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T H E
Memorial
O F T H E
CHURCH of ENGLAND,

Humbly Offer'd to the
Consideration of all True Lovers
O F O U R
Church and Constitution.



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11

Journal

1840

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1840

T H E
M E M O R I A L
O F T H E
Church of England, &c.

THose that look no deeper than the surface of Things, are apt to conclude without Hesitation, that the *Church-of* Condition of the
E——d is in a very *Flourishing Condition*: Its *Dignities* Church not to be judg'd
 and *Preferments* make a very goodly shew, and the *Patronage* by the Ex-ternal Ap-pearance.
 of the *Q——n* seems to promise a continuance of *Prosperity*. But for all this fine Complexion and fair Weather, there is a
Heſtick Feavour lurking in the very *Bowels* of it; which, if not
 timely *Cur'd*, will Infect all the *Humours*, and at length *Destroy*
 the very *Being* of it.

The *Nation* has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, who in the
 preceding *Century* violently overturn'd both *Church* and *State*; tho'
 their own *Extravagance* and *Confusions*, thro' a special *Providence*, Danger of the Church from whom
 contributed more than *Human Wisdom* to the *Re-establishment* of
 'em. The *Sons* of those *Men* yet remain, and inherit many of
 'em the *Principles* of their *Fathers*: It wou'd therefore be no very
 uncharitable Supposition, without any other Argument, to ima-
 gine 'em *Heirs* of their *Designs* likewise: For it is easie to de-
 monstrate that such *Principles* lead naturally to such *Designs*, and
 that no Man can heartily embrace *One*, without having favour-
 able thoughts of 'Other; nor can we *Blame* 'em, for if any Man
 is perswaded (as many of our *Sectarians* avow themselves to be)
 that the *Discipline* and *Worship* of the *Church-of-E——d* are
 A 2 an

an *Abomination*, his *Conscience* will readily suggest to him, that he ought to do his utmost to *Purge the Land* from such *Abomination*; and upon this *Pretence* has the *Church* been once already intirely subverted, tho' raised again by God in a *Miraculous* manner. In those days a thorough *Reformation*, *Root and Branch* was the *Cry* of all the *Pulpits*, the *Shibboleth* of the *Party*. If since the *Church* recover'd its antient *Lustre* and *Authority*, they have been more *Silent*, and in appearance more *Moderate*; it is not that they are better *Temper'd* or *Affected*, but that submitting to the *Necessity* of the *Times*, they have *dissembl'd* their *Intentions* better; yet some overt *Attempts* here, and the whole *Course* of their *Proceedings* in S——d during these *Two* last *Reigns*, sufficiently shew us what *Treatment* we might expect, if they had the *Power*.

Dissenters
not singly
so formidable
as given out.

But these *People*, tho' they may have the *Will*, have not the *Power* alone to endanger the *Church*. The *Dissenters* are not yet considerable enough for their *Numbers*, (however they boast of 'em) *Wealth*, or *Quality*, to bring about any great *Change* in the *Constitution* of *Church* or *State*. And our *Church* is too *Strong* to be *Shaken*, but thro' the *Treachery* or *Supine Negligence* of its own *Members*, or those at least that pretend to be such; and as such palm themselves frequently upon their *Country* and *Church*, to the irreparable *Damage* of both.

Their late
Disposition
and the
Temper,
and the
Reasons of
it.

The sudden death of the late K—g disappointed, mortified and humbl'd the *Dissenters*, and their *Abettors* the *Whiggs* so excessively, that they were ready to have thrown a *Blank* to the *Church*, and wou'd have taken a general *Indemnity* with an *Exclusion* from all *Publick Trust* and *Office*. They who not a *Month* before breathed nothing but *Defiance*, and insulted the *Church*, and treated the *Princesses* with the most *Scandalous Indignities*, and *Rudest Calumnies*, were in an instant grown the most *Dutiful Subjects*, the most *Affectionate Friends*, and the most *Peaceable*, *Meek*, *Christian Spirited* *People* in the *Universe*. They *Preach'd* nothing but *Charity*, *Peace* and *Love*, *Forgiveness* of *Injuries*, *Oblivion* of *Wrongs*, and the utter *Abolition* and *Extinction* of *Parties* and *Factions* for ever, so very *Good* and *Gracious* can *Men* in *Fear* be! But whence this *Humility* and *Dejection* of *Mind*, this *Sweetness* of *Temper*? Was it *Natural*, or the *Result* of more extraordinary *Grace*, or more *Christian Principles* than other *Men* were possess'd of? No! But they had just before *Injur'd* and *Affronted* the *Princesses* and *Church* of *England* in so *Insolent* and *Outragious* a manner, upon *Presumption*,

prion, that durable Schemes were upon the Anvil in their Favour, that their own Consciences upon the vanishing of 'em, prompt-ed 'em to seek Pardon and Peace from those whom they had so A-bus'd by an extraordinary Submission.

But, when contrary to these Fears they found the Head of the very diff. Ch—ch, and after her Exámple, the Members of it too, inclined ^{rent from} not only to Forgive, but to Forget past Injuries, and that instead ^{the Present,} of Punishment, they meet not with so much as a Rebuke or Re- ^{and why.} proach, but Comfortable Speeches and Kind Assurances from the Q—n Her Self, and Good Countenance from some of her Prime M——s, their Spirits were elated, in an instant the Spirit of Humility and Pacification vanish'd, their former Insolence and Presumption re-turn'd upon 'em in full Force, and they began to Challenge and Provoke the Ch——ch as boldly as ever.

