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W. D. D.
SERMON

A

John Adams

LETTER

TO A

CLERGYMAN,

Relating to his

SERMON

ON

The 30th of *JANUARY*:

Being a compleat ANSWER to all the SERMONS that ever have been, or ever shall be, preached, in the like Strain, on that Anniversary.

By G. COADE, Jun. Merchant at *Exeter*.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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T O T H E

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

*B. E. N. J. A. M. I. N.,*LORD-BISHOP of *Winchester.*

M Y L O R D,



WILLIAM GLANVILLE,
Esq; one of the chief Clerks of
the *Treasury*, left your Lord-
ship a Legacy, in his last
Will; and a few Hours before

his Death, was pleased to assign the fol-
lowing Reasons for it.

“ As to the Legacy I have given to the
“ Lord-Bishop of *Bangor*, I declare the
“ same to be in Testimony of the Respect
“ I bear him, in defending the Liberty of
“ his Country; and for his Love to Man-
“ kind; and for his endeavouring to free
“ Religion from Superstition and Tyranny,
“ (which Worldly Interest and Ambition
“ have blended with it) and to restore it
“ to that Simplicity and Usefulness which
“ was

“ was the Design of its blessed Author :
 “ For which his Labour of Love, he has
 “ justly merited the Esteem and Regard of
 “ all good Men, instead of that Load of
 “ Infamy and Scandal, which the Passions
 “ of designing Men have so maliciously and
 “ uncharitably thrown upon him.

“ WILLIAM GLANVILLE.”

Here your Lordship and the World see the real Sentiments of a Gentleman of great Honour, Sense, and Virtue, at a Time of the strictest Sincerity. And I beg Leave publickly to declare, that I have no other Reason in the World for affixing your great and venerable Name to the following Papers, than those assigned by the worthy Gentleman above-mentioned: Being utterly unbiassed by any such Motives as usually produce Dedications to great Men.—And I persuade myself, it cannot be unacceptable to your Lordship, to be the Patron of a Book, the only Design of which is to serve and vindicate the civil and religious Liberties of Mankind.

And here, according to the usual Stile and Purpose of Dedications, it may be expected I should launch out into a Panegyric on your great and excellent Qualities: And, indeed, being a Lay-man, and having not the least Dependance on your Lordship, I
 might

might in that Case be presum'd to speak to you, and of you, with the Freedom of an indifferent Man, and without risking that Censure which is so generally incurred by Dedicators.—But the exhibiting your Lordship's amiable Character, requires an abler Pen : It is a Subject too nice and delicate for me to attempt : Besides, it can receive no Advantage from any private Man ; as it stands immoveably fixed, beyond the Reach of Party or of Faction, on Records that will remain until Time shall be no more.

Your Lordship, at your first setting out in the World, was pleas'd to lay aside the unintelligible Jargon of the Schools, in Matters of Religion, and to declare openly and freely in Favour of the New-Testament, and Common-Sense.

And as to Matters of Government, you ever appear'd a strenuous Asserter of those noble Principles, whereby the Revolution was brought about, under the late King *William*, whose Memory will be always dear to every *Briton*, that has the least Regard for Honesty, Reason, or Justice. Those religious and political Principles your Lordship was pleas'd to defend and maintain, by Arguments founded on Truth, and superior to all the wicked Sophistry of your Adversaries.

This generous and truly *English* Behaviour could not fail of procuring your Lordship the Esteem and Regard of every wise and honest Man in the three Kingdoms; at the same Time that it subjected you to an infamous Persecution by vast Numbers even of your own holy Vocation: They loaded you with Scandal and Reproach; and by their malicious and envenomed Pens treated you without the least Regard to Truth or Modesty.

When mercenary Scriblers are employed by a Party, to vent their Malice, it may be fit to leave them to the Course of common Justice; but here the Trumpet was sounded in *Sion*, the Pulpit gave the Alarm; those who professed themselves Ambassadors of Peace breathed nothing but War; they attacked you with unappeasible Fury, but covered their Outrage with the specious Names of Loyalty, Religion, and the Church; whereby the deluded Populace were drawn to enlist under their Banners, in Contradiction to their own most valuable Rights, both as Men and Christians.

This, my Lord, was the Case with Respect to you, and to those truly rational and even divine Principles you so bravely defended; when the high Court of Parliament thought it necessary to interpose in Favour of your Lordship; whom, with Surprize
and

and Astonishment, they saw thus iniquitously persecuted by many reverend Doctors and Dignitaries, and for no other Reason, than for your open and hearty Attachment to our Religion, Laws, and Government.

This illustrious Assembly determined, by a public Act, to testify to the Sovereign, and to the whole Nation, their Resentment of your ill Usage, and the Sense they had of your extraordinary Merit. For this Purpose, a Motion was made by the ingenious *Anthony Henly*, Esq; and, after a short Debate, the House came to the following Resolution :

“ That the Reverend Mr. *Benjamin*
 “ *Hoadley*, Rector of *St. Peter’s Poor*,
 “ *London*, for having strenuously justified
 “ the Principles on which her Majesty and
 “ the Nation proceeded, in the late happy
 “ Revolution, had justly merited the Fa-
 “ vour of this House ; and that an humble
 “ Address be presented to her Majesty, that
 “ she would be graciously pleased to bestow
 “ some Dignity in the Church, on the said
 “ Mr. *Hoadley*, for his eminent Services in
 “ the Church and State.”

The *Queen’s* Answer was :

“ I will take a proper Opportunity to
 “ comply with your Request.”

Every true *Englishman* rejoiced at this Vote : And the more so, from a Persuasion that
 that

that your Enemies would never be so insolent as to attack you again, and set themselves in Opposition to the Sense of the Nation.

A greater Honour, your Lordship could never have received; as it was the Approbation of your Country, declared by its Representatives, one of the most august Assemblies upon Earth, and which will remain, in the Records thereof, an eternal Monument to your Renown:—A Monument, more glorious, and lasting, than Pillars of Marble, or triumphal Arches!

For some Time after this your Lordship had a Respite from your ecclesiastical Adversaries. It seemed as if they were thunder-struck by this noble Resolution. However, it was not long, before these Disturbers of our Peace, these sworn Enemies of *British* Liberty, received a fresh Provocation, in a Sermon, preached before the King, at St. James's, and published by his special Command, entitled, THE NATURE OF THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST. Herein you had proved, beyond all reasonable Contradiction, that Christ's Kingdom was not of this World: A Doctrine new and surprising, even to the greatest Part of the Clergy.—What now could your Lordship expect but Judgment without Mercy!—It was a Crime of such

such a Nature as never to be forgiven. To be told that Christ's Kingdom did not consist in Miters, Lordships, Deanaries, Vestments, Ceremonies, Spiritual Courts, Absolutions, Persecutions, &c. &c. &c.— It was next to the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and for which your Adversaries will never forgive you, either in this World or the next.

Here your Enemies lost all Patience; and instead of Reason and Argument, discharged against you their whole Artillery of Affronts and Indignities:—Notwithstanding the greatest and best Men in the Kingdom acknowledged that your Lordship's Principles, both civil and religious, were for the Benefit of human Society, agreeable to the natural Rights of Mankind, and perfectly consistent with the New-Testament, the Reformation, and the Church of *England*.

Your Lordship's Enemies did not intend Things should stop here.—The lower House of Convocation appointed a Committee, consisting of Dr. *Moss*, Dr. *Sherlocke*, Dr. *Friend*, Dr. *Spratt*, Dr. *Cannon*, and Dr. *Byse*, to draw up a Representation, to be laid before the upper House, concerning several dangerous Positions advanced by your Lordship, at that Time Bishop of *Bangor*; which Representation was approved
of

of by the lower House, and was voted, to be entered on their Books, *nemine contradicente*.—The Attention of the Public was again engaged, and Persons of the highest Rank were extremely solicitous for your Protection.

And here, also, your Lordship had the Honour to have one of the best, the wisest, and bravest Men that ever the World produced, appear in your Behalf:—I mean the late KING GEORGE; who was graciously pleased, by his royal Writ to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to prorogue the Convocation; whereby the Designs of your Enemies were at once defeated.——A noble Instance of royal Justice, and paternal Affection to his Subjects! A strange Phænomenon in the political World! A Monarch exerting himself in Defence of his Subjects Liberties, which Multitudes of themselves were eager to betray! An Example highly deserving the Imitation of every Sovereign, but hardly to be paralleled. His generous Soul was influenced by all those Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion, with which Christianity never fails to inspire its real Votaries. He could not forbear, voluntarily and unasked, to interpose in Behalf of an innocent and abused Subject. This single Instance of his
royal

royal Virtue will ever be recorded in the *British Annals*, to his immortal Honour; for which Generations to come will call him blessed.

I cannot conclude without taking some Notice of a late honest Performance * of your Lordship's, which has again drawn upon you the unjust Attacks of the Bigots of all Parties. Your Lordship could expect nothing less: — Its natural Design and Tendency being to beat down Mystery, Bigotry, Superstition, and Nonsense; which have been, for so many Ages, the grand Support of the sacerdotal Empire. What Wonder, then, if your Lordship sustained a fresh Torrent of Abuse on this Occasion. I have read many of the Answers to this valuable Treatise; but have found none of them meriting your Lordship's Observation. In Opposition to all these Exertions of Scurrility I could produce, if it were necessary, the Sentiments of the best and greatest Men that the present Age has produced, in favour of your Lordship's Character and Principles. But I shall content myself with what the learned and pious Dr. *Tennison* was pleased to advance, in his Protest against the Report of the Convocation, in the Case of your Lord-

* The Plain Account.

x D E D I C A T I O N.

ship. I have read it often, and never without a secret Pleasure. It breathes forth nothing but Piety, Charity, and New-Testament Religion : “ Being
 “ persuaded in my own Mind, that the
 “ Word of God is the only sufficient
 “ Foundation, upon which a true Pro-
 “ testant can build his Religion, and that
 “ the Doctrines contained in the Bishop’s
 “ Sermon, preached before his Majesty
 “ on *Sunday* the 31st of *March*, 1717,
 “ and published by his Majesty’s special
 “ Command, are true protestant Doctrines,
 “ and so perfectly agreeable to the Word
 “ of God, revealed to us in the Bible,
 “ that there seems no just Cause for the
 “ Complaints made against them——
 “ which Complaints probably would ne-
 “ ver have been thought of, had not some
 “ Men, whilst they were making open
 “ Professions of their loyal Intentions, se-
 “ cretly designed to cast a Blot and Con-
 “ tempt on the regal Authority; and un-
 “ der a plausible Pretence of doing Ser-
 “ vice to the Church, laid hold of an
 “ Opportunity of shewing their Personal
 “ Hatred and Resentment against the Bi-
 “ shop.

“ Subscribed 14 *Feb.* 17 $\frac{17}{13}$.

“ EDWARD TENNISON.”

Much

Much about the same Time, that true *Englishman*, and famous Orator, Mr. *Lechmere*, was pleased to make very honourable Mention of your Lordship in the *House of Commons*, and called you a strenuous and worthy Champion of the Revolution, and Protestant Succession.

Our blessed Saviour, when upon Earth, foresaw the various Persecutions that would befall his Saints and Followers; and for their Support and Encouragement he pronounces them blessed. — *Blessed are they that are persecuted for Righteousness Sake; for their's is the Kingdom of Heaven.* — And again, *Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets that were before you,* Matt. v. 10, 12. But I shall say no more; only with the utmost Submission let me entreat your Lordship not to be dismayed, but to go on with that important Work in which you have been engaged, and for which you are so admirably qualified. Consider, Sir, it is the Glory of God, the Honour and Support of his Son's Interest and Religion upon Earth, that you have so zealously defended: A Religion extremely useful to civil Society, and admirably adapted to make Mankind happy, here and hereafter.

And now, of Almighty God I earnestly beg, that he would never leave you, but constantly vouchsafe you large and ample Communications of the Gifts and Graces of his most holy Spirit; and when you shall have done with mortal Things, and shall stand on the Brink of the Grave, just ready to step into Eternity, may you then enjoy a noble Firmness and Serenity of Mind; may all be quiet and harmonious within—may you then experimentally know what it is, to enjoy that Peace of God that passeth all Understanding—and may the End of all be to you everlasting Peace and Felicity. This, my Lord, is the sincere Desire and Prayer of

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most humble and

Most obedient Servant,



A

L E T T E R

T O A

CLERGYMAN, &c.

REVEREND SIR!

IT is not out of Vanity, Lucre, or Party that I now sit down to make some Remarks on your late very extraordinary Sermon. I must confess I have read some other notable ones, and heard many more, on this Occasion; but none so deserving of public Contempt and Censure. Your whole Performance

could be calculated with no other View than to revive old Heats and Animofities, and to raife that Spirit of Strife and Difcord, which, as a Miffter of the Gospel of Peace, it is your peculiar Province to fupprefs.

I know of nothing more repugnant to the Spirit of Chriftianity, than for one, profefling to preach it, to fet up for the Champion of a Party; fince Parties are for the moft Part influenced by Motives mean and brutal, inconfiftent with that unalterable Regard to Truth and Juftice, to which all Men and all Parties have an inviolable Claim.

I hope you will not be offended, if, in this Address, I fpeak my Sentiments plainly. And tho' I fhall not fail of doing fo, yet, notwithstanding the Provocation you have given, my Intention is to treat you with the Civility due to your Function, without Paflion, or Personal Reproach. And if you are not very much prejudiced by a blind and furious Zeal, I perfuade myfelf I fhall in fome Degree enlighten your Underftanding, and awaken your Confcience: not by Falfhood and Difguifes, but by Facts; Facts that are incontestable, and that will argue for themfelves.

It would take up too much of my Time to enter upon all the particular Falfties, Abfurdities, and fallacious Reasonings, of which your Sermon was made up. I fhall only offer the following general Remarks to your Confideration;

Intreating you to peruse them calmly, without any Party-Spirit, divested of all Prejudice and Partiality, with a Temper and Disposition of Mind becoming a Gentleman and a Scholar, always determined to submit to the Force of Truth and Evidence: And then your own Conscience will presently suggest to you, that your whole Sermon was a manifest Contradiction to the Religion, Laws, Government, and true History of your Country.

The exalted Character you was pleased to give of King *Charles* the First, made a very considerable Part of your Discourse. I must acknowledge, it was speciously drawn, and delivered with an engaging Elocution and Emphasis; but it had this unlucky Circumstance attending it, that the Picture had no Affinity with the Original: Light and Darkness, Heaven and Hell, could not possibly be more opposite to each other, than your Portrait was to the real Character of that unhappy Prince. Therefore, permit me, Sir, in my Turn, to give you his true and genuine Character; which, at this Distance of Time, can only be done, by an impartial Recital of the most considerable and important Actions of his Life.

During the Minority of this Prince he was looked on, by all that knew him, to be of a most obstinate Disposition. His Mother greatly lamented his unhappy Turn of Mind, and was

heard to say of him in Public, that “ She feared
 “ he would live to be the Ruin of him-
 “ self, and occasion the loss of his three King-
 “ doms by his Obstinacy.” Soon after he came
 to the Throne he married a *French* Papist, by a
 Dispensation from the Pope, and according to the
 Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*. She was
 not only a Papist, but in a remarkable Manner
 attached to all the Fopperies and most absurd
 Practices of that Church. By the Articles of this
 Marriage, many Liberties were granted to the
 Papists. A Chapel was permitted to be built at
Somerset-House, where there was likewise esta-
 blished a Convent of Capuchin-Friars, who, to-
 gether with a great Number of Priests and Je-
 suits, walked the Streets in their Habits, in such a
 Manner as had never been allowed since the Re-
 formation. The King wrote to the Pope with
 the Title of *Most Holy Father*.

All the honest and wise Part of the Nation was
 greatly alarmed at this Match; fearing it would
 again bring us back to the Slavery and Bondage
 of *Rome*. King *Charles* the First was a staunch
 Bigot, and consequently the Darling of the Cler-
 gy; and having no great Reach of his own, was
 governed by his Priests, who have been always
 unfortunate when they meddle in Politicks. His
 whole Reign was one continued Series of Follies,
 or Infringements of the Rights of his Subjects. He
 lived in the constant and open Violation of the
 fun-

fundamental Laws of the Realm; and conducted every Thing to the Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Nation.—But to descend to Particulars.

He agreed with the Marquis *D'Effiat*, the *French* Minister, for a Squadron of Men of War, to join the *French* Fleet at *Dieppe*, which was fitting out against the Protestants at *Rochelle*: Thereby to destroy at once all the remaining Strength of the Reformed in that Kingdom. The Command of this Squadron was given to Captain *Pennington*, whom he strictly enjoined, that in case his Ships should refuse to join the *French*, in this vile Expedition, he should use all forcible Means to compel them, even to the sinking them, if they continued obstinate: That was, to destroy the *English*, his own People, if they would not destroy the *French* Protestants.

This Conduct appears by far the more wicked and astonishing, as the King a little before had wrote two Letters, signed *Charles Rex*, to the Peers, Burghers, and Inhabitants of the City of *Rochelle*, engaging to assist them to the utmost.—In the first Letter he says, “ My Fleet shall
“ perish rather than you shall not be relieved.” In the second, “ Be assured I will never abandon
“ you, and that I will employ all the Force of
“ my Kingdom for your Deliverance.”

When the Parliament came afterwards to examine *Pennington's* Papers, they found a Letter

from the King, signed *Charles Rex*, “ Requiring
 “ him to dispose of those Ships as he should be di-
 “ rected by the *French King*, and to sink or fire
 “ such as should refuse to obey those Orders.”

