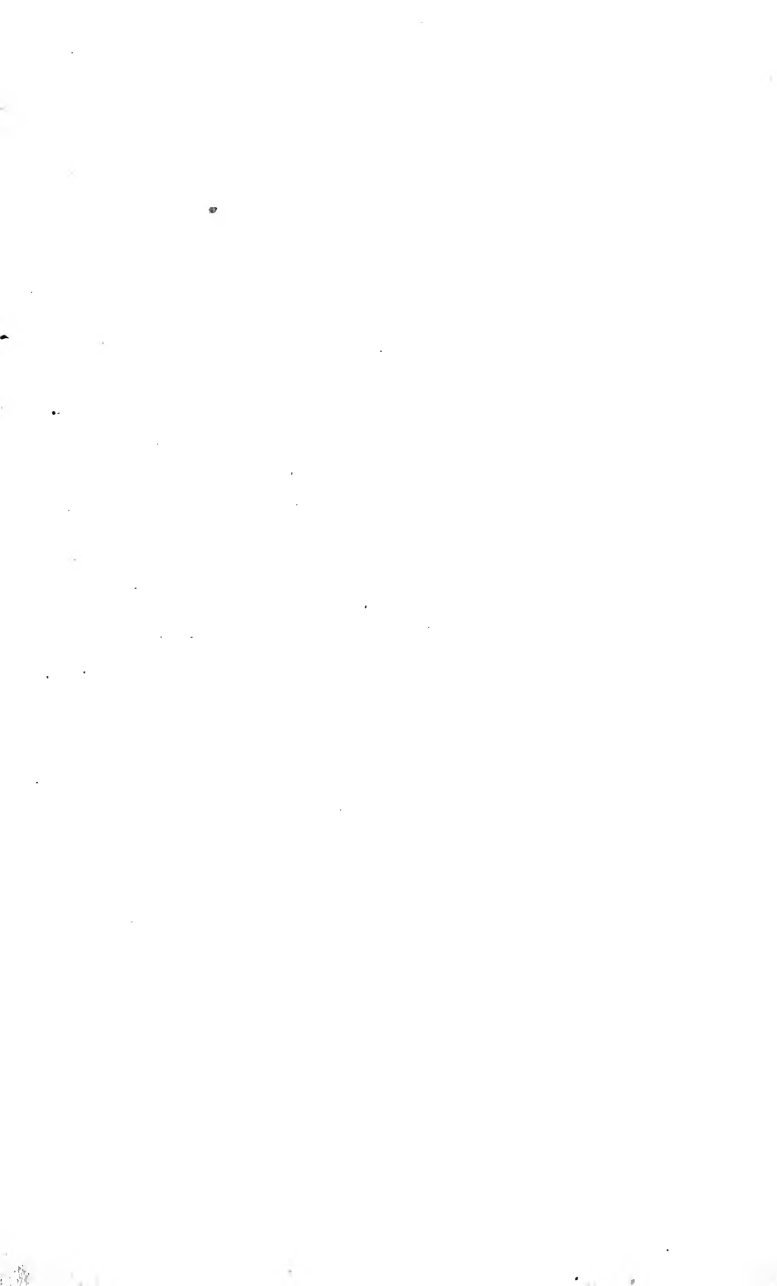
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A CRITICAL
COMMENTARY

ON

Archbishop SECKER'S LETTER

TO THE

Right Honourable HORATIO WALPOLE,

CONCERNING

BISHOPS in AMERICA.

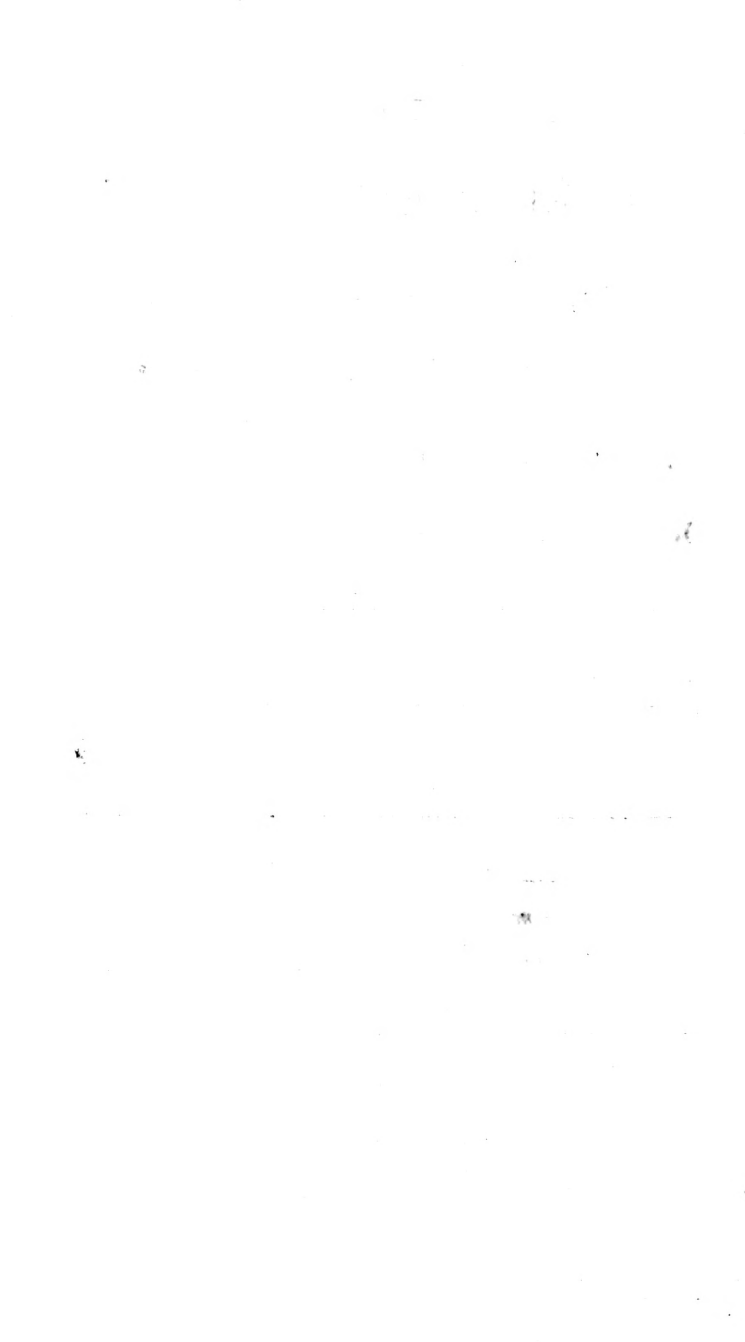
————— *Meditor esse affabilis,*
Et bene procedit.—————
Paulatim plebem primulùm facio meam.

L O N D O N :

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A CRITICAL

COMMENTARY, &c.

BEFORE we examine the contents of this remarkable Letter to Mr *Walpole*, it will be necessary to consider some circumstances relative to the occasion on which it was written, the time when, and the reason why it was published.

Archbishop *Secker*, being himself a very sincere convert from the religious errors in which he had been educated in the early part of his life, and zealously attached to that system which he afterwards embraced, appears, by many tokens, to have been solicitous to convince those whom he had left, of their dangerous delusions, and to bring as many of them as he could influence, over to the Church in which he himself had found so much satisfaction.

With these sentiments, and in this attachment to them, it is not at all surprising, that his Grace should be deeply enamoured of this project of establishing


establishing Bishops in our *American Colonies*. By some intimations in his sermon preached before *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts*, February 20, 1741^o, it appears, that the accomplishment of it had early taken possession of his Grace's affections; and from the tenor of his conduct and conversation from that time to the hour of his death, we may safely conclude, Mr *Walpole's* Letter must have been a precious morsel to him, as it gave him an opportunity of figuring on his favourite subject before a minister of state.

Mr *Walpole's* Letter, we are informed by an Advertisement prefixed to the Bishop's, was written in the year 1750, to the late Dr *Sherlock* then Bishop of *London*. It does not appear that Bishop *Sherlock* gave any answer to it, either by word or writing. Bishop *Secker* indeed *supposes*, "that if
 " my Lord of *London* had ever conversed with
 " Mr *Walpole* on the subject, since he received
 " Mr *Walpole's* Letter, he had *doubtless* said every
 " thing material by way of reply;" yet nothing of this sort appears, and as nothing in writing by way of answer from Dr *Sherlock* to Mr *Walpole* was known to Dr *Secker**, the more probable supposition is, that Bishop *Sherlock*, convinced by Mr *Walpole's* Letter of the danger, the folly, or at least of the inexpediency of the project, made no reply at all.

But

* See his Letter, p. 1.

But the moment it is communicated to Dr *Secker*, he eagerly seizes the opportunity, and attempts to answer the Statesman's objections; very little, one would think, to that Gentleman's satisfaction, who from the beginning of the year 1751, to the day of his death, seems to have let this Letter lie quietly by him, as other schemes might do with other ministers of state, who should be in no disposition to be amused with the visionary proposals of weak or designing projectors.

But since his Grace's executors, in compliance with his *fiat* of *May 25, 1759*, have thought fit to revive this Letter, may we not ask, What is become of Mr *Walpole's* Letter to Bishop *Sherlock*? That Dr *Secker*, and consequently his executors, had it in their power to publish Mr *Walpole's* Letter, is very probable. If any circumstances made it either impracticable or improper to publish that Letter, candor and common justice required, that this answer  it should have been suppressed for the same length of time. If the public had any claim upon Archbishop *Secker* for his sentiments concerning *American* Bishops, they had likewise a right to the whole process which drew those sentiments from him. Mr *Walpole's* Letter might have objections in it, which Archbishop *Secker* did not think proper to touch, and his Grace could not be uninformed, that to publish answers to treatises, which they who should

judge between the parties have no possible means of consulting, has always been a standing and a very reasonable prejudice against the fairness and impartiality of the answerers.

As Mr *Walpole's* Letter is thus withheld, we can only conjecture, that it might be occasioned by some previous conversation between himself and the Bishop of *London*, concerning Bishops in *America*. It is very unlikely Mr *Walpole* should begin the subject. Ministers of state were *then* said to be particularly cautious of giving offence to the Colonists, and these, they could not but know, had no predilection for Episcopacy. The Colonists, on the other hand, who were members of the Church of *England*, were more especially within the Bishop of *London's* episcopal department. It was therefore natural enough for his Lordship to propose an improvement of *their* religious condition. It was his peculiar business to remove, as far as he could, all obstacles to it, and consequently to answer Mr *Walpole's* Letter. He did not answer it. He plainly thought it unnecessary.

How then came this province to be turned over to the Bishop of *Oxford*? If we look no farther than the *Advertisement* before the Pamphlet, there is some appearance of a reason for it. We are there informed, that Mr *Walpole's* Letter was communicated to Bishop *Secker*, by the Bishop of *London*. And hence it might seem, that the
Bishop

Bishop of *London*, having either less leisure, or less ability, left Mr *Walpole* in the hands of his brother of *Oxford*. But in the very first page of this answer, Bishop *Secker* says, Mr *Walpole's* Letter was communicated to him by Mr *Walpole* himself; nor does he seem to know any thing at all of the Bishop of *London's* sentiments on the subject of that Letter. It may therefore be surmised, that Bishop *Secker* was set to work merely by his own alacrity in so good a cause.

There is little doubt but the editors of this Letter think themselves well justified in executing his Grace's order for printing it after his death, as well as in taking an early opportunity to do it. And yet, might they not have had a reasonable apology for demurring to that order at this particular juncture, when any attempt at religious innovations in our Colonies, seems to be highly unseasonable?

At the 15th page of this Letter, his Grace moves a question, "Whether the appointment of Bishops in the Colonies, would not stir up dangerous *uneasinesses* abroad or at home?"

There is I think little doubt but that these *uneasinesses* had been represented to Bishop *Sherlock*, by Mr *Walpole* (who had very good opportunities of knowing) as the inevitable consequences of such an appointment.

But whatever of this kind might then be apprehended, Archbishop *Secker* lived to see *uneasinesses*

in the Colonies of a very different nature from any that were dreamt of eighteen years ago : such indeed as might have suggested to him, that nothing could be more unseasonable, than the trying his favourite experiment at a time when every wise and good man, and every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of his Majesty's government, saw how necessary it was to avoid all occasions of irritating the British Colonists of *America*. His Grace's arguments, in answer to the question abovementioned, whatever weight they might have in 1751, or even in 1759, are lighter than vanity itself, when applied to the state of things in 1768. And whoever peruses a tenth part of the pamphlets which have appeared, during the late altercations on Colony-subjects, will easily perceive, that the publication of such a Letter as this, in the midst of these jarrings, would be adding fuel to the flame. And yet the written order for the printing of it had laid by his Grace, as appears, from 1759 to the time of his death, without one reflection of the very ill effects it might have when he was gone. And could his executors think of doing any honour to his Grace's prudence, his charity, or his moderation, by exposing to the public his Grace's earnestness for advancing his project, at the hazard of so much confusion as must have attended any attempt to execute it at that time ?

Perhaps

Perhaps it may be said, that as our Colony-disputes did not commence till some years after 1759, his Grace, through the importance and multiplicity of other affairs, might forget he had made an order for printing this piece after his death. But this I think will hardly be allowed by those who consider, what daily occurred in the news papers, concerning the project of episcopizing *America*; or if it might be supposed that these were below his Grace's notice, the existence of such an order could not possibly escape his memory during his Grace's controversy with Dr *Mayhew*, in which some of the same topics are exhibited on the part of his Grace, that we find in this Letter to Mr *Walpole*. And as the subject has been kept in public view, more or less, to this very time, there cannot be the least doubt but the Archbishop was conscious of this order, as long as he was conscious of any thing.

However, since this Letter must be published, it was not unwisely done to postpone it till after his Grace's decease. How aptly soever the contents of it might have come in aid of his Grace's other arguments for *American* Episcopacy, he saw no doubt the additional imputations it must have brought him under, from his petulant reflections upon our domestic Dissenters, not to mention the danger of a more mortifying reproof for throwing a bone of contention when and where the parties concerned were sufficiently exasperated without it.

What

What shall we say for his Grace on this occasion? Shall we offer the apology that one of his admirers hath suggested for his intermeddling in the expulsion of the *Oxford* Students? *viz.* “ A
 “ body labouring under great infirmities, and a
 “ mind perhaps sympathising with it, and his
 “ not possessing in their full vigour those great
 “ faculties, for which he was once so eminently
 “ distinguished *.”

But if this apology for his Grace is accepted, what must be said for the editors of the Letter in question? Must not these infirmities of body and mind have been more familiarly known to them, than to others who had no particular connections at *Lambeth*? Will his Grace’s order sufficiently excuse them to the public for a production of this nature, *born* so much *out of due time*? It had been sufficient for their scruples on the peremptoriness of the order, to have *printed* the Letter, and to have withheld the *publication*, till times more favourable to the cause it pleads. It is remarkable, that just before it was advertised, the public prints gave us notice, that our Colony-disputes were upon the point of being adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties: and this was the more credible, as it was announced by writers who were understood to be retained as advocates
 for

* Strictures on Dr *Nowel*’s Answer to *Pietas Oxoniensis*, page 37, 38.

for the administration *. At this critical juncture, could there be any laudable, any excusable motive for publishing these papers so full fraught with provocation to our Dissenters at home, as well as their brethren in the Colonies abroad? And will not this inconsiderate deference for his Grace's commands, justify the enemies of the Church in a common observation, that, provided the dignity and emoluments of the Hierarchy are but maintained, no matter what becomes of the civil interest of the community; and will not the editors, as well as the author, come in for their share of this reproach?

Pass we on from these preliminary remarks, to the contents of the Letter.

“ The thing proposed, says Dr *Secker*, is, that
 “ two or three persons should be ordained Bi-
 “ shops, and sent into our American Colonies, to
 “ administer Confirmation, and to give Deacon's
 “ and Priest's orders to proper candidates; and
 “ exercise such jurisdiction over the Clergy of
 “ the Church of *England*, in those parts, as the
 “ late Bishop of *London's* Commissaries did; or
 “ such as it might be thought proper that any
 “ future Commissaries should, if this design were
 “ not to take place.” *page 2.*

By the alternative in the latter part of this proposal, it should seem, that, “ if this design were
 “ not

* Particularly by an Essayist who figured more than once under the name of CREON.