Thus far the History of their Carriage towards the Ch——ch is Publick and Recent, as likewise are the Advances that have been made in their Favour, and the Repulses which the Ch—ch ^{Concessions} has met with. Every thing has past in Sc——nd to the Desire of ^{made in} the Presbytery, even to the endangering of the Ch——ch and Mo- ^{Sc——nd,} n——hy of E——nd and the Dissherison of its C——n, and the ^{very dan-} immediate Prejudice of its Sovereignty; but on the contrary ^{gerous to} nothing ^{E——nd.} for the Security of the Ch——ch here; which cannot only boast it self to be a Main Branch of the Civil Constitution, but the Prop and Support of the whole Frame of Government; which remov'd, it must all necessarily fall to the Ground, as has been once fatally experimented. All attempts to settle it on a Perpetual Foundati- ^{Great and} on have been Oppos'd, and render'd Ineffectual by M——rs, ^{sudden} who owe their present Grandeur to its Protection, and who with a ^{Changes} Prevarication as shameful as their Ingratitude, pretend to Vote and ^{in some} Speak For it themselves, while they Solicite and Bribe others with ^{Mis——rs.} Pensions, and Places to be Against it. If——

were to be Interrogated upon Oath, what wrought this wondrous Change in 'em? They wou'd Answer, that the L——T—— requir'd it of 'em, and that they held their Places by that Tenure. ^{E—s of} If on the other hand the same Enquiry were made, why the Staves ^{R, —N—,} were taken from the E—— of J——, and Sir E—— S——? ^{J—, and} Or why so Able and Faithful a Minister as the E—— of N—— ^{Sir E———,} was expos'd singly to the Malice of a Faction, and be as well as ^{why in dis-} the E—— of R——, wearied out of his Post? It wou'd be found that they were Inflexible Men, Opiniatres, whose Consciences

got the better of their *Places*, and wou'd not let 'em part with unseasonable *Principles*, whenever they grew out of Fashion at C——t: They adher'd firmly to the *Interests* of the Ch——ch, and by their steadiness *Reproach'd* those that *Debauch'd* the rest with want of *Principles* and *Ingratitude*.

It is hard to assign any *Plausible Reason* for this *Conduct* of the L—— T——, that when this *Story* shall come to be impartially written, it will hardly find *Belief* with *Posterity*; for it is scarce credible, that one who has the Reputation of a *Cunning Man*, shou'd desert his *Old Friends* and *Protectors*, with whose *Approbation* and *Good Will* he enjoyed the *Best Post* in the *Nation*; at a time when their Credit was at the *Highest*, while the *Heart* of the Q——n was *entirely* with 'em, and while there was a perfect *Harmony* upon that *Score* between Her and the H—— of C——, the greatest and most powerful *Body* in the *Nation*, and an universal *Satisfaction* throughout the *Land* in the expected *Settlement* of the Ch——ch; and to summ up All, when neither the One *Party* had given him any *Provocation* to abandon 'em; and consequently not trusting to his *Conversion*, receiv'd him with an ill *Grace*, and have us'd him scurvily ever since.

Anecdote In this the effect of S——d's Alliance appear'd. That *Tricking Statesman*, to whom *Treachery* was, thro' *Habit*, become almost as necessary as *Breathing*, cou'd not suffer his *New Relations* to take open and fair *Measures*, which had been more *Safe*, as well as more *Honourable*, and altogether as *Advantageous* to 'em, but by infusing into 'em a *Jealousie* of their *Friends*, endeavour'd by embarrassing 'em to render himself *Necessary*.

Thus it's believ'd the L—— T——, and D—— and D—— of M—— receiv'd the first *Warp*; at least 'tis more *Honourable* to lay the *Fault* there, and suppose 'em *Abus'd*, than to think they left the *Cause*, by which they had been rais'd out of *Levity of Temper*, or *Premeditated Treachery*: But however that was, being possess'd of the Q——n's *Favour*, they were resolv'd to admit no *Sharers* with 'em in it, not so much as the Ch——ch, lest that shou'd draw after it the E——s of R—— and N——, with others, into more *Special Grace*, and closer *Confidence* with the Q—— than they approv'd. Yet, as it was neither *Safe* nor *Feasible*, so absolutely or immediately to wean the Q——n from the Ch——ch, as to keep those *Noble Persons*, and divers others, so far from Her as they desir'd, without keeping the Ch——ch at some distance; they amplified the *Numbers* of the
Dissenters,

near of Ri-
vals in the
Q——s fa-
vour, alie-
nates I—
T——, &c.
from the
Interests
of the
Ch——ch.

Dissenters, and the *Danger* of disobliging 'em; and then by degrees fill'd her with *Apprehensions* of the *Mischievous* Heat and Passion of the Ch—chmen; and perswaded Her of the *Necessity* of withdrawing Her Countenance, and receiving 'em more coldly; till by degrees they drove almost all that adher'd firmly to the Ch—ch, from about Her *Person*. In the mean time, to fortify themselves against that *Odium*, which they foresaw they must necessarily incur, having all the *Places* of the *Nation* in their *Hands*, they employ'd 'em to *Debauch* indifferently, such of *Both Parties* as were *Members* of P——, and out of them to raise up a *Third*, which shou'd pretend to be *Neuters*, and depend upon them alone, and *Vote* and *Act* by their *Direction* only, without regard to any other *Engagement* or *Principle*. They Tre-
judice the
Q—n.