On this Proceeding, General *Ludlow* has this plain Remark, “ By this horrible Treachery the
 “ strong Town of *Rochelle*, wherein the Security
 “ of the Protestants of *France* chiefly consisted,
 “ was delivered up to the Papists; and those of the
 “ Reformed Religion in all Parts of the Kingdom
 “ exposed to the Rage of their cruel and bloody
 “ Enemies^a. Again: King *James* was strongly
 “ bent to render himself absolute; yet he chose
 “ rather to carry on that Design by Fraud than
 “ Violence; but King *Charles*, immediately after
 “ his Accession to the Throne, pulled off the
 “ Mask, and openly discovered his Intention to
 “ make the Crown absolute and independent;
 “ and the Queen, on her Part, pressed him on
 “ all Occasions, to pursue the Design of en-
 “ larging his Power, and to mould the Church
 “ of *England* to a nearer Compliance to the *See*
 “ of *Rome*.” At the same Time this Prince sent
 a Declaration to the Lord-Keeper, for grant-
 ing full Liberty and Toleration to all Papists,
 notwithstanding the extreme Rigour of the then
 Laws against them. Upon some of the Privy
 Counsel advising him against this illegal Step,

^a Memoirs, Vol. I. P. 5.

he openly replied, "That it was his Will those
"Laws should all stand discharged."

Thus, almost in the first Month of his Reign, he set up a despotic Power against the Constitution. He granted a general Pardon to all Papists under Prosecution; not only as Papists, but as Criminals. He released Twenty Priests from Goal. And it now evidently appeared, that he intended to rule and govern all by absolute Will and Pleasure.

The Parliament began to be greatly alarmed by these Measures, and protested in Form against them. They remonstrated,

1. His protecting a seditious, virulent, and ignorant Priest, *Richard Montague*, in Opposition to the Sense of the Parliament.

2. The great Increase and Countenancing of Popery, by dispensing with all the Laws against it, in an arbitrary Manner.

3. The War against *Spain*, without a Declaration; and the sending to destroy the Protestants of *Rochelle*.

4. The total Mis-employment of three Subsidies, and three fifteenths. With many other Enormities, too tedious to relate.

This *Montague* wrote a Book, entitled *Apella Cæsarem*, wherein he advanced the following Positions:

1. That the Church of *Rome* is, and ever was, a true Church,

2. That

2. That Images might be used to excite Devotion.

3. That Saints have Patronage, Custody, Protection, and Power, over certain Persons and Things, as the Angels have.

This Book gave great Offence unto all true Protestants. The Parliament condemned it, and summoned *Montague* to attend at their Bar; and voted his Book to be contrary to the Articles established by Parliament, to tend to the King's Dishonour, and the Disturbance of the Church; and obliged him to enter into a Bond of 2000*l.* to appear again on the next Summons.

However, notwithstanding this Book was so publicly condemned by the Parliament, as well as by the general Voice and Suffrage of the Kingdom, yet at Court it met with Applause, and high Encomiums; and the Author was rewarded instantly with the Bishoprick of *Chichester*, and soon after was translated to *Norwich*: Whereby the King again openly declared his Encouragement of Popery; and that whoever, in Contempt of the Parliament and Constitution of *England*, would assert a despotic Power in Church and State, might expect to be rewarded.

Thus, in the Beginning of his Reign, he lost the Hearts and Affections of a great Part of his Subjects. What contributed to encrease the general Murmuring and Discontent, was his illegal and arbitrary Treatment of a great Number
of

of leading Men of both Houses of Parliament. Sir *John Elliot*, a famous Speaker in the *House of Commons*, was committed close Prisoner to the *Gatehouse*, with many others. The Pretence was, for undutiful Speech. The Commons passed a Vote to vindicate all their Members at once; declaring that there had been no undutiful Speech in that House from the Beginning of the Parliament to that Day. Sir *Dudly Diggs*, another top Speaker in the *House of Commons*, was hurried away to the *Tower*, under the Pretence also of undutiful Speech, at a late public Conference with the Lords. This Gentleman protested with the utmost Solemnity that he never spoke the Words he was charged with, and that no such Words ever came into his Thoughts; and what is more, (meerely out of Regard to common Justice) thirty-six of the Lords, who stood close by him at the Time of the said Conference, entered into a voluntary Protestation, subscribing their Names to it, *viz.* That the said Sir *Dudly Diggs* did not speak those Words, nor any Words that did or might trench on the King's Honour. Some of the Lords who protested were

Earl of <i>Mulgrave</i> ,		Earl of <i>Clare</i> ,
Earl of <i>Cleveland</i> ,		Earl of <i>Denbigh</i> ,
Earl of <i>Westmoreland</i> ,		Earl of <i>Lincoln</i> ,
Earl of <i>Bullingbrook</i> ,		Earl of <i>Essex</i> ,

Earl of <i>Cambridge</i> ,		Earl of <i>Bridgewater</i> ,
Earl of <i>Devon</i> ,		Earl of <i>Montgomery</i> ,
Earl of <i>Warwick</i> ,		Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> ,
Earl of <i>Northampton</i> ,		Earl of <i>Herford</i> ^b .

Notwithstanding this public Attestation of his Innocence by so many Peers, to the *Tower* he must go, right or wrong. Innocence in those Days was no Security.

All this was done contrary to the Opinion of the Judges, who declared, That such a violent Restraint on so many Members, was a public Arrest on the whole Body of Parliament.

The King, by a Message to the Earls of *Bristol* and *Arundell*, forbade them to attend the *House of Lords*; and soon after committed the latter to the *Tower*. This made a mighty Ferment. All the Peers began now to look on their Persons and Estates to be in great Danger.— They petitioned his Majesty, in a submissive Manner, humbly beseeching “ That the Earl of
 “ *Arundell*, a Member of their House, might be
 “ restored to them again; and that the same Re-
 “ gard might be had to the Rights and Privilege
 “ of the Peers as had ever been.”

The King gave a rough Answer, and would not discharge him. This produced a long and well-penned Remonstrance. The Lords exerted

^b Rushworth, P. 361.

themselves on this Occasion with a becoming Spirit; they petitioned the King again and again, five different Times, and came to the following remarkable Resolution, *nemine contradicente*,
 “ That no Lord of Parliament, the Parlia-
 “ ment sitting, or within the usual Time of the
 “ Privilege of Parliament, is to be imprison-
 “ ed or restrained, without Sentence or Order
 “ of the House; unless it be for Treason or Fe-
 “ lony, or for refusing to give Security for the
 “ Peace; and that, *unâ voce*, this is the undoubt-
 “ ed Right of the Peers.”

Things continued for a considerable Time in this Situation; the King committing many of the *House of Commons*, and daily breaking in upon those Rights and Privileges of the *House of Lords*, which for a long Time had been held sacred and inviolable, ’till at last he grew tired with frequent Petitions and Remonstrances of both Houses, in Vindication of their just and legal Rights: Wherefore, the better to establish his absolute Power and Dominion over the Lives and Properties of his Subjects, he determined to have no Parliament at all; and sent a Message to the *House of Lords*, signifying his Intention to dissolve the Parliament, then sitting, instantly.

This alarmed both Houses, more than any thing that had yet happened; and they were un-

der terrible Apprehensions of the Consequences that might ensue such a peremptory and sudden Dissolution, at so critical a Juncture.

The Lords, the same Morning, sent a Petition to the King, affirming, “ That they were really
 “ and truly, his most faithful and loyal Subjects ;
 “ and that as they were also his Majesty’s heredi-
 “ tary Council of the Kingdom, they were oblig’d,
 “ by the Duty they owed to God, his Majesty,
 “ and their Country, humbly to offer their Advice,
 “ that the Parliament may be continued for some
 “ Time longer, whereby great and apparent
 “ Dangers may be prevented, and his Majesty
 “ made happy in the Duty and Love of his Peo-
 “ ple.” This honest and memorial Petition was delivered by the Lord-Viscount *Mandeville*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord-President of his Majesty’s Council, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Carlisle*, and the Earl of *Holland*. The King returned for Answer, “ That he would
 “ hear no Motion, but would dissolve the Parlia-
 “ ment, and immediately cause a Commission
 “ to pass the Great Seal for that Purpose ^d.”

But the King would not stop here ;—for, the Day following, Warrants were directed from the Privy-Council, to apprehend several Members of Parliament, as *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *Miles Hobert*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden*, Esq; *Corryngton*, *Long*, *Stroud*, *Valentine*, and

^d Rushworth, P. 398.

some others ; all leading Men in the *House of Commons*. Most of them were apprehended and committed close Prisoners to the *Tower*.

Having in so unprecedented a Way dissolved this Parliament, and calling no other during the twelve following Years, he in that long Period governed as arbitrarily as the Grand Signior, and in a Manner subversive of all the Laws and Constitution of this Realm. In the first seven Years of this Time he published no less than one Hundred and forty-six Proclamations: The chief Design of which was to raise Money without Consent or Authority of Parliament, under the Denomination of Conduct-Money, Tunnage, Poundage, Ship-Money, &c. &c.

Great Numbers amongst the Nobility and principal Gentry, who had hitherto adhered to the King, began daily to fall off, and to desert the Court. Nothing was heard of but Grievances and Remonstrances ; and Persons of great Note began publickly to declare that the Government was illegal and arbitrary, and that the Constitution was actually destroyed. Many about the King had the Honesty and Courage to point out to him the unavoidable Consequences of those wicked and violent Measures. Sir *Robert Cotton* repeatedly told him in Council, That whatever Reasons may be given for it, the Nation would not bear the levying Money without Consent of Parliament ; and that every Tax not authorized

thereby, was breaking in upon the Constitution, and esteemed by the People of *England* as an Act of Tyranny, and imposing of Servitude.

This wise and prudent Advice did not suit the Temper of King *Charles*. He had nothing in his Head or Heart but absolute Rule and Government.

I may here remark, that the Mischiefs and Misery of this Reign, must, in some Measure, be imputed to that haughty Ecclesiastic Archbishop *Laud*, and his Creatures. They dissuaded the King from all moderate Measures; and pretended that by their Authority and Influence they would greatly promote his Design of plundering his Subjects, (which is certainly done, when their Money is taken by Force, without Law and Consent of Parliament :) And, to do them Justice, they laboured it heartily.

One *Manwaring* undertook to prove out of the Scripture, “ That Kings might impose
 “ Taxes without Consent of Parliament, and
 “ that the People were bound in Conscience to
 “ obey their Will and Pleasure.” *Laud* sent another parasitical Priest (one *Sibthorp*) to preach an Affize-Sermon at *Northampton*, wherein he asserted, that “ The King is not bound to ob-
 “ serve the Laws of the Realm concerning the
 “ Subjects Rights and Liberties, and that his
 “ royal Will, in imposing Taxes without Con-
 “ sent of Parliament, binds his Subjects on Pain
 “ of Damnation; and that those who refuse to
 “ pay

“ pay the Loans offend God, and become guilty
 “ of Disloyalty and Rebellion.” This wretched
 Sycophant, instead of being punished for this
 wicked and impious Doctrine, was rewarded
 with a Bishoprick. All the Sermons now at
 Court were to the same Purpose. — *Ludlow* tells
 us, “ This was the only Work of which the
 “ Clergy were judged capable; and therefore
 “ divers of them entered the List as Champions
 “ of the Prerogative, asserting that the Possessions
 “ and Estates of the Subject did of Right belong
 “ to the King; and that he might dispose of
 “ them at his Pleasure: Thereby annulling,
 “ as much as in them lay, all the Laws of
 “ *England* that secure Property to the People.”

But the King soon found that the Clergy
 might continue their Preaching to Eternity,
 without bringing any Money into the Exchequer,
 and therefore more violent Methods were taken.
 He began with imprisoning a great Number of
 the first Rank and Quality, as well as many
 eminent Merchants and Traders in *London* and
 elsewhere, for refusing to pay those illegal Taxes.

Sir *Thomas Grantham,*

Sir *John Strangeways,*

Sir *William Armin,*

Sir *William Wilmore,*

Sir *Robert Poyntz,*

Sir *Oliver Luke,*

Sir *Thomas Wentworth,*

Sir *William Constable,*

Sir *John Pickering,*

Sir *William Chancey,*

Sir <i>William Massan,</i>		Sir <i>Morris Berkley,</i>
Sir <i>Erasmus Draiton,</i>		Sir <i>John Wray,</i>
Sir <i>Nath. Barnardiston,</i>		Sir <i>John Hotham,</i>
Sir <i>Beachan St. John,</i>		Sir <i>Francis Barrington.</i>

I could mention many other Knights, as well as Esquires, Gentlemen, and a Multitude of the most eminent Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, who were committed Prisoners to the *Fleet*, the *Gatehouse*, the *Marshalsea*, and the *New-Prison*; many of them to the entire Ruin of themselves and Families, for no other Reason but their refusing the *Loan*, as it was absurdly called; for with what Propriety could it be so termed, when Penalties were inflicted on those who would not pay it ^f?

Bishop *Burnet* speaking of King *Charles* the First, says,—That “by his illegal Administration he had brought himself into great Distress, but had not the Dexterity to extricate himself out of it; and that he loved high and rough Methods, but had neither Skill or Genius to conduct them; he hated all that offered prudent and moderate Counsels; and in his outward Department never took any Pains to oblige any one ^g.”—A true Picture!

Acherly, the famous Lawyer, tells us, “The

^f *Vide* Rushworth's Collection, P. 473.

^g Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I.

“ King’s Ministers gave themselves over to
“ Licentiousness and wanton Acts of Power,
“ thinking themselves now freed from Parlia-
“ mentary Inquisitions, and above the Reach of
“ ordinary Justice; Proclamations supplied the
“ Defects of Law; Tonnage and Poundage,
“ and other Impositions, were collected by order
“ of Counsel; Freedom of Speech was in a
“ manner extinguished. Sir *John Elliot* was con-
“ demned and fined 2000 *l.* *Denzill Hollis*
“ 1000 *Marks*, *Valentine* 500, (all leading
“ Men in the *House of Commons*) and were im-
“ prisoned till they should pay the Fines: Which
“ Imprisonment was accompanied with some ar-
“ bitrary Severities; for those Gentlemen were
“ denied not only Pen, Ink, and Paper, but in
“ their Sickneses their Wives were denied Ad-
“ mittance, in so much that Sir *John Elliot*, af-
“ ter many Years Imprisonment, sunk and died
“ under the Oppression. But those Prosecu-
“ tions and Condemnations, being a Wound to
“ the two Estates of the Lords and Commons, in
“ their tenderest Privilege, and having raised
“ great Discontents, were, in the Reign of King
“ *Charles* the Second, reversed, and unanimously
“ declared illegal. In which Reversal, those
“ Prosecutions and Imprisonments, and the Power
“ of the Ministers, by which the Privileges
“ of Parliament, and all the Commons of *Eng-*
“ *land*, were trampled under Foot, appear to this
“ Day

“ Day in Colours adminiftring a Detestation of
 “ fuch Proceedings ^{h.}”

Were it neceffary, I could mention a hundred flagrant Inftances more, to prove that the Government of King *Charles* the Firft, for many Years, was illegal, arbitrary, and tyrannical, and that the Conftitution was actually fubverted and deftroyed.

The King began now to look upon himfelf as fecure, and to imagine that by his barbarous Ufage of fo many Perfons of Rank and Quality, all others would be deterred from appearing openly for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

“ The Prerogative, fays *Ludlow*, was now
 “ wound up to a great Height in *England*, and
 “ the Affairs of the Church tending to a Conjun-
 “ tion with the See of *Rome*. But before any
 “ further Progreff was made, it was thought ex-
 “ pedient, that the Pulse of *Scotland* fhould be
 “ felt. To this End, a Form of public Prayer
 “ was fent them, more nearly approaching the
 “ *Roman* Office than that ufed in *England*.——
 “ The Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, were
 “ difcontented with the Book itfelf, as well as
 “ the Manner of impofing it. The Clergy of
 “ *England*, who had been the chief Advifers
 “ and Promoters of this Violence, prevailed on
 “ the King to caufe all the *Scots* to be declared

“ Traitors ; and they were not wanting to promote the new Levies against the *Scots*, contributing largely thereunto : Which was but reasonable ; it being manifest to all, that the Clergy were the principal Authors and Fomenters of those Troublesⁱ”.

This War with the *Scots* was look'd upon by the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*, as the most imprudent that could be. And indeed the King himself soon found it to be so ; the very Officers and Soldiers of the Army treating it with Contempt and Ridicule ; inso-much that he was quickly obliged to come to an Agreement with the *Scots*, upon Terms no Way to his Honour or Advantage.

“ The most profitable Preferments in the *English* Church were now given to those of the Clergy who were most forward to promote the new Ceremonies and Superstitions. An Oath was enjoined with an *&c.* Several Holidays were introduced, and required to be observed by the People with all possible Solemnity ; Patents and Monopolies of almost every thing were granted to private Men, to the great Damage of the Publick ; Knight-hood, Coat and Conduct Money, and many other illegal Methods were revived, and put in Execution to rob the People, in order to support the Profusion of the Court^k.”

ⁱ Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 6, 7, 8.

^k *Ibid.* p. 5.

Things went on for a considerable Time pretty favourably to the Court. By their Violence and Tyranny they carried all before them, and seemed to bid fair to obtain a compleat Victory over all the Laws of the Kingdom, as well as over the Lives and Properties of the Subjects. But fresh Troubles began now to arise. The City of *London* grew more and more disgusted at the granting Monopolies, and Patents; and at the unparliamentary raising, as well as the violent Methods daily practised in collecting several illegal Taxes; insomuch, that a very great Number of Citizens, of Rank and Figure, at once refused to pay several of the Loans; at the same Time declaring, they would pay no Taxes at all, without the Consent and Authority of Parliament.

This was a dreadful Shock to the Court; they gave it the Name of Rebellion, and determined to put an End to it at once. An Order was issued, to take away the Sword from the Lord-Mayor, and most of the chief Officers of the City were instantly imprisoned. Hereupon the People rose, and beset the House of *Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was supposed to put the King on those violent Courses; they demolished his Grace's Windows, but he made his Escape for that Time by Water. Most of the Counties in *England* began now to send up to the Privy-Council Petitions and Remonstrances, complaining of the illegal Taxes, and the violent Me-

Methods of collecting them; which gave Birth to many troublesome and vexatious Law-suits: And notwithstanding in those Suits the Subjects frequently got the better of the Crown, yet it many times ended in their Ruin.