“ not to take place,” it might be thought proper to vest the *future* Commissaries of the Bishop of *London* with larger powers of jurisdiction, than the late Commissaries had enjoyed, in order to supply the want of Episcopal jurisdiction. To what this new jurisdiction of the future Commissaries would amount, we are not informed. It is left indefinite. This we may safely conclude, that it would *not* be thought proper to limit the jurisdiction of Bishops to any thing less than it may be thought proper the future Commissaries should exercise; and this might, and probably would be, the full jurisdiction exercised by the Bishops of the mother country. What effect this discovery will have, upon some other proposals in this Letter, we shall see presently. In the mean time we proceed with the writer of it.

“ The questions, saith Dr *Secker*, which arise
 “ on this proposal, are, Is it a reasonable pro-
 “ posal in itself? And if it be, are there any
 “ such dangers of its being extended to intro-
 “ duce exorbitant church powers, or of raising
 “ uneasinesses abroad or at home, as may not-
 “ withstanding, at least for the present, be just
 “ objections against it (a) ? ”

His Grace sets out with insinuating, that,
 “ Mr *Walpole* seemed to allow the reasonableness
 “ of the proposal, abstractedly considered.” But
 as this only *seems* to have been the case, we cannot

not judge under what abstraction Mr *Walpole* allowed the reasonableness of the proposal. This could only be learned from his Letter, to which we have no access.

Dr *Secker* argues for the reasonableness of the proposal from what belongs to the very nature of Episcopal Churches; and concerning this matter, Mr *Walpole* might very widely differ from the Dr. — Mr *Walpole* might be of opinion, that many things belong to the nature of Episcopal Churches, which the Bishops of *England* do not bring into practice. He might ask the Bishop of *London*, Whether the Bishops of *England* enjoyed any privileges, or exercised any jurisdiction, which do *not* belong to the very nature of Episcopal Churches? If yea: it seems expedient to retrench these in the first place, as mere usurpations, seeing that no edification can arise from the exercise of such powers and privileges. If, on the other hand, the *English* Bishops exercise no jurisdiction which does not belong to the nature of Episcopal Churches; and if it is reasonable to send Bishops to *America*, it must be reasonable to send them with the powers and privileges which belong to the very nature of the Churches over which they are intended to preside. That is to say, with the powers and privileges exercised and enjoyed by the Bishops of *England*. But this Dr *Secker* did *not* desire we should believe. Why was he not then more
explicit

explicit concerning the jurisdiction it might be thought proper the new Bishops should exercise in *America* ?

“ It belongs, says Dr *Secker*, to the very nature of Episcopal Churches to have Bishops, at proper distances, presiding over them (*b*).” Not only that, but it belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches to have Bishops at *certain* distances, that is to say, within certain districts called Dioceses, presiding over them, and consequently residing among them. For it must be remembered, that there are certain things belonging to the nature of the Episcopal *Office*, as well as to the nature of Episcopal *Churches*, one of which is *vigilance* over the flock of which the Bishop takes the charge; which cannot be exercised while he is absent from them, either in *England* or *America*: and this is equally true, whether the Bishop is distant some hundreds, or some thousands of miles from his Diocese. And yet we know the inhabitants of some of our Dioceses, are, in this respect, no better accommodated than the inhabitants of *America*, for three parts of the year out of four.

If it should be said, *English* Bishops can perform the necessary acts of vigilance by their officers stationed in the Diocese; even so may the Bishop of *London* by his Commissaries stationed in *America*.

“ But,

“ But, it is alledged, that there are Episcopal
 “ Acts, which must be performed by Bishops in
 “ person,” and of these the first instance is that
 of *Confirmation*.

Shall we then lay it down for a rule, that it belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches, that all their members should be *Confirmed*? If it does not, the Colonists may do without it. And that it does not, appears from the practice, and indeed from the constitution of the Church of *England*. In several Dioceses there are no Confirmations for several years. When Confirmation is administered, it is to children or young persons, from the age of thirteen to sixteen inclusive.

By Canon CXII. if persons of the age of sixteen do not communicate, they are to be presented to the Archbishop, by the Minister, Churchwardens, &c. In consequence of this Canon, thousands receive the Communion who were never Confirmed, because they never had an opportunity. And when such communicants present themselves for Confirmation, they are told, it is not proper, after they have communicated; which shews, that how *useful* soever Confirmation may be, where it *can* be had, where it *cannot*, it is, by the constitution of the Church of *England* herself, *unnecessary*. And after this, would it be sufficiently respectful to my Lords the Bishops, or indeed to our *excellent* establishment

ment to say, that such and such people, of *Cumberland* for instance, or *Northumberland*, or the *Welch* Counties, are denied Confirmation, unless they will go to *London* for it? or that they are in effect *prohibited* the exercise of one part of their religion (c)?

With respect to Ordination, there are two expedients in use at present for furnishing the Colonists of the Church of *England* with Ministers of their own Communion; 1. By ordaining natives of *America* who come to *England* for that purpose. 2. By sending *English* Ministers to the Colonies from hence.

As to the first of these, Dr *Secker* observes, that “ sending their sons to so distant a climate must
 “ be very inconvenient and disagreeable, and tak-
 “ ing the small-pox here is said to be peculiarly
 “ fatal to them,” *i. e.* peculiarly to the persons who come here for Orders. For when his Grace mentions a little below, that, “ their young men
 “ of fashion would still come to *England* for polite
 “ accomplishments,” no apprehensions of what would be inconvenient or disagreeable to *them*, are expressed, nor any mention made of any *peculiar* fatality of the small-pox to such young men.

“ The expence also, says his Grace, must be
 “ grievous to persons of small fortunes, such as
 “ most are who breed up their children for Or-
 “ ders; and yet not sufficient to bring any acces-
 “ sion

“ sion of wealth to this Nation that would be
 “ worth naming, were more of that rank to
 “ come.” (d)

From the cast of this answer, one may conjecture, that Mr *Walpole* had objected to *American* Bishops, that such a measure would prevent the Colonists from coming hither, and spending their money among us. To obviate this, his Grace was obliged to suppose, that none would send their Sons to *England* to be ordained, but persons in mean circumstances. But I am inclined to believe that the Statesman's objection would strike a little deeper, and that the consideration with him might be, that the more inducements the Colonists in general should have to stay at home, and the fewer occasions of personal intercourse with the mother country, the more they would aspire to independency; a matter of very serious Consideration among the Ministers of those times*.

The Statesman, no doubt, argued, that if the Colonists of the Church of *England* were impow-

B ered

(d) Letter, page 4.

* I have been informed, that the late Archbishop *Secker*, being in conference with an eminent Colonist, desired to know of him, if his countrymen would be averse to the sending a Bishop among them? *Pray, my Lord*, said the Gentleman, *can one Bishop make another?* Undoubtedly, replied his Grace. *Why then, my Lord*, rejoined the Colonist, *you may send your Bishop as soon as you please, it will be one considerable step towards our living without you.* Here the conversation was dropped.

ered to manufacture Deacons and Priests for themselves, as well as other things, which they have hitherto imported from hence, they would in time have a Church independent upon that in the mother country ; a consideration of ten times more importance to Mr *Walpole*, than the money that would be gained by a few young Men coming to *England* for Orders, or that would be lost by their staying away.

2. With respect to the Clergymen of the Church of *England* who are sent from hence, it must be a matter of great Concern to all who wish well to the interests and credit of the establishment, to be told by an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that few of them, in proportion, “ can answer the end for “ which they are designed(*e*).” That the rest are “ men of desperate fortunes, low qualifications, “ bad and doubtful characters, and a great part “ of them *Scotch* Jacobites.” Is this for the honour of the Society which sends them? How greatly does this representation detract from the credibility of those accounts they give us from time to time, of the success of their labours in our Plantations; which depend, in a great measure, on the veracity of men of these wretched Characters? When the public is solicited, as is often the case, to supply the deficiency of the Society’s funds, by their charitable contributions, will they not
be

be apt to consider, before they give their money, upon what sort of Men it is to be expended?

And how would the matter be mended by sending Bishops instead of Priests? Every consideration drawn from the nature of the service, the danger of the voyage, absence from family-connexions, &c. which at present serves to discourage private Clergymen of easy fortunes, good learning, sound principles, and respectable characters, would operate with equal force upon the mind of a destined Bishop, and create the same reluctance that other men have shewn to engage in such an adventure.

We His Grace have said in answer to this, that a larger stipend, an increase of power, and a more respectable title, would have engaged more reputable candidates? I am afraid this would be only saying, that ambition and avarice are more reputable motives for accepting the office of a christian Bishop, than the prospect of a bare maintenance is for taking the province of an ordinary teacher. His Grace could hardly think that the Colonists are so much strangers to human nature, as not to be aware, that these dispositions are common to Clergymen and others, both of higher and lower ranks; and that, with respect to Bishops sent from *England* to *America*, the same hazards must be run by the senders, to which the propagating Society is liable in dispatching common Missionaries. So that all the good things his Grace augurates from the appointment of Colony-Bishops

would effectually be frustrated, if the Bishops were no better men (a point his Grace could by no means insure to the Colonists) than the Missionaries he speaks of.

His Grace proposes great benefit, and considerable reformation among both the conforming Clergy and Laity in our Colonies, by substituting natives for their ordinary Pastors, instead of *vagabond strangers*, (as he calls the Missionaries sent from *England*.) But if native Ministers would so much improve the religious state of our Church-of-*England* Colonists, why not native Bishops? I ask this question, because it appears to me, that his Grace never dreamt of supplying the mortality of Colony Bishops, otherwise than by recruits from *England*. Probably his grand point could not be gained any other way. Otherwise a native of some of the Colonies, not liable to the fatality of the small-pox, or to much inconvenience of another sort, might come over and be consecrated once for all in *England*. Or an *English* or an *Irish* Bishop might be found without much difficulty, who would undertake the voyage, without the mortifying alternative of bidding a final adieu to his European connexions, and, having consecrated one or more proper persons from among the natives, might return home, and leave the Colonists to improve their religious state upon this new institution, as they found occasion. Here indeed would be *additional encouragement* to parents to breed their children

to the Church, — still more *convenient opportunities* of providing for them handsomely, and even to build and endow, not only Churches and parsonage houses, but Cathedrals and Bishops palaces, in which good works they would hardly shew so much alacrity, if they found the honour, emolument, and power appropriated to Bishops sent in succession from *England*.

And what, I desire to know, would hinder a Bishop sent from *England* from appearing to the Colonists in the light of a *vagabond stranger*, any more than a common Missionary? And would he be more likely, with this *stigma* upon him, to answer any of the good ends proposed by his Grace, more effectually than any other Clergyman of the same country? And this being the case, all that is proposed by his Grace in sending Bishops from hence, is a mere empty chimerical vision, which deserves not the least regard.

Mr *Walpole* must have been a weak politician indeed, if he did not see that Bishops sent from *England* would increase the evils complained of, rather than remedy them. He must have been sensible, or if he was not, we may be at this hour, that the Colonists, were they inclined to admit a prelatial Hierarchy among them (which he very well knew none of them were) would never be satisfied without having the whole ordering of it themselves, any more than they chuse to be controlled in some other things. And least of all

would they submit to be governed by *English* Bishops.

One of the blessed effects of the reformation proposed by his Grace (in my opinion the principal one in his estimation) was the conversion of the Dissenters. Accordingly, he strains every nerve to magnify the advantages of this event to the public, in a political view.

“ If, saith his Grace, by reforming them (the
 “ Colonists of the Church of *England*) and in-
 “ troducing better order into the Churches of
 “ our communion, more of the inhabitants should
 “ come over to it, *as they naturally will*, this
 “ would be a further public benefit. For the
 “ members of the Church of *England* will think
 “ themselves more connected with *England*, than
 “ others*.”

Have then the non-conforming Colonists no dissenting brethren, no kindred, no commercial interests, no King in *England*? Have they less connection, or fewer attachments to *England*, on these and other accounts, than the conformists themselves?

* Page 5. I have good grounds for affirming, that the Conformists in the Colonies in general, so far from being *more* inclined to keep up their connections with the mother country, never did so much by a thousand times, for the sake of it, as the Dissenters ever did, before, and for years after this Letter was written. This however is not meant to exclude some particular public-spirited Conformists. Who they were, and of what communion, who were chiefly instrumental in the late misunderstandings between the Colonies and the mother country, I have no inclination to inquire.

themselves? If this had been insinuated by a less venerable character than that of an Archbishop, I should have been tempted to say, that the man must either be contemptible for his ignorance, or of an abandoned assurance, who should venture such a suggestion among those who know the truth of the case.

His Grace goes on. “ And supposing them
 “ not to be *Jacobites*, their acknowledgment of
 “ the King’s supremacy, will incline them to be
 “ dutifuller subjects than the Dissenters, who do
 “ do not acknowledge it.” (g)

Supposing them not to be Jacobites! whom does he mean? plainly the converts from among the Dissenters. But whoever accused the Non conformists in the Colonies of *Jacobitism*, even any one man among them? There is therefore not the least colour for this supposition, unless we suppose that these converts become *Jacobites* as soon as they become Conformists; which is no very desirable effect of the Episcopal reformation here held forth.

On another hand, his Grace has more than supposed that most of the *Scotch* missionaries are *Jacobites*. But every one knows that all these, to be duly qualified for their office, must acknowledge the King’s supremacy upon oath: a plain proof that the greater or less dutifulness of

the subject does not depend upon such acknowledgment.

But, “the Dissenters do not acknowledge the “King’s supremacy.” I am confident that this is a mere malevolent misrepresentation, and that there is not one Dissenter in the Colonies, who denies the King to be his supreme Governor; and I am persuaded the same may be said for every protestant Dissenter in *Great Britain*.

The true case is this. The protestant Dissenters hold, that the civil magistrate hath no authority to interfere in matters of religion, which do not affect the safety of his government, so far as the private judgment or conscience of his subjects is concerned, whether considered as individuals, or united in religious society: and this they hold, not merely with respect to the authority of a King or a Monarch as such, but of the aggregate power of legislature however constituted. And is this principle peculiar to Dissenters? Has it not been, is it not still the principle of as wise, learned, and worthy Conformists as ever existed? Was it not the principle of *Locke, Burnet, Clark, Hoadley*, and others of the last generation? And had the Kings or Queens of those times when these men flourished, *dutiful* subjects (to use his Grace’s elegant language) than these illustrious persons, in the kingdom? Does not the artificial author of the *Alliance in Church and State*, inform us, that this was
the

the principle on which the Toleration Act was grounded? And would his Grace himself have ventured to say, had he been catechised on this head, that it was *not* his own principle too?

I ask his pardon, I did not think of a passage in this Letter, *page* 13. where his Grace believes, “his Majesty hath not a right to order the Bishop of *London* to recall his Commissaries.” And if so, the supremacy, according to his Grace’s creed, must, in this instance, be in the Bishop of *London*, and not in the King.

For the rest, if it was ever understood that the protestant Dissenters denied the King’s supremacy, as opposed to the supremacy of the Pope, or of any foreign Potentate, it is more than I ever heard. In the mean time, it is well known, that the Dissenters scruple not to put themselves under the protection of the law, as their *dernier resort*, whenever they apprehend their rights, even as a religious society, to be infringed, or attempted, as was lately notorious in the case of a Dissenter named to the office of Sheriff of *London*, which received its decision in the *supreme* court of judicature of *Great Britain*.

2. We are now come to the second question, namely, “Whether the danger of increasing Church power, by the means of establishing Bishops in *America*, is not a sufficient objection against the project?”

In

In the outset of his Letter, his Grace talks of
 “ jurisdiction over the Clergy, not only such as
 “ the late Bishop of *London’s* Commissaries *did*
 “ exercise, but such as it might be thought
 “ proper future Commissaries *should* exercise, if
 “ this design of episcopising, should not take
 “ place.” An insinuation that is utterly incon-
 sistent with his Grace’s declaration, that, “ *con-*
 “ *firmit* and *ordaining* are the only *new* powers
 “ that *will* be exercised (*b*).” These powers of
 confirming and ordaining, the Commissaries never
 had; nor, tenacious as our Prelates have always
 been of reserving these powers to themselves, is
 it probable they will ever consent that future
 Commissaries should be invested with them. The
 jurisdiction, therefore, that it may be thought
 proper these future Commissaries *should* exercise,
 must signify that enlargement of Church power
 on which the objection is founded. And as this
enlargement is intended as a *succedaneum*, in the
 room of Episcopal power, few people will be per-
 suaded it will be less obnoxious in the hands of
 Bishops, than it would be in the hands of Com-
 missaries.