But as such Changes as these abruptly made, are *Scandalous* *History* of and *Unpopular*, and in the End generally Fatal to *Min—rs* of *Moderation* *on Alamode* *S—te*, unless *Varnisht* over with some *Specious* Pretence to gull the *People*, and lull 'em into a *false* *Security*; Her M——'s *Gracious* *Disposition* and *Inclination* to render *All* Her *People* *Happy* and *Contented*, was laid hold of as a most *Glorious* *Screen*, and *Moderation* was the *Word*, the *Passpartout*, that open'd all the *Place* *Doors* between the *Lizard-Point* in *Cornwal*, and the *Town* of *Berwick upon Tweed*. Immediately some *Gentlemen* who had made a handsome *Figure*, and render'd themselves *Conspicuous* to the whole *Nation* for their *Zeal*, grew as *Moderate* and *Indifferent* as a *Usurer* at a *Discourse* of *Charity*. They cou'd *Vote* For or Against any *Bill*, the same P——, the same *Session*, nay, if *Occasion* had been, the same *Day*. But this *Moderation* which triumph'd so in E——nd, cou'd not be prevail'd upon to stir *One Step* over the *Tweed*. While our *Men* of *Moderation* yielded up every *Point* here, on Pretence of *Tenderness* for *Erroneous* *Consciences*, the *Kirk* there pursu'd their *Blows*; and having got the poor *Episcopal* Ch—ch down, laid on most unmercifully thick and heavy, in order to knock it effectually on the *Head*; and these *Moderate* *Persons* who would not suffer the Ch—ch of E——nd so much as to assert it self here, were so far from offering their *Mediation* towards alleviating their *Unjust* *Sufferings*, that the *Proceedings* of their *Enemies* were encourag'd and inflam'd by *Spontaneous* *Letters* of *Grace* and *Countenance*; and when the poor *Persecuted* *Clergy* of that *Kingdom*, in the *Anguish* of their *Souls*, address'd for some *Comfort* and *Relief* under their *Miseries*, they were sent back with an *Answer* that had more of *Reproof* than *Compassion*.

Compassion in it, without *hope of Remedy*, and the more to *Imbitter* their *Woes*, besitting only *Tumultuous Rioters*, or *Seditious Remonstrants*.

Suspitions
of the
Ch—ch of
E— how
grounded.

Those of the Ch—ch that know the *Piety* and *Tenderness* of the Q—n for all Her *People*, and Her particular *Goodness* and inclination to *Charity*, as well as Her special *Zeal* for the Ch—ch of E—, can't believe that this sudden *Damp* upon it, and this seeming *Partiality* for the *Dissenters* can arise from any ordinary Cause, or from any thing less than a lively *Apprehension* of some very great *Danger*, as strongly as privately suggested to Her ; especially when they consider their own firm Adherence to Her while only Pr—, and their dutiful and affectionate Carriage towards Her ever since : But they plainly see by Her repeated *Cautions* in Her *Speeches*, by the *Conduct* of Her *Principal Ministers*, and by the *Obstructions* which every thing that has been advanc'd for the *Security* of the Ch—ch, has met with from some *Great Off—* of the Cr—n, that the Ch—ch does not hold the same *Rank* in Her *Esteem* and *Confidence*, that it held heretofore ; or that at least thro' the *Awe* of some *Party* or other, she dares not give 'em the wonted *Marks* of it. However, not being Conscious to themselves of any *Intemperate Behaviour* on their part towards their *Neighbours*, or want of *Duty* or *Affection* to Her M—, their *Representatives* having cheerfully supplied Her's, and the Nations *Wants*, and complied with all Her *Desires* (as far as they were inform'd of 'em) except in the Case of the *Grant* to the Duke of M— ; which, considering that his *Services* were then but in their *Infancy*, but just *Beginning* ; that the *Nation* was at *Great Charges* for this *War*, and very much in *Debt* for the last ; and that upon those *Two Accounts* they had very lately been forc'd to a *Resumption* of former *Grants* they cou'd not think it proper to be done in a *Parliamentary* way at that time, tho' they did concur with the Q—n in acknowledging his *Good Services*, and were very well satisfied that Her M— shou'd extend Her *Royal Bounty* to him for 'em even then ; and have since, in a most *Special* and *Honourable* manner recommended to Her further Consideration his late *Great Services* ; which shews that they never *Envied* or were *Unjust* to his *Merits*, or refractorily uncomplaisant with Her *Desires* ; from all these Considerations they can't conceive that the Countenance of the C—rt towards them is alter'd by reason of any *Misbehaviour* of theirs, but upon some private *Suggestions* hitherto suppress.

Altho'

Altho' from the frequent Inculcations of the Necessity of *Moderate Councils*, and from the repeated *Exhortations* from the *Th—ch—Men* do find themselves almost as sensibly reproach'd with want of *Christian Charity*, and the true *Spirit of Peace*, as by the *Open Aspersions*, and *Defamatory Libels* of the *Dissenters* and their *Hirelings*, who under the Buffoon Nick-names of *High-flying*, *Tantivy*, *Perkinmite*, &c. are employ'd to *Traduce* and *Banter* all *Care* of the present Constitution, *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*; yet they are willing to bring their *Moderation* to the Test with any *Ch—ch* Congregation, or Religious Community whatsoever in the *Universe*, that has at any time or in any Country been possess'd of so much Civil Power, as to give as fair and full *Proof* what they wou'd grant to those of other *Perswasions*, if they had themselves the *Power*, as what they *Demand* where they had it not. The *Independents* and *Presbyterians* formerly in *En—d* and *Ir—l—d*, The *Kirk* of *Sc—d* heretofore and at present; The *Anabaptists* at *Munster*, the *Lutherians* in divers Parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. The *Calvinists* in *Holland* and at *Geneva*. And the *Roman Catholicks* at several times almost all the *World* over, have in their respective Turns experimentally demonstrated by their Practice, that they will not Endure a *Rival Church* in their *Dominions*; and some of 'em (to which eight Parts in ten of the *English Dissenters* retain) that they will not so much as *Tolerate* the Exercise of the Rites of Dissenting *Ch—ch*, tho' in Subjection; And the *Quakers* (who never had Dominions any where, and therefore make the strongest Pretence to *Moderation*) will not so much as lay out their *Money* with a *Tradesman* of another *Perswasion*, nor extend their Alliance, Commerce, or Charity beyond their own *Sett*; tho' kindly invited to it by others, especially the *Ch—ch* buying of them. From this Conduct, it is no *Uncharitable Presumption* to conclude, that the *Quakers* wou'd be as *Tenacious*, and *Uncommunicative* of *Power* (were they possess'd of it) as any other *Sett*.