The Court now found it necessary to tamper with most of the great Lawyers. Some of the Judges and Lawyers took the Bait, and for the sake of some temporary Preferment became open and publick Traitors to their Country, by declaring in *Westminster-Hall*, for Law, “ That the King might impose Taxes upon the
“ People, and that he might imprison and dis-
“ train in case of Refusal.”

But to do Justice to the Lawyers, I must acknowledge, That the far greater Part of them were, in reality, Friends to the Constitution. They discovered a true *English* Spirit, and gladly embraced every Opportunity to support the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; to the great Mortification of the King and *Laud*.

This firm Behaviour of the Lawyers, put the Court on making another dreadful Attack on the Lives and Properties of the Subject. For, finding they could not corrupt the common Courts of Justice to that Degree they aimed at, they created or revived arbitrary Courts, as the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission* Courts, wherein monstrous Cruelties were daily committed, even on Persons of high Rank, Quality, and Learning.

The

The Practice of those Courts was much a-kin to that of the Inquisition in *Spain* and *Portugal* at this Day. *Laud* presided in both of them. His Power and Influence were so great, that every thing done there was esteemed as his particular Act and Deed. The other Members were, as Bishop *Burnet* observes, “ Little
 “ more than mere Machines, to move and act
 “ as this godly Prelate directed.” And truly they judged right, in putting an Ecclesiastic at the Head of those Courts ; as nothing was intended but Fines, Imprisonments, cutting off Ears, flitting up Noses, and other such bloody Work : Witness the horrid Barbarity practised on the learned *William Prynne*, Esq ; *Dr. Leighton*, *Dr. Bastick*, *Dr. Burton*, and a Multitude of others, by those inhuman arbitrary Judicatories.

Prynne was an eminent Lawyer of *Lincoln's-Inn* ; a Gentleman of high Reputation for Learning and Piety ; he wrote a Book against the Obscenity of the Stage, and the lewd Practices of the Actors, who were arrived to such a Height as to give great Offence to all the sober Part of the Nation. *Laud* pretended this was a Reflection on the Queen, who was a mighty Favourer of the Women Actors, she having herself also acted a Pastoral at *Somerset-House* ; so without any Shadow of Law, Reason, or Justice, he prosecutes *Prynne* in his beloved *Star-Chamber* ; and pronounces this execrable Sentence upon him :

To pay the King five Thousand Pounds; to stand twice in the Pillory; to have both his Ears cut off, one at each Time; to be afterwards imprisoned during Life, without the Use of Pen, Ink, or Paper; and to be stigmatized on both Cheeks with S. L. Denoting thereby a Seditious Libeller.

At the same Time *Laud* prosecuted Dr. *Bastwick* and *Burton*; the former an eminent Physician, the latter a Divine. They were both condemned *to pay five Thousand Pounds to the King; to stand in the Pillory; to have both Ears cut off; and to be imprisoned during Life*: All which was executed with the utmost Severity; and they, together with Mr. *Prynne*, were banished to the remote Islands of *Scilly, Guernsey,* and *Fersey*, where they were incarcerated; neither their Wives nor any of their Friends being permitted to see them.

John Lilburn, a young Gentleman of considerable Family and Fortune, lived at this Time with Mr. *Prynne*; and, having a great Regard for a Person of his extraordinary Abilities and Integrity, could not forbear writing something in his Vindication. This soon came to *Laud's* Ears. The Prelate hereupon immediately ordered him to be brought before him in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, where he sat in Triumph, and condemned this unfortunate Youth *to be whipped from the Fleet-Prison to Westminster-Hall; to receive five Hundred Lashes, with a treble Cord*

having Knots upon it ; and afterwards to stand in the Pillory. He was whipped so bloodily that every Heart bled for him ; yet he bore it with a Courage that was amazing. While he was in the Pillory, in this most deplorable Condition, he expressed some Indignation at the Injustice that was done him ; this was immediately carried to *Laud*, who sent the Executioner an Order to gag him ; which was instantly done. The Spectators were all struck with Horror and Amazement.

Three Years afterwards, a Gentleman of the *House of Commons* exclaimed with great Force and Eloquence against the diabolical Practices of this Court ; and, taking Notice of this *Mr. Lilburn's* Sufferings, concludes with the following Words: “ By Imprisonment he was made a dead
 “ Trunk, by whipping a Rogue, by Pillorying
 “ a Cheat, by Gaggng a Beast ; they had better
 “ have hang'd him out-right.” *Rushworth* says,
 “ When once the Star began to swell big, and
 “ was delighted with Blood, (which was not till
 “ *Laud's* Time, who made it spring out of the
 “ Ears, Noses, and Shoulders of the punished)
 “ and nothing would satisfy some Clergymen,
 “ but cropt Ears, slit Noses, whipped Backs,
 “ gagged Mouths, and withal to be thrown in-
 “ to Dungeons, and some to be banished from
 “ their native Countries to remote Islands, and
 “ by Order of this Court to be separated from
 “ their

“ their Wives and Children ; then began the
 “ *English* Nation to lay to Heart the slavish
 “ Condition they were like to come into, if this
 “ Court continued. ” The learned Lawyer
Acherley says, “ The Cruelty of those corporal
 “ Punishments, which were arbitrary, and im-
 “ posed for no Offence against the Laws, bound
 “ down all the Gentlemen of *England* under a
 “ servile Fear of the like Treatment.” The
 People of *England* had a general Abhorrence of
 these Acts of Tyranny, which one can neither
 write or read of without trembling.

The Parliament, some Years afterwards, voted
 the Prosecution of those four Gentlemen to be
 illegal and tyrannical, and obliged these un-
 righteous Judges to make them Reparation. Af-
 ter the Parliament had ordered them to be set at
 Liberty, they came to *London*, and were received
 with loud Acclamations ; they were met near the
 City by a hundred Coaches filled with Gentle-
 men of Rank and Figure. At the same Time,
 one of the Members of the City of *London* pre-
 sented to the Parliament a Petition, signed by
 more than fifteen thousand Hands, mostly Per-
 sons of Note, complaining of the wicked and ty-
 rannical Government of *Laud*, and the other
 Prelates, who had treated some of the best Men
 in *England*, more like Slaves at *Morocco*, than
 like Christians, Protestants, or Englishmen.

I cannot dwell on this barbarous Scene ; so will give you but one Instance more of the horrid Cruelty of this most impious Court. The Rev. and learned *Alex. Leighton*, Doctor of Divinity in the two Universities of *St. Andrew's* and *Leyden*, was arrested by two Ruffians belonging to the Court of *Star-Chamber*, who dragged him with Force and Violence to *Laud's* House, where they told him he was to be examined, *Laud* being then at Home ; but, instead of that, they carried him through a subterraneous Passage, to a Place not opened since *Queen Mary's* bloody Reign ; from whence, having fetter'd him there with heavy Bolts, they hurried him to *Newgate* where in the Entry his Wife was almost killed ; he was there cast into a nasty Dog-hole full of Rats and Mice, with no Light but from the uncovered Roof, with no Meat from *Tuesday* Night 'till *Thursday* Noon. In this doleful Place and Plight they kept him fifteen Days, suffering none to come at him, not even his Wife, in all that Time. Four Days after his Commitment, *Laud's* Officers, or rather *Ruffians*, came to *Dr. Leighton's* House in *Black-Fryars*, under a Pretence of searching for Books. Here they laid violent Hands on his poor distressed Wife, and used her with so much Inhumanity as is a Shame to express. They rifled every one in the House, and held a cock'd Pistol to a Boy's Breast, not above five Years old, threatening to kill him if he would not discover

cover

cover where the Books were ; at which the poor Child was so frightened, that he never recovered afterward. At last they carried off all the Doctor's Books, Household-Goods, Furniture, and Wearing-Apparel. During his Confinement he almost pined away, and was so ill, that an Attorney and four Physicians certified his Case to be desperate^a. Yet, absent and sick, he was sentenced to undergo the dreadful Punishment of which we have an Account as follows in his own Petition to the Parliament: “ This horrid Sentence was to be inflicted with Knife, Fire, and Whip, at and upon the Pillory, with ten thousand Pounds Fine ; which some of the Lords of the Court conceived could never be inflicted, only that it was imposed on a dying Man, to terrify others. But *Laud* and his Creatures caused the said Sentence to be executed, on the 29th of *Nov.* following, with a Witness. For the Hangman was animated with strong Drink all the Night before, in the Prison, and with threatenng Words, to do it cruelly. Your Petitioner's Hands being tied to a Stake, besides all other Torments, he received 36 Stripes with a Treble Cord ; after which he stood almost Two Hours in the Pillory, in Cold, Frost, and Snow ; and then suffered the rest, as cutting off the Ear, firing

^a All this is taken from the Representation of his Case, afterwards laid before the Parliament.

“ the Face, flitting up the Nose.” Here the Clerk of the *House of Commons*, when the Petition was reading, was ordered to stop; and when he was going on again, he was ordered to stop a second time, till the Auditors recovered themselves a little; for the *House* was melted down with Tears, Tenderness, and Compassion. The Petitioner proceeded: “ He was made a Theatre
 “ of Misery to Men and Angels; and being so
 “ broken with his Sufferings that he was not able
 “ to go, the Warden of the *Fleet* would not
 “ suffer him to be carried in a Coach, but hur-
 “ ried him away by Water, to the further en-
 “ dangering of his Life. And on that Day Se-
 “ vennight, the Sores upon his Back, Ears,
 “ Nose, and Face not being cured, he was again
 “ whipped at the Pillory in *Cheapside*, and there
 “ had the Remainder of the Sentence executed,
 “ by cutting off the other Ear, flitting up the
 “ other Side of the Nose, and branding the other
 “ Cheek.” My Hand trembles, my Heart bleeds, I can go no farther. The Parliament, *nemine contradicente*, voted Dr. *Leighton* six thousand Pounds, and made him Warden of that Prison where he so long lived in loathsome Confinement.

This hellish Cruelty, which the Parliament could not bear the Hearing of without being moved with Tears and Compassion, does Bishop *Laud*, in his Closet, write down at large in his

Diary with Delight. Yet this is that very Bishop of whom that Zealot Arch-deacon *Eachard* says, “ No Man in the World was so fit to make
 “ a Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, con-
 “ sidering his Religion and Charity.” When
 this Sort of Men speak of Religion and Charity,
 the Words must be taken in a Sense directly op-
 posite to their Meaning in the *New Testament*.

Dr. *Juxon*, a haughty Ecclesiastic of mean Abilities, had been very assisting to *Laud* in his wicked Doings, who, in return, got him advanced to the Bishoprick of *London*; and soon after prevailed on the weak and infatuated King, to make him Lord High-Treasurer of *England*; which gave great Disgust to all the Gentry and Nobility; or, as *Clarendon* expresses it, set them in a Flame.

When any one was brought into the *Star-Chamber*, they had always one general Charge brought against them, *viz.* That they were Enemies to the Church. Thus branded, without any Regard to Age, Rank, or Quality, they were treated with the utmost Rudeness. *Laud* would make a Speech of half an Hour long, in Favour of the Divine Right of Arch-bishops, and Bishops, Deans, Chancellors, Arch-deacons, Mitres, Copes, &c. &c. which he would call the true Primitive Constitution; and would generally conclude with some silly and ill-natured ignorant Reflections on all the Foreign Protestants,

particularly the Churches of *Amsterdam* and *Geneva*. By such Mis-representations he prevailed on the King to shut up the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches in *London*, contrary to the Law of God, and the Law of Nations, and against the Interest of ours in particular; great Numbers of sober industrious Persons being thereby driven out of the Kingdom.

Laud's Speeches, what Influence soever they had on his own Tools and Instruments, had no other Effect on his Auditors in general than to expose himself; for thereby he discovered his utter Ignorance of all History, both Sacred and Profane.

It is not my Intention to enter any farther into Controversy than History is concerned; but I beg Leave to recommend the Reader to an admirable Treatise on this Head, which never was, nor never will be fully answered by all the Bigots in the World: It is entituled, *An Enquiry into the Constitutions of the Primitive Church*, by the late Lord Chancellor *King*.

Things again, for some little Time, went on pretty calmly. The Court carried all before them. The Cruelty of the *Star-Chamber* (as *Acherley* expresses it) bound down all the Gentlemen in *England* under a slavish Fear. The King openly avowed a despotic absolute Government, by declaring that he would be accountable for his Conduct to none but God. Nothing can be more foolish

foolish and ridiculous: Is not every Prince upon Earth accountable for his Actions to Reason, and Justice? Sure I am, a King of *England* is in a particular manner accountable to the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm. In one of his Speeches to the Parliament he has this very remarkable Expression, “ As it is Blasphemy to “ dispute what God may do, so it is Sedition in “ Subjects to dispute what a King may do.” In the Height of his Power (*Burnet* says) he was so possessed of the Divine Right of Kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King should be called in Question by his Subjects.

The tyrannical Power exercised by the Crown began now to grow daily more and more grievous; infomuch that a Multitude of People began to take Refuge in our foreign Plantations; and Numbers of Families actually transported themselves, from different Parts of the Kingdom: The Government at length took Umbrage at it, and published a Proclamation, to restrain his Majesty's Subjects from Transporting themselves to the Plantations in *America*, without a Royal Licence. The Court at the same Time was greatly alarmed, by an Information from the Custom-house, that eight large Ships were then in the River *Thames*, taking in Passengers for *New-England*; which immediately produced the following Order of Council: “ That the Lord
Trea-

“ Treasurer of *England* should take a speedy
 “ and effectual Care for the Stopping of Eight
 “ large Ships now in the River *Thames*, bound
 “ to *New-England*; and should likewise give
 “ Orders for the putting on Land all the Pas-
 “ sengers and Provisions intended for the
 “ Voyage.”

The Providence of God appears very conspicuously in this Order of Council; for the famous Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Matthew Poynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Hasleridge*, with many others of the same Stamp, and, above all, *Oliver Cromwell*, were actually embarked, and would have sailed the next Day, had they not been prevented by this Order. When Liberty is lost, let *Slaves* and *Cowards* stay. True *Englishmen* could not bear the doleful Sight. Religion, Laws, and Liberty were then no more!

The Murmurings and Discontent of the People increased daily. The King was at last prevailed on to call a Parliament; and accordingly a Parliament was summoned to meet on the 13th of *April*, 1640, after twelve Years Intermiſſion. The *Commons* presently began to talk of redressing Grievances. Whereupon, to the Surprize and Concern of the whole Nation, the King suddenly dissolved them; after a Session of three Weeks. And, to make the Matter still worse, he at the same Time continued the Convocation by a Special Warrant; who in Complaisance
 passed

passed a Canon, wherein the Divine Right of Kings, and unlimited Obedience to them, were most strongly asserted.

By this preposterous Conduct the King soon found himself reduced to greater Straits and Difficulties than before. He was obliged to summon another Parliament, to meet on the 3d of *November* following. In this Parliament he may be truly said to have reversed his former arbitrary Proceedings, (tho' without any such Intention) by a more unaccountable Step than any he had yet taken; and to have degraded his Authority beneath every thing even his Adversaries could have hoped for: I mean, by his passing a Bill, whereby he divested himself of the Power of dissolving, or so much as proroguing them, without their own Consent. Thus he subverted the Constitution of his Country, to his own Prejudice; as he had before violated it in numerous Instances, to the Detriment of his Subjects.

The *English* Constitution is originally free. We do not owe our Liberty to the Concessions of our Kings; as some Ecclesiastical Writers have laboured to prove. No, Sir. In *England* there has ever been a Constitution; that is, a System of Laws, Institutions, and Customs, according to which the King is obliged to govern, and the Subject to obey. The King in his Coronation-Oath as much swears to the People, as the People swear to the King. When the Prince acts
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in Conformity to the Laws, he ought not, he must not be resisted, under any Pretence whatever; but if he violates the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and actually subverts the Constitution, he virtually unking himself, and may then not only be resisted, but even deposed, by his injured People. Lineal Succession, and Hereditary Right, have no Foundation in Nature; and to say they are appointed by God, is so groundless and ridiculous a Position, as to merit no Reply. There is no Form of Government in the World of Divine Appointment: Every Nation and Kingdom under Heaven is left to settle that Form of Government which is most agreeable to their Genius, and most conducive to the sole End of all Government, the Happiness of the Community. Even where kingly Government prevailed, Hereditary Right was first introduced by Communities, to prevent Strife and Confusion. In *England* this Right is acknowledged and stands firm, at this Day; but subject to certain Restrictions: that is, There have ever existed in the Community certain Laws founded on Reason, tending to the publick Tranquility and Welfare; these Laws are the Rule of the Governor's Administration, as well as of the People's Obedience; these Laws are the Constitution of the Realm; and whenever it happens that a Prince endeavours to subvert that Constitution, and substitutes an Arbitrary Power

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in its Room, then it becomes just, reasonable, and necessary, not only to resist, but even to depose such a Governor. And if the Circumstances of his Descendants are such as will not comport with the Interest of the Nation, the Lineal Succession may be altered, or the Crown transferred from one Branch of the Family to another; or to a new Family, when the supreme Law, the Safety of the People, calls for it. By a Statute as far back as the Thirteenth Year of QUEEN ELIZABETH, it was made High Treason for any one to affirm, that the reigning Prince with the Authority of Parliament is not able to limit and bind the Crown, and the Descent and Inheritance thereof. This plainly shews the Legislature's Opinion of Hereditary Right in those Days.

The Design of this Letter, Sir, is to convince you, and all into whose Hands it may fall, that KING CHARLES was the very Person who did deliberately and strenuously endeavour to subvert and destroy the Constitution of this Kingdom, and to substitute in its Room a wicked, lawless, and tyrannical Power over the Lives and Properties of his Subjects; and consequently, that the Opposition of his Subjects, or the Attempts of the People to depose him, cannot, with any Colour of Reason or Justice, be called a Rebellion. No, Sir; it was a necessary Opposition, founded on the justest Principles: It was an Opposition

perfectly consistent with our holy Religion, with the common Sense of Mankind, as well as entirely agreeable to the particular Laws and Constitution of this Realm.