His Grace, therefore, may much more safely
 be believed, when he says, that, “ strictly speak-
 “ ing, it can never be promised, *in any case*, that
 “ no additional powers shall hereafter be proposed
 “ and pressed on the Colonies,” than when he
 says,

says, “ no other jurisdiction is *desired* for the
 “ proposed Bishops, than the preceding Com-
 “ missaries have enjoyed.”

And yet I know not whether we may not safely take his Grace’s word, even for this last particular. *Right* and *Title*, are very different things from actual *enjoyment* ; and if the Colonists may be believed, these same Commissaries have both enjoyed and exercised pretended powers of jurisdiction, highly injurious and oppressive to the inhabitants, without any *apparent* authority for it.

And of this his Grace seems to have been conscious ; else why should his Grace have added, “ and even that ” [the jurisdiction enjoyed by former Commissaries] “ on this occasion, may “ be ascertained and limited, *more accurately, if “ it be requisite (i).*” But will it ever be *thought* requisite, by those who think as his Grace did, that the jurisdiction of a Bishop should be *ascertained* or *limited* to any mark below that at which the jurisdiction of a Commissary hath been *enjoyed* ? And indeed, does not this gracious concession seem to imply that the jurisdiction which these Commissaries have enjoyed, was in fact, *unascertained* and *unlimited* ?

His Grace supposes, “ it would have been equally right to have opposed the Toleration Act, on the apprehension, that more, in consequence of this concession,

concession, might have been pressed upon the government in favour of the Dissenters, as to oppose the settlement of Bishops in *America*, from a presumption of increasing the power of the Church (*k*).”

But, I conceive, the cases are widely different. Whatever is pressed upon government in favour of the Dissenters, will always be subject to the control of Parliament. Whereas his Grace tells us, *page 21*. “ There seems no necessity that “ this affair” [of establishing American Bishops] “ should ever come into Parliament.” The Bishops, according to his Grace, “ would be appointed by the Crown, and will be such persons “ as the Crown can best confide in.” *page 13*. This looks as if the Crown was to have an interest in these Bishops, distinct from the interest of the public ; and should it appear in process of time that the limited powers with which these Bishops should be sent out at the first, would be insufficient for the *political* purposes of the Crown, can it be doubted but that they would be immediately enlarged ? And can any man suppose that pretences for it would not be furnished by our Bishops (the only solicitors of the project that the Letter points out) *viz.* “ that it would be a disparagement of the Order, to have Bishops in any part of his Majesty’s dominions, vested with less power than the Bishops of the mother country.

country. — That it belonged to the nature of Episcopal Churches, that their Bishops should have full powers to correct the transgressions as well of the Laity as the Clergy ; and that without these powers in their Bishops, the conforming Colonists would not have the full exercise of their religion ;” would not these pleas be full as forceable for enlarging those powers, as they are now for appointing the Bishops themselves? *Forceable*, I mean to the Crown, whose particular confidants these American Bishops are to be. And what or who would there be to say nay to the proposal, the Crown having the *power*, and the Bishops the *will*, to have it carried into execution.

But had his Grace reflected ever so little upon what passed in Parliament before the Toleration Act was obtained for the Dissenters, his Grace might have easily perceived, that it was the utmost that could be obtained for them ; and that King *William* never could prevail to have them brought into civil offices, but under the restrictions of the Test Act ; and that the very order of men, who would, as the case above is stated by his Grace, have so much influence towards enlarging the power of American Bishops, have hitherto had sufficient interest to prevent any farther favours, particularly, *any thing hurtful to the established Church*, from being conferred on the Dissenters.

His Grace however assures us, that no such thing is intended as pressing for *additional* powers

to *American* Bishops; and in this assertion he thinks there are no grounds to question the *sincerity* of his Grace and his brethren.

But on this head of *sincerity*, I think it was as much as could be reasonably expected of his Grace, to answer for himself; for assuredly he could offer no satisfactory proof that others of his brethren might not intend, what he did not; and about the time when he thus undertook to answer for them, it is certain there were Bishops who were “thought to be peculiarly fond of Church-power,” and who when “they were called upon to answer for themselves,” gave very little satisfaction by their *defences*.

His Grace’s great argument for this *sincerity* is, the *moderation* of his contemporaries. To which I shall say nothing, but that his Grace was probably the most improper person of them all, to offer this consideration on the behalf of his brethren.

What his Grace’s *moderation* was, while he was Bishop of *Oxford*, I leave to be determined by those who were then under his government; what it was when he came to be the Head of his Order, the following admonition, intended for his brethren in convocation 1761, will sufficiently shew.

SEMPER ENITENDUM EST ut ANTIQUI REGI-
MINIS non modo retineamus formam, SED ET
VIM INSTAUREMUS, quatenus vel DIVINO VEL
HUMANO

HUMANO JURE FULCITUR. Atque INTERIM, MANCA quodammodo et MUTILA erit πολιτεια nostra (l).

That is to say, *We must always STRIVE, not only to retain the form, but to RENEW THE FORCE of the ANCIENT CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, so far as it is PROPPED UP either by DIVINE or HUMAN AUTHORITY. And till that be done, our POLITY will be LAME and DEFECTIVE.*

Now what was this ancient Church-government? Even the model left us by some of his Grace's Predecessors and their adherents, who never wanted *props* for it (if you would take their interpretations of scripture) either from *divine* or human authority. And the *force* of it consisted, in putting a *two-edged sword* into the hands of Church-Governors, to execute vengeance upon the *beathen*, and punishments upon the *people* *. In plain English, power to correct Heretics, Schismatics, and Dissenters, with the wholesome severities of whips, pillories, fines and imprisonment.

Without this *force*, it seems our present ecclesiastical Polity is mutilated and lame; and it is, in his Grace's opinion, not only *right* to have this
force

(l) *Oratio Synodalis*, at the end of his Grace's Charges, page 360.

* See Psalm xlix. 6, 7. To which Archbishop *Laud* prefixed this title. *The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for his love to the Church: and for that power which he hath given to the Church, to rule the consciences of men.*

force *renewed*, but absolutely the duty of the members of the convocation, to *strive* to have it renewed.

“ Is this the same man,” may some people say, “ who seems in his Letter to Mr *Walpole*, to be “ so well contented with the share of power enjoyed by the present Bishops, and who would “ have been satisfied with much less, if he had “ lived where much less had been allotted to Bishops? Is this the man who stands forth to assure the public, that he and his Brethren are “ not so fond of Church Power, as to be aiming “ at that point now, while they solemnly profess “ they are not (*m*)?”

For my part, I can see but little room we can make for the virtue of *sincerity* here. In the *Letter* his Grace assures us, with a solemn face and a smooth tongue, that nothing more is required for these *American* Bishops, than commissarial jurisdiction, and authority to *confirm* and ordain. In the *oration*, the ancient Church-government is to be contended for at all events; and without the *force* of it, the Episcopal Powers must be lame and mutilated. Must we not argue thus? this ancient regimen either belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches, or it does not. If it does not, his Grace is exhorting the Convocation to strive for *supporting* the *form*, and *reinstating* the *force* of an ancient usurpation. If it does, the same pretence which serves

erves for a colour to station Bishops in *America*, will serve for a pretence to claim for them the *form* and *force* of the ancient government, namely, the pretence that it belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches. And this, I should think, amounts to something more than a *possibility*, that an improper use may hereafter be attempted to be made of the appointment of Bishops for *America*. Once more, what shall we say for his Grace's *sincerity* and his *moderation*? these two publications are coeval, and by the time and manner of their appearance, should seem between them to exhibit his Grace's dying sentiments.

But the *moderation* and *sincerity*, concerning which, in examining his Grace's portions of them, we are left in so much uncertainty, we may perhaps find in his Grace's coadjutors in this project, with more precision. It sometimes happens that men not worth sixpence, will offer their bond for great sums, on the behalf of others who are very well able to pay without them.

“ Archbishop *Tenison*,” says his Grace, “ who was surely no high Churchman, left £1000 towards the Establishment of Bishops in *America(n)*.”

His Grace, I am afraid, is a little unlucky in his instance; I am in some doubt whether Archbishop *Tenison*'s sincerity in this bequest, is altogether consistent with Archbishop *Secker*'s in this pamphlet. But let the reader determine.

In Archbishop *Tenison's* Will, executed *April* 11th, 1715, five hundred pounds were bequeathed to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, “ for the purchasing one or more perpetual advowsons, donations, right of patronage and presentation of, in, and to one or more vicarages or rectories, and to present thereto from time to time, as often as the same shall become void, one or more of the most deserving Missionaries of the province of *Canterbury*.”

But by a codicil, executed *Dec. 2. 1715*, his Grace revokes and declares this bequest null and void, and in the room of it substitutes what follows,

“ But my present Will is, that my executors, their administrators or assigns, do well and truly pay to the said Society, within one month, or two at the farthest, after the appointment and consecration by lawful authority of two Protestant Bishops, one for the Continent, another for the isles in *North America*, the sum of one thousand pounds, to be applied in equal portions to the settlement of such Bishops in the fore-mentioned Sees. *Until such lawful appointment and consecrations are compleated, I am very sensible (as many of my brethren of that Society also are) that as there has not hitherto been, notwithstanding much importunity and many promises to the contrary. so there never will or can be any regular Church discipline in those parts, or any confirmations*

“ tions or due ordinations, or any setting apart in
 “ ecclesiastical manner, of any public places for the
 “ more decent Worship of God, or any timely pre-
 “ venting or abating of factious and divisions, which
 “ have been and are at present very ripe; no eccle-
 “ siastically legal discipline or corrections of scanda-
 “ lous manners, either in the Clergy or Laity, or
 “ synodical assemblies, as may be a proper means to
 “ regulate ecclesiastical proceedings. In the mean
 “ time, till such appointment and consecration as
 “ abovesaid is compleated, my Will is, that my
 “ executors do not pay the said thousand pounds,
 “ or any part or portion of it, or any interest for
 “ the whole or any part of it to the said Society,
 “ but as they have opportunity, to put out the
 “ said sum or part of it to interest upon sure pub-
 “ lic funds, and to apply such interest to the bene-
 “ fit of such Missionaries, being Englishmen, and
 “ of the province of *Canterbury*, as they shall
 “ find upon good information, to have taken true
 “ pains in the respective places which have been
 “ committed by the said Society to their care, in
 “ the said foreign Plantations, and have been by
 “ unavoidable accidents, sickness or other infir-
 “ mities of the body, or old age, disabled from
 “ the performance of their duties in the said places
 “ or precincts, and forced to return to *England* ”

Such is the bequest of Archbishop *Tenison*, in which we may observe a very different plan of *American* Episcopacy from that delineated by his

successor, Dr *Secker*, in this Letter. We have here the whole Hierarchical apparatus of English Episcopacy enumerated in the minutest manner. *Regular Church discipline.—Consecration of Churches.—Prevention of factions and divisions*, (meaning, I suppose, provisions for uniformity)—*Due Ordinations* (which the Colonists are supposed to want, for it seems till a Bishop is appointed there *never will be any such*)—*ecclesiastically-legal corrections both of the Clergy and Laity*. And to crown all, *Synodical assemblies to regulate ecclesiastical proceedings*.

From the tenor of this codicil, and particularly from the words, *in the mean time, till such appointment and consecration as abovesaid is compleated*, it is clear, that till this system of Prelatical jurisdiction is *settled in North America*, both on the continent and in the isles, the executors of Archbishop *Tenison*, their administrators, or assigns, will not be obliged to pay a single sixpence of the thousand pounds to the propagating Society; for that settlement is plainly *the consideration* for which the legacy is left: consequently, it cannot be applied to the maintenance of Bishops with the limited, and no more than commissarial jurisdiction, for which Dr *Secker* pleads.

It cannot in the least be doubted, but his late Grace of *Canterbury* was well acquainted with the contents of this codicil, so far as it related to the appointment of *American Bishops*. Why then did

did he content himself with this general mention of the legacy, and suppress the conditions of it? Plainly for too very obvious reasons.

1. Left Mr *Walpole* should suspect his Lordship's *sincerity* in affecting to *desire* no more power for *American* Bishops, than he seems to plead for in this Letter. Mr *Walpole* would be certain that Dr *Secker*, in case he carried his point for *American* Bishops, would not consent to give up this Legacy of Archbishop *Tenison*; and he would naturally conclude, that upon the event of appointing such Bishops, Dr *Secker*, as a man of sense, and a man of politics, would make the preservation of the legacy, an argument for granting the additional jurisdiction described in the codicil.

2. The particulars enumerated in the codicil, are utterly inconsistent with the character of *no high Church-man*, for which he would recommend the example of Archbishop *Tenison*. The exhibition of them would indeed have made a farther discovery, equally unfavourable to the views and principles of *many of Dr Tenison's brethren of the Society*, who are represented as equally *sensible* with his Grace, that all these Ecclesiastical *necessaries* would follow the appointment of Bishops, and could not be had without it; and consequently would quite spoil Dr *Secker's* argument drawn from the "universal desire of his brethren, and of the
" members of the Society, as well Laymen as
" Clergymen, of establishing Colony Bishops,

“ from the Revolution to this day ;” and induce a suspicion that the conversion of the Indians was but a blind, a mere pretence of the high churchmen, to obtain a charter for the nobler purpose of establishing Bishops. For his Grace expressly tells us, that, “ this whole body of men, almost ever since it was in being, hath been making repeated applications for Bishops in *America*(o).” Behold then the cloven foot which his Grace, no doubt, thought was sufficiently covered by this general reference to Archbishop *Tenison*’s legacy, as he might be pretty sure Mr *Walpole* would hardly go to the Commons to consult the original.

I am however persuaded, that there have been, and still are numbers of that respectable Society, who fall not under his Grace’s crude representation. I could, if it was proper, point out some most worthy men, whose names were not long ago upon the list, who thought no better of the episcopizing project than Mr *Walpole*, and particularly as described in Archbishop *Tenison*’s codicil. But the artifice was plausible to bring the whole body into the same predicament, with a man of Archbishop *Tenison*’s Moderation (for such that worthy Prelate really was) at their head.

But if a man of moderation, how shall we account for this scheme of Episcopal discipline espoused in this codicil, and on which the good old man lays so much stress? could he be ignorant that it

was

was the exercise of the same powers from which the original Colonists of *America* fled into the wilderness? On the other hand it may be asked, could this be the same man, who in the year 1689, pleaded for admitting the dissenting Clergy into the Church without reordination by Bishops? Could this be the same man, who had experienced so severely in 1700, how improper Synodical assemblies were to regulate ecclesiastical proceedings, or to prevent and abate factions and divisions (*p*)?

The truth is, this codicil was executed but twelve days before the Archbishop's death, when the powers of judgment and reflection may well be supposed to have been greatly impaired. His Grace was then in the eighty-fifth year of his age, worn out with the effects of a severe gout, and other infirmities incident to so late a period of life. He was then also in the hands of two or three reverend Doctors, who have since had many opportunities of displaying their attachment to the Church in the most eminent stations, and who would not fail to suggest to the expiring Prelate, the merit and the glory of contributing to a scheme so beneficial and so honourable to the Church of *England*. That this Archbishop was then under some such influence, is highly probable from his mentioning in the codicil, that
 “ many of his brethren of the Propagating So-
 c 4 “ ciety,

(*p*) *Memoirs of Archbishop Tenison*, page 13, 14. and 77—101.

ciety, were sensible as well as himself of the necessity of settling Bishops in *America*, for the *wise* ends there signified ;” which naturally refers to some conversation on the subject still fresh in his mind, of which he retained the impressions so long at least as was necessary to answer the purposes of his advisers. But though Archbishop *Tenison* had not remaining upon his mind “ those strong impressions of the terrors of ecclesiastical influence,” so prevalent “ at the latter end of Queen *Anne*’s, and the beginning of King *George* the first’s reign ;” yet it seems those impressions still remained with “ persons in public stations,” which sufficiently accounts for the hints in the codicil, *viz.* “ the much importunity, and the many [unperformed] promises,” of establishing an Hierarchical jurisdiction and discipline, in the north American Colonies. The Ministers, were aware of the characters of the *importuners*, though the honest, unsuspecting Archbishop was not.

In one word, great allowances ought to be made for the *failings* of so great and so good a man as Archbishop *Tenison*, but nothing can be more invidious, or more injurious to his character, than to hold them up as examples for imitation.

To proceed. His Grace would have it believed, that “ some people have apprehended, that the appointment of American Bishops will
“ tend

“ tend to the depression of the Hierarchy, as it
 “ will afford the Laity here an example of English
 “ Bishops abroad with no other than spiritual
 “ powers ; which may tempt them to think of
 “ reducing the Bishops at home to the same con-
 “ dition (q).”