The *Ch—ch* of *E—d* then has Reason to *Resent* and be *Griev'd* at the *Misrepresentations*, that *Mi—rs* or others for private Ends make of Her best Friends to her *M—* or the *Publick*; and they to regret the Loss of those favourable Regards which their constant, dutiful, and affectionate Behaviour might give 'em a just Expectation of; especially to lose 'em upon groundless *Surmises* and unfair *Insinuations*, that they have not *Temper* enough to bear their Felicity as they ought. Those that procure

this *Coldness* towards the Ch—ch, pretend to deal with it, as they do by half Famish'd Persons, stint 'em in their Meals for fear they should Surfeit thro' *over Voraciousness*, tho' it is more to be fear'd, that like Knavish Guardians, they Curtail the Infant's Allowance, not so much to breed him Soberly, as to Cheat him the more largely in their Accounts; which for all their *Cunning*, may at some time or other undergo a *Severe Examination*. Had this want of *Temper* been suggested by the Profeß or Suspected Adversaries of the Ch—ch, there had been nothing of *Wonder*, less of *Ingratitude*, tho', not less *Injustice*. We have been used to bear their *Insolent, Unjust Clamour* with a Calmness of Temper unknown to any Ch—ch but ours, and which alone without any other Argument, is sufficient to evince the Unreasonableness and Falshood of their *Reproaches*, and wipe off all such *Slandereous Aspersions* at the very *Instant* they are cast upon us. But when our supposed Great Friends, *Asserters, Pastours* and pretended *Protectors*, by unnecessary Cautions and Reprehensions, give Countenance to the *Hardest Insinuations* of *Her Enemies*, it looks as if they wou'd arrogate to themselves solely the whole *Merit* of the Ch—ch's visible *Moderation*, and thro' their *Artifices* leave *Her* still Suspected of Invisible, Chimerical Designs of *Persecution*.

*Trimmer's
Excuses.*

*Vid. Pref.
to Peace at
Home and
War A-
broad, and
Ffay xi.*

Id. Ff. xi.

Those that thus Treacherously now clog and damp the Affairs of the Ch—ch, plead the same Reasons for their present Conduct, that the Selfish Temporizers of all *Ages* and *Nations* have ever done; That the Times will not bear any other Measures; That they are as hearty and as firm to the Interests of the Ch—ch as ever; but the Enemies of it are very *Numerous*, and *Powerful*, and must not be *Provoked* at this Juncture; That the Q— must have the *Hearts* of all *Her People*, and in order to it give equal *Encouragement* to all *Her Loving Subjects*, without Distinction of *Parties*; That the *Old Seditious, Rebellious Race* of F——cks and Wh—— is extinct, and their Leaven worn out; and that they who Inherit at present their Aversion to the Ch—ch of E——nd, have none at all to the C——l-St——e; but are as Affectionate and Loyal as the best Ch—chm——n of 'em all; That the Impatience of the Ch—ch to be Secured, may endanger many fine Schemes, which these *Politicians* have laid, and which they will Communicate, when and to whom they see proper; That to take away from Men by a Law the convenient Privilege of being of *Both sides*, of *Traversing from one to another* as they see it most for their Profit, of *Inverting pretended Zeal to downright Hypocrisy*, of playing *Fast and Loose*;

Loose, and being against us in Principle, and with us for Advantage, is, or at least looks like, a sort of Persecution.

To all these Trimming Excuses, or Shifts rather, 'tis easy to give such short Answers, as the intended Limits of this Paper will allow.

1st. To the Inexpediency of the Time, it may be Answer'd, *This no in-*
That in all dangerous *Distempers* of the State, as in *Acute Diseases* *proper time*
of the Body, the earliest Application, if in their own Nature simply Proper, are the *Best*; and he that defers the *Remedy* under Pretence of waiting for a Chrysis, Betrays the *Patient* to the Danger of being lost thro' the Malignity of the *Distemper*. The last War was Judg'd by Many an Inconvenient and Hazardous Time to Rectify our Coin in; yet the Event has shewn, that the certain *Mischiefs* of the Delay wou'd been much Greater, than the *Hazards* from the Immediate *Remedy* of Re-coining, notwithstanding the Loss amounted to several *Millions* more than the Nearest Guesses calculated it at: For all Growing *Maladies* are render'd more Dangerous and Difficult of Cure by Delay. The *Objections* to Remedying the *Evils* of our Coin then were very Plausible. The *Nation* was Deeply in Debt, and the Expences of the War were very Great; to which, adding the Insatiable *Rapaciousness* of some then in *Power*, and the General Corruption of the *Managers* of our Revenue (as Chargeable perhaps to the *Nation* as the *War*) which Aw'd 'em from Controlling the *Abuses* of others, for Fear of having their own *Inspected*; it seem'd justly to be Fear'd that such a *Diminution* in Tale of the Species of Money, wou'd scarce leave us enough to Serve our *Home-Necessities*, much less our *Foreign Trade*, and those of the *War Abroad*; But the Experiment shew'd us Capable of Bearing *Stronger Remedies*, than we Suspected, as 'tis probable we still are.

But what had we to fear from the *Remedy* propos'd by the Honourable H—se of Co—ns for our *Factions*? The *Dis—rs* *Sulleness of the Dis-*
wou'd have been Disoblig'd; which for once we will suppose, *t-rs not dangerous.*
but can't Grant: What is it the Publick wants from 'em? The Assistance of their Hands and their Purfes. The first of these We have not: For our *Fleets* are Mann'd and our *Armies* formed of such as can Conform to the Service of the Ch—ch; and if All were turn'd out of 'em, who wou'd not, we should not miss a 6th Rate's Crew, or a Single Company out of Both; and the latter being Impos'd by the *Legislative Authority*, they cou'd not refuse; unless they would Rebel, which their Advocates deny.