Government, I will allow, is a sacred Thing, as you so often repeated; and to resist Government is certainly unlawful, and may be reckoned among the most heinous Crimes: But Tyranny is not Government. And as, in case there were no civil Polity, Men would not, however, be destitute of a natural Right to defend their Lives and Properties, but might personally resist, or, if they found it necessary, destroy the Invaders; so, as the Nature of Things does not allow of any established *Umpire* to determine between a Prince and his People, the Community has a like natural Right of defending itself against an arbitrary or cruel Administration. Nor is the Exertion of this Right liable to so much Objection as is that of private Men; for the Matters in Dispute between those are often of such a Nature, as makes it very difficult to judge of the Aggressor: The Offence is oftentimes secret; or, immediately affecting the Aggrieved, Self-love may magnify it beyond its due Measure, or prompt to Revenge, when Prudence or Good-nature may dictate otherwise in vain: Moreover, in certain Cases one may serve a present Interest, by claiming Redress where no real Injury has been offered. But a Constitution can be no Secret, nor
can

can the Violations of it be concealed. Self-love can never influence the Society to resist legal Government ; for the Society can consider that as no other than its own Security and Support, and will be ever ready, for its own sake, to maintain and defend it. In short: As those in Authority have greater Inducements to become Tyrants, than Subjects can have to resist or revolt ; so, in Fact, while it has been the almost constant Aim of all Governments to make themselves absolute, and the Generality of Princes proceed by no other Rule than their own Caprice, with no other View but that of gratifying their Lust of Power, Fame, or Pleasure, no People, on the other hand, as a Nation, ever revolted, 'till their Oppression became intolerable ; nor have there been many (hardly any) lesser Insurrections, or Rebellions of a few, that have not been warrantable in Point of Equity, though not of Prudence.

Again, Private Men in Society, however injured and abused, must not be their own Judges ; but must seek Relief from the equitable and impartial Laws of the Land. But KING CHARLES had deprived them of that Resource ; Laws and Appeals were no more ; he had a hundred times broken his Coronation-Oath. In the very Nature of Government is implied publick Safety, and Protection ; KING CHARLES'S Government was publick Destruction and Calamity. He had taken from his Subjects every Thing

that was dear and valuable: Their Peace, their Rights and Possessions; all which he had publickly sworn, at his Coronation, to defend and maintain: Their Properties he had unrighteously invaded, their Liberties infringed. All this he did by Means the most arbitrary and tyrannical; by repeated Acts of horrid Cruelty and Barbarity, even on the best and wisest of his Subjects.

What was now left for the People to do? He was now no Prince of theirs; he had forfeited their Allegiance. Liberty and Laws were a Jest; he treated their very Names with Contempt. *Mr. Locke* says, “ That in a State of Nature every
 “ Man has a Right to vindicate himself; and
 “ when Society is dissolved, the same Right re-
 “ turns. Men can never be deprived of publick
 “ Safety and private Defence.”

The People of *England* had no Quarrel with KING CHARLES, who had taken an Oath to rule and govern by the Laws and Constitution of the Realm; but when this King, by a Conduct of many Years, had discovered, in Spite of Oaths and Laws, that he would rule by Violence, and abide by no Law, he was degenerated into a Tyrant, and become a different Person; then it became necessary for the People to repel Force by Force. They saw nothing but Chains and Fetters on one Side, and Arms on the other; and they wisely flew to their Arms; which is what the People of *England* have ever done, and ever will

will do, in such direful Circumstances. KING CHARLES had no more Right to what the Law did not give him, than the *Grand Turk* had; and therefore they did not oppose an *English* Governor, but an Invader and a Tyrant: For, as Mr. *Lock* justly observes, “Wheresoever
“ Law ends, Tyranny begins.” Had KING CHARLES conquered his Subjects, what would he have gained, but the detestable Glory of a triumphant Oppressor, and the horrid Satisfaction of seeing this Kingdom reduced to Poverty and Servitude! Do but look into the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, naturally the finest in *Europe*, and see the mighty Difference between their Inhabitants and ours! And, pray, what makes that Difference? Nothing but their submitting to have all their Laws reduced into one short one, that of Royal Will and Pleasure.

Would Princes live and die in Peace and Security, let them rule by the fixed and prescribed Laws of their respective Countries, and not grasp at more than is given to them. If Princes will never encroach, Subjects will never rebel. How much more desirable, how much more safe and easy is the Condition of a Prince, who lives and rules by Law over a free People, by their own Consent? The Laws are their mutual Defence and Guard. Sir *William Temple*, in his admirable *Essay of Government*, says, “The Safety or
“ Firmness of any Frame of Government de-

“ pends on the Breadth of its Bottom ; the
 “ broader the Bottom, the less liable to be sha-
 “ ken or overthrown.” The Ground upon
 which all Government in *England* now does or
 ever will stand, is the Consent, the Interest, and
 the Affection of the People ; therefore a Mo-
 narchy, where a Prince governs by the Affe-
 ctions, and according to the Opinions of the Peo-
 ple, makes of all others the safest and firmest Go-
 vernment. It is a poor and contemptible Ambi-
 tion in a Prince, that of swelling his Prerogative,
 and perpetually catching at Advantages over his
 Subjects ; it discovers a mean Spirit. A Prince
 of a generous Turn of Mind will not look on his
 Subjects as his Property, and as Slaves ; but con-
 siders them under the amiable and endearing
 Title of his Children, and himself as their Fa-
 ther and Protector, and will ever chearfully con-
 sent they shall hold their Lives, Liberties, and
 Estates, by certain fixed and prescribed Laws,
 and not by the meer Will and Pleasure of any
 single Man. The universal Experience of all
 Ages, Kingdoms, and Nations, directs, that no
 meer Man ought ever to be intrusted with abso-
 lute Power and Dominion. Power of itself,
 without a proper Check and Controul, naturally
 makes Men wanton, cruel, and restless ; it in-
 toxicates the Mind : In short, it has something
 in its very Nature too great for the human Soul to
 bear ; it is fit for none but God, who is infinitely
 wise, just, and benevolent.

I apprehend the Facts already recited are abundantly sufficient to prove, that KING CHARLES did actually subvert and destroy the Constitution : However, to put this Grand Point out of a Possibility of being ever more disputed, I will mention two or three more.

He published a Book of Sports, requiring it to be read in all Churches, thereby to promote and encourage a horrid Profanation of the Sabbath.

But before I enter upon the Particulars of this Act, and the wicked Design of the Court by it, I would say a Word or two relating to the Ends of the Original Institution of the Sabbath ; from whence it will appear to be still obligatory upon all *Christians*.

The Belief of a God is the Foundation of all Religion. It is necessary we should know whom we are to worship, and in what Manner. It is likewise necessary that some Portion of Time be allotted for the instructing of Mankind in the Knowledge of their Duty : Hence there is and ever will remain an eternal Reason of the fourth Commandment having a Place among the unalterable Precepts of the Moral Law. Indeed, the preserving serious Religion would be almost impossible without such an Institution. On the other Hand, the setting apart some periodical Seasons for the more publick and solemn Worship of God, when Mankind may be instructed

instructed in all those Duties that are required of them, in order to their present and eternal Happiness, has a tendency to exalt the Soul, to purify the Heart, to qualify us for the Purposes of this Life as well as of a better; in a Word, to promote our temporal as well as our eternal Felicity. The Sabbath was instituted that Men might continually commemorate the Works of Creation, might offer up their grateful Acknowledgments to God of all his Mercies and Goodness vouchsafed towards them, and might openly declare themselves the Worshipers of the One true God, the Author and Lord of the Universe, in Opposition to the Infidelity of Atheists, and the impure and ridiculous Rites of Idolatrous Nations. The Worship paid to God in Heaven is thus represented in Scripture; The whole Multitude of the Heavenly Host fell down before him that sat on the Throne, saying, *Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive Glory and Honour, and Power, for thou hast created all Things, and for thy Pleasure they are, and were created.* This is the Employment of Saints and Angels in the Eternal Sabbath in Heaven; and the original Foundation of the Institution of a Sabbath on Earth was, the Celebration of the Praises of God. And that this solemn and publick Worship should be performed in an acceptable Manner, it is requisite it should be done when the Mind is
 most

most calm and serene, abstracted from the Noise and Hurry of the busy World: Therefore it was that when God at first sanctified the seventh Day, or appointed it for a Day of Worship, he prohibited all manner of Work thereon. *Gen. ii. 1, 2, 3. Exod. xx. 8, &c.* But the Business of the Sabbath is not confined to publick Worship alone; there are various other Duties to be performed thereon; it is then a proper Time for reading the Scriptures, and endeavouring to understand their true Meaning; for those that are Masters of Families to be assisting and instructing their Children and Servants in the Knowledge and Practice of their Duty: In short, 'tis to be spent in whatever tends to the Honour of God, and the true Interest and Advancement of Religion, Virtue, and Sobriety in the World. Besides, it ought to be considered that the Circumstances of a great Part of Mankind, particularly those in the lower Class of Life, are of such a Nature, that they have no other Time for improving themselves in the Knowledge of God, and in the Practice of true Religion and Virtue.

I am sensible that this is a Digression from my main Design; but really, Sir, I could not enter upon the Recital of a Story, whereby it will appear, how the Sabbath was, by the express Command of KING CHARLES the First, and the wicked Compliance of a corrupt and worldly-minded

mind'd Clergy, prophaned throughout this Kingdom, in a most notorious Manner, without saying something of the Morality of its Institution, and the unspeakable Advantages arising to Societies, as well as private Persons, by a religious Observation thereof; and consequently of the Obligation incumbent on all Men to sanctify it. To proceed then,

The Court being now determin'd to be restrain'd by no Laws, either human or Divine, and wanting to render the common and lower Class of People more ignorant and profane, that they might succeed the more easily in their favorite Design of moulding our Church to a nearer Compliance with that of *Rome*, (as *Ludlow* expresses it) they published a Book of Sports and Pastimes, to be practis'd on *Sundays*; and all Ministers, who refused to read this impious Book, were imprison'd and suspended. Besides this, they published a particular Declaration encouraging Dancing, Leaping, Vaulting, Shooting, May-Games, Whitsunnals, Maurice-Dances, May-poles, all on Sabbath-days. "It is sad to
 "recount, says *Dr. Fuller*, what Grief and Dis-
 "traction was occasioned by this Declaration
 "in the Hearts of all honest Men. For, this
 "Sabbath-breaking gave great Offence to the
 "People in general, and was a vast Increase to
 "the *Puritan* Party, who cried out against it
 "as a National Sin." Some Time after was
 published

published a second Book of Sports, with many Enlargements, commanding Wrestling, and Cudgel-playing, &c. &c. on *Sundays*. The good, the pious, the most religious KING CHARLES was so intent on this second Publication, that to hasten it, he wrote the following Order or Warrant to *Laud*.

CHARLES Rex.

CANTERBURY, See that Our Declaration concerning Recreations on the Lord's Day, after Evening-Service, be printed.

This was afterwards produced by *Laud* in his Defence.

Dr. Fuller again observes, “ Many moderate
“ Men were of Opinion, that this Abuse of the
“ *Lord's Day* was a principal Procurer of God's
“ Anger, afterwards poured out on this Land in
“ a long and dreadful Civil Warr.”

Soon after this second Publication of the Book of Sports, Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* went the *Western Circuit*; and, at the Assizes in *Somersetshire*, the Gentlemen in that County complained to his Lordship, that an Inundation of Wickedness, Profaneness, and Impiety, had lately seized the common People; that it was wholly occasioned by the *Sunday's Revels*; and that the Enormity was so great, that in many Parishes, on *Sunday Evenings*, nothing was to be

seen but Drunkenness, Lewdness, and Riot, which frequently ended in Fighting and Bloodshed, with such other Scenes of Wickedness, and Debauchery, as is a Shame to express. Yea, they go farther, and say, “ That many
 “ Persons had been indicted for murdering
 “ Bastards, begotten at those Revels, and for
 “ other grand Disorders committed at those in-
 “ temperate Meetings.”

The Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* (thinking probably that the People were now become more vicious than their Governors intended they should be) made an Order hereupon, to restrain in some measure this horrid Abuse of the Sabbath. Upon hearing this News, *Laud* ran immediately to the KING, and complained, that Judge *Richardson*, in his Circuit, had endeavoured to hinder the Profanation of the Sabbath. *Richardson*, on his Return, was immediately summon'd to appear before the Council ; where his Majesty, in Person, commanded him to reverse the Order, at the next Assize, as he would answer the contrary at his Peril. Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* returning from his next *Western* Circuit, was again summon'd before the King and Council, for not revoking his Order about *Sunday's* Revels ; where he was so reprimanded by the Arch-bishop, that when he came from the Board, the Earl of *Dorset* meeting him, with Tears in his Eyes, and asking how he did, the Judge replied, *Very ill,*
my

my Lord ; for, I am like to be choak'd with Lawn Sleeves.

This Affair began to be much talk'd of. *Laud*, to justify himself and the KING, shewed about at Court a Letter, wrote to him by Dr. *Pierse*, the then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, sign'd by seventy able Clergymen, in Favour of *Sunday's Revels*; signifying, that they were in themselves innocent and laudable; (than which nothing could be more untrue;) and that they were grateful to the Clergy; (which very probably was true :) But they were so wicked as to go further, and say, they were also acceptable to the Gentry of that County; which was absolutely false. A Copy of this famous Letter was sent into *Somersetshire*, at which all the Gentry were greatly enraged; or, to use *Rushworth's* own Words, "were highly offended," and immediately sent up a Petition, praying, that the Order of Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* might be continued. This Address was signed by

John Lord Pawlet,
Sir William Portman,
Sir John Starell,
Sir Francis Popham,
Sir Ralph Hopton,
Sir Edward Radney,
Sir Francis Doddington,
Sir John Horner,

Edward Pawlet, Esq;

George Speeke, Esq;

John Windham, Esq; &c. &c. &c.

What will the Reader now think of Arch-bishop *Laud*, of Bishop *Pierse*, and his seventy able Clergymen? I shall forbear to make any Reflections of my own on such a Behaviour of Men, assuming the sacred Character; but give me Leave to recite the plain, the honest Remark of the great Mr. *Locke*, relating to their Conduct on a like important Occasion: Speaking of the Act of Uniformity, and the wonderful Compliance of the Clergy with it, He says, “ So great
 “ was the Zeal in carrying on this Church-Af-
 “ fair, and so blind was the Obedience required,
 “ that if we compute the Time allotted for the
 “ Clergy to subscribe the Book of *Common*
 “ *Prayer*, we shall plainly find it could not be
 “ printed and distributed, so as one Man in for-
 “ ty could have seen and read the Book they did
 “ so perfectly assent and consent to. The Clergy
 “ readily complied with it; for they are a
 “ sort of Men taught rather to obey than un-
 “ derstand, and to use what Learning they have
 “ to justify, and not to examine, what their Su-
 “ perior’s command.” It is reported, that the late Sir *Joseph Jekyll* concluded his Speech, in Favour of the Mortmain Act, with the following Words: “ It hath ever been a great Unhap-
 “ piness, that the Clergy of our Established
 “ Church

“ Church have been no better acquainted with
 “ the Religion, Laws, Government, and true
 “ History of their Country.”

I could produce a Cloud of Witnesſes, to vouch in this Manner, for the Honesty, Prudence, and Piety of the Clergy, in paſt Times: Or, in other Words, to ſhew, what goodly Tools of lawleſs Power they have been, and how thoroughly qualified they are for ſuch an Office. But the Teſtimonies of two ſuch eminent Perſons, as the foregoing, are equivalent to thoſe of a Multitude: Mr. *Locke*, moſt illuſtrious for Learning and Virtue; Sir *Joſeph*, a Man of Wiſdom, Piety, inflexible Integrity, and impartial Juſtice.

Much about this Time *Laud* had alſo a Quarrel with Mr. *Deane*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, for his ſhutting up Ale-houſes, and Brandy-ſhops, on the Sabbath.

I am now come to the Period of this wicked Eccleſiaſtick's Carreer; for, in the Year 1644, he was brought to the Bar of the *House of Commons*, and, after a fair and equitable Trial for his Life, the *House* came to the following Reſolution, (with but one diſſenting Voice) *viz.*
 “ That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſub-
 “ vert the Religion, Laws, Rights, and Liber-
 “ ties of this Kingdom; that he had uſurped an
 “ arbitrary and tyrannical Power; and that for
 “ the ſame he ſhould ſuffer Death, as in Caſes

“ of High-Treason, *To be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd.*” They afterwards sent him up to the *Lords*, who voted him guilty of the Treason, without one dissenting Voice. The Manner of his Death was changed from what the Sentence denounced, as it usually is in the Case of Persons of Quality; and he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the 10th of *Jan.* 1644-5.

This is but a small Part of what I might have said of the violent and impious Proceedings of this Archbishop. What can one then think of such Historians as *Clarendon* and *Eachard*, who are so lavish in the Praises of this great Criminal?

I now come to that horrid and most lamentable Scene, *The MASSACRE* of the PROTESTANTS in *Ireland*, in 1641. The *Papists* first rose in the Province of *Munster*. A particular Account of their Barbarities would be too long, and too shocking. Cutting of Throats, Hanging, and Drowning, were the mildest Treatment the Protestants met with. Many had their Eyes pluck'd out, and were then burnt, or buried alive. Mothers were hang'd on the Gallows, with their Children about their Necks. There was no Regard to Women great with Child, nor to Infants. One *Protestant* Lady was delivered while in the Hands of the Tormentor, who flung the new-born Infant to be eaten by a Hog. These infernal Monsters carried

ried their Inhumanity so far, as to oblige Fathers and Mothers to murder their own Children, Husbands their Wives, and Wives their Husbands. There was such an Excess of *Popish* Cruelty, that my Nature shrinks and recoils ; I can repeat no more of it. It was allowed on all Hands, that more than One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons were butcher'd, and murder'd in this inhuman Manner.