Had his Grace thought proper to inform us who they were that formed such apprehensions, we might possibly have hit upon some method of satisfying them, different from that his Grace hath taken ; which, it is not unlikely Mr *Walpole* might consider as a sneer. If these apprehenders were such as my Lords the Bishops had convinced, that none but what his Grace calls *spiritual powers*, were to be granted to their American brethren, it would be hard to say what melancholy consequences they might *not* draw from a contemplation on the hardship and indignity of such a limitation.

But to raise these drooping spirits, his Grace very comfortably assures them, that all is safe and snug at home, as heart can wish. “ I should be
 “ very willing,” says his Grace, “ for the bene-
 “ fit of those of our communion in the Colonies,
 “ to run a greater risque than I conceive this to
 “ be.” And the reason of his Grace’s security on this head was, it seems, that it is “ no longer a
 “ secret, that the *temporal* powers and privileges
 “ of

(q) Letter to Mr *Walpole*. page 10.

“ of my Lords the Bishops, are merely concessions from the state (r).”

Here one would imagine, these *men of apprehension* might ask, “ But, the state observing “ from the examples of American Bishops that “ these temporal powers and privileges might be “ spared, is there no danger, that it might take “ them away ?” To this indeed his Grace gives no answer, though Mr *Walpole* must know he had a very substantial one in *petto* ; namely, that though the state *might* do this, yet as long as the Bishops, with these *powers* and *privileges* continued to make as *harmless* and *useful* a branch of the constitution as *many others*, they run no risque that the state ever *would*.

This was dextrous enough : for had this reason been given, it would have occurred to another sort of apprehenders, that the state might possibly think these temporal powers and privileges as *harmless* and *useful* in the hands of American Prelates, as they are and have been in the hands of their Lordships at home ; and in consequence of that notion, would hereafter confer them ; an apprehension which might have brought his Grace’s *sincerity* a third time in question. And indeed I am so far from thinking this *as unlikely to happen as most things*, that I cannot but be of opinion, that, had *American* Bishops been appointed about the time this Letter was written,

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his Grace would have lived to see this event, and yet have been very able to justify his *sincerity* by saying, “ Pray, Gentlemen Colonists, do not
 “ blame me. I was very *sincere* in proposing to
 “ limit your Bishops to *spiritual* powers : but who
 “ am I, that you should expect *me* to control
 “ the policy of the state ?” Could Mr *Walpole* forbear smiling at the management of his correspondent ?

After an uncandid, not to say, unjust comparison of the Church and State principles of the inferior, with those of the superior Clergy, and telling us, by way of striking the balance, “ that
 “ there never was a time known when the upper
 “ part of the Clergy were so universally free from
 “ wild high Church notions (s),” his Grace, very incautiously complains, that “ the regard
 “ which the bulk of the people *had* for religion,
 “ and the teachers of it, is greatly diminished,
 “ and diminishing daily, to a degree,” says his Grace, “ which I wonder wise men are not alarm-
 “ ed at (t) ?”

It had been well, his Grace had mentioned the time when the people *had* this *undiminished* regard for religion and the teachers of it, that both the fact and the reasons for it might have been ascer-
 tained

(s) Witness his Grace's *Lectures, Charges, and Synodal Oration*, and some other performances, well known to have been fabricated under his Grace's patronage and inspection.

tained with precision. The *bulk of the people* had, at a certain period, a most *undiminished* regard for Dr *Henry Sacheverel*, and the fort of religion which he, and a number of other teachers, took care to inculcate. I would hope his Grace did not allude to these times, or to teachers like these. I would suppose these were the times of those *wild high Church notions*, which his Grace disclaims for himself and the upper part of his brethren. In what respect then, does the regard of the bulk of the people for religion, and the teachers of it, appear to be diminished, in times subsequent to these?

His Grace should by no means have left us in the dark on these heads, lest it should be suspected, either that this *diminished* regard is owing to some default in the teachers, or that the teachers who complain of it, require more regard than is due to them. But it was more especially necessary his Grace should have been more explicit on this article, as in the very next period his Grace seems to solicit an increase of political power for the teachers of religion, in order to recover this diminished regard from the bulk of the people.

“ It is as important, says his Grace, even in a *political* view, that they,” [the teachers of religion] “ should be able to do good, as that they “ should not be able to do harm.” A circumstance that is plainly recommended to the consideration

deration of those wise men, who, to his Grace's surprize, are not alarmed at the present disregard of the teachers of religion.

Now in this *political* view, the teachers of religion cannot be enabled to do the good required, but by an increase of political power. The spiritual power of preaching the word of God, and of administering with all diligence to the spiritual welfare of their respective flocks, none of the established teachers of religion in this happy country can be supposed either to want, or not to employ under our excellent and *unalterable* ecclesiastical system. Some people indeed are apt to think that more good might be done in this spiritual way, than *is* done; and will perhaps be ready to say, let the teachers of religion, from the highest to the lowest, first try what good may be done towards recovering this regard of the people, by the serious and diligent application of their spiritual powers; and if this, upon a fair experiment, should be found to be insufficient, it will then be time enough to move for an increase of their *political* power.

But what is extremely unfortunate for his Grace's argument, the Colonists of our communion it seems, are in the same predicament with the bulk of the people in old *England*.

“ Nor do I find,” adds his Grace, “ that biggotry to the Church prevails among the members
“ bers

“bers of it in our Colonies ;” (*u*) which can only signify, (as that clause falls in with what goes before) that, the regard of the bulk of the Church of *England* Colonists for religion, and the teachers of it, is equally diminished among them, as in the mother country.

Will not then an increase of political power be as necessary for these new teachers of religion in *America*, as for the old ones at home? And must not their limited spiritual powers be as ineffectual for a reformation there, as they have been found to be in *England*?

“The Bishop of *London*’s Commissaries,” his Grace believes, “have gained no accessions to “what was granted them originally.” (*w*) The contrary of which is the truth, as will be seen below. Not to mention, what has been often hinted, that the Commissaries have frequently found the means, not only of pretending to, but of exercising powers which never were granted them.

“But the Bishops will be more narrowly “watched, by the Governors, by other Sects, by “the Laity, and even the Clergy of their own “communion.” (*x*)

But what kind of men must these Bishops be who want so much *watching*, and that by persons so differently interested in their appointment? If his Grace knew that this would be the case, he must

(*u*) Page 12.(*w*) Page 13.(*x*) Ibid.

must have known likewise, that it could only proceed from a *jealousy*, entertained by the Colonists of all ranks and denominations, of the natural *tendency* of this Episcopal appointment to encroachment and oppression. And with these sentiments, how could his Grace imagine such appointment would stir up no *dangerous uneasinesses*? But indeed when we consider the different circumstances to which this variety of *watching* must be directed, one cannot help supposing that *dangerous uneasinesses* must be the natural consequence of this abundant vigilance.

The Governors would watch according to their directions from home, which would probably be, that the Bishops (the confidants of the crown) should not suffer from any diminution of the regard that is due to them; the other sects would watch, on the contrary, that this regard should not arise above what they *imagine* is due to them, which they would fix at a much lower standard than the Governors would think reasonable; the Laity would watch, that they might not be harassed with Ecclesiastical censures; and the Clergy would watch to enforce them, and to support the regard due to Episcopal Power; and in that they would certainly find their account, as the Bishops must have the power of rewarding, or at least of recommending the meritorious, as well as censuring delinquents.

However,

However, that the Bishops would be more narrowly watched than the Commissaries have been, is contrary to all experience. A man would have little chance for redress against the arbitrary acts of a justice of the peace, who could not obtain satisfaction for the insults of a petty constable. One cannot but wonder his Grace should not feel the ridicule to which this childish representation would expose him.

The remainder of his Grace's lucubrations in this paragraph, are built upon the same sort of hypotheses; militating partly against matter of fact, and partly against each other, as where he speaks of "Governors *watching* the Bishops," who "will nevertheless be such persons as the Crown *can best confide in* (y)." Might not his Grace as well have said, that the *Governors* would be *more narrowly watched* by the *Bishops*? and again "a right of recalling them may be reserved to the King." Does his Grace mean, a right of putting an end to their function? so it should seem as, *ex hypothesi*, this *recalling* must be on account of their misdemeanours. It is a *material* question, and I should like to see an answer to it, from some of those to whom his Grace has bequeathed his principles on the article of Church Authority.

His Grace having done his endeavour to quiet our apprehensions with respect to an increase of Church Power among the Americans, by sending them

them Bishops, on mere suppositions and probabilities, proceeds to strengthen his case by referring to actual precedents!

“ It ought to be considered further, says his Grace, that an Act of the last session of Parliament [1749] which passed without any opposition from any body, hath *expressly established* MORAVIAN Bishops in *America*, who have much higher and stricter notions of Church Government and Discipline than we have (z).”

Bold and surprizing! His Grace ventures no less than the supposition that Mr *Walpole* must never have seen the Act in question, nor have known any thing of the contents of it.

Can any Man of common Sense understand less by the words, *expressly established*, than that the Act gives these Moravian Bishops a power to exercise their function, assigns them their stations, and secures their stipends?

And yet the case is only this. The *Moravians*, to whom this Act relates, are such as scruple to take an oath, or to serve personally in the army. This Law dispenses with them in both these Articles, upon condition of their making a solemn affirmation instead of an oath, and paying a sum of money sufficient to hire a substitute to perform military service in their room.

But lest the Government should be imposed upon by persons pretending to be of the *Moravian Society*

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ciety who are not, it is enacted, that every one who claims the benefit of this act, shall produce a certificate signed by some Bishop of the said Church, or by the Pastor of such Church or Congregation who shall be nearest to the place where the claim is made, that he is actually a member of the said Church.

And to prevent frauds or forgeries of false certificates, it is farther enacted, that the advocate of the said Church, shall lay or cause to be laid before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a list or lists of all the Bishops of the said Church who are appointed by them to grant certificates as aforesaid, together with their hand-writing and usual seal, and the names hand-writing and seals of any Bishops that shall hereafter be consecrated by them, as aforesaid; and the names of such Pastors, as shall be authorized by the said Advocate or Bishops to give certificates in any of his Majesty's Colonies in *America* (a).

Undoubtedly his Grace might give what names to what things he pleased, and so might call this an Act for establishing *Moravian* Bishops in *America*. But we are not obliged to adopt his Grace's ideas. It is not even said that these certifying Bishops should be resident in *America*; and for any thing that appears, they might be such as resided in *England, Poland, Prussia, Silesia, &c.* in all which, and in other places, the Act says, the *Moravian* Church is settled; and these Bishops indeed
are

(a) 22^d GEORGE II. cap. 30.

are just as *expressly established* by this Act, in those countries, as in *America*.

His Grace affirms, that this Act was passed without any opposition from any body. But, *Rimus*, the virulent chastiser of the Moravians, assures us it was opposed by a certain member, upon a suggestion, that “ the Moravians in *Germany* had “ made the greatest part of Protestants run mad “ by their devices.” When he could not prevail to have the Bill thrown out, the same person proposed that they should be restrained from making converts; which was likewise disregarded, for a reason which shall be mentioned by and by (b).

“ Why then” says his Grace (arguing a *fortiori*) “ should there be such fear of establishing Bishops “ of the Church of *England* ?”

A question which supposes these *Moravian* Bishops were established with the knowledge and consent of the Colonists; which every one knows could not be the case; and in all probability this Act was passed, before the *Americans* knew that any such thing was thought of. And even with respect to our own people at home, Bishop *Lavington*, who knew as much of what passed in parliament as his brother of *Oxford*, informs us, that “ the settlement of the *Moravians* in these King- “ doms seems to have been obtained *surreptitiously*, “ under pretence of their being a peaceable inno-

(b) Preface to the Supplement to the Candid Narrative, page cxvii.

“ cent fort of people.” But his Lordship hoped that “ their iniquity and filthiness being laid open
 “ by Mr *Rimius* and himself, they would be com-
 “ pelled to emigrate, as had been found necessary
 “ in other countries (b).”

Doubtless his Grace’s argument *a fortiori* hath great force and propriety, in reference to this precedent.

His Grace’s expostulation indeed is founded on the consideration, that “ the Moravians have much
 “ higher and stricter notions of Church Govern-
 “ ment and Discipline, than we of the Church of
 “ *England* have.” Well then, let us consider what sort of Bishops these Moravians have among them.

The *Unitas fratrum*, in whose favour the Act under consideration was made, are said there, to be members of the Church which was formerly settled in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*: the remains of which was then settled in *Poland*. Among these Count *Zinzendorf* was ordained, or if you please, consecrated a Bishop at *Liffa*. But here, “ all
 “ their Ministers were on an equal footing, the
 “ oldest of them, without having respect to the
 “ importance of his cure, is always chosen a se-
 “ nior or elder for the sake of Ordinations, and
 “ is nothing else but *primus inter pares*, having
 “ not the least jurisdiction or authority over the
 “ other

(b) Preface to the *Moravians Compared*, page xiv.

“ other Clergy (c).” This gives us no very striking idea of the high-Church notions of these *Moravians* with respect to Church Government and Discipline. And would the English Bishops designed for *America*, consent to a reduction of this kind, perhaps the Colonists might give the project a farther consideration.

But supposing the *Moravian* Bishops to be expressly established in *America*, and to have all the prelatical powers with which our English Bishops are invested, what is the consequence? A very unfortunate one for his Grace’s project, if Mr *Rimius* is to be believed, who when he wanted to exclude the *Moravian* Bishops from exercising their function in *England*, confronted them with a *Canon* of the first *Nicene* Council, which enjoins, that two Bishops shall not preside together in the same city. The *Moravian* Bishops, according to this doctrine, have a canonical title by *preoccupation*, and the English Bishops must be excluded of course from *America*, on the pain of being censured as uncanonical interlopers.

“ If for want of these” [English Bishops] continues his Grace, “ the *Moravian* Bishops should
 “ ordain such Ministers for our people as they
 “ thought proper, or should they, by adminis-
 “ tring confirmation, or by the reverence of their
 “ Episcopal Character, be continually gaining

D 3

converts

(c) *Rimius* ubi supra, p. xxxi.

“ converts from us, it would be a very undesirable thing on many accounts, particularly on this, that most of them refuse taking oaths, and bearing arms.”

Had I been of counsel with the publishers of this Letter, I should certainly have advised them to have suppressed this passage, unless they could have added a note to shew that these conversions had actually been made by the *Moravians* in alarming numbers, and that undesirable consequences had proceeded from them. As matters now turn out, this idle scarecrow is consigned to contempt and ridicule by the experience of twenty years, during which no such events have been heard of.

But this is not the worst. His Grace, by this unwary auguration is exposed to a very obvious reflection, namely, that “ a power of ordaining and confirming, together with the reverence of the Episcopal Character, are very likely means of continually gaining proselytes.” And what was *undesireable* with respect to these *Moravian* Bishops in his Grace’s account, we may be sure would be *undesireable* in the account of the Non-conforming Colonists, with respect to Bishops of the Church of *England*. They will therefore consider this insinuation as the effect of his Grace’s inadvertently dropping the mask, and as exhibiting a full view of his expectations from the establishment of Bishops in *America*.

But

But after all, on what accounts would these conversions be undesirable? one would have expected from an English Prelate to have had *one* of these accounts at least specified, as affecting the *religion* of the converts, *viz.* the *undesireableness* of having our people converted from a *better* religion to a *worse*. But then, what must have been said for Archbishop *Potter*, who, in a complementary Letter to Count *Zinzendorf*, so highly extols the orthodoxy of the *Moravian* Church; “acknowledging its full agreement with the Church of *England*, both in the purity of the primitive faith, and in the defence of the primitive discipline?” and if *Dr Potter* was *sincere* in this, we may be very sure that how high and strict soever the notions of the *Moravians* may be concerning Church Government and Discipline, they are neither higher nor stricter than the notions of the Church of *England* on those subjects, if a learned and orthodox Archbishop of *Canterbury* may determine for her(*d*).

It was mentioned above, that when the act in favour of the *Moravians* was under the consideration of Parliament, a certain member who opposed it, not being able to prevail to have it thrown out, proposed to have them restrained from making converts. This was likewise rejected, “the majority” says *Rimius*, “taking these people
D 4 “ for

(*d*) *Biographia Britannica*, vol. vii. Art. *Zinzendorf*, Rem. [G.]

“ for the ancient Moravian Church.” Which affords another reason why his Grace (to whom this transaction could hardly be unknown) would not mention the conversions made by the Moravians as undesirable on a *religious* account, as the parliament had seemed to determine, that the religious principles of the Americans would not be hurt by their being converted to the *Moravian* system.