But they are *Rich*, and might Refuse to Lend their Money to the Government upon *Parliamentary Security*. This is a weak Shift: For while the Government gives good Interest and makes due Payments, they are not so *Sullen*, or *Blind* to their own Advantage, as to take its Money, especially while the Returns of Trade are so Hazardous and Uncertain. What then is the great Inconvenience that *Awes* and *Warps* our Great M——rs thus? Why, says a Learned Author, Her M——y would not have the *Hearts* of all her Subjects. We could wish his *Politicks* cou'd furnish an Expedient, by which she might have 'em All. But if the *Dis-t—rs* will be Disoblig'd, if they are not put into Place and Authority; and the Ch——ch of E—— will be Disoblig'd if they are; whence may the greatest Inconvenience arise? Perhaps our Wise Men think themselves Secure in the *Passive Principles* of the Ch——ch against any Resentments on that Side, and therefore bend all their Application to gain to'ther, whose *Temper* and *Principles* are more Mutinous. If this be their true Motive, they may be simple, well-meaning Men, but must be wretched Politicians. The Principles of the Ch——ch of E—— will dispose Men to bear a great deal; but he's a Madman that tries how much. For when Men are very much provok'd, Nature is very apt to Rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's side. Whether the *Provocations* given to the Ch——ch of E—— may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse Nature, some of our Statesmen would do well to Consider in time. For tho' the Ch——ch is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so Alarm'd as to Secure themselves at the Peril of those M——rs who give them the Alarm. Nor is it to be expected, that they should long bear to be thus us'd, and see a Party, that they knew seek their Ruine, Courted at their Expence. But the T—— is wise, let him therefore look to that; and Maturely weigh, who are to be Provok'd at this Juncture.

All Parties But all Parties, they say, must be Encourag'd without Distinction. Why so? Are Friends, or Enemies, Affectionate or Disaffected, Trusty or Treacherous, Equally and Indifferently to be Esteem'd? Have the Fa——n-t——cks at any times been such hearty Friends to the C——n and Ch——ch, as now to be Reasonably trusted with the Guardianship of 'em? But to sling the Ch——ch as far out of the Question, as some M——rs have out of their Regards; Are there no Reliques of the *Old Republican Leaven*? The *Scripture* tells us that a very Little will serve to put the

Whole

The Ch——ch
not to be
too far pro-
voked.

All Parties
not equally
to be en-
courag'd.

Whole Mass into a *Ferment*: Is it Demonstrable, that they who Affect a *Parity*, a *Republican Model* in the *Hierarchy*, would not like the same *Scheme* of *Civil Government*? Are we very sure, that they who *Ill Treated* and *Bespatter'd* the Pr—s, and hoped, that She never should Reign, are grown sincerely Fond of the Q—n, and heartily Glad, that She does Reign? Are not such sudden and simple Conversions of the Will somewhat Suspicious? And may we not without Oppression or Persecution be Fearful of committing Power to suspected Hands? But to push our Inquiries no farther at this time, when these Questions are fairly and fully answered, We shall know more Reasons than one, why some Persons Voted for a certain Bill, at the same time that they Solicited and made others Vote against it.

As for the Learned Dr's Persecution Argument; if it be *Persecution* to take away the Trade of *Hocus Pocussing*, and playing *Fast and Loose* with *Religion*, We answer, that *Persecution* then is, (as it happens) the very Band and Cement of all Government. For if divers Persons were not almost daily Persecuted at certain Places call'd *Old Bailies*, We should neither Sleep, Walk, nor Ride in Safety; and the Gentlemen-Divers may as justly complain of the Laws that takes from 'em the *Convenient Privilege* of putting their Hands into other Men's Pockets; for if taking away the Benefit of *Hypocrisy* be *Persecution*, Hanging for Picking a Pocket is undoubtedly *Martyrdom*; surely those that Argue at this idle rate, have never consider'd the Nature of *Civil Trust*. It is not any Man's *Birth-right* (as some Advocates for *Spiritual Juggling* have vainly pretended) but the Result of the Confidence the Government has in our *Merit* and *Fidelity*; He, that Confers a *Trust*, may do it upon what *Terms* he pleases; because 'tis a Matter of *Grace*, not of *Right*, and we are at Liberty to refuse it if we do not like the Conditions. If therefore any Persons have so Behaved themselves, or Own such *Principles*, that the Government can't without danger Confide in 'em, the Legislative Power is bound in Duty to the *Present* as well as *Future time*, to disable 'em from doing *Mischief*, by excluding 'em from Power. Nor can the Persons so excluded with more Justice Complain of the Government, than of a Man that refuses to lend 'em Money without Security. But, if the Borrower has been before *Notorious* for *Frauds* or *Collusive Failures*, 'tis Impudence in him to press the Loan, and would be Stupidity and Madness in any one to Trust him without Sufficient Security: Yet this is the Case between the

Dis-t-rs

Dis-t--rs and the *Ch--ch* and *G---nt* of *E-----d*, That the *Dis-t--rs* have always Abused the Trust and Power they have been admitted to, is evident from the Experience we had of 'em in the times of King *Charles* the First, and King *James* the 2d. In the first *Instance* they actually procur'd the *Subversion* of *C---ch* and *St--te* against the King, in the latter they voluntarily offer'd to Sacrifice the Laws and Immunities of 'em to him. In both these Cases they pretended Conscience, and therefore the *Ch--ch* and *G---nt* of *E---nd* have Reason to use all possible Precaution against admitting such Persons into Trust, as can plead Conscience for the Breach of it.

Bill against
it, why
reasonable
and neces-
sary at this
Time.

The Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, excluding none but Ob-
stinate *Dis-t--rs* from Offices of *Trust* and *Profit*, was a Security
highly Reasonable and Necessary at this time. For as the Pra-
ctices, so the present Principles of that Sort of Men give us too
just Grounds to be Jealous of their *Intentions* towards us. The
Episcopal Ch--ch of *E-----d*, as by Law establish'd, is a Great
and Necessary Branch of our Constitution, and we are in Duty
bound to Preserve it, which it will be very Hard to do without
some more Explicite Law, than any yet in Force to prevent the *In-
vasions* of *Sectarians*, and their *Abettors* upon it. For besides the
Scandalous *Equivocation* of *Occasional Conformity*, by another Je-
fuitical Shift, they now openly Stile *Themselves* the *Ch--ch* of *E---d*
by Law *Establish'd*; and so pretend not only to Evade the Force
of all that is or shall be Enacted in Favour of the *Ch--ch* under
that Stile, but lay Claim to, and perhaps in time may Arrogate
Solely to themselves the *Privileges*, and fix upon the *Ch---ch* the
Penalties of those Discriminating Acts. This *Fear* is render'd the

Socinians
& Latitu-
dinarians
Enemies
to the
Ch--ch &
this Bill.

more Reasonable by our Observation, that the *Socinians*, and all
other *Latitudinarians* in Religion, who are known not to Act upon
any Principle of Conscience, do Notoriously and Avowedly A-
bett, and Support 'em in all their *Practices* and *Pretensions* against
the *C-----*, and that thro' their Contrivance and Assistance
they are become more *Formidable*, than from any Strength in them-
selves. Not that the *Socinians* or *Latitudinarians* have in Reality
more Kindness for the *Dissenters* than for the *Church*: but because
they hope, that if with their Help they could pull down the
Church, they should be able successively to destroy them thro'
their own Divisions, and Triumph severally over 'em all. For
whatever Figure the whole Mass of *Dis-t--rs*, taken Indiscriminate-
ly together, and in the Aggregate may make, yet separated and
ranged

ranged apart, under their proper distinct Classes, they would appear Contemptible either for *Number* or *Quality*, compared with the Ch--ch of E-----d. And how much Harmony soever may by some be fancied to be among the several Sorts of 'em, they will scarce be found to be united in any thing, but their *Envy* and froward *Opposition* to the Etablissement'd Ch--ch; so that could the *Deists*, *Socinians* and *Latitudinarians*, with their Help pull down the Ch--ch, it would be no hard Task to Manage them into the *Destruction* of one another.

The *Dis-t-rs* themselves (those especially who are Masters of a moderate degree of Discernment) are not so silly as to imagine, that those Persons, who have of late put themselves at the Head of their Quarrel, do it out of any Conscientious Liking of their *Do-ctrines* and Manner of *Worship*, or that they whom *Wantonness*, *Unbelief* or *Faction*, have rendred Impatient of the Discipline of the Ch--ch of E---d, and who condemn a Polity so candid and easy to the *Laiety*, as meer *Priestcraft*, can ever be brought to submit to the sower Rules and saucy Encroachments of *Edinburgh* and *Geneva*. They know very well, that to be free from all Discipline and Moral Restraint is the sole Aim of some, by the Subversion of the Ch--ch; to make way for the Civil Constitution, is that of others; while to make a *Noise* and a *Bustle*, and render *Themselves* considerable by *Faction*, is the *Design* of most; and that by *Ballancing* of *Parties* to curb one with to'ther, and Cheat and Domineer over 'em all, is the Drift of the M---rs; yet since thro' the Ruin of the Ch--ch lies the Common Road to all their Ends, even the D---l's hand is welcom to help to pull it down. The Godly may Court and embrace the Assistance and Patronage of the Wicked towards so Pious a Work; and let the Censorious World say what it will, in Spite of *S---d---y*, *A---l---*, *P---x*, or *Pr---f---s*, *S---nd---d* shall be a Saint; and *S---rs*, *Wh---n*, and *H---x* Prophets, Martyrs, and Apostles.

But tho' many of the D---f---trs may like very well the Design of pulling down, not only the Ch--ch, but the *S---te* too; yet even these (if they have or pretend to have any Interest in any sort of Religion) would do wisely to Examine what they should be the Better for Success against the Ch--ch, and what Religion, or whether any would be Uppermost; if these pretended Champions of theirs should prevail and put us into all the Confusion they Aim at, They may assure themselves, that these Gentlemen do not think Dominion founded in Grace, and would very hardly be brought under *Spiritual Direction*. And tho' for Fashion-sake
some

No friends
to the Dis-
-trs, yet
embraced
by 'em.

To pull
down the
Ch--ch, nor
the Interest
of the Dis-
-trs in
General.

some Religion or other should be thought Necessary, it would be to cover foul Practices, prevent Unreputable Discoveries. But at the Best, but one of all our Numerous Sects could obtain to be the *National Church*, and whether that One would Tolerate the Rest; as, the Ch—ch of E—d now does them All, is a Doubt that would puzzle the Wisest of them to resolve. However it is plain that but one could be a *Gainer*, and it is pretty apparent as well from past Experience, as from the Nature of the thing, that when Men's Spirits are Heated with the fierce Contention and Struggle, (which must necessarily arise before such a Change can be wrought) and puff up with the Pride of Success, they are apt to grow more Assuming, and to be less Indulgent to the Humours and Opinions of Others, than those whom long Quiet and little Opposition, have suffered to settle into more Security and better Temper. Besides, as no Sect or Sort of *Christians* whatsoever can Boast of so Extensive a *Charity*, and so good Natured a *Discipline*, it cannot be the *Interest* of any *Sect* to Change her *Government* for any other.

Yet it is
their De-
sign.

Yet, tho' it be not the *Interest* of the *Dis-t-rs* in General to pull down the Ch—ch, since it is manifestly their Desigas, it behoves All, that, are *Of* and *For* the Ch—ch, to watch their Motions narrowly. And perhaps the wisest *Step* the Friends of the Ch—ch could take towards Her Security, would be to Distinguish Nicely between *Those* that are *Of* the Ch—ch only, and *Those* that are both *Of* and *For* the Ch—ch. For we have lived to that unhappy Time in which *Men* dare not only Pretend to be of the Ch—ch. but (to the Shame of some of our Clergy be it said) dare receive their *Bread* from It; nay and creep into Its Highest Dignities, and yet Oppose Its Security, and Sacrifice all Its Interests to their own Farther Expectations, and the Intrigues of Crafty Ministers; and so far has the Corruption spread, that *Lawn Sleeves* are become no sure Sign of a Church-Man.