I am sensible, I tread here on slippery Ground ; so shall make use of the Words of others, as much as possible. General *Ludlow*, Vol. I. p. 17. writes, “ The KING was in *Scotland*, when “ the News of this *Irish Rebellion* was brought “ to him ; and, as I have heard from Persons of “ undoubted Credit, it was not displeasing to “ him.” Shocking ! shocking beyond Expression is it, to be told, (if true) that this dreadful and bloody Massacre should not be displeasing to the KING, when one can scarce read it without trembling, even at the Distance of more than a Hundred Years. Pray, dear Sir, don't be angry with my Military Historian. Give me Leave to tell you, He was a Gentleman of Quality, Learning, Experience, and Conduct ; He commanded Armies, fought Battles, and governed the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was a University Scholar, a Man of Sense, and ever esteemed to have an inflexible Regard to Truth and Justice, He was a Man of better Family,

and Fortune, than *Clarendon*, and was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Wilts*, when the other was only a Member for *Wotton Bassett*, a small Borough in the same County. 'Tis true, indeed, *Ludlow* was forced into Exile, and driven as it were from Place to Place, to avoid Assassination, or falling into the Hands of an apostate Party, while the other was advanced to Office, Estate, and Title ; but it must be said to his real Honour, that he never betray'd the Constitution, or deserted the Interest of his Country.

The News of this dreadful Massacre alarmed all the People in *England* to a great Degree ; they were even at their Wits End ; and the more so, because those bloody *Papists* confidently affirmed they were abetted by the KING, and had a Commission under the Great Seal for what they had done. *Ludlow* tells us, ^a “ A great
 “ Number of *Protestants* flying from the bloody
 “ Hands of the *Irish* Rebels, arrived in *England*,
 “ filling all Places with sad Complaints of their
 “ Cruelties to the *Protestants* of that Kingdom ;
 “ whereupon the Parliament earnestly pressed the
 “ KING to proclaim them Rebels, by a Pro-
 “ clamation ; but could not obtain it 'till after
 “ many Weeks ; and then but forty of these
 “ Proclamations were printed, and not above
 “ half of them published.”

^a Vol. I. P. 19.

The Backwardness of the KING, to declare the *Irish Papists* to be Rebels, and Traitors, by a Proclamation under the Great-Seal, made a mighty Noise in the *House of Commons*; and it was there observed by many, that those concerned in the late Tumult in *Scotland*, about a Prayer Book, were forthwith declared Rebels, in every Parish Church in the Kingdom of *England*.

The Proclamation published in *Ireland*, by Sir *Phelim Oneal*, at the Head of those bloody Traitors, began with the following Words: "BE IT KNOWN to all Our Friends and
 " Countrymen, that the KING's most Excel-
 " lent Majesty, for many Great and Urgent
 " Causes him thereunto moving, and reposing
 " Confidence in our Fidelity, has signified to
 " us by Commission under the Great-Seal of
 " *Scotland*, bearing Date the first of this in-
 " stant *October*"—Then follows the Commis-
 sion itself, "TO ARREST and SEIZE the Goods,
 " Estates, and Persons of all the *English Pro-*
 " *testants*."

As the Rebels pretended the KING's Authority and Commission, in so publick and open a Manner, it gave great Offence to the Parliament, that they were not declared Rebels and Traitors by a Proclamation. At last, to satisfy them, it was promised, that on the first of *January* a Proclamation should be published, de-
 claring

claring the *Irish Papists* in ARMS to be Rebels and Traitors. But before this Time came, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, one of the Secretaries of State, sent a special Warrant to the *Printer's*, directing, that only forty Copies should be printed, and those not published 'till his Majesty's further Pleasure was signified. This gave a just Foundation for all the Jealousies, and Suspicions, that were afterwards entertained on that Affair. Dr. *Calamy*, in his *Life of Baxter*, pag. 43. says,

“ The *Irish* declared, they had the KING's
 “ Commission for what they did; and many
 “ even at that Time, weighing all Circum-
 “ stances, believed as much; while others re-
 “ presented it as an unjust and scandalous Asper-
 “ sion on his Majesty. But, as Providence or-
 “ dered it, a certain memorable Particularity
 “ help'd to set this Matter in a just Light: The
 “ Marquis of *Antrim*, who was a noted Man
 “ amongst the *Irish* Rebels, having had his
 “ Estate sequestred, thought fit, upon the Re-
 “ storation of KING CHARLES the Second,
 “ to sue for the Restitution of it. The Duke
 “ of *Ormond* and the Council judg'd against
 “ him, as being one of the Rebels; whereupon
 “ he brought his Cause over to the KING, and
 “ affirmed, that what he did was by his Father's
 “ Consent and Authority; and the King refer-
 “ red it to some worthy Members of the Privy
 “ Council, to examine what he had to shew:

“ And

“ And upon Examination they reported, *That*
 “ *they found he had the King’s Consent, or Letter*
 “ *of Instruction, for what he did; which*
 “ amaz’d many. Hereupon KING CHARLES
 “ wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*,
 “ and the Council, to restore his Estates; be-
 “ cause it appeared to those appointed to examine
 “ it, that what he did was by his Father’s Or-
 “ der and Consent. The Lord *Mazarine*, and
 “ others in *Ireland*, not fully satisfied with this,
 “ thought fit so far to prosecute the Matter, as
 “ that the Marquis of *Antrim* was forced to
 “ produce in the *House of Commons* a Letter of
 “ KING CHARLES the First, by which he gave
 “ him an Order for the taking up Arms; which
 “ being read in the *House*, produced a long Si-
 “ lence. The whole Account of it, with a
 “ great many surprizing Particulars, was pub-
 “ lished in a Pamphlet, intituled, *Murder will*
 “ *out.*” Thus far *Calamy*.

Let us now see what Bishop *Burnet* says of this
 “ Bloody Business, *History of his own Times*, p. 58,
 &c. “ I will relate some Particulars, concern-
 “ ing the Earl of *Antrim*; I had in my Hands
 “ several of his Letters to the KING, writ in a
 “ very confident Style. Upon the Restoration,
 “ in the Year 1660, Lord *Antrim* was thought
 “ guilty of so much Bloodshed, that it was taken
 “ for granted, he could not be included in the
 “ *Act of Indemnity*, that was to pass in *Ireland*.
 “ Upon

“ Upon which he came over to *London*, and was
“ lodged at *Somerſet-Houſe*. He petitioned the
“ KING, to order a Committee of Council,
“ to examine the Warrants he had acted by.
“ As it ſeemed but juſt to ſee what he had to
“ ſay for himſelf, ſo a Committee was named,
“ of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was
“ Chief. He produced to them ſome of the
“ King’s Letters ; but they did not come up to
“ a full Proof. In one of them the King
“ wrote, *he had not then Leiſure ; but referred*
“ *himſelf to the Queen’s Letter*, and ſaid, *That*
“ *was all one as if he wrote himſelf*. Upon this
“ Foundation, *Antrim* produced a Series of Let-
“ ters, written by himſelf to the Queen ; in
“ which he gave her an Account of every one
“ of thoſe Particulars that were laid to his
“ Charge, and ſhewed the Grounds he went
“ on, and deſired her Directions ; to every one
“ of theſe he had Answers, ordering him to do
“ as he did. So a Report was prepared, to be
“ ſigned by the Committee, ſetting forth, That
“ he had fully juſtified himſelf in every Thing
“ that had been objected to him, and that he
“ ought not to be excepted out of the *Indemni-*
“ *ty*. This was brought firſt to the Earl of
“ *Northumberland*, to be ſigned by him ; but
“ he refuſed it, and ſaid, he was ſorry *Antrim*
“ had produced ſuch Warrants, but he did not
“ think they could ſerve his Turn ; for he did
“ not

“ not believe any Warrant from a King or
“ Queen could justify so much Bloodshed, in so
“ many black Instances as were laid against him.
“ Upon his Refusal, the rest of the Committee
“ did not think fit to sign the Report; so it
“ was let fall; and the King was prevailed on
“ to write to the Duke of *Ormond*, telling him,
“ that *Antrim* had so vindicated himself, that he
“ must endeavour to get him included in the *In-*
“ *demnity*: That was done, and was no small
“ Reproach to the King.”

Neither *Burnet* nor *Calamy* takes Notice of the Date of this famous Letter of King *Charles* the Second, to the Duke of *Ormond*, but it was dated at *Whitehall*, the 10th of *January*, 1663.

Upon my Word, Sir, this bears hard upon the Memory of your holy Martyr. Had I Time, I could produce a Variety of other Instances to convince you, that you are guilty of a most notorious Mistake, when you so repeatedly affirmed, He suffered Martyrdom for the *Protestant* Religion. I do not believe, indeed, KING CHARLES the First gave the *Irish Papists* a Commission to cut Throats, to rip up Women with Child in cold Blood, and other such horrid Cruelties; but from a strict and impartial Enquiry into the best Histories of those Days, there is really too much Ground to believe He did countenance and give a Commission

mission to the *Papists* to take up Arms against the *Protestants*; and if a horrid and bloody Massacre was the Consequence of this Commission, Was not the King then at least accessory to it? And in the Business of Murder, I apprehend, our Common Law, as well as common Sense, knows no Difference between the Accessary and the Principal, but deems them both equal in Guilt and Punishment.

During the King's Stay in *Scotland*, he endeavoured to prevail on that People to invade *England*; but without Effect. On his Return to *England* he was observed to grow daily more violent and tyrannical. He countenanced a Company of loose dissolute Fellows, Frequenters of Ale-houses, Taverns, and Gaming-houses, and kept a Table for them in his own Palace at *Whitehall*; and at the Head of this rude Mob, all arm'd, he entered the *House of Commons*, sat down in the *Speaker's* Chair, and demanded the Delivery of Five of the most eminent Members, *Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Stroud,* and *Hasteridge*: Names that I cannot mention without a peculiar Reverence; their Memories will be always dear to every honest *Briton*, for that noble Stand, that brave Defence they made; in Favour of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of their Country. *Ludlow* says, p. 21. "The
 " King encouraged a great Number of loose
 " and debauched Fellows about the Town, to
 repair

“ repair to *Whitehall*, where a constant Table
“ was provided for their Entertainment.” And
again, *pag.* 24. “ The KING went in Person to
“ the *House of Commons*, attended not only with
“ his ordinary Guards of Pensioners, but also
“ with those Desperadoes, which for some Time
“ he had entertained at *Whitehall*, to the Num-
“ ber of three or four Hundred, armed with
“ Partizans, Swords, and Pistols. The King,
“ not finding any of the Five Members there,
“ left the *House*; many Members cried out,
“ *Privilege, Privilege*, and were pleased to call
“ it an outrageous Act against all the Peoples
“ Rights and Privileges; and, after a short De-
“ bate, they unanimously voted, *That the King’s*
“ *entering their House, was in a warlike Man-*
“ *ner.* And therefore they, in great Fear,
“ Trouble, and Confusion, adjourned to the
“ *Guildhall*, in the City, for their better Secu-
“ rity. The same Evening the King went in-
“ to the City; but his Coach was attended by
“ Multitudes, crying out, *Privilege of Parlia-*
“ *ment.* This happened on the 4th of *January*,
“ 1641; and from this Day we must date the
“ Beginning of the Civil War. The King
“ doubled his Guards at *Whitehall*, collected a
“ great Quantity of Fire-Arms, and Gun-pow-
“ der, sent several Persons into the Country, to
“ raise Officers, and Soldiers, and dispatched
“ his *Papist* QUEEN to *Holland*, who carried

“ with her privately the Crown Jewels of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, which she pawn’d to Mr. *Webster*, a
 “ noted Banker of *Amsterdam*, for a great Sum,
 “ and laid it out in Arms, to enable his Majesty
 “ to make War against his own Subjects.”

So by all Accounts, and in all Shapes, the King himself was the Beginner of this dreadful Civil War.

The Pretension of both Parties being submitted to the Decision of the Sword, the only Dispute now was, Whether the People of *England* should again recover their Laws and Liberties, or be governed by the absolute Will and Caprice of a single Person? *Whitlock*, speaking of the Parliament Forces, says: “ Most of them were Free-
 “ holders, and Freeholders Sons, who upon
 “ Matter of Conscience engaged in the Quarrel;
 “ and then being armed within by the Satisfac-
 “ tion of their own Consciences, and without
 “ with good Iron Arms, they would as one
 “ Man stand firmly, and charge desperately.”
Ludlow says, ^a “ Things being brought to this
 “ Extremity, the Nation was driven to a Ne-
 “ cessity of arming, in Defence of the Laws,
 “ openly and frequently violated by the KING,
 “ who now resolved to do that by Force of
 “ Arms, which he could not do by the Strength
 “ of Argument. I thought it my Duty, as an
 “ *Englishman*, to enter into the Service of my
 “ Country, in the Army commanded by the
 “ Earl

“ Earl of *Essex*, under the Authority of the Par-
 “ liament.” A true *English* Spirit! O how far
 different this from *Clarendon* and *Eachard*!

At last, after a dreadful Civil War of many
 Years, Religion, Laws, and Liberty prevailed,
 as they ever will do in *England*, sooner or later.
 The KING, by the Fate of War, was taken,
 and afterwards made a Prisoner at *Newport*, in
 the *Isle of Wight*. Here he entered into a Trea-
 ty with the Parliament, Commissioners being
 appointed for that Purpose by both Parties. The
 King entirely despairing doing any thing more
 by Force, made a great many Concessions: *viz.*

(1.) To indemnify the Parliament for all that
 had been done by them during the late War,
 which the King acknowledged they were necessi-
 tated to do in their just and lawful Defence.

(2.) He agreed that Archbishops should be
 abolished, and that the Bishops who remained,
 provisionally, should not exercise Authority,
 Jurisdiction, or Ordination, but with the Ad-
 vice and Assistance of their ^{of th}byters; that
 the Presbyterian Government should be estab-
 lished for three Years, at the End of which the
 Assembly of Divines, his Majesty naming but
 twenty more, should determine the Form of
 Church-Government for the Future; and that
 the *Common-Prayer* should be taken away out of
 all Churches and Chapels.

I mention these Particulars, to shew the Ignorance and Presumption of those who annually affirm, the KING was a Martyr for the Church.

During this Treaty the Parliament received Letters from Colonel *Jones* in *Ireland*, giving an Account of the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond* in that Kingdom, with a Commission to conclude a Peace with the Rebels, at the very Time when the King was treating with the Parliament to carry on the War against them. *Jones* also intercepted a Letter of *Ormond's* to the Chief of the *Irish Massacrers*; it was signed ORMOND, and directed *To Our Loving Friend Sir Richard Blake, Chairman of the Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks at Kilkenny.* *Lilly*, speaking of the Veracity of KING CHARLES the First, says of him: "He had so much of
 " Self-End, in all he did, it was a most
 " difficult Thing to hold him close to his Word
 " or Promise: so that some Foreign Princes be-
 " stowed on^d _a ¹ ₁ the Character of a most false
 " Prince, and ¹ ₁ one that never kept his Word,
 " except for his own Advantage." Again,
 " Though in Time of Parliament he often pro-
 " mised to redress Grievances; yet the best
 " Friend he hath cannot produce any one Act
 " of Good he ever did his Subjects, in the Va-
 " cancy of Parliament." Does this agree with
 the King's strict Justice, Piety, and Devotion,
 that

that *Clarendon* speaks of? This Discovery put an End to the Treaty at once.

The KING's Death was a Thing now resolved on, by those in the Army who had Power to put it in Execution. And they, to oblige the *Commons* to concur in the Design, placed a Guard at the Door of the Parliament-House, to prevent any of those Members going in from whom they apprehended any Opposition. The Number of the excluded was about One Hundred and Forty: Only some of these were voluntary Seceders, in Disgust for the Force put upon their Brethren. The secluded Members immediately published a solemn Declaration, signifying, that all the Votes and Ordinances of Parliament since their Exclusion, and during the Continuance of the Army's Influence upon the *House* were null and void, and no ways obligatory. The sitting Members, on the other hand, voted this Declaration to be scandalous and seditious.

Cromwell, and a few more of the Army, had now the Majority in Parliament, and Court was made to them accordingly. They abused that Power they found they had, both in the Army and the *House of Commons*, to execute the base Design they had formed against the KING's Life. I have no Reserves; I love a fair and open Representation of Things. I can see Wickedness, Tyranny, and a flagrant Breach of

Trust on both Sides. I will readily grant that the KING had hard and cruel Usage, that he was murther'd, that he was destroyed by a Faction! The Constitution was now again trampled upon, the Laws were violated; Tyranny and a wicked Military Force usurped their Room! But still, let us trace this lamentable State of Things to its first Cause. It began from the Court and Clergy. It was the Monarch who created a Disgust to Monarchy. It was the Insolence of Churchmen that made the Church odious. You detest the Murder of the KING; so do I, altogether as much. But I likewise detest the Murder of the Constitution, in which he and his wicked Counsellors were Principals, and which for many Years they had been effecting. You mentioned the Murder of the King and the Abolition of the Monarchy as the most wonderful Events that ever the World produced. But, Sir, give me Leave to tell you, that there was nothing wonderful or surprizing therein. Any one that had been at all acquainted with the History of Kingdoms or States, might easily have foreseen them. *Cromwell, Ireton*, and some others of the Army, had, by invincible Courage, subdued all the Enemies of the Constitution; and this they performed by Troops not only hardy and brave, but the most sober also, and best disciplined, that this or any other Nation had ever seen. What Wonder is it, if the Leaders of such as these, if they had an Inclination to subvert

vert the Laws of their Country, to set up for themselves, and erect a new Tyranny, in their own Persons, in the Place of that from which they had just delivered her : I say, What Wonder is it, if a Set of Men thus qualified, accomplish their Purposes. It was the best of the *Roman* Troops that were the Instruments of *Cæsar's* Usurpation. Soldiers are inured to implicate Obedience. Whatever their Officers command they seldom scruple. It is their Profession to dispute by Force, and the Sword. *Cromwell, Ireton*, and a few more of the Army, having succeeded in that bold and impious Attempt, of secluding by Force One Hundred and Forty Members, or purging the House, as it was termed, found themselves, by accursed Experience, able to overbalance and controul the Civil Authority. They lost no Time, they exerted their Strength, destroyed the King, and seized the Sovereign Power at once. Men naturally desire Dominion, and Riches ; and it is ridiculous to presume they will not endeavour to attain them, when they have Opportunity and Power. I could mention many Parts of *Europe*, that have been enslaved by their own Troops. This has been and ever will be the Case of all Countries, that subsist by standing Armies. When those have conquer'd the Enemies of their Country, they will subdue their Country for themselves. Instances

of

of this are too numerous, to allow ours to be wondered at.