His Grace’s political reason for standing in awe of these *conversions*, would, I suppose, be less considerable with Mr *Walpole*, as nothing *undesirable*, of this sort at least, had arose from the Pennsylvania Quakers, who profess the same principles with these *Moravians*.

The nonjuring *Jacobite* Bishops in our Colonies, we may well suppose to be mere nonentities, as his Grace himself is so very doubtful about them.

“ But popish Bishops also,” his Grace apprehends, “ have recourse to the Colonies from time
“ time. At least,” says his Grace, “ the Bishop
“ of *Quebec* hath no small influence in a very
“ important new settlement of ours.” (e)

A shrewd writer in the *London Chronicle* of *August 22*, seems disposed to believe, from the mention here made of this *new* settlement, that this Letter to Mr *Walpole* is certainly *spurious*, as this settlement was not *ours* till eight years
after

(e) Letter, page 15.

after the date of it. To which might be added, that from the time this settlement became *ours*, till after the peace of *Fontainbleau*, there was no popish Bishop at *Quebec*. Nor indeed could this clause be pen'd, unless by the spirit of prophecy, till the year 1764, when the present popish Bishop of *Quebec*, embarked in *England* for his new diocese, where he could have no personal influence, great or small, before his arrival.

But instead of relying upon this as a proof that this Letter is spurious, I am inclined to think it more probable, that his Grace thought proper to *retouch* this favourite rescript from time to time; retrenching possibly some topics he had made use of in his answer to Dr *Maybew's* observations, and adding others, as new incidents arose relative to his subject. Of this there are, if I mistake not, evident traces in other parts of this Letter, though none perhaps which afford so manifest indications of *a mind sympathizing with bodily infirmities*.

For might not his Grace have been asked, How came this Bishop of *Quebec* by his no small influence? How came he there at all? Was not the *establishment* of a popish Bishop in an important new settlement under his Majesty's government, a matter worthy of the interposition of a protestant Archbishop? Was not his Grace then at the head of the Church of *England*? And was it ever heard that his Grace remonstrated either
in

in public or private, against a measure so seemingly inconsistent with the interests and honour of the Church of *England*, and even with the safety of our protestant government?

This is not the first time I have heard these questions asked; and I wish I could say I had ever heard a more satisfactory answer to them, than that the profound silence observed on that occasion, was with a view to obtain a precedent for settling Church of *England* Bishops in *America*.

But whatever might be the reason of his Grace's *acquiescence* at that period, certain it is that the toleration of a popish Bishop at *Quebec*, has been brought as an argument for establishing protestant Bishops in the Colonies, in certain discourses delivered before a certain Society, where his Grace presided; and in this very pamphlet his Grace was not ashamed to plead the example of popish Bishops at home, who, he tells us, "perform the same religious acts by *connivance*, which he proposes his *American* Bishops should be impowered to do by authority." (f)

Can these precedents be *decently* pleaded by the fathers of the Church of *England* for establishing protestant Bishops in *America*, but upon the supposition that the toleration of popish Bishops is absolutely void of danger, both here and in *America*?

(f) Ibid. page 19.

America? And yet, to serve the same turn another way, his Grace, most inconsistently supposes the danger from the influence of the Bishop of *Quebec* to be great, and still greater from the neglect of not having Bishops of our own in that country to counteract this influence. Which however, is an hypothesis contrary to a known fact. For to what can this counteraction amount in the Colonies where a popish Bishop is permitted by more than *connivance*, when, as we learn from his Grace on another occasion, *popish Bishops reside here and perform every part of their function without offence and without observation*, (g) in spite of the vigilance of twenty-six Prelates of the established Church, and the terror of strict laws, wisely provided by our protestant ancestors against the pernicious effects of the intolerant spirit and destructive principles of these very Bishops.

We are now arrived at the third question, *viz.*
 “ Whether such an appointment, however harm-
 “ less and useful it might be otherwise, would
 “ not stir up dangerous uneasinesses, abroad or
 “ at home? And here,” says his Grace, “ it is
 “ asked, If the members of our Church in
 “ *America*, would like to have Bishops among
 “ them, why they never petitioned for them?” (b)

This question, without all doubt, came from

Mr

(g) Answer to Dr *Mayberw's* observations, page 66.

(b) Letter, page 15.

Mr *Walpole*, and therefore we may safely take it for granted, that no petition for Bishops had ever been offered on the part of these Church of *England* Colonists. It will be necessary to give his Grace's answer to it in his own words.

“ Surely their omitting it may well be ascribed
 “ in part, to the thoughtlessness of mankind
 “ about their religious concerns, which hath been
 “ so peculiarly great in those countries, that some
 “ of them did not petition for help, when they
 “ had no one office of Christianity administered
 “ among them.” (*i*)

Turn over the leaf, and there you will find it thus written, “ Indeed of course it should be presumed, and none but the very strongest evidence admitted to the contrary, that all persons desire to have within their reach, the means of exercising their religion completely.” (*k*)

What is now to be done to reconcile the *fact* to the *presumption*? We are to presume, that *all persons* desire, what the thoughtlessness of mankind, and strong evidence from a most remarkable case to confirm it, plainly shew that *all persons* do not desire.

Take the matter of fact, and you find the Church of *England* Colonists in so abandoned a state of negligence and indolence about their religious concerns, that there is not the least probability that a whole bench of Bishops would recall them

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Page 16.

them to a due attention. For it appears by the sequel, that missionaries have been sent them unpetitioned for, without the least good effect. They continue as thoughtless about their religious concerns as ever, as appears from their not petitioning to have the complete exercise of their religion within their reach.

Take the presumption, and you must conclude they are persuaded that they already have within their reach the means of exercising their religion completely without Bishops; and that his Grace was only inventing reasons for their not petitioning suitable to his own ideas.

I shall not inquire into the matter of fact, namely, how far any part of the Colonies, was ever without the administration of any one office of Christianity among them: I have been told, it is not true; but be that as it may, I have his Grace's own testimony before me, given when he was Bishop of *Oxford*, that they who were in the most deplorable circumstances of this sort, were not slack in petitioning for relief.

“ In these circumstances,” said the Bishop of *Oxford*, “ the poor inhabitants made from ALL PARTS
 “ the most affecting representations of their de-
 “ plorable condition, the truth of which was but
 “ too fully confirmed by their respective Go-
 “ vernors, and the persons of principal note
 “ among

“ among them *.” In this variety of his Grace’s accounts, what are we to believe ?

Another reason why these Colonists did not petition, is, that “ probably too many of their
 “ Clergy think, they may both live more negli-
 “ gently, and have a better chance for prefer-
 “ ment now, than if a Bishop were to inspect
 “ them, and ordain natives to be their ri-
 “ vals.” (1)

This may be a reason why these negligent, aspiring, envious Clergymen, should *not* petition, but is rather a reason why the Laity *should*, especially if “ they desire to have within their reach,
 “ the means of exercising their religion *com-
 “ pletely;*” for this they can no more have under negligent pastors, than they can have it without Bishops. But indeed, if the Lay-Colonists took their measures from experience and history, they would hardly think the negligence or ambition of their pastors were likely to be cured by petitioning for Bishops. It is hardly to be supposed

* See the Bishop of *Oxford’s* Sermon before the Society for the *Propagation, &c.* Feb. 1740—41. page 5. second edition, octavo. It is certain that *all parts* of our American Colonies, were never in this deplorable condition, and that any representations of that sort must be false, unless, by a mean and disreputable equivocation, the preacher meant, that the offices administered by the non-conformist pastors, are *not* offices of Christianity. Consult Dr *Mayhew’s* observations on the charter and conduct, &c. chapters v. and vi.

(1) Letter, page 15.

posed but these Colonists must have some conception how matters have stood in the mother country in former times, as well as in the present. They must be aware, that there have been times, at no great distance from the migration of their ancestors to *America*, when the Bishops of *England* were deprived of their power. The present age, wherein the Bishops of the mother country enjoy their power under the protection of the state and the law, they have before them in full contemplation; and they may if they please, compare the diligence, humility, and simplicity of common pastors and ministers of the Church at these different periods. They will at least perceive, that there were more temptations to negligence and ambition in the one situation, than in the other. Commendams, dispensations for pluralities, and sine-cures, (the parents of non-residence, and the lures of ecclesiastical ambition) are appendages to Episcopal Churches, and, as some people imagine, substantial obstructions to christian edification. There is a chance at least that religion would be upon a better footing where the Clergy have not these indulgences to look for: and they who are negligent and ambitious without them, would hardly be more diligent or less aspiring when they are thrown in their way.

At length his Grace suggests a third reason to Mr *Walpole* why these Colonists did not petition
for

for Bishops, which is, that “ the inhabitants
 “ of the Colonies, living at such a distance, and
 “ not knowing when an Application to the Go-
 “ vernment might be seasonable; and being
 “ assured, that the Bishops here, especially the
 “ Bishop of *London*, and the Society for Pro-
 “ pagating the Gospel, would always be atten-
 “ tive to this point, have left it to them. And
 “ they to whom it is thus left, have received abun-
 “ dant proofs, that very great numbers of the
 “ Laity of the Church of *England*, in those coun-
 “ tries, of higher as well as lower rank, *earnestly*
 “ *desire* to have Bishops settled there, and think
 “ it would be a most valuable public benefit (*m*).”

But how comes it that Mr *Walpole*, a minister of state, should never know of all this? How comes it, that the Bishops and the Society to whom this matter was left, with so full confidence, that they would always be attentive to it, never either petitioned the Government themselves on behalf of those who put this confidence in them, or apprised the Government of the earnest desires of these Colonists to have Bishops settled among them?

Whatever his Grace might do, I am persuaded Mr *Walpole* did not quibble upon the word, *petition*; but assuredly meant that it never appeared to the Government, that the Colonists had any such *earnest desires* to have a Bishop among them: and that whatever had been laid before the Govern-
 ment

ment by the Bishops and the Society, of this sort, had fallen short of the proof that was required.

The real truth, I believe, is, that the missionaries have been from time to time instructed to use their endeavours to procure such petitions from the Colonists, in which some of them have not been remiss, as appears sufficiently by Dr *Bradbury Chandler's* Pamphlets. But, as it should seem, without any effect, except perhaps, some intimations from their Governors and Counsellors who are appointed in them other country. Every one knows, that his Grace, after his accession to the See of *Canterbury*, was particularly assiduous in promoting an Episcopal establishment in *America*, in which pious project, Mr *Apthorp* and the said Dr *Chandler* seem to have been his most considerable instruments. And as no body ever heard of these earnest desires of the Colonists to give into this scheme so early as the year 1750, before the notice given us in this Letter, it is probable his Grace might have been privately at work on this project, from the moment he was invested with the lawn. Whether he had any coadjutors, after the demise of Bp *Gibson*, (from whom most probably he derived his *entetement* for this Measure) I cannot say; but from that period the Bishop of *Oxford* was undoubtedly the master workman, and knew more of the pains that had been taken at home and abroad to carry the point of petitioning, than any of his brethren. But unfortunately Mr *Walpole* happened to know

as much as the Bishop of *Oxford*; who, for want of the *abundant proof* that Mr *Walpole* had reason to demand, is obliged to fly to the miserable expedient of *presuming* upon, what he had himself before shewn to be contrary to the matter of fact.

But tho' this affair of *petitioning* could not be brought about, yet his Grace informs us, that “ the Bishops and the Society, to whom this matter was left, had found no cause to imagine that any opposition would be made to it from that quarter(*o*) ” Which is cautiously enough worded, and perhaps implies no more, than that it was more reasonable for them to believe the accounts transmitted to them by their own Missionaries, than those which came from any other quarter.

“ It is true,” says his Grace, “ some of them have provided against enlarging the jurisdiction of the Commissaries; but none of them have expressed any *public reluctance* to the appointment of Bishops(*p*).”

Some of them; i.e. of the lay Colonists of the Church of *England*. But these, whoever they were, could not thus *provide* without some public act of the whole body, or of the whole representative. Whence I suppose the Government would easily conceive with what reluctance they would listen to the appointment of a superior power, when

(*o*) Page 16.

(*p*) Page 17.

when they had been so careful to provide against the oppression of an inferior (q).

If

(q) How they were disposed towards the appointment of Bishops, about this time, may be understood from the following anecdote. In *May 1749*, *Eliakim Palmer Esq;* introduced Mr *Hooper* (one of the Council of *Barbadoes*, possessed of a considerable plantation there) to the Bishop of *London* [*Dr Sberlock*]. Mr *Hooper*, on that occasion, told his Lordship, that “ he and all their people disliked the project.” He informed his Lordship likewise, that his Lordship’s Commissary there, requested an Act to empower him to suspend such Clergymen as were infamous in their lives. One Clergyman of unexceptionable character, opposed it, and so the power was granted for three years only. One of the first acts of this Commissary was, to ensnare this good man. At a public meeting they put an ingredient into his punch, to make him drunk. So soon as he found himself not well, he quitted the place, and went homeward. His way was through a long narrow passage. There they placed a common whore, who, as instructed, clung about him, with other indecencies. The good man however shook her off, and went directly home. They had placed two men about this narrow passage to observe what passed. The next day he received a summons to appear before the Commissary, to a charge of being drunk and picking up a whore, and taking her into that passage to gratify his lust. The two men witnessed against him, and the Commissary suspended him. The whole parish were dissatisfied, and applied to the Commissary to take off the suspension, but he refused. They then applied to the Governor and Council to use their interest with the Commissary, that he might be restored to them. They did so, but to no purpose. The people, nettled at this refusal, demanded a libel against another Clergyman of an infamous and profligate character. The charge was proved, but the Commissary did not exercise his power; for this latter was at

If the Colonists expressed no *public reluctance* to the appointment of Bishops among them, it was a testimony of their good sense and prudent caution, as no *public attempt* had been made towards such an appointment. His Grace indeed says, that, “ for above forty years past, the inhabitants there
 “ must have had frequent notices, by various
 “ ways,

the head of those who requested the Court to grant the power. When Mr *Hooper* had told this story to the Bishop, he added, “ And now, my Lord, will you send a Bishop to us, who
 “ will have this, and greater powers ? ” His Lordship answered, *It is not I that send Bishops to America, it is the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, who are the movers of this matter.* Mr *Hooper* replied, “ I do not care who are
 “ the movers, but this I can with confidence assure your Lord-
 “ ship, that if ever a Bishop sets foot on our Island, the people
 “ will toss him into the Sea.” This so affected the Bishop, that he told those concerned, they had best drop the design of sending a Bishop to the Sugar-Islands, for those people were too hot to be dealt with, and stick only to the other part of the proposal, *viz.* to send one to the Continent. In consequence, Letters were written to *Virginia*, to get Letters from thence, requesting a Bishop might be sent there. But a Gentleman concerned for that Colony in *England*, being aware of this secret negociation, immediately wrote to one of the principal Gentlemen of the Council there; by which means the project was disappointed for that time. It will, I suppose, hardly be doubted that the Bishop of *Oxford* was at that time *one of those concerned* in this Episcopizing scheme; and yet, he cannot be supposed, to have witten this Letter under a consciousness of these facts, without the utmost disingenuity: not to mention, that he could not suppose but Mr *Walpole* must know
 enough

“ ways, that such a design was in agitation.” p.17. Possibly they had; but these were notices only of secret cabals and intrigues of particular persons, and perhaps some private application to men in power. But while the design was kept private, and confided to a trusty junto, the rest were at liberty to deny it, and then, what would the Colonists

enough of these proceedings to be able to contradict him. And therefore to save Dr *Secker* the reputation of his *sincerity*, we must conclude, that my Lord of *London* did not choose to communicate to him the particulars of the intelligence he received from Mr *Hooper*, or to make him privy to his Lordship's correspondence with Mr *Walpole*. We see, Bishop *Sherlock* disclaimed having any particular share in sending Bishops to *America*, and lays the project to the account of the Propagating Society, where no doubt he had observed the Bishop of *Oxford's* headlong zeal for accomplishing this measure at all events; and being a man of infinitely more prudence, as well as abilities, than Dr *Secker*, he determined to have no more to do with him in this affair, than was unavoidable, as a Member of the Propagating Society. The Editors probably thought it might be giving some consequence to his Grace, to represent him in the Advertisement, as going hand in hand with Bishop *Sherlock* in this Episcopizing project, and might hope that the inconsistency of this representation with what his Grace hath recorded in the first page of his Letter, would be overlooked by his Grace's friends and admirers. But have they not rather given occasion to suspect by this piece of art, that his Grace had no more consequence with Mr *Walpole*, than with Bishop *Sherlock*? And that however his Grace came by a sight of that Gentleman's Letter to Bishop *Sherlock*, his pretended Answer to it was never out of the confines of his study till the memorable year 1769?

lonists have got by their *public reluctance*? Even the honour of being laughed at for trusting to uncertain rumours, and fighting with a shadow?