Division
of the
Ch—chmen
into High
and Low
groundless
and Knavish.

Abundance of *Knavish Pains* have been taken to Divide the Ch—ch into *High* and *Low*; and some even of the *Ecclesiasticks* have been so Foolish, as to go into that Dangerous Distinction, Contriv'd by their *Enemies*, on Purpose to Divide and Set 'em together by the Ears. If the Strict Observation of the *Rubrick* and *Canons* Denominates a Man a *High-Ch—ch-Man*, every Presbyter of the Ch—ch of E—d, is, or ought to be a *High-Ch—ch-Man*. For no private Min—r, or single Prelate of the Ch—ch, nay no Number of 'em how Great soever, can or ought, unless, accord-

ing

ding to the Legal Stated Form and Manner of Doing such things) to Dispense with or Alter the Rules and Orders of the Ch—ch, which they have upon the *Sacrament* Sworn, and Promised under their Hand to *Obeys*: But if there be any so Hardy and Conceited of their *own Gifts, Lights and Prudence*, as to Dispense with what the Ch—ch has Enjoyn'd in the *Performance* of their Office, as *Priests or Bishops*, their Presumption therein is so far from being Commendable, as the Result of *Moderation*, that it Involves 'em in the Guilt of Contumacy, Schism, and Willful Habitual P—j—ry, Crimes of so black a Dye, that We hope none of the Cl—gy are Chargeable with 'em. The *Division* therefore of our Ch— (especially our Cl—gy) into *High and Low*, is Impertinent, and Groundless; or if not, it Brands the Low Ch—ch-Man with a Character so Infamous, that sure no Presbyter or Deacon of the Ch—ch can be so abandoned to Shame as to own. As for the Reproach of being a *Ch--ch-Papist*: a Term, which the Enemies of the Ch—ch would render Synonymous to what they call a *High-Church-Man*, it is cast upon them by those only, who would be contented to *make* as well as *call* them *Papists*, that the Ruin of the Ch—ch of E——d, the Great Bulwark as well against *Popery* as *Fanaticism*, might be the consequence of it; and of this we had the dangerous Experience in a late Reign, when the Ch—ch of En——d alone Defended the *Protestant Religion* against *Popery*; while those, that now pretend to Merit by Saucy Bawling, joyned with the *Papists* to set it up, in Opposition to the Ch—ch and the Laws; of which their Numerous Addresses of that Time remain a lasting Record under their Hands to all Posterity. We may therefore safely conclude in the Words of a certain Prelate with a small Addition, *That we know no High-Church-Man but the Pope, nor no Low Church-Man but the Fanaticks and their Abettors*. But if any True Sons of the Ch—ch shall under the Notion of *Moderation*, suffer themselves to be misled into that dangerous Distinction, and joyn the Enemies of the Ch—ch under the Disguise of *Low Ch—ch-Men*, the time may soon come, when they may be convinced of their fatal Error, and become as *High Ch—ch Men*, as the highest in E——d, when it may be too late; and among these we fear to see some Reverend Persons of a certain B—— that shall here be Nameless. For when by our Stupid, over-weening Security, Indulgence and Easiness shall have given our watchful industrious Enemies the same Advantages against Us, which they have obtained against our Sister Ch—ch of Sc——t——d, it may be too

Low Ch—ch-men dangerous to the Ch—ch.

late to fly to the Th—— in our Distress; the M——rs may be Cowardly or Treacherous, or heartily in the Intrigue against us; and the Cr—— it self may be Timorous, ill Advised, unwilling, or unable to Relieve us: What has been may be, it has been once our Case, is now the Case of our Brethren in Sc——d, and may be ours again, if we do not take care to keep it out of the Power of these Moderate Low Ch——ch Men, either through Weakness to give us up, or thro' Covetousness and Ambition to sell us to those, whom we have found at all times dispos'd to purchase our Ruin at any Rate, and perhaps never more than at this Juncture.

But 'tis whisper'd among us (as so great a Secret ought to be) *Secret Designs of the T——* That the L—— T—— does not in his Heart care a Farthing for the F——cks and Wh——s; (which we believe) *to be trust- ed to by the Ch——ch.* That he is at the bottom a fast Friend to the Ch——ch, and has Designs very much to the Benefit and Advantage of it, (which we crave leave to doubt) if the Ch——ch wou'd have Patience, and wait the proper time for the Execution of 'em: That the Q——n is really well and zealously principled and intention'd towards the Ch——ch (which we firmly believe and are satisfy'd in) and wou'd readily concur in any thing just and seasonable for its Service and Security. Admitting all this to be True, that not only the Q—— is in her own Person Zealous for the Welfare of the Ch——ch, of which she is the Visible Head; but that all and every individual M——r, or Person in Credit about Her is solicitous and vigilant for the same good End, yet they are but Men, and consequently fallible in their Measures, which is the Point to which we shall at present speak a few words.

Danger of delaying the Bill against Occi- sion- ly. It is on all Hands agreed, that the Ch——ch of E——d never had more reason to expect a perpetual Establishment, than under her present Majesty. The late K-g was a Foreigner, educated out of the Pale of our Ch——ch, and 'tis probable the next may be so too. It can't be expected that such Princes, however Generous, Good and Gracious, shou'd come over with any extraordinary tenderness or regard for a Ch——ch, to the very Principles, Discipline, and Constitution of which, they may probably be great Strangers. But it may so happen, (as it already has) that thro' the Misrepresentations of Designing Men, such Princes may be abused in the Character of the Ch——ch it self, and much more of the Ch——ch M——n, for want of a sufficient personal Knowledge of 'em, and so be misled to place their Confidence, and lodge the Trust