You was all along grossly mistaken, in presuming the Death of the KING to be a National Act. It was merely the Act of the Army. *Ireton* was the Person who drove on the King's Trial and Death. *Cromwell* was a long Time in Suspence about it. “ *Ireton* (says *Burnet*) had “ the Principles and Temper of a *Cassius* in “ him, he stuck at nothing that could have “ turn'd *England* to a Commonwealth; and he “ found out *Cook*, and *Bradshaw*, two bold “ Lawyers, as proper Instruments for managing “ it.”

You likewise sadly confounded the Proceedings of the long Parliament, condemning the first Opposition with as much Severity as the very Act of Cutting off the King's Head.

I could say a good deal in Vindication of the long Parliament, from their first Session to the last Moment of their Existence; which was, when the Army by Force secluded above One Hundred and Forty Members, as aforesaid. They were after that no Parliament; nor could they in any Shape be deemed the Representative Body of the Nation. No, certainly. They were then under the Terror, Awe, and Influence of a wicked Military Power, which would admit of no Check or Controul. I chouse here to make use of the Words of others. *Wellwood*,

in his *Memoirs*, says, “ No Age ever produced
“ greater Men than those who sat in that Parlia-
“ ment. They had sufficient Abilities and In-
“ clinations, to render the King and their Coun-
“ try happy. They set down a Scene of Grievances,
“ under which the Nation had long groaned ; the many Cruelties and illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber* and High-Commission Courts were now laid open ; and it was insisted on, that those two arbitrary Tribunals should be thrown down.”

The Intentions of this Parliament were certainly just and noble, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People. But the King urged on his own Ruin, Step by Step, and at last came to an open Rupture with the Parliament, which made the Gap too wide to be again closed. I am sensible, *Clarendon* and *Eachard* every where treat this Parliament as a Parcel of Rebels and Scoundrels, and represent their Proceedings in a base and Injurious Manner. But I have a greater Authority than that of any private Man, to support and vindicate their Proceedings : That very Convention that brought in KING CHARLES the Second, though ready to run mad with Loyalty, would not suffer any Reflection on the Conduct of those illustrious Patriots, except only in the Article of beheading the King. Mr. *William Lenthal*, who had been Speaker of the Long Parliament, and was a
Mem-

Member of the Restoring one, happen'd to drop this Expression in the Debate about the general Pardon, "He who first drew his Sword against the late King, committed as great an Offence as he who cut off his Head." For which Expression the *House of Commons* ordered him to be seized instantly by their Serjeant, and directed Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, their Speaker, to reprimand him in the following Manner :

" Sir, The *House* hath taken great Offence at some Words you have let fall in this Debate, which in their Judgment contain as high a Reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the *Lords* and *Commons* of the late Parliament, in their Actings before 1648, as could be express'd. They apprehend there is much Poison in the said Words, and that they were spoken out of a Design to inflame, and to render those who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to assert their just Liberties, equally culpable with those who cut off the King's Head."

Do not *Clarendon* and *Eachard* stand unanswerably condemned in the most solemn Manner by this Declaration of the *House of Commons*, pronounced by their Speaker? after which, all future Criticks on them would be superfluous.

I now come to that Part of your Sermon, wherein, according to the usual Custom, you laid the Trial and Death of the King at the Door of the

the

the *Presbyterians*. Most true it is, on the contrary, that of all our different Parties, none had the Honesty and Courage to appear openly for the King but the *Presbyterians*. They exerted themselves in Publick and Private, and omitted no one Thing that was possible to be done, to prevent the Execrable Fact of putting His Majesty to Death. No sooner was he taken, and confined as a Prisoner, but Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Marishall*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Whiteaker*, Mr. *Sedwick*, and many other *Presbyterian* Ministers waited on the Lord General *Fairfax*, testifying their Dislike of making the KING a Prisoner. A few Days after, above Forty of the *Presbyterian* Ministers joined in a Letter to the General, and Officers in the Army, freely declaring against their seizing and imprisoning the Person of the KING. This was about the latter End of *December*, 1648. About the Middle of *January* it began to appear, that the Death of the King was a Matter fix'd and determin'd by the Army. On the 18th of *January* there was another Meeting, of more than Sixty of the principal *Presbyterian* Ministers in and about *London*, wherein it was instantly agreed, that, in Behalf of themselves and their respective Congregations, they should by some publick Act declare, before God, Angels, and Men, their Abhorrence of the Seizing and Imprisoning the Person of the KING, and their Detestation of putting him to Death;

which they apprehended would be the Issue of the Trial then depending. In Consequence of this Resolution, the following Representation was immediately printed and published, in the Form of a Letter, directed to the General and Council of War :

“ That they appeared at first for the Parlia-
 “ ment, on the Propositions and Orders of the
 “ *Lords and Commons, June 10th, 1642,* for
 “ bringing in of Money and Plate, wherein they
 “ were assured it should be no otherwise em-
 “ ployed than to maintain the *Protestant* Reli-
 “ gion, the KING’s Authority, his Person in
 “ his Royal Dignity, the free Course of Justice,
 “ the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the King-
 “ dom, and the Privilege of Parliament, against
 “ any Force that should oppose them. That
 “ they were wholly unsatisfied with the Proceed-
 “ ings since the Exclusion and Imprisonment
 “ of the Members of the *House of Commons,*
 “ and held themselves bound in Duty to God,
 “ and Religion, the King, the Parliament, and
 “ Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels,
 “ and Men, that they verily believed, the tak-
 “ ing away the Life of the King, in the Way
 “ of Trial then depending, was not only not
 “ agreeable to the Word of God, the Principles
 “ of the *Protestant* Religion, (never yet stained
 “ with the least Drop of the Blood of a King)
 “ or the Fundamental Constitution of the King-
 “ dom,

“ dom, but contrary to them ; as also to the
 “ Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of the
 “ 5th May 1641, and the solemn League and
 “ Covenant : From all which, or any of which
 “ Engagements, they knew not any Power on
 “ Earth able to absolve them, or others. They
 “ warned and exhorted in the Name of the
 “ Great God all that belong to their Charge
 “ and Ministry, to keep close to the Ways of
 “ God, the Rules of Religion, the Fundamen-
 “ tal Constitution and Government of the King-
 “ dom ; not suffering themselves to be seduced
 “ from it, by being drawn to subscribe the late
 “ Models or Agreement of the People, which
 “ directly tended to subvert the Fundamental
 “ Government ; and to mourn bitterly for the
 “ Sins of all Degrees of Men, and beg of God
 “ that he would restrain the Violence of Men,
 “ that they might not dare to draw upon them-
 “ selves and the Kingdom the Blood of their
 “ Sovereign.” This was subscribed by

Cornelius Burgesfs, D. D.

William Gauge, D. D.

Edmond Stanton, D. D.

Thomas Temple, D. D.

George Walker,

Edmond Calamy, B. D.

Jeremy Whitaker,

Daniel Cawdrey,

William Spurstow, D. D.

Lazarus Seaman, D. D.
Simeon Ash,
Thomas Case,
Nicholas Poroffet,
Thomas Thorowgood,
Edward Corbet,
Henry Roborough,
John Downham,
Arthur Jackson,
James Nalton,
Thomas Cawton,
Charles Offspring,
Samuel Clark,
Joseph Wall,
Francis Robert,
Mathew Haviland,
Samuel Bolton,
John Sheffield,
William Harrison,
William Jenkyn,
John Viner,
Elidad Blackwell,
John Crosse,
John Fuller,
William Taylor,
Peter Witham,
Francis Peck,
Christopher Love,
John Wallis, D. D.
Thomas Watson,

William Wickins,
Thomas Manton, D. D.
Thomas Gouge,
William Blackmore,
Robert Mercer,
Ralph Robinson,
John Wells,
Jacob Tice,
Paul Russell,
John Glascock,
Benjamin Needler,
John Stileman,
Joshua Kirby,
Thomas Whately,
Nathaniel Staniforth,
Josias Bull,
Arthur Barham,
Jonathan Lloyd,
Steven Watkins,
John Devereux.^a

Some of the Subscribers delivered it to the General, and Council of War; which, as *Calamy* observes, was running a great Hazard, as Things then stood; and may be justly reckon'd as an Evidence of the great Integrity and Honesty of the Persons who subscribed it. Yea, the Day the King was beheaded, Mr. *Calamy*, and some others applied to General *Fairfax*, and perswaded

^a *Calamy's Life of Baxter*, Vol. I. p. 61.

him to rescue the King; but he was full of Regret and Uneasiness, and saw that he had been trick'd, and overpower'd by his Under-Officers; so that soon after he laid down his Commission, and never had to do with the Army more; whereby *Cromwell* became Head of all.

What Sort of Mortals must those Vicars, Curates, Doctors, and Dignitaries be, that pass Sentence of Damnation, every 30th of *January*, on those Ministers and their Brethren, for killing this very King, whom, with so much Boldness, Truth, and Courage, they laboured to save? Strange and surprizing Infatuation, egregious Ignorance and Baseness, which no Age or History can parallel!

And here, Sir, you did not only seem to expatiate on the Faults of the Dead, with a bitter and malicious Pleasure; but was pleased to cast many severe and indecent Reflections on the present Generation of *Presbyterians*; “and did
 “ call on them aloud, to repent and mourn, in
 “ Sackcloth and Ashes; to weep and fast, with
 “ the utmost Contrition and Self-abasement;
 “ that so they might not bear the abominable
 “ Iniquities of their Forefathers; but by their
 “ extraordinary Humiliation and Sorrow might
 “ avert the just Indignation and Wrath of Al-
 “ mighty God.”

Considering all this, I was quite astonish'd at what you advanced on this Head. In Truth,
 it

it was not only contrary to Reason and Justice ; but directly opposite to all Divine Revelation. It is from thence incontestably plain, that every Man shall stand upon his own Bottom, shall be condemned or acquitted hereafter, agreeable to his own Conduct and Behaviour ; or, as the *New Testament* expresses it, shall be judged according to the Actions done in the Body, whether they be good or evil. It is nowhere said, that any shall be judged according to the Actions done or performed by their Great-Grandfathers, sixty or seventy Years before they were born. No, the very Suspicion of it carries an injurious Reflection on the Justice and Goodness of the Deity. And it can never enter into my Head to conceive, that I can be properly punishable for the Sins of my Parents. Of my own Sins I ought to repent, and to be filled with Shame and Indignation at the Remembrance of them ; and I am certainly liable to Punishment in Proportion to the Degree of my Guilt : But of my Grandfather's or Great Grandfather's Sins I can no more repent, than I can of the Sins of my Grandchildren yet unborn. It is impossible for me to prevent what shall be done after I am dead, so it was equally impossible for me to help what was acted before I was born.

You also hinted at the political Principles of the present Dissenters. I take the Liberty to say, they are not ashamed of them. They are

the same now as in the Days of their Forefathers. Upon their Principles the late Glorious Revolution was founded. Their Principles have been confirmed, by many and repeated Acts of Parliament, and have often had the Suffrage and Sanction of the most august Assemblies upon Earth. Upon their Principles, Sir, stands the Parliamentary Succession of the Crown of these Realms, in the present *Reigning Family*; and God Almighty grant it may there ever stand. Yea, I could tell you a Time when the Clergy themselves were glad to borrow their Principles.

I cannot finish my Remarks on your Sermon, without taking Notice of what you was pleased to advance in the Close of it, relating to the Title KING CHARLES had to the Crown of *England*, which you call'd an Absolute, Indefeasible, Hereditary Right, and consequently not liable to cavil or dispute, by Party or Faction. This is what I think should never be said in Pulpits, as it seems to imply a Distrust of the Validity of the Parliamentary Establishment.

I told you, in the Beginning of my Remarks, that as far back as the Thirteenth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was made High-Treason, for any one to affirm, that the reigning Prince, with the Authority of Parliament, is not able to limit or bind the Crown. I doubt not but you imbibed this Principle of Hereditary Right at *Oxford*,
 forty

forty Years ago ; and having never suffered yourself impartially to examine its Foundation, it is become to you as a demonstrated Truth. But the present Age is given to reasoning ; they do not so implicitly submit to Absurdities, tho' they have the Sanction of a Convocational Decree.

You was pleased to dress up the Principles of the *Presbyterians* in a frightful Shape ; but let me tell you, Sir, in my Turn, that the Principles of your Party have been burnt, not by a rude and lawless Rabble, but by the common Hangman, in broad Day-light, before the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*, and by Authority of Parliament. Perhaps you never have heard of this contemptuous Treatment of the *Oxford* Principles, and therefore I will give it you from the Parliamentary Records. “ *Anno Dom. 1710.*
 “ the *House of Lords* taking into Consideration
 “ the *Judgment* and *Decree* of the University of
 “ *Oxford*, passed in their Convocation 21 *July*,
 “ 1683. It was resolved by the Lords Spiritual
 “ and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that
 “ the said *Judgment* and *Decree* contains in it
 “ several Positions, *contrary to the Constitution*
 “ *of this Kingdom, and destructive to the Pro-*
 “ *testant Succession, as by Law established.* And
 “ it was thereupon ordered, by the Lords Spi-
 “ tual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,
 “ that the said *Judgment* and *Decree* shall be
 “ burnt by the Hands of the common Hang-
 “ man,

“ man, before the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*,
 “ between the Hours of Twelve and One, on
 “ *Monday* the 17th Instant of *March*, in the
 “ Presence of the Lord-Mayor of the City of
 “ *London*, and the two Sheriffs of *London* and
 “ *Middlesex*.”

In this *Decree* were strongly asserted the Do-
 &trine of Passive Obedience, the absolute, inde-
 feasible, and Hereditary Right of Succession to
 the Crown; and Revolution-Principles were cal-
 led damnable. Bishop *Burnet*, speaking of this
 detestable *Decree*, says, “ The University of *Ox-*
 “ *ford* asserted the KING’s Prerogative in the
 “ highest Strain of the most abject Flattery pos-
 “ sible, both in their *Addressses*, and in their
 “ wild *Decree*; in which they laid together a
 “ Set of such high-flown Maxims, as must
 “ establish an unaccountable Tyranny.”

I will readily grant, it is an Action worthy a
 Minister of the Church of *England*, to discover
 a proper Zeal for the Supremacy and Prerogative
 of his Prince; but then, Sir, it should be with
 such Limitations, and Restrictions, as are con-
 sistent with Our known and Established Laws,
 and agreeable to the Settlement of the Imperial
 Crown of these Realms. Under this Head you
 might have testified some Love to your Country,
 some little Attachment to the Liberties of your
 Fellow-Subjects. But the advancing, or the
 bare hinting, that impious Doctrine, of an absolute,
 in-

indefeasible, Hereditary Right, is not only weak and foolish, but may be attended with dangerous Consequences; as it may so unsettle the Minds of some of his Majesty's Subjects, as to make them suspect the Validity of his Parliamentary Title: A Title by far the best and most glorious, and will be found by Experience to be the most durable. An Absolute Prince is of all others the most insecure; as he proceeds by no Rule of Law, he can have no Rule of Safety. He acts by Violence; and Violence is the only Safe-guard against him. It was the advancing this Slavish Doctrine from the Pulpit, in the latter Part of QUEEN ANNE's Reign, that greatly contributed to the Rebellion which broke out on the Accession of the late King to the Throne of this Kingdom. This, with great Propriety, might be called the *Grand Rebellion*. It was a Rebellion, the most wicked, and diabolical, that ever the World produced; a Rebellion against King, Lords, and Commons; against Religion, Laws, and Liberty; in Favour of Chains, Fetters, Slavery, Blackness and Darkness both of Body and Mind. An Event that will leave an eternal Mark of Infamy and Disgrace on the *British* Nation; as many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, were either openly engaged therein, or secretly favoured it. I have often wish'd, for the Honour of the Nation, that an Hundred of the most considerable of the Rebels had been

con-

confined in *Bedlam*, during their respective Lives, that After-Ages might have concluded, none but Fools and Madmen were engaged in that most wicked and impious Attempt.

And here I cannot omit taking Notice, not only to the everlasting Honour of the *Presbyterians*, but of all the different Denominations of *Dissenters*, that there was scarce a single Man of them to be found, at that critical Period, but what openly declared for the *Parliamentary Succession of the Crown in the HOUSE of HANOVER*; and were preparing to venture their Lives and Fortunes in its Defence.

The *Invader*, you know, Sir, claimed under the Notion of an absolute, indefeasible, Hereditary Right. Whether he was, or was not, the Son of King *James*, is quite out of the Question; it is of no Consequence at all to any one Man in *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, who was his Father, or who was his Mother; he is a Person attainted by Law, and therefore cannot reign; and all his Aiders, and Abettors, or whoever holds any Correspondence or Intelligence with him, are deemed and judg'd *Guilty of High-Treason* ^b.

I assure you, Sir, was I in Possession of the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, together with all

^b See the ACT of the 14th of KING WILLIAM, entitled, *An Act of Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of High-Treason.*

the other Riches of those vast and mighty Empires, I would most chearfully sacrifice all, to the very last Shilling, to preserve, and transmit to Posterity, the present *Parliamentary Succession of the Crown*, with which are connected Religion, Laws, Liberty, and Independency ; and should, in my most calm and serious Moments, esteem my Conduct to be just and prudent. And I persuade myself, I here speak the Language of every true *Briton*. Most surprizing then it is, that any one, who has bound himself by the strongest Engagements Religion can lay Men under, and has tied down his Soul by an Oath, to defend and maintain the present Settlement of the Crown in the Illustrious HOUSE of HANOVER, should be so wicked and profane, as to hint any Thing in Favour of an absolute Hereditary Right.