His Grace next proceeds to quiet the apprehensions of those who might be made uneasy by the consideration of the expence required to maintain these colony Bishops, and tells us, “ it is not intended to burden the Crown or the subject with it.” *p. 17.*

As if the gifts and contributions, mentioned just after by his Grace, would be no burden upon the subject? Some families must want what is thus given and contributed, for what they will think, perhaps, more necessary uses. How often have we had Briefs for the purpose of supporting the Society’s unmitred missionaries? And would his Grace have insured us, that none of these would be circulated for the nobler purpose of supporting the dignity of Bishops? And are these no burden to the subject?

But where was his Grace’s memory, where was the modesty of the Editors of this Letter, who could let such a declaration pass, after Dr *Thomas Bradbury Candler* had been at the pains to calculate *how inconsiderable* a tax upon the Americans would be, to maintain a requisite number of American Bishops? And how scurvily does this Dr come off, (when pressed upon this head by Dr *Chauncey*) with a silly quibbling distinction between, “ what it would be *equitable* to pay,” and “ what, no man, if he denied to pay, would deserve to be
“ considered

“ considered in the light of a good subject, or
 “ member of Society (r).”

His Grace, after acknowledging that the Presbyterians and Independents of *New England*, have signified their *dislike* of his project of *late*, condescends to say, that, “ there never was any thought
 “ of placing them there.” p. 18.

How does this agree with Bishop *Sherlock's* exhortation, “ to stick to the proposal of sending a Bishop to the continent?” But whatever his Grace's *thoughts* might be in 1750, it is certain that *New England*, after his promotion to *Canterbury*, was the principal object of his Grace's cares for Episcopal reformation in *America*. However, so tender was he of giving these people offence at the time he was writing to Mr *Walpole*, that his Grace is pleased to allow, that “ if they should object
 “ against Bishops coming occasionally to officiate
 “ amongst

(r) *The Appeal defended, or, the proposed American Episcopate vindicated, in answer to the objections and misrepresentations of Dr Chauncey and others.* By THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER, D. D. *New York*, printed by *Hugh Gaine*, at the Bible and Crown, in *Hanover Square*, 1769. p. 249, 250. Whoever will be at the pains to compare this *Defence* with Dr *Secker's* Letter to Mr *Walpole*, will very seriously lament Dr *Chandler's* misfortune in being stationed *three thousand miles* from his Bishop, by whose instructions the *Appeal* was written, and for whose honour it was to be defended. He might otherwise have avoided the mortification of seeing his high pretensions to the rights and privileges of the American Episcopate, so remarkably contrasted with his Grace's humble concessions, in an hour of dependency.

“ amongst those of the Episcopal persuasion in
 “ that province, — *that* might be omitted.”

Now it is well known, that the Society’s Missionaries in *New England* have always been more, in a double proportion at least, than in the other provinces in *America*. In the year 1761, about thirty Missionaries were stationed in *New England*, while in *New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, the Bahama Islands, and Barbadoes*, there were no more than forty-nine, according to the Society’s *Abstracts*. (s)

If then, notwithstanding the reasonableness of the proposal in the abstract, notwithstanding what belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches, and the indispensable necessity of Confirmation to the complete exercise of their religion; notwithstanding the necessity of overlooking the conduct of *vagabond strangers*, so indifferently qualified, as his Grace represents many of them to be, — If, I say, notwithstanding all these considerations, the personal ministrations of a Bishop in *New England*, where there are thirty Episcopal Churches, may be omitted, it seems scarce worth the while to send Bishops, with the expensive appointments, suitable to the dignity of their character, to preside over forty-nine Missionaries dispersed in eight extensive provinces, where even the single ceremony of Confirmation, to be completely exercised,

(s) *Mayhew’s Observations*, page 45. *London* edition.

cised, could hardly be performed by the labours of ten or a dozen Bishops, if the uninstructed Negroes are to be taken into the account.

After all, his Grace seems to be conscious, that the true questions would come to this, Whether dangerous uneasinesses would not be stirred up in the Colonies, by the appointment of Bishops? And whether the Colonists would not have sufficient grounds for their uneasinesses, from their experience of the incroaching nature of Episcopacy?

In answer to this latter question, his Grace thinks fit to say, that the Colonists, “ cannot fail to know how much the Episcopal power exercised heretofore by Bishops, hath long since been lessened, and the inclinations and principles of those who are intrusted with it, altered for the better.” (1) This hath been considered before, and we need only refer for an answer to it, to the passage quoted above from his Grace’s *Oratio Synodalis*. Let us add however, as this matter is once more come upon the carpet, that what his Grace ascribes to the *better inclinations and principles* of himself and his contemporary brethren, is considered by other staunch Churchmen, as an unhappy relaxation of that ancient discipline, which the Church wishes, in one of her offices, to have restored. Of this complexion is the zealous Dr *Thomas Bradbury Chandler*, whom every one now understands to speak the *real, undisguised* sense,

sense of Dr *Secker*, both in the *Appeal*, and in his *Defence* of it.

“ The want of primitive discipline in the
 “ Church at home,” saith this diligent Missionary,
 “ is no proof that the want of it is not still greater
 “ in the Colonies, nor that the want cannot in
 “ some degree, be remedied by the proposed
 “ Episcopate. We think that a strict discipline,
 “ with regard to the American Clergy, might
 “ be exercised under an Episcopate. *This is cer-*
 “ *tainly expected.* IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART
 “ OF OUR PLAN ; and that American Bishops
 “ would disappoint us in this respect, none have
 “ a right to declare, until the experiment shall
 “ have been made.” (u)

Why no indeed, worthy Doctor, I dare say the Colonists have no such suspicion ; and therefore, I presume, it is, that they are so unwilling, and with great reason, to have the experiment made. How little was this strenuous champion aware, while he was writing this, that some of his fellow pupils at home were convincing the world, that there was a time, when their common patron had denied every word of it ; and that in spite of his *Oratio Synodalis*, this denial was agreeable to his dying sentiments ? After this, trust, ye Colonists, if you can, to the sincerity of those who solicit an *American* Episcopate. None of you can be at a loss to know what a high-flying Episcopalian means by *primitive discipline*, while the
 history

(u) *Appeal defended*, page 103.

history of the settlement of your ancestors in *America* remains. None of you can be ignorant, that the *jurisdiction* required to carry *this primitive discipline* into execution, must be as different from the *plan* delineated in this Letter, as your own plan is from that of Archbishop *Laud*. For while his Grace is assuring you, that, “ no more
 “ authority is desired for American Bishops, than
 “ the dissenting Ministers exercise here by law,
 “ or popish Priests and Bishops by connivance:” Dr *Candler*, whose instructions are of a later date, betrays his own and his party’s *expectations*, that a *strict primitive discipline, with respect to the American Clergy*, without distinction, may be exercised under this new Episcopate.

Attending his Grace to *page 19*, we find something like an apology for the propagating Society’s sending Letters into *America*. One would wish to know, what circumstance of Mr *Walpole’s* Letter, gave occasion to it. Making due allowances for his Grace’s palliations and glosses, the case seems to have been this. The zealous promoters of *American Episcopacy* in the Society, finding that the want of petitions from the Colonies was a considerable obstruction to the project, sent Letters privately to their confidants to procure such testimonies, (*viz.* that the Colonists approved the measure) as might be a balance at least against the assurances the government had received, that they were averse to it. The practice came to be detected, and the alarm being taken by

by the friends of religious liberty; the too probable consequences of it were remonstrated to the government. This brought some *blame* upon the contrivers of this secret correspondence, which his Grace sought here to ward off, as well as he could; modestly requesting in the end, that the government would permit them to play out their game, before they rejected the proposal.

His Grace's next endeavour is to take off Mr *Walpole's* apprehensions, that the attempt, and much more the execution of such a project, "would raise animosities at home, produce declamations in pulpits, controversies in pamphlets, debates in parliament, revive the distinctions of high and low among Churchmen, and terrify and provoke the Dissenters." (*w*)

What his Grace says on the part of the pulpit, shall be considered by and by. And as for the press, he reminds Mr *Walpole*, that, "most virulent pamphlets, published daily both against Church and State, gave the government no terror at all." (*x*) Not so much indeed, I dare say, as his Grace thought they should have given, judging herein by his own feelings; no man perhaps, of his station, having ever been more terrified and disquieted by pamphlets and letters in Newspapers on Church matters, than the late Dr *Secker*. Of the fact however, or of its effects, he was far from being so competent a judge as Mr *Walpole*, who was very sensible, that it would not follow, because

because the ministry were not affected by false and invidious charges from the press, respecting their political conduct in mere state affairs, that they would be equally unaffected, when so severe a stroke upon the religious liberties of the Colonies, as the executing the Episcopizing scheme would be, should be objected to them.

But if Mr *Walpole* saw his Grace's weakness in this reflection, much more would he be scandalized when, to take off all his apprehensions of what might happen in parliament, he found his Grace intimating, that "there seemed no necessity that this affair should ever come into parliament.(y)"

By this circumstance, the statesman would discover the man and his communication, and whence he derived his principles. He would recollect too, that parliament had more than once taken a retrospect of ministerial measures, adopted without its sanction; and would never be more likely to do it, than when such measures seemed to tend to raise feuds and animosities, disgust and discontent, in places where the commercial interests of *Great Britain* are so much concerned, as in the Colonies. And if, in the progress of their inquiries, it should appear, that the Administration had been pressed into this service by the importunity of the Bishops in general (who have all been, according to his Grace, equally desirous of establishing Episcopacy in the Colonies, from the Revolution, to the date

of

of his Letter) few would wonder, if it should be resolved, that “ Episcopal power is a great grievance to this nation, and that it must rise to an equal height wherever Bishops are.”

His Grace, however, could put Mr *Walpole* in the way of composing these stirs even in parliament. “ The Administration,” says his Grace, “ will easily *quiet* such of the Members as are their friends;” namely, by threatening to take away their places or their pensions, or by promising them to such of their friends as had them not. “ The Tories must be for Bishops, if it be only to preserve their own credit.” And consequently, for Bishops invested with all the powers which tory principles ascribe as appendages to the office: for it would be impossible to keep their credit with their party, by consenting to the sending out Bishops with that limited, low-church jurisdiction, which his Grace *affects* only to desire. “ And the remainder will probably find themselves too inconsiderable to stir.” *The remainder*; that is to say, all the faithful representatives of the people, who are neither to be corrupted by the administration, nor infected by those pernicious principles of religion and government, which have been in times past so pernicious to the rights and liberties of the British subject, and so dangerous to that illustrious succession of protestant Princes, under whose Government only we can hope to enjoy them. Excellent Patriot! excellent Archpastor of
a free

a free Protestant people! who for the sake of magnifying a mere Ecclesiastical Office, no way essential to the faith or practice of Evangelical Christianity, would stifle the influence, on which the preservation of the religion and liberties of his country chiefly depends!

It remains to consider “the only danger,” which, according to his Grace, “is left, *viz.* that of alarming or provoking the body of the Dissenters(2).” Whom he distinguishes into, “a few busy, warm men;” and such as, “after arguing properly with them, have owned that they had little or nothing to object against appointing Bishops in Plantations of the Episcopal Communion(a).” And among the latter he names Dr *Avery*, and Dr *Samuel Candler*.

What Dr *Candler* might say to Dr *Secker*, is of little consequence: It can hardly be said, that Dr *Candler* spoke the sense of the body of the Dissenters, when it is so well known, that his connexion with that Prelate was far from adding to his estimation among them. He is not at present at hand to answer for himself. Possibly somebody might be found, who is able to answer for him. Be that as it may, I shall not presume either to accuse him, or to apologize for him.

Dr *Avery*’s justification is upon a less precarious footing. It is well known to some yet living, that he was a principal mover of the application to the
Ministry,

(2) Page 22.

(a) Ibid.

Ministry, about the time this Letter of Dr *Secker's* was written, to lay aside the project of sending Bishops to *America*. If I am not misinformed, he had the honour of conferring with some of his Majesty's Ministers on the subject, and gave them unanswerable reasons, why a scheme so likely to produce disturbances in the Colonies, should be laid aside. What he is here represented to have acknowledged to the Archbishop, is in the highest degree improbable. He was not a man to be overawed by the solemnity, or cajoled by the affected civility of an Archbishop. He was liberal in his sentiments, and generously open and unreserved in expressing them upon all proper occasions. His conduct, in all his transactions, was inflexibly upright, and far exalted above all narrow, selfish, and sinister views. No man knew all this better than the late Archbishop *Secker*; and if this Letter is not spurious, it is not an impossible supposition, that *one* motive of its sleeping so long in his Grace's closet, might be, the danger of having it cross-examined and confronted by the testimony of so respectable a character.

Speaking of the opposition to this Episcopizing project, which might be apprehended from the body of Dissenters, his Grace delivers himself as follows.

“ And indeed there is no modesty in saying,
 “ we, who are not of the Established Church, de-
 “ mand as a matter of strict justice, the full ex-
 “ ercise

“ exercise of our religion here, but at the same time
 “ insist that the King’s episcopal subjects in *America*,
 “ with whom we have nothing at all to do, shall
 “ not, even in those provinces where they are the
 “ established Church, have the full exercise of
 “ theirs (*b*).”

It is pleasant enough to hear his Grace talk of *modesty*, while he is giving such a representation as this. What would his Grace have thought of his having the full exercise of his religion, in case he had not been permitted to enjoy the preferments he once held in commendam, without first receiving the communion amongst the Dissenters? It is made a part of his merit in the *Biographia Britannica* that he never did communicate with them, even while he appeared to belong to their Church; (*c*) whence it may easily be conjectured, how unpalatable such a condition would have been to him when he was Bishop of *Oxford*. Would not his Lordship have thought, that his Majesty’s subjects in *America*, while not burdened with any such test, would have had a fuller exercise of their religion, than his Lordship, even without the ceremony of confirmation? Can a Man be said to have the full exercise of his religion, who is excluded from the natural and equitable rights of a good subject, unless he will conform to a mode of religious worship which he thinks to be wrong, and which some of his brethren have thought to be even *idolatrous*!

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(b) Page 23.

(c) Article BUTLER (JOSEPH).

It is plain, his Grace never made this case of the Dissenters his own, and that he gave Mr *Walpole* only a copy of his countenance, when he told him, a little below, that, “ he should have been a most “ hearty and zealous advocate for the Dissenters,” in a case where they happened not to want his assistance, and that, “ from his love of religious liberty (*d*);” when he never moved a finger to relieve them in a case where, if he knew what religious liberty meant, he must have known how *justly* they think they have it not, and where an advocate of his Grace’s station and character would have been of the greatest service.

There are in this short period, no less than two other misrepresentations. For, 1. His Grace could not produce any legal authority for saying, that the Episcopal Church of *England*, is the *established* Church, in *any* of the American Provinces. 2. The King’s Episcopal subjects in *America*, were not they, with whom our domestic Dissenters, had to do in this case. It was their concern for, and their desire to preserve to the Americans of their own Antiepiscopal persuasion, the *full exercise of their civil and religious rights*, (which they apprehended upon good grounds, might be encroached upon, by the admission of Bishops into any of the American Provinces) that occasioned their vigilance at the time referred to. They knew the hardship of those legal disabilities under which they themselves lay

lay at home. They had good reason to believe that the influence of the established Hierarchy contributed to continue this grievance. Their Brethren in *America* were as yet free from it, and if Bishops were let in among them, and particularly, under the notion of presiding in *established* Episcopal Churches, there was the highest probability, they would take their precedents of Government and Discipline from the Establishment in the Mother Country, and would probably never be at rest, till they had established it on the basis of an exclusive Test. They knew their American brethren thought on this subject, just as they themselves did. They knew how *cautiously* the projectors of the plan covered their march from all the Colonies, but their own confidants. They knew that, without their interposition, the arrival of a Bishop in *America* would probably be the first notice the Colonists would have of his appointment at home. They were aware of the alarm this would give them, and of the disagreeable consequences of their opposition, with respect to the Government. They wisely therefore, and like good patriots, signified their apprehensions to the Government, and strengthened them with such proofs, as entirely convinced the Ministry, how much the public peace and welfare depended upon the suppression of this pernicious project.