Thanks be to Heaven for this *Parliamentary Settlement of the Imperial Crown of GREAT BRITAIN* : A Settlement, which our Religion, our Country, our Liberty, and our Property, oblige us to maintain : Yea, without the Solemnity of an Oath, we are bound to defend this *Establishment*, by every Motive that can influence the Mind of Man ; Honour, Conscience, and the Love of our Country constrains us to it.

We should certainly have been chained down, in the most abject Condition of Servitude, in the
Reign

Reign of the late King *James*, had not the Almighty, in Mercy, given us that Glorious Instrument of his Providence, the late and memorable KING WILLIAM; by whose seasonable Interposition we are now in a Condition of enjoying Life, Liberty, Religion, and Property.

I shall not content myself with Remarks only from the different Historians of those Days; but let us see the calm and deliberate Resolutions of the *Lords* and *Commons*, the Representative Body of the whole Nation: In the first Year of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, an Act of Parliament was made, entitled, AN ACT *declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown*: It begins thus, “ Whereas the *Lords* Spiritual and Temporal, and the *Commons* in Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the Estates of the People of this Realm, did upon the Thirteenth of *February*, in the Year of Our LORD 1688, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the Names and Style of WILLIAM and MARY, Prince and Princess of ORANGE, being present in their proper Persons, a certain Declaration in Writing, made by the said *Lords* and *Commons* in the following Words, *Whereas the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by*
“ *him,*

“ him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the
 “ Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liber-
 “ ties of this Kingdom, by assuming and exercising
 “ a Power of dispensing with and suspending of
 “ Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without the
 “ Consent of Parliament, &c. &c. &c. All
 “ which are utterly and directly contrary to the
 “ known Laws, Statutes, and Freedom of this
 “ Realm: And the said late King, having abdi-
 “ cated the Government, and the Throne thereby
 “ being vacant, they the said Lords Spiritual and
 “ Temporal, and Commons, assembled at West-
 “ minster, do resolve, That WILLIAM and
 “ MARY, Prince and Princess ORANGE,
 “ Be, and Be declared KING and QUEEN of
 “ ENGLAND, FRANCE, and IRELAND,
 “ and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, &c.
 “ &c. &c.” Then they enjoin the following
 “ Oath to be taken, “ I A. B. do sincerely pro-
 “ mise and swear, that I will be faithful, and
 “ bear true Allegiance to Their Majesties KING
 “ WILLIAM and QUEEN MARY: So
 “ help me God.”

In the Declaration presented by the *Lords* and
Commons to KING WILLIAM, and QUEEN
 MARY, on their Acceptance of the Crown,
 after having ascertained the Rights and Liberties
 of the People in the strongest Terms, we have
 the following Words: “ And it is hereby de-

“ clared and enacted, that all and singular the
 “ Rights and Liberties, asserted and claimed in
 “ the said Declaration, are the true, ancient,
 “ and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the
 “ People of this Kingdom; and so shall be
 “ esteem’d, allow’d, and adjudg’d, deem’d, and
 “ taken to be, and that all and every the Parti-
 “ culars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly
 “ holden and observed, as they are express’d in
 “ the said Declaration.”

Let us now step into *Scotland*, and see what
 was transacted there at this important Juncture.
 In a grand and solemn Convention of their *Lords*
 and *Commons*, They declare, “ That whereas
 “ King JAMES the Seventh, by the Advice of
 “ wicked Counsellors, did invade the Funda-
 “ mental Constitutions of *Scotland*, and altered
 “ it from a Legal, Limited Monarchy, to an
 “ Arbitrary and Despotick Power, and exerted
 “ that Power to the Subversion of the *Protestant*
 “ Religion, and to the Violation of the Laws
 “ and Liberties of the Kingdom, &c. &c. &c.
 “ All which Miscarriages of King JAMES were
 “ utterly and directly contrary to the known
 “ Laws, Freedom, and Statutes of the King-
 “ dom of *Scotland*. Upon these Grounds and
 “ Reasons the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scot-*
 “ *land* did find and declare, that the said King
 “ JAMES had forfeited the Crown, and the

“ Throne was become vacant, and the Estates
 “ of the Kingdom of *Scotland* had resolved, that
 “ WILLIAM and MARY, KING and
 “ QUEEN of *ENGLAND*, be declared KING
 “ and QUEEN of *SCOTLAND*, &c. &c. &c.

In these Acts of Parliament the Causes and Reasons of the late Revolution are fully set forth.

The People of *England* and *Scotland*, when they had gone so far, plainly saw the Work was but half done. They had only delivered one Generation from *Popery* and *Slavery*, and knew, that in case King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY, and the Princess of *Denmark*, left no Issue, some *Popish* Prince or other, under a Pretence of being next in Descent, might set up a Claim to the Crown. This Consideration gave Birth to another *Act of Parliament*, made in the 13th Year of King WILLIAM, entituled, An *ACT* for the further Limitation of the Crown, and for the better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. By this Act “ the most Illustrious
 “ Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Dutchess
 “ Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her
 “ Body, being *Protestants*, were declared the
 “ next in Succession in the *Protestant Line*, to
 “ the Crown of *England*, &c. &c. after the
 “ late King WILLIAM and the Princess
 “ ANNE of *Denmark*, and their respective Issue; and it is enacted, that the Crown should

“ be, remain, and continue to the said Princess
 “ SOPHIA, and the Heirs of her Body, being
 “ *Protestants* ; and thereunto the *Lords* Spiritual
 “ and Temporal, and *Commons*, in the Name
 “ of all the People of this Realm, did most
 “ humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their
 “ Heirs, and Posterities, &c. &c.”

About this Time a little *Popish Jacobite* Party began to peep up ; upon which another *Act of Parliament* was framed, entituled, An *Act of Attainder* of the present pretended Prince of *Wales*, of High Treason. This *Jacobite* Faction still subsisting, our *Great Deliverer*, and his *glorious Parliament*, having a Dread upon their Minds, of that *Popery*, *Slavery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, from which they had been so lately delivered, were now Resolved to do the Work effectually ; and for that Purpose they passed another *Act* for Extinguishing the Hopes of the present pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other *Pretenders* whatsoever, and their open and secret Abettors. And, to clinch the Nail and make thorough Work of it, they framed the *Abjuration Oath*, and thereby tied down the People, Body, Soul, and Estates, to maintain and defend the Settlement of the Crown in the *House of Hanover*.

By these Means Our *Glorious Deliverer* completed his Work, and handed down to us the
 most

most pure Religion and the best Constitution in the Universe ; guarded, and fenced about, by Oaths, and Laws, as unalterable as human Affairs can be.

When I consider how we stand as to the *Pretender*, that we have all personally abjured him in publick Courts of Justice, and have in the Presence of God, Angels, and Men, declared the same to be without any Equivocation, or mental Reservation ; really, when I consider and reflect on these many solemn Ties of Laws and Oaths, of Religion and Conscience, of Duty, Interest, and Inclination, methinks all Fear vanishes in a Moment, and an Invasion, in Favour of the *Pretender*, appears to be a most wild and romantick Chimera, unless supported by a wicked restless Faction within our own Bowels ; he may otherwise with equal Reason, and Probability of Success, attempt to invade the Moon, as to invade and conquer the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*^d. His present Majesty, and the next Successor to the Crown, we know full well, will always rule agreeably to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom ; and God Almighty grant, their Successors may ever

^a This was written twelve Months ago, before the *French* had conquer'd *Ostend*, or any Part of *Flanders*, or the Breaking out of the present *Rebellion*.

follow their Glorious Example: and then they will stand, eternally stand, on Sir *William Temple's* broad Bottom, *viz.* The Affection, Interest, and Inclinations of the People, against which the United Powers of *France* and *Spain*, *Hell* and *Rome*, will never prevail.

I have often wished that the sundry *Acts of Parliament*, for Limiting and Settling the Succession of the Crown, were more universally known and understood; and that the most significant Clauses of them were engraved on Monuments of Brass or Marble, erected for that Purpose in every Parish Church in *England*; that to the most wicked and impious of all Doctrines, that of an Absolute, Indefeasible, Hereditary Right, might stand publicly and perpetually condemned.

I have only one Remark more, and then shall have done with your famous Sermon. You was pleased largely to insist on the Obligation all Men are under, to pay a due and proper Regard to the National Religion and National Faith; and endeavoured to prove, that the Legislature is at all Times truly and properly invested with a Power, not only to support the National Faith and Religion, but to enforce it, and even its different Modes and Ceremonies, by Civil Penalties.

I would

I would not be understood here, to be running down all Establishments, and particularly that of the *Church of England*; but the Establishing a National Faith and Religion, and enforcing the same by Civil Penalties, does not appear to be reasonable and just, or quite consistent with the Nature and End of Civil Society. Religion, I mean true and real Religion, in its own Nature is incapable of being established by any Law. It is not subject to human Inspection, nor can it be controul'd by any human Authority. It consists in the Reverence and Love of God, in a constant Submission to his Divine Will, and in a regular and devout Obedience to his Laws. This is truly Religion; but it cannot be infused into the Mind by any other Means than by Argument and Persuasion. Therefore I submit it to the Consideration of the Publick, if it be just or reasonable for the Magistrate to enforce the National Religion and Faith by Civil Penalties. The different Modes and Ceremonies of Worship indeed may be established by the Magistrate, but this is not the Establishment of Religion; these Modes and Ceremonies are, at best, only Forms of Godliness, and are often destitute of real Devotion, Reverence, and Love of God. *Mahometanism* is certainly an Imposture, and its different
Modes

Modes and Ceremonies of Worship are foolish, and ridiculous ; the Establishment of them does not alter their Nature, or make them a Jot more reasonable and just. Upon the whole, there is something in the Nature of true and real Religion inconsistent with any Civil Establishment whatsoever. But the Contending for, and Establishing a National Faith, is still more unaccountable. With respect to Faith, every Man must believe according to the Evidence that is exhibited to him ; he cannot help it. Such is the Frame of the human Mind, that it cannot withhold its Assent or Belief from any Proposition that shall appear to be true or probable. I evidently perceive, Two and Three make Five ; was I to gain the World, I cannot think otherwise. I have never been at *Jamaica*, yet I believe there is such a Place ; and that it lies in or near the particular Latitude described in our Maps : The Testimonies I have received of it are so strong, as force the Belief of it, whether I will or not. Transubstantiation, the *Athanasian* Creed, and many other Things I could mention, are truly mysterious and unintelligible, and therefore cannot be properly the Objects of the Assent of any reasonable Man. Was I to be threatned with the severest Tortures, if I did not believe these Doctrines, yet the Fear of those severe Punishments could not force me to the Belief

lief of them ; it would be impossible for me to consider them any otherwise than as absurd Falshoods. The Dread of Pain might induce me, outwardly, to acknowledge them as true ; but this would be no other than a willful deliberate Act of Hypocrisy, for which I should stand condemn'd in my own Conscience.

I will grant, the Belief of a God is the Foundation of all Religion ; there is no Man who makes any Use of his Reason, but will conclude, that from Eternity there must have existed some One, Unchangeable, Independent, Necessary, Self-existent BEING, from whom all other Beings, and all other Things, that are, or ever were, have received their Original. It is demonstrably true, that all Things could not have risen out of nothing ; nor can they have derived from one another in an endless Chain or Succession. Whatever exists must have a Cause, a Reason, a Ground of its Existence ; therefore it is one of the most evident Truths in the World, that Something must have existed Eternally, and independently : That is, (as Dr. *Clarke* very justly observes) to exist by an absolute Necessity, originally in the Nature of the Thing. This is the most natural Idea of the SUPREME BEING ; therefore I am forced to believe, that there is ONE only living and true GOD, a most pure, glorious Spirit, necessarily possessing
all

all possible Perfections, Eternal, Immense, Im-
mutable, Almighty, Omniscient, Independent,
infinitely Holy, Just, and Good.

Thus far the Light of Nature, unassisted by
Revelation, points out, and directs; and the
more we consider and contemplate this Subject,
the stronger we shall find it impressed in our
Minds: yea this Truth is so evident, and de-
monstrable, that it comes with an irresistible
Power; so that our Assent to it is necessary and
unavoidable.

Let us now examine the Pretensions of Reve-
lation, and we shall find the Case exactly the
same.

It is undeniably true, and we have all the
Proof and Evidence that any reasonable Man
can desire, that there really was such a Person
as *JESUS CHRIST*, and that he ap-
peared in the World about 1700 Years ago;
that he was *JESUS*, the *MESSIAH*; and
was sent out from God, and acted by the Autho-
rity of God; that he came into the World to
establish a pure, spiritual, and undefiled Religion,
in its Nature simple and perfect, freed from
Superstition and Idolatry, not loaded with Sa-
crifices or Ceremonies, but every way adapted
to make Mankind wiser and better. The Sub-
limity of its Doctrines, the Purity of its Pre-
cepts, the Spirit of Love, Charity, and uni-
versal

versal Benevolence, that runs through the whole *Christian* System, obliges me to believe it has God for its Author. Besides, the Miracles Our SAVIOUR wrought, in Confirmation of his Doctrine, were many, and uncontestable; performed in Open Daylight, in Presence of many Hundred People; so that there could not be the least Suspicion of any Fraud or Juggle.

I am very sensible, 'tis natural for all Men, to have an over-bearing Opinion and Esteem of that particular Religion they were born and bred up in; but *Christianity* will bear the strictest Enquiry, and stand firm, when the Mind is freed from all the Biass and Prejudice of Education. It calls on all its Votaries, to prove and examine it; and it has this particular Distinction from all other Religions whatsoever, that the more it is inspected into, the more its Purity, Rationality, and Divine Authority will appear: So that I am oblig'd, whether I will or not, to acknowledge the Truth of Our SAVIOUR's Mission, and the Divinity of his Doctrine: The Proofs are so incontestable, and conclusive, that it is not in my Power to withhold my Belief, or Assent; so that this Faith also, like all others, is in its own Nature necessary, and unavoidable. These Premises make it extremely difficult for me to conceive, that any one can be properly punished, or rewarded, either here or hereafter,
merely

merely for Believing or Not-believing ; and abundantly demonstrate, that the Power claim'd by the Civil Magistrate, to establish a National Faith, is indefensible on rational Principles, and not agreeable with the Nature and Ends of Civil Society.

With Regard to *Christianity*, it is purely a practical Thing, not a speculative one. The Scriptures declare, that Faith without Works is dead. It avails not. It signifies nothing. Let a Man believe by the Lump, let him swallow Creeds by Dozens, let him believe all the Orthodox Established Notions, or all the Orthodox Opinions of the other different Parties, yet, if he is an immoral Man, he is worse than an Infidel. A good Life infers good Principles. Living well is the best Evidence we can give that we believe well. Certainly, an honest, sober, virtuous *Heathen*, must be more in the Favour of God, than a wicked *Christian*. A *Pagan*, who observes the Laws of Truth and Peace, is infinitely more religious, than a profane, turbulent, avaritious *Christian* Priest. *Cornelius* was a *Heathen* ; yet, observe, it is declared of him in Scripture, *that he was a devout Man, and one that feared God, with all his House ; who gave much Alms to the People, and prayed to God Almighty.*

I have

I have now done with your Sermon, and shall conclude with repeating a few of my favourite Lines :

“ For Modes of Faith let graceless Zealots
fight,

“ He can't be wrong whose Life is in the
Right :

“ In Faith and Hope the World will dis-
agree,

“ But all Mankind's Concern is Charity :

“ All must be false that thwart this one Great
End,

“ And all of God that bless Mankind, or
mend.

POPE'S *Essay on Man.*

I beg Leave to entertain the Reader with
an ADMIRABLE POEM, very well
adapted to the present Subject.



E P I T A P H I U M

MONSTRUM *cujusdam,*

Apud Anglos vulgo dicti

B I G O T R Y,

Terræ & Tenebris mandati.

A U T O R E

Diu incognito Viro Ingenioso & verè Pio

J O H A N N E R E Y N O L D S.

I.

HIC *jacet (semperque jaceat !)*
Pietatis Cadaver,
Improbitalis Corpus,
Religionis Larva,
Sanctimoniæ Hostis & Umbra,
Divini Imago Zeli, & Pestis,
Ecclesiæ Simia simul & Lupus.

II. Mon-



A N
 E P I T A P H
 O N
 B I G O T R Y,

Translated from the *Latin*.

Which was written by the late pious
 and ingenious

Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS;

And inserted

In the Occasional Paper, Vol. III. No. 6.

I.

HERE lies (and may it here, for ever lie !)
 The Carcass of dead Piety,
 Shadow of Grace, substantial Sin,
 Religion's Mask and gawdy Drefs,
 The Form and Foe of Holiness,
 The Image and the Plague of Zeal Divine.
 It's Dwelling was the Church ; in double Shape,
 Half was a murdering Wolf, and half a mi-
 mick Ape.

I.

*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen
 ademptum,
 Romæ Antiquæ Natum,
 Novæ in Tutelam Acceptum,
 In caliginosis Vaticani Adytis,
 Humano Sanguine & Pulvere Pyrio
 Nutritum, saginatum.*

III.

*Hispaniæ Ditionis Incola,
 Gallicis deinde Regionibus Hospes,
 Jam dudum Gratissimus
 Veteries quidem, Novique Orbis,
 Humani Generis & commodi Causa
 Peregrinator assiduus.*

IV.

*Linguarum utpote quarumcumque Peritus,
 Sexûs itidem utriusque Particeps.
 Mentium Illuminator Flamimineus,
 Acutissimus Dubitantium Duëtor,*

II.