In this transaction I have good grounds to say, that Dr *Avery* was a principal actor and adviser ;

and would his Grace have ventured, in his lifetime, to rank the Dr among, “the *few busy, warm* “*men*, who only *affected* to speak in the name of “the whole?” or among those who opposed the Episcopizing scheme through, “a wantonness of “spirit, or an ostentatious fondness of using their “influence with great persons, to grieve the good “Bishop of *Oxford* and his partizans, without “serving themselves?” (e).

What must their Colony-brethren have thought of the Dissenters at home, had the latter suffered them to be taken by surprize, and a measure forced upon them, to which, if they had not lost all memory of the first migration of their ancestors from *Old England*, they must have the utmost aversion? What must every disinterested Englishman have thought of them, if, possessed as they were of the sense of the Colonies, they should, out of a punctilio of complaisance to a few such *busy, warm* men as the B—p of O——d, have quietly suffered a religious war to be kindled in the bowels of *America*, between the Non-episcopalians and the Members of the Church of *England*, when they had it in their power to prevent it?

But I shall venture to go still farther. Many of the Colonists of the Church of *England* are the descendants of some of the first settlers, who professed Church principles, and practised the modes of worship established in *Old England*, in their
own

own houses, when they could not have a Minister to officiate among them. Yet these were driven from their native land, by Episcopal Discipline, merely because they could not conform in *every thing*. They left however, their principles and practices to their posterity, some of whom, to this hour, attend the Ministry of the Episcopal Missionaries. But as their fathers left them likewise memorials of their own particular sufferings from Bishops, they are no more in love with *American* Episcopacy than their ancestors were with *English* Prelacy. To some of these, the idea of a Bishop upon the spot, was as disgusting as to the Nonconformists themselves, and it is now well known, that when they were solicited to join some others in representing to the Society how much Bishops were wanted in the Colonies, their answer was, “ that they were well satisfied with the means they had of worshipping God according to the Liturgy, nor did they desire any thing more.”

Among other uneasinesses apprehended by Mr *Walpole*, as the probable effect of appointing *American* Bishops, one was, “ that such a measure would produce declamations in Pulpits; and revive the distinction of High and Low among Churchmen (*f*).”

To this anxiety, his Grace administers the following soporific. “ Now amongst the Clergy, I conceive it can make no dispute, for *every Man*

“ *of character* amongst them doth, and must wish
 “ it success.” His Grace should have added,
 “ and every man amongst them who wishes it
 “ success, is and must be a *Man of character* ;”
 and then the result must have been, that every one
 who did not wish the project to succeed, was a re-
 probate, a *Man of no character*.

But might not Mr *Walpole* have suggested, that
 disputes were most likely to be raised by Men of *no*
 character? His Grace was free enough to confess,
 that, “ if the project were brought upon the car-
 “ pet, and the administration were to oppose it,
 “ some Clergymen (*some of these Men of character*)
 “ might be tempted to say indecent things of
 “ them ;” and I pray, how much less scrupulous
 may we suppose Men of *no* character, who should
 not wish the project success, would have been, in
 case the administration had espoused it? Either way
 then, we see declamations from the pulpit, and
 disputes between Clergymen *of character*, and
 Clergymen *of no character*, would have been un-
 avoidable, had the affair come upon the carpet.
 The best way therefore, Mr *Walpole* would think,
 would be to keep it off the carpet.

But would this have satisfied these Clergymen
of character, with his Grace at their head? Let us
 hear his Grace upon this question. “ We indeed
 “ do not threaten, if we are disregarded. But they
 “ [the Dissenters] have no more right to threaten
 “ than we : nor need they be feared if they do.
 “ Their

“ Their threatenings have been very safely slighted,
 “ in a point which they have much more at heart,
 “ I mean the Test : and so they may in this(g).”

It is, I think, pretty certain, (if we may credit some other parts of his Grace's Letter) that the Clergy of *character*, particularly the Bishops, never ceased to desire, and we must suppose, to endeavour, that Bishops should be established in *America*, from the revolution to the day of the date of his Letter to Mr *Walpole*. During this whole interval, these desires have been so far *disregarded*, that in his Grace's language, the affair never came *upon the carpet*. If it should, and the administration were to oppose it, “ some of those Clergymen
 “ of character, who wish it success, might, in his
 “ Grace's opinion, be tempted to say indecent
 “ things of them.”

Now, in my ideas, this has something the air of a threat, in case the administration should not behave as these clergymen of *character* would have them.

However his Grace would have it believed, that mere *disregard*, even for so long a time as sixty years, had not produced the least murmur, that could be called a *menace*. But where are the mortals whose patience, after so long an interval, may not be worn out ? How far this was the case, with the Bishop of *Oxford* at least, in the year 1750, we shall see presently.

In the mean time, it must be a pleasant consideration to Mr *Walpole*, that the prejudices of the Jacobites and the Tories against the King and his ministry, might be allayed by appointing Bishops for *America*, as his Grace suggests (*b*); adding, that, “ till these people are reconciled, our domestic affairs will never be on a firm and easy footing.” Indeed he gives Mr *Walpole* no great encouragement to hope that *such instances of kindness*, would work any great or speedy reformation among them, “ but,” says his Grace, “ some good effect they must produce; and perseverance in a due regimen will at length compleat the cure (*i*).”

Which expedient would not be unhappily hit off, but for one objection on the part of the friends of his Majesty and his Government. For as this *American* Episcopacy seems to have been, in his Grace's ideas, one principal ingredient in that *due regimen* which was to compleat the cure of Jacobitism and Toryism, a *perseverance* in the administration of it, might suggest the necessity of increasing the dose from time to time, till it should be totally modelled, not only to the taste, but to the constitution of the patients, *i. e.* till it came to be a perfectly *Laudæan* Episcopacy; which would be *an instance of kindness* to these prejudiced people, to which, though it might be to his Grace's palate, the

(*b*) Page 25.(*i*) Page 26.

the friends to the Protestant settlement, would, no doubt, have considerable objections.

Thus far by way of friendly *innuendo*, of what *might* happen in case of a refusal. In what follows, his Grace speaks a little plainer.

“ On the other hand,” says his Grace, “ I apprehend, the rejection of this proposal will do the Government by far more hurt amongst the Churchmen, than it can possibly do them good amongst the Dissenters. When *the Bishops* are asked about it, as they frequently are by their Clergy and others, what must they answer? We cannot with truth express disapprobation of it, or indifference to it. If we did, we should be thought unworthy of our stations. Must we then be forced to say, that we are all satisfied of the absolute fitness, the great advantages, the perfect safety of the thing, and have repeatedly pressed for it; but cannot prevail? Would not this both sadly diminish our ability of serving the Government, by shewing how little credit we have with it; and make very undesirable impressions on many minds, concerning *the King*, and those that are in authority under him; as incapable of being won by the arguments or intreaties of those, who have so strong a zeal for them, to do *an innocent favour* to the Church? Still, if we cannot succeed by respectful applications, I know it is our duty to make the best of the matter, and not disturb

“ the

“ the public welfare, because, in this particular,
 “ we are unable to promote it. *I would speak as*
 “ *gently of the affair as ever I could, where there*
 “ *was danger of doing harm ; though I speak so ear-*
 “ *nestly, where I would fain hope to do good. But*
 “ *no mildness or prudence will wholly or nearly pre-*
 “ *vent the abovementioned consequences (k).”*

And what are the abovementioned consequences ?
 Even as much hurt to Government as can arise, on
 the one hand, from a diminution of the credit of
 the Bishops, and consequently of their ability of
 serving the Government ; and on the other, from
 the resentment of the Clergy, on the disappoint-
 ment of a project on which *all* of them, of *any*
character, have set their hearts. And as his Grace
 apprehends, that this will do the government more
 hurt than any good the rejection of it will do them
 among the Dissenters can make amends for, we must
 conclude that it would be at the peril of the Govern-
 ment to oblige the one and disoblige the other.

“ We do not threaten, says his Grace, when
 “ we are disregarded.”—“ Why no, my Lord,”
 might Mr *Walpole* have answered, “ not in the
 “ terms of a *Covent-Garden* bully, your Lordship
 “ only gives us *civilly* to understand, what a nest
 “ of wasps your *episcopal representations* can raise
 “ about our ears, if we do not behave like good
 “ boys ; and how much less formidable the threat-
 “ nings of the Dissenters would be, than the *gentle,*
 “ *mild,*

“ *mild*, and *prudent* remonstrances of our own
 “ spiritual fathers, with a numerous clergy at
 “ their beck.”

Did the Dissenters, when soliciting the repeal of the Test act, carry their menaces farther than this? So his Grace thought fit to tell Mr *Walpole*, reminding him at the same time, that their threatnings, on that occasion, had been very safely slighted (*l*).

I am afraid, Mr *Walpole* would be inclined to question the truth of this representation; and probably, had he thought his Grace's Letter worth his notice, would have told him, that the application of the Dissenters to have the Test repealed, so far as it related to his Majesty's Protestant subjects, was *not* slighted. The answers given them were respectful, and they dutifully acquiesced in the reasons that were assigned, why their request could not be complied with. This is meant of the Body of the Dissenters, which, as his Grace has well observed, is not to be denominated from *a few busy, warm men among them*.

It is upon record, that the wise and good King *William*, was desirous to oblige the Dissenters in this point, without any particular application from them. It is equally well known, that the two excellent Princes, GEORGE I. and GEORGE II. were no less disposed to comply with the several applications made on that behalf by the Dissenters; and such likewise were the sentiments of Mr *Walpole* and
 his

(*l*) Page 25.

his noble brother; and such will ever be the sentiments of all true Patriots, and well wishers to the Protestant religion, and the Protestant government of this country.

There were indeed *threatnings* on those occasions, which were *not* slighted, *threatnings* from the high-church party, many of them, in substance, though not exactly in stile, the same with these *gentle* and *friendly admonitions* of the Bishop of Oxford. These made *due impressions* upon the statesmen of those days, whose experience had taught them, that it was safer to slight the threatnings of any sort of men, rather than those of an incensed and vindictive high-church clergy. Very few, who either remember the transactions of those times, or have read the history of them, will think, that these latter threatnings had a less share in supporting the Test, than either the expediency of the law or a mere contempt for the Dissenters.

I have now gone through his Grace's Letter to Mr *Walpole*, on the subject of *American Bishops*: and the remaining question is only this, Whether his Grace was capable of writing a Letter so full of gross mistakes, inconsistencies, artful misrepresentations, and unmanly calumnies, to a Statesman, who, from the nature of his situation, was so capable of detecting and confuting them. The alternative is obvious. If the Letter is spurious, the *forgers* of it are unpardonable, not only on account of a base imposition upon the public, but
for

for traducing the memory of a great man, who departed so lately full of days and honour, and in the odour of sanctity. If the Letter is genuine, his Encomiasts must have been egregiously mistaken, who have ascribed to him, not only eminent abilities in the province of authorship, but an uncommon measure of judgment, candour, moderation, and integrity in the administration of his high office; virtues and endowments which the writer of such a Letter must have possessed in a very moderate degree.

The whole case is now before the public: and if any one should be inclined to think that his Grace hath been treated in these papers with more freedom than is consistent with a decent regard to his Grace's station and character; let it be considered, that if this Letter is a forgery, these Remarks upon it are a full justification of his Grace from the imputations which are necessarily suggested by the contents of it. If it is genuine, be it understood, that *Truth* and *Righteousness* are no respecters of persons, are of no party, nor at all more attached to the Mitre and Lawn, than to the Sackcloth and Ashes of a pretended penitent. And be it farther noticed, that he who contrives to spread bad principles, and to recommend mischievous projects after his demise, which he does not chuse to publish and avow in his life-time, is no longer intitled to the benefit of that common maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THAT it may not be said that mere prejudice hath prevailed so far in drawing up these Remarks, as to leave no room for justice; I here declare my entire concurrence with his Grace in one maxim adopted by him, at page 6. however unfortunate I may think him in his application of it to the promotion of *American* Episcopacy.

The maxim is this. *Against things evidently right and useful, no dangers ought to be pleaded, but such as are very probable and great.* His Grace saw the *rectitude* and *usefulness* of settling Bishops in our American Colonies in so strong a point of light, and the *dangers* which would attend it, at so great a distance, and in so diminutive a size, that he ventured this aphorism with all security, nothing doubting, but the public would readily take his word for *one* member of his premisses, as a consummate Divine, and for the other, as a
 Prelate

Prelate of great *moderation* and *sincerity*, which would intitle him to his conclusion of course.

There were however times and occasions, when and where this maxim made very little impression upon his Grace, and when and where the application of it, in the opinion of many serious and thinking Christians, was full as apposite, as it was in the case of *American* Bishops.

It is well known, that several very important objections have been made to some particulars in our established forms; that alterations and amendments in these have been suggested by learned and conscientious men, both among the clergy and the laity; and that they who have solicited such amendments, have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of all capable and disinterested judges, that such amendments would be not only *right* and *useful*, but *void of all danger*, except from the opposition of those, who ought to be the first to promote them.

How stood his Grace affected to these alterations and amendments? Even just as his Grace, in this Letter, represents the Dissenters at home, and the Non-conforming Colonists abroad, to be affected towards his project of episcopizing *America*, *warm* and *busy* and *zealous* to disappoint every thing tending to encourage them, and *threatning* the public with dolorous consequences, if any of the several reformations proposed, should take place.

For

For this purpose his Grace's agents were set to work in every quarter, and having once more revived the ridiculous clamour of the *danger* of the Church, they were not ashamed to represent the remonstrants on the behalf of a reformation, as aiming to root up the foundations of the establishment; as, *seeking, under the pretence of amendment, to break loose from all institutions and forms*; as proposing to *set fire to the whole edifice, because some minute parts of it are not perfectly adapted to the rest*; and lastly, as *concurring with those sons of licentiousness, who think that laws are superfluous things, and that civil societies were instituted to be torn to pieces by discords*(a).

Dr Markham, Dean of Christ's Church, of whose oratory this is a specimen, could hardly be unconscious that he had here employed the figure *Hyperbole* with great freedom. But he would take it for granted his audience would understand him, and particularly *one* of them, who had already apprised the world how much *utility*, in cases of this nature, had the advantage of *truth*.

It was honest enough in him, however, to tell the company first, and afterwards so many of his readers as understand Latin, where he learned his knack. For he immediately subjoins, that, "it was hardly possible for him, or any one else to deal in such matters, without calling to mind

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" that

(a) See Dr Markham's *Oratiuncula*, at the end of his *Cancio ad Clerum*, before the Convocation, Jan. 25. 1769.

“ *that man, who among our Prelates had obtained*
 “ *the sovereignty, and by whose death, we grieve*
 “ *for the diminished dignity of our Church.*” A
 pretty compliment, by the way, to the survivors;
 to which, lest he should not be understood, he adds
 a little afterwards, “ the Church would have a
 “ great loss of such a man in her most flourishing
 “ times, but much more in her present *penury!*”

What effect this petulant insult might have upon the venerable body to which it was addressed, I shall not presume to guess; but I confess, when I recollect, even without looking into the Court calendar, ten or a dozen names who were either *actually* or *virtually* present on that occasion, and who are far from being overvalued in point of abilities, by being put in comparison with the late Archbishop *Secker*, my resentment is provoked, and I am unavoidably urged to examine upon what grounds this unjust preference is given to the Orator's Hero and grand Exemplar.

“ He was, saith Dr *Markham*, a strenuous
 “ [*propugnator*] both of *our* faith and discipline.”
 OUR faith and discipline; that is, the faith and
 discipline of the Church of *England*. The idea
 of a Gladiator, is not quite so suitable to the character
 of a defender of the christian faith and discipline:
 and the plain meaning of this encomium is, that his
 Grace was an obstinate maintainer of whatsoever was
established, right or wrong; whether agreeable to the
 Gospel of Christ, or not.
 However,

However, to make his Grace look as like a good christian and a good protestant as he could, he hath added, *ubique tamen sine acerbitate dissentiens*; which I know not well how to render, as, a *sirenuous champion* dissenting from his adversary *without bitterness*, exhibits a discordancy in one and the same character, not very easy to be conceived: unless we may be allowed to suppose that his Grace's *propugnatorial* spirit, was glossed over with an insidious mildness, by way of a mask, till he could take his adversary at a proper advantage. For if his Grace's mildness and moderation, were either truly natural, or truly christian dispositions, it is impossible Dr *Markbam* should be put in mind of Archbishop *Secker*, in the midst of the *bitterest* railings, misrepresentations, and even scurrilities, thrown out against those who attempted only to *reform* his Grace's beloved establishment of faith and discipline.

Having done with his Grace's controversial character, Dr *Markbam* proceeds to give an account of his literary abilities, where, having allowed that, "his Grace's style was not the most polished," he insists, that, "no one ever outstripped him, "in copiousness, method, and gravity."

Did the Doctor never hear of *Thomas Aquinas*? However, these are excellencies it must be owned; but excellencies of which every laborious compiler of a good common-place book may equally boast.

This *mediocrity* in his Grace's proficiency as a writer, is the more surprizing, in that we are told, at the end of the next paragraph, that, "there never was a man of leisure who laboured more in literary studies, than his Grace did in a most busy station."

As Dr *Markham*, no doubt, expects to be believed, we will for once, take his word for this remarkable fact, and only inquire how his Grace acquitted himself in his department of *business*.

And here his Grace is held forth to us, as, "a *Magistrate*, who laid it down for a principal rule of his conduct, to be wanting to no part of his duty, and this in the midst of a multiplicity of cares with which he was daily beset."

I freely acknowledge that I cannot form an idea of a *Magistrate* in the Church of Christ, without adding to it the idea of *usurpation*. In the Church of *Antichrist*, a *Magistrate* is a necessary character. His representative must, from the nature of his trust, be invested with compulsive powers, equipped with an inquisition, and other means of inflicting pains and penalties upon those who dissent from his particular system.

It is not for the honour of Archbishop *Secker* to suppose that he affected *Magistracy* in the least degree; much less, that, in the exercise of such office, he was wanting to no part of it; as that must imply a desire at least to execute penal Laws against

against Heretics and Schismatics, to incapacitate Dissenters, by imposing upon them Tests and Subscriptions to points of his own devising, and never to suffer one of them to escape his vigilance when he could lay hold of him.

There is, I think, but one reason why the Archbishop should desire to be invested with the powers of *Magistracy*. He had but poor luck in the province of *Cburch-champion*. He was generally worsted whenever he met his adversary upon the plain field of Controversy, whether he chose to engage on English ground, or went in quest of adventures to a foreign land. At home, his own artillery was dextrously turned upon him (*b*). Abroad, his Ligurian arts and subterfuges were completely defeated, merely by the dint of an honest heart, a good cause, and a skilful hand (*c*). It is true in these conflicts, his Grace laid aside the *insignia* of his order, but some how or other, the adversary got a peep at his countenance through the chinks of his visor, and after that, there was

(*b*) In a spirited and ingenious pamphlet, intitled, *Remarks upon the First of three Letters against The Confessional*, p. 24—36. *N. B.* The *Second* and *Third* of these Letters are *not* the Archbishop's, but the work of an every way inferior hand.

(*c*) See *Remarks on an anonymous Tract*, intitled, *An Answer to Dr Mayhew's Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts*. By *Jonathan Mayhew*, Pastor of the *Westchurch* in *Boston*. London, Reprinted for *W. Nicoll*, 1765.

no avoiding the disgrace of being vanquished by caitiff knights of low degree.

It is no wonder that repeated mortifications of this kind should raise a little aspiration in the breast of an impatient Prelate, to an office in which he might take his amends with more advantage. How far he acted, on this consideration, in the character of a *Church-magistrate*, Dr MARKHAM may know better than I do. But whatever his Grace's diligence and vigilance were in this department, it is plain, if we may believe Dr *Markham*, he had very little success; for the Dr tells us, not without some seeming regret, that, "there never was a time when men lived and thought more according to their own judgment." Whereas, if things had proceeded prosperously on the *Magistratical* plan of faith and discipline, men ought to have lived and thought according to the judgment of Archbishop *Secker* and Dr *Markham*.

The Doctor concludes his panegyric (which he modestly acknowledges to be *short* and *jejune*) with the following flourish of his art. "In some men we discern an excellent genius, and a multiplicity of science, in others, prudence, authority, probity, constancy; but we shall not easily find one in whom all these have so abundantly met together."

I have no inclination to dissect this complication of excellencies; let every one judge of it as he sees

fees cause. I allow, on the one hand, that an exalted station is a great *brightener*, and on the other, that an *Oxford* Orator may be indulged in a little fiction; but his Grace's writings are *serious* things, and are a just *criterion* for any one who is disposed to verify this accumulation of virtues and good qualities, without looking for a parallel either among the living or the dead.

It is as impossible for me to mention an *Oxford* Orator without thinking of Dr *Burton* (d), as it was for Dr *Markham* to scourge the advocates for reformation, without thinking of Archbishop *Secker*.

Dr *Burton* takes his Grace up indeed a little late in life, not sooner than his 28th year; whence our great grandchildren, reading the contents of this panegyric in its *fortieth* edition, will naturally conclude, that his Grace owed his immense proficiency in *omni scibili* (Physick excepted) solely to the doctrine and discipline of the university of *Oxford*; little dreaming that he received the slightest rudiments among the "*irritable, perverse, malignant, seditious, and intolerably tyrannical Puritans* (e)." And yet, as he turned out in the end, so *completely furnished with imperial arts* (f), it is not at all unnatural to suppose that he might have picked up

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and

(d) JOHANNIS BURTON ad amicum Epistola; five commentariolus THOMÆ SECKER, Archiep. Cantuar. Memorix Sacr. OXONII, E Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1768.

(e) Epist. p. 27, 28.

(f) Page 14.

and retained some slight maxims of Hierarchical discipline among these *tyrannical* Dissenters, with whom his early connexions are not yet absolutely forgotten.

I am sorry my time will not allow me to go through this elaborate Epistle, which furnishes in every page abundant matter for very edifying reflections, particularly on the frailty of bigoted and injudicious panegyrist, who, void of every idea of justice, moderation, or propriety, where their idol is to be exhibited, give occasion to those who are not quite so prone to credulity, to look farther into a character so bedaubed with fulsome adulation, than they might otherwise be disposed to do.

Dr *Burton*, for example, holds up his Grace as one of the *princes of Critics* in Hebrew literature, and for this he sends us to Mr *Merrick's* Annotation on the Psalms (g). This might pass well enough with those who took Dr *Burton* for a competent judge, at least for two or three months after the publication of his Epistle. But Dr *Gregory Sharpe*, having, after that interval, shewn how far his Grace had waded out of his depth in that province, the encomium now serves for nothing, but to give suspicions, that there are more of them in the pamphlet, upon equally precarious grounds.

grounds (b). Add to this, that some suspicions having been raised by the freedom of his Grace's speculations on revealed religion in the earlier part of his life, nothing could be more injudicious than to attempt to embellish his Grace's character, by sending the reader to a few insipid cavils against some striking parts of a very learned and able *Defence of CHRISTIANITY* (i).

Again, it was objected to his Grace, that he was out of measure provoked at every attempt to amend or reform our Ecclesiastical system in those particulars where it is most exceptionable: that whenever such proposals appeared, he was out of all patience, summoning his Myrmidons from every quarter, and oftentimes lending his own hand to the confutation of these *Innovators* and *Schismatics*. This, numbers of his Grace's admirers would never believe, supposing that his Grace, who had profited so much by his own *free examination*, could not be so violently embittered himself, or afford his patronage and countenance to those who were, against men who had an equal right to judge for themselves. But Dr *Burton* soon put the matter out of doubt, by acknowledging

(b) *Vid.* A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Oxford*, from the Master of the *Temple*, containing some Strictures made by his Grace the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Reverend Mr *Merrick's* Annotations on the *Psalms*. London, 1769.

(i) See the *Remarks* cited above, Note (b) p. 87.

knowledging in one place, his Grace for the author of the feeble *Answer* to Dr *Mayhew* (*k*), and, in another, by divulging, that his Grace not only undertook the office of *propugnator* himself, against the *slanders* of *Schismatics* and *Innovators*, but used the *vicarious* assistance of others who fought under his standard (*l*).

It is true, the Dr says, he took the same course with the calumnies of the papists. It might be so; but the evidence *here* is a little obscure: in the other case it is clear and decisive.

It has been often asserted, and as often denied, that his Grace kept a record of clerical delinquents, commonly called a *black book*, in which were registered the names and offences of those who had the misfortune to fall under his Grace's displeasure; and that the better to detect defaulters, his Grace had his spies and emissaries properly distributed to give the necessary information — Dr *Burton* seems to give credit to the affirmative, by assuring us, that his Grace, “animadverted upon every thing relating to the Clergy; that he had his *internuntii*, and used the ministry of others in his disquisitions; sought out and noted every thing; and finally, digested his discoveries into a kind of *Fasti*, by way of a provincial history, for the use of his successors (*m*).” It would be strange if there should

(*k*) Epist. page 28.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 21.

(*m*) Page 25.

should not be one column of this calendar appropriated to the *carbone notandi*.

But our greatest obligations to Dr *Burton* arise from his candid and undisguised account of the motives of his Grace's zeal for *American* Episcopacy. His Grace, it seems, understood by his books, that Episcopal government was of apostolical original: He perceived likewise [how, it is not said, perhaps by *instinct*] that there was a kindred connexion between *Episcopacy* and *Monarchy*. (n) And with these convictions upon his mind, " what wonder, saith Dr *Burton*, that our Arch-
" prelate should favour the pious desires of those
" Americans, who having embraced the faith
" and discipline of the Church of *England*, covet-
" ed to have episcopal administrations more with-
" in their reach?" This was kind and compassionate!

But the misfortune is, that the posthumous publication of his Grace's Letter to Mr *Walpole*, hath made it questionable, whether these motives did not work considerably towards their effect, *without* these *pious desires*, and long before his Grace was possessed of the Archprelacy. That Dr *Burton* was well acquainted with his Grace's *motives* for promoting Episcopal government in *America*, there can be no doubt, after his commerce of friendship with his Grace, for more than forty years(o). But some possibly may suspect, that
the

(n) Page 26.

(o) Page 4.

the Dr knew little more of their *operation* than merely the *ostensible* parts of it.

And yet from his affigning, or at least intimating a *third* motive for his Grace's zeal in this American business, I am apt to think Dr *Burton* knew more of this matter than he thought fit to divulge.

It seems our domestic Dissenters, forming their judgment upon Dr *Secker's* gentleness and lenity, and his earnestness to support the right of toleration (not without some retrospect, it is likely, to his more early principles and connexions) expected his Grace would at a proper time, "betray to them the privileges and authority of the Church of *England*(p)."

There was no way so effectual to convince them of their mistake, as to discover his ardent zeal to episcopize their brethren in *America*. What other methods his Grace might take to undeceive them, it is not material to inquire. According to Dr *Burton*, it must have been this circumstance in his Grace's conduct which chiefly opened their eyes, as it derived upon his Grace their most furious resentment.

This being the case, we have here a *third* motive for his Grace's zeal for *American* Episcopacy, distinct from *Apostolical* and *Monarchical* relations, inducing a suspicion, that the *impious aversion* of some to *American* Episcopacy, might have as great
a share

a share in his Grace's attempts to establish it, as the *pious desires* of others.

If it were worth the while, one might pick out abundant matter of amusement, from a comparison of Dr *Burton's* Elogy with that of Dr *Markbam's*. Both of them seem to have been conscious, that the transmitting the most unexceptionable characters to posterity, without some alloy of human infirmity, hath given occasion to the inquisitive reader oftentimes to question the good faith of the historian, or the sincerity of the panegyrist. They seem however not to be agreed, where the *nævi* in Archbishop *Secker's* portrait should be inserted.

Dr *Markbam* is inclined to place the chief imperfection in his Grace's stile. But this Dr *Burton* cannot be supposed to allow; having submitted his own valuable labours to his Grace's polishing hand, which, according to the Dr, performed this office with the utmost accuracy (*q*).

Dr *Markbam*, again, thinks, that, "the chief duty of *Magistracy*, is to apply, " with diligence " to the ordering those businessses which occur in " the daily course of things;" and in this article, the Dr affirms, that the Archbishop, " in the " multiplicity of cares with which he was distracted, neglected nothing."

But Dr *Burton* is of another opinion; he *requires* in a Magistrate *an imperious obstinacy and arrogance*, in which, according to him, his Grace was extremely

(*q*) Epist. page 30.

tremely defective ; and informs us, that, had his Grace exercised his authority to the full, and not given way to the times, he would have much more effectually provided for the common good. “ For
 “ had this *Prince of Ecclesiastics* exerted himself,
 “ he might, according to Dr *Burton*, (in con-
 “ junction with his Majesty, both of them acting
 “ as the avengers and satellites of despised and
 “ violated Religion) have totally defeated that
 “ hundred-headed beast, *Impiety*, which paraded
 “ with impunity among almost all ranks of men.”
 And he gives us no obscure intimations, that had he been in his Grace’s seat, matters would have gone much better ; that is to say, “ Authority
 “ would have been restored to the Laws, its pro-
 “ per honour to piety, reverence to the Ecclesiastical order, nor, perhaps, would the Americans
 “ have been deprived of an *Hierarchy* (r).” Such is the courage and spirit of those who breathe *the atmosphere of wholesome severities !*

This *lenity* it is, that Dr *Burton* exhibits as the late Archbishop’s grand foible ; taking care however to inform us, that, “ it was not so much the
 “ effect of the *sentiments* or the *will* of the man,
 “ as of a certain *political necessity* of the times (s).” In which, I am apt to believe, few people who knew his Grace, will disagree with him.

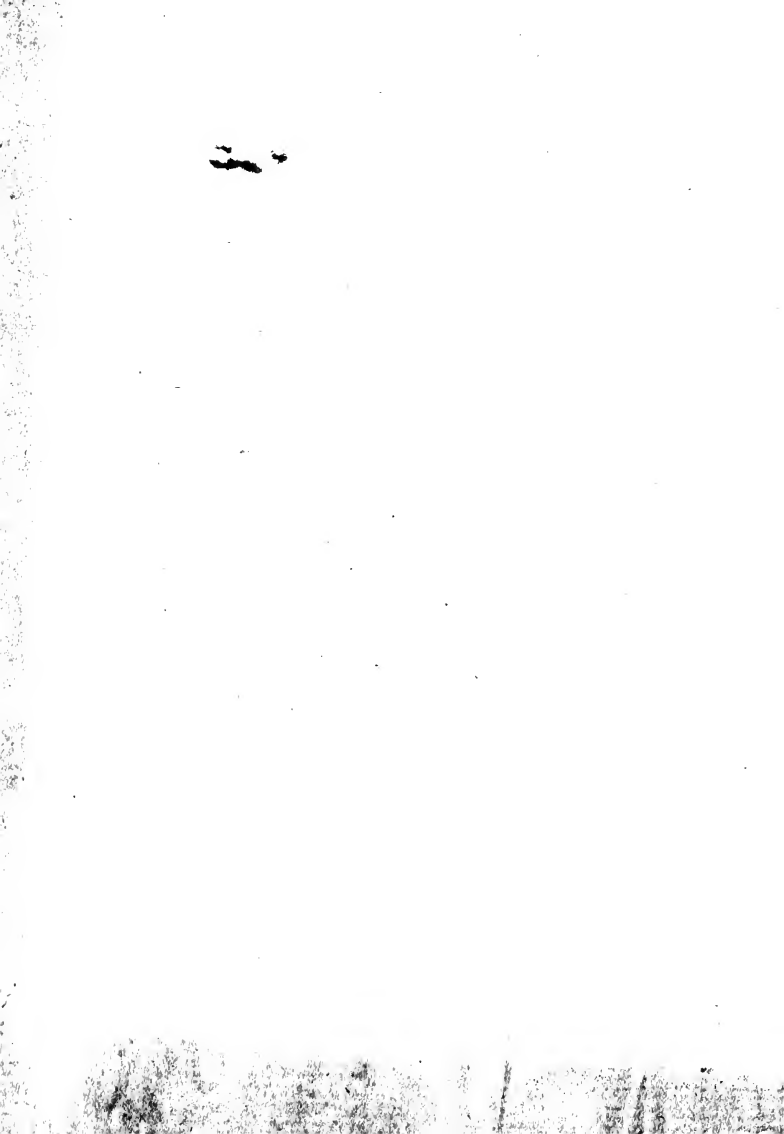
Such are the encomiums of the Doctors, *Burton* and *Markham*, who, by their officious inter-
 position,

position, may be fairly said to have left their Hero in a much worse condition than they found him, and (to borrow an expression from the celebrated *Junius*) “to have injured him by their assistance.”

On this charge of *lenity*, however, I am of opinion, a willing advocate might find something to say for his Grace. There certainly were times and occasions when he was by no means defective in this *arrogance of Magistracy* required by Dr *Burton*. And I will only add, that it would be to his Grace’s honour, if it could be proved, that, in those instances, he was less influenced by his own temper and principles, than by the counsels and instigation of such men as these adulatory Orators.

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