A Monster horrid to the Sight,
 Hideous, deform'd, and void of Light;
 'Twas born at ancient *Rome*.
 By th' modern nurs'd
 In the dark Cloisters of the *Vatican*;
 Its Lungs inspir'd with heaving Lyes,
 Its Bulk well fatten'd to prodigious Size
 With Gun-powder and Blood of Man.

III.

Ancient Inhabitant of *Spain*,
 And long in *France* a welcome Guest;
 Over the Continent and Main,
 Over the Old World and the New,
 Mankind and Money to pursue,
 On Dragon's Wings the *Harpy* flew,
 And gave its Feet no Rest.

IV.

All Languages the Fury spake,
 And did of either Sex partake:
 Flaming Enlightner of the Mind,
 And headlong Leader of the Blind,

*Qui Laqueis, ensibus, incendiisque,
 Reluctantium Animarum Catervas
 Festinas in Cœlum Amandat,
 Celerrimus Orbis Conversor.
 Conspirationum Exitialium,
 Verarum pariter ac simulatarum
 (Mali reverà Machinarum infandi)
 Artifex dexterrimus.*

V.

*Ecclesiæ sub Nomine & Cultu,
 Sub pelle Ovina & Vultu,
 Libertatis penitùs Ecclesiasticæ,
 Commerciî penè Civilis,
 Ac Societatis Humanæ
 Indomitus Vastator & Prædo.*

VI.

*Artibus Politis, Politicisque,
 Critices nexibus Logicæque strophis,*

Oft has it dragg'd the doubtful Tongue to speak,
While the pain'd Conscience left the Truth be-
hind.

By Gibbet, Sword and Fire,
It made whole Tribes of Men expire ;
And to the Skies their groaning Ghosts it hurl'd
A swift Converter of the World.
Dexterous in all the Arts of Blood ;
Skill'd to contrive or counterfeit
Mysterious Mischief, Plots of State :
Those murderous Engines to destroy the Good.

The *Muse* here tiring, begs the Reader's Leave
to release herself from the Bonds and Labours
of *Rhyme* and *Metre*, by a mere Imitation of
the next Thirty Lines in *Prose*.

V.

Under the Name and Habit of the Church,
Under the Countenance and Clothing of a Sheep,
It became the most savage and rampant
Plunderer and Waster of human Society,
Made fearful Inroads on all Civil Commerce,
And left religious Liberty expiring.

VI.

A Warrior well furnish'd
With all Arts Politick and Polite,
With the knotty Embarassments of Criticism,
The

*Calamorum, Linguæque telis,
 Conciliorum, Canonumque Bombardis,
 Cæterisque Gentis togatæ Armamentis
 Bellator instructissimus.*

VII.

*Cui Furor, ac Odium, ac Nefas,
 Fastusque ac seculi Amor,
 Perjuria, piæque Fraudes,
 Truculenta Partium studia,
 Implicitæ fidei, Tyrannidisque,
 Obsequii proinde Passivi,
 Ignorantiæ ac Moriæ Encomia
 Comites fuerunt solennes.*

VIII.

*Cui Nugæ, Tricæque Calendæ,
 Quisquiliæ, Diræ, Exequiæque
 Bullæ minantes, & bruta Fulmina,
 Vota sacrilega, ac Legendæ,*

The hampering Chains and Subtilties of Logick,
 And the Javelins of Pen and Tongue,
 With the roaring Ordinance of Councils and
 Cannons,
 And all the Artillery of the Schools and Gown.

VII.

Fury, Hatred and Mischief,
 Love of this World, Pride and Disdain,
 With Perjuries, Falshoods, and Pious Frauds,
 And raging Party-Zeal,
 Were its necessary and everlasting Attendants ;
 High Encomiums and endless Applause
 Of Guides infallible and Faith implicit,
 Of hereditary and Divine Right,
 Of unlimited Power and passive Obedience
 To tyrant Priests and Kings,
 With the immortal Praise and Merit
 Of stupid Ignorance, and blind Submission,
 Were Heralds to prepare its Way.

VIII.

Trifles, Tricks, and solemn Fooleries,
 Legends and silly Tales,
 Old Almanacks, and mouldy musty Reliques,
 Sweepings of ancient Tombs,
 Vows, Pilgrimages, Charms and Consecrations,

Rites

*Jecur Theologicum, Bilisque
Aspera æque ac atra,
Pompæ Theatrales, Ritusque
Obsoleti simul & decentes,
Cordi fuere & cibo.*

IX.

*Ordinis ut plurimùm Clericalis,
Gregis potissimùm Loyolitici
Congregationis prætereà Venerandæ
De propagandâ per orbem fide,
Coccinatus Antistes.*

X.

*Nobilissimæ Inquisitionis Curiaë,
(Solertissimæ Hæreticorum Muscipulæ)
Primævus Fundator & Præses.*

Rites Obsolete, and Novel Ceremonies
Both decent and indecent.

Monkish and superstitious Austerities,
With Words of Sacerdotal Absolution,
And Sacerdotal Vengeance,
Squibs, Crackers, Excommunications, Curfes,
Roaring Bulls and vain Thunders,
Mixt with Priestly-Choler, bitter and black,
Were its delicious Food.

[Now *Metre* and *Rhyme* proceed.]

IX.

A purple Prelate, chosen to preside
Over the whole *Ignatian* Drove,
And all the Clergy-Tribes beside,
All but the Sacred Few that mix their Zeal
with Love,
In every different Sect 'twas known,
It made the Cassock and the Cowl its own,
Now stalk'd in formal Cloke, now flutter'd in
the Gown.

X.

At what dark Hour so e're
The curst *Divan* at *Rome* were met,
Catholick Faith to propagate,
'This Monster fill'd the Chair.

The

*Amplissimo Cardinalium confessui,
Necnon sanctissimo S. R. Ecclesiæ
Patri Capitiq̃ue
A secretioribus semper Consiliis.*

XI.

*Christiani insuper Orbis totius
Tam per Orientales, quam Occidentales
Mundi plagas.
Miserè secum Militantis
(Et quid, quæso, Augustius
De Maximo Heroum dicendum?)
Antesignanus semper Triumphans.*

XII.

*Insulæ Britannicæ Extraneis ab hostibus
Pelagi mœnibus necnon Navium
Propugnaculis bene munitæ,
Bonis prætereà Domesticis,
Quà Sacris, quà Civilibus
(Bona si tandem sua noverit)
Omnium Fortunatissimæ.*

(Prob

The Conclave drest in Bonnets red,
 With Three-crown'd Tyrant at their Head,
 Made it their Privy Councillor.
 The *Inquisition-Court* (a bloody Crew,
 Artful to set the solemn Trap
 That lets no *Heretick* escape)
 Owns it her President and Founder too.

XI.

Oft as the *Church* in *East* and *Western* Lands,
 Rising against herself in Arms,
 In her own Blood imbru'd her Hands,
 'This Chief led on th'unnatural War,
 Or did the Bloody Standards bear,
 Or found the fierce Alarms ;
 Victorious still : And what can more be said
 Of all the living Warriors, or the Heroes dead ?

XII.

BRITAIN, a Land well stor'd with every Good,
 That Nature, Law, Religion gives,
 A Land where Sacred Freedom thrives ;
 Blest Isle ! If her own Weal she understood !
 Her Sons immur'd with Guardian *Ocean's* Sleep,
 And Castles floating in the Deep ;

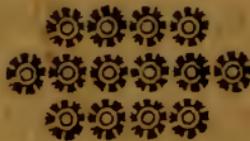
L

Fenc'd

(Proh Dolor ! Proh Pudor !)
Intestinus Divisor & Helluo.

XIII.

I fuge Viator, Malignum
Hujusce sepulchri Vaporem !
Lætare, Festina, & Ora
Ne Sphingi adeo nefandæ
Ullus in ævum
Resurrectionis concedatur Locus.



Fenc'd from all Foreign Foes, O Shame! O Sin!
 Her Sons had let this baleful Mischief in;
 This Hellish Fury, who, with flattering Breath,
 Did first divide and then devour,
 And made wild Waste where e're she spread
 her Power:
 Behold, she meets her fatal Hour
 And lies enchain'd in Death.

XIII.

Shout at the Grave, O Traveller;
 Triumphant Joys that reach the Skies
 Are here the justest Obsequies:
 Shout thrice; then flee afar
 The pois'nous Steams and Stenches of the Sepulchre:
 Go, turn thy Face to Heaven, and pray,
 That such a hateful Monster never may
 Obtain a Resurrection-Day.



C O N C L U S I O N .

I MUST here stand still,—make a Pause,—and reflect a little on the vast and surprizing Difference between us and our Forefathers, both as *Protestants* and *Dissenters*; especially during the Reign of that weak and arbitrary Family, the *STUARTS*. And, really, the Consideration is very affecting. I cannot forbear crying out, *To thee, O my God, are due my Eternal Praises, to thee will I offer my humblest Acknowledgments of Gratitude and Thankfulness!* Blessed, Blessed be thy Name for ever, that thou hast appointed me to act my Part in *Great-Britain*, at a Period of Time when my Person, my Estate, my Conscience, my Religion, are all my own. I am govern'd, it is true; but willingly governed, because governed by Law, and not by the arbitrary Dictates of insolent and lawless Power. The Fruits of my Labours are my certain Property. My Children, those dear Pledges of Conjugal Affection, I educate for myself, in such a Manner, as my own Prudence and Circumstances may direct, without the distressing Fear of seeing them torn from me, by the Bigotry and Superstition
of

of crafty and tyrannical Priests^a. Thanks be to Heaven, that the Days of Tyranny and Darkness are now at an End, and that the Men of the greatest Fortunes and Abilities, of the present and rising Generation, seem to be inspired with an ardent Love of Liberty, and to have been brought up in an Abhorrence of those bitter and slavish Principles, whereby wicked and designing Ecclesiasticks have formerly invaded, and, at last, impiously destroyed the noblest Privileges of their Country. The infinite Importance of Liberty^b is now universally understood; and it is impossible for any Nation to be too jealous of every Attempt that may have a Tendency to infringe or destroy it. In short, it is one of the noblest Gifts of God to Mankind, and the only Source and Foundation of Happiness, both in publick and private Life. And what a Satisfaction must it now afford, to every wise and honest Man, to see the exorbitant Claims of some Clergymen, in our Day and Time, universally treated with Scorn and Contempt, even when advanced by a Person of high Rank, and, confessedly, great Abilities. I hope to live long

^a *Memento the Schism Bill.*

^b When I speak of Civil Liberty, I desire always to be understood, as meaning nothing more than being governed by Laws of our own Making.

enough to see the Bulky Performance of that Gentleman meet with the same Treatment as the famous *Oxford Decree* of 1683, long since worthily burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

Should any one say, that no such Claims or Pretensions are now asserted, I beg Leave to refer him to the following Quotations from the Work I have just referred to: “ The *Magistrate* ought not to interfere with the *Clergy*,
 “ in the Exercise of their Power ; but ought on
 “ all Occasions to be assisting to them, when
 “ their Aid is required. The *Clergy* ought to
 “ be permitted to make such Constitutions, from
 “ Time to Time, as shall appear to them conducive to the Ends of their Divine Commission ; and the Power of interpreting those
 “ Constitutions, and of carrying them into Execution, ought to be invested in the *Clergy*
 “ alone, or in those only to whom they shall
 “ delegate it.”

Again, “ Every Bishop may claim Authority,
 “ by the Word of God, for the Correction and
 “ Punishing of such as are unquiet, disobedient,
 “ and criminous ; that is, for the Exercise of
 “ all manner of Spiritual Discipline within his
 “ Diocess. No Administration that is properly
 “ Spiritual, can come into any other Hands
 “ whatsoever, otherwise than by the voluntary
 “ Choice and express Direction of the Bishop.”

I could

I could quote several other Passages, all endeavouring to prove, that the Bishops and Clergy, by a DIVINE Right, stand invested with the sole Power for the Correction of Manners, and Punishment of Vice; and that this Authority is to be exercised by Visitations, Synods, and Rural Chapters. Truly, the Tyranny of the *Grand Turk* is not so detestable. Who would not rather be a Slave to a Monarch, than a Monk? The Experience of all Ages confirms this Truth, that the Oppression or Cruelty of Temporal Tyrants never was, nor ever can be, so great as that of Priests has been; were those Claims permitted and allowed, the Sacerdotal Empire would soon draw all Power to itself, and render the Civil Magistrate its Slave and Dependant. From the Recognition and Acknowledgment of this Divine Right sprang the *Papal* Supremacy; and should the Clergy of *England* ever possess a Power or Right of Jurisdiction, underived from the Civil Magistrate, it would lead us to a State and Condition worse than being Slaves to *Rome*; we should then become Slaves and Vassals to a Popery at our own Door. Those Priestly Claims and Pretensions are in themselves not only absurd, and dreadfully mischievous; but also directly opposite to all the known Laws and Constitutions of the Realm. At the Time of the *Reformation* our Forefathers were not content to
abolish

abolish the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, but went to the Root of this accursed Evil, and declared, that all Jurisdiction, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil, is vested in and exercised by Authority from the Crown.

3 *Henry 8.* “ His Royal Majesty is declared
S. I. C. 17. “ to be supreme Head of the
“ Church of *England*, and hath full Power to
“ punish, and repress all manner of Errors,
“ Vices and Sins, growing within the same.

26 *Henry 8.* “ The King, his Heirs, and Suc-
Cb. 1. “ cessors, shall be taken and re-
“ puted the only supreme Head on Earth of the
“ Church of *England*, and have full Power to
“ correct, reform, and amend all Errors and
“ Enormities within the same.

1 *Edward 6.* “ It is declared, and enacted,
Cb. 2. S. 3. “ that all Spiritual Jurisdiction
“ and Authority is derived from the King’s Ma-
“ jesty, as supreme Head of the Churches in
“ *England* and *Ireland*.

1 *Elizabeth,* “ Be it enacted, that all Jurisdi-
Cb. 1. S. 17. “ ction Spiritual, and Ecclesiasti-
“ cal, be exercised by her Majesty, and that she
“ hath full Power and Authority for the Visita-
“ tion of the Ecclesiastical State, and Persons,
“ and for the Reformation, Order, and Corre-
“ ction of the same; and, further, that all
“ man-

“manner of Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction is in the Crown, and is exercised by Authority derived from thence.”

I could cite many other Acts of Parliament, wherein it is most fully and peremptorily declared, that Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Persons whatsoever, have no manner of Jurisdiction, or Authority, but by, under, and from the KING, from whom alone all Ecclesiastical Power is derived. Therefore, the Clergy setting up for an Independency, or pretending to exercise any Spiritual or Temporal Jurisdiction, by Virtue of a Divine Right, is directly contrary to all our known and established Laws, as well as inconsistent with all the Principles of the Reformation; which abundantly declare, that all Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction is derived solely from the Civil Magistrate. This Principle has ever been esteemed the Ground-Work of the Reformation. Whoever has a Mind to see the Weakness and pernicious Tendency of those Priestly Claims learnedly and judiciously refuted, may consult that admirable Treatise, entituled, *An Examination of the CODE X*, by that great Lawyer and true *Englishman* the late ^a Recorder of *Bristol*. And lest any one should think I bear too hard on those Reverend Gentlemen, I beg

^a Now the Honourable Mr. Justice *Foster*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*.

Leave

Leave to conclude with a Quotation from this invaluable Performance, *Pag. 2.* After having proved, beyond all Contradiction, that *Christ's Kingdom* was not of this World, but that it was an Empire of Truth and Righteousness, founded in the Hearts of his faithful Subjects, he goes on,

“ For it is notorious, that a certain Set of Men
 “ (meaning the Bishops and Clergy of ancient
 “ Times) most impudently assuming to them-
 “ selves the sole Interpretation of the Laws of
 “ this Kingdom, and pretending to an extraor-
 “ dinary Zeal for the Honour of its Founder,
 “ did set up, and for many Ages did maintain,
 “ a Kingdom of their own, over the greatest
 “ Part of the *Christian World*; the most im-
 “ pious and oppressive Tyranny that ever exer-
 “ cised the Patience of God or Man; an Em-
 “ pire founded in Craft, supported by Blood,
 “ Rapine, Breach of Faith, and every other
 “ Engine of Fraud and Oppression.”

I have now gone through what I first intend-
 ed, and, to speak the Truth, what was at first
 wrote for my own private Amusement, and
 without any Design of its seeing the Light; but
 when I consider'd what dreadful Havock Bi-
 gotry and Superstition had made in the *Christian*
 World, I concluded, the Publication might be
 of some Use, and not unseasonable. My Lord
Bacon's Observation is certainly just, that the
 Danger

Danger of Superstition is even greater than that of *Atheism*; for, says he, “ *Atheism* leaves Men
 “ to Sense, to Philosophy, to Laws, to Reputation, all which may be Guides to moral Vir-
 “ tue, tho’ Religion were not; but Superstition
 “ dismounts all these, and erects an absolute
 “ Monarchy in the Minds of Men: therefore,
 “ *Atheism* did never perturb States; but Super-
 “ stition hath been the Confusion of many.
 “ The Causes of Superstition are pleasing and
 “ sensual Rites and Ceremonies, Excess of Pha-
 “ risaical and Outside-Holiness, Reverence to
 “ Traditions, and the Stratagems of Prelates for
 “ their own Ambition and Lucre.”

Probably, I may have incurred the Displeasure of some Persons, by advancing Things contrary to the commonly received Opinions: But I beg Leave solemnly to declare, that my Intention is perfectly innocent and just. I design nothing but the Defence and Support of the best Religion, the best Laws, and the best Government in the World. I submit all to the Candour and Good-nature of the Reader, and do hope he will forgive what was honestly meant, altho’ it should be found to be weakly executed. Should any one object, that I have taken too great Liberties with the Names and Characters of the Dead; I reply, That I am fully sensible of the Reasonableness and Justice of that ancient Maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*:

bonum : However, this must not extend to *History*, wherein, for a just Recital of Facts, the true and full Characters of the principal Agents are often requisite ; and the *Historian* should be under no manner of Restraint, but that only of keeping within the Bounds of Truth and Decency.

F I N I S.