Trust of the Government, where neither in Prudence, nor by the ^{the D^y} Intention of the Law they ought to rest. Thus it came to pass ^{not con-} in the late K——'s time, that tho' the *Di-nt-ers* had the Liberty ^{ed with Li-} of their Consciences secur'd to 'em by an Act of *Perpetual Toler-* ^{berly of} *ation*, which was purely the Result of the Indulgence of the Ch--ch, ^{Conscience.} to those who wou'd not make an equal Return, where themselves prevail'd against it; yet not so contented, they did by Libels and Scandalous Pamphlets openly, and by Clandestine Insinuations to the K——, thro' the Means and M——ry of some Persons, endeavour to create an Unjust Jealousy of the Ch——ch, and to wrest into their own Hands the Civil Power, for which the Law had made 'em incapable, and by a meer Jesuitical, E-quivocal Shift, Scandalous to Religion, and Destructive of all Faith and Moral Honesty, attempted to evade the Force and Intent of the Law, which was to distinguish and incapacitate for Trust all those, that were not True and Sincere Members of the Ch——ch of E——d, prostituting those Consciences of which they pretended to be so Tender, and profaning the most Solemn and Holy Mysteries of the Christian Religion, to the base sinister Ends of eluding the Law.

How far, and by whom these Practices were encourag'd, and what Distractions they caused on the Affairs of the Publick, few *Englishmen* can be Ignorant, and has in part been already told, therefore shall not be repated here. But the Observation of the Mischiefs these Practices had already been the Cause of in Ch--ch and St——te, and those yet great to Both, which must be the necessary Consequences of the St——te's conniving at the continuance of 'em, made the H——se of C——ns, resolve by a Law to take away the Temptation, and punish a Wilful Transgression, so scandalous to Religion, and pernicious to all Civil Govern-ments.

This they could never hope for so favourable an Opportunity of doing as in the Reign of a Q——n, who so well understands and ^{no Regn} loves our Constitution Ecclesiastical and Civil, that as before, ^{so oppo-} among our Princes she has no Equal: So it is be fear'd that after ^{as this} Her may arise none like Her; If therefore We can't in this Reign ^{for the B^y} obtain a Security for the Ch--ch of E——d against the Inva- ^{against O-} sion of the D——rs, and get the Breaches made in those Laws, which were her only Political Fence repaired now, we have lit- ^{C-ry.} tle reason to expect it in any other. For whatever Objections or Opposition may be made to it now, may probably be made

(Vide)
Character
of a Tack-
ler.

made then, when our Prince for want of sufficient Acquaintance with our Ch—ch and Us, shall perhaps not be so able to discern the Unreasonableness and Fallacy of 'em, as the Q—n is. And it is not unlikely, but that, as they begin already to call themselves the Ch—ch of E—d by Law Establish'd, they may then make Us the D—rs, as one of their Impudent Libellers has at this time done. And 'tis highly reasonable to believe, that when a Prince Educated in another Ch—ch shall come to the Helm, his Servants and Favourites, who will have the Priviledge of his Ear in a peculiar manner, may take upon 'em the Patronage of the Dis-t-rs, who will not fail to make Stronger Court to 'em, than the Ch--ch will think to be their due, (as it happen'd in the late Reign) and so occasion such Promotions, as may be of fatal Consequence to the Ch—ch.

Behaviour
of the
P—rs cre-
ated by the
L— R—

How easily this may be, will appear plainly by collecting the Votes of the P—rs created in that Reign. For of *Thirty Four* P—rs Sp—l and T—l Created, and first Rais'd to the Order of Nobility then, scarce above five either in that R—n or this ever gave a Vote for the Service or Interest of the Ch—ch, or Ci—l C—nst—n in any Critical Question that concern'd 'em. What a dangerous Majority such Promotions may create somewhere, We find already to our Sorrow, and therefore in this Reign, in which only we can hope to do it, shou'd provide against such Mischiefs for the future.

Designs of
the M—rs
to be judg'd
by their
Conduct.

Whether our M—rs have in Reserve any Salutary Remedies for the Evils, which threaten both Ch--ch and St-te, from their past Conduct, We may with Justice question. For while in the P—nt every Bill for the Interest of the Ch--ch is Rejected thro' their Solicitation, and at C—rt her Firmest Friends are turn'd out of Trust and Favour, notwithstanding their Eminent Zeal and Abilities to Serve Her M--y, supported by great Services past, for no other Reason than their Constancy for the Ch--ch, We must be Infatuated if We believe well of the Intentions, or trust to any Professions of M—rs that have Procur'd such things to be done.

Mischief of
their first
false Steps.

But tho' our M—rs *He* and *She*, were as Honest as they ought to be, and as Wise as they pretend to be, or as Persons that set up for Managing *Factions* had need to be (the contrary of all which is from their Management shrewdly to be Suspected) yet all their future Honest and Wise Service could not make the Q—n, Ch—ch, or M—chy of E—d, Reparation for the Mischief which the Initial False Steps of their M— try have done; not tho'

tho' they should Reign as long as *Methuselah* liv'd, and Govern as Wisely and Uprightly for the time to come, as *Numa* or *Lycurgus*. Under Pretence of *Moderation*, and Healing our Breaches, and Calming our Animosities, they have made 'em ten times Wider and more Flagrant, than ever. They have Spirited up a *Faction*, that was *Down*, and made those Pretend to the *Whole Power* of the *Government*, who, but for their Countenance and Support, would gladly have purchas'd Impunity with Incapacity; They have disoblig'd the Bravest and most Affectionate H—se of C—ns, that ever any Prince had, only to Render a Few in another Place Insolent, who have Heat enough to Embroil Affairs, but not Weight enough to Turn, or Skill enough to Disentangle 'em. In short, they have Forfeited the Esteem and Affection of the *Whole Body* of the Ch—ch Men to make *Themselves* Heads of a Prick-ear'd *Faction*, who refuse to receive 'em as Such, and neither would if they could, nor could if they would Stand by them; and out of an idle Jealousy, that the E—l of R—r and some other L—ds of Great Merit and Authority, might Rise to an Equal Degree of Credit, and Rival them in the Q—ns Esteem, they have brought themselves to a Necessity of Courting and Truckling to *W—ns*, *S—rs*, and *H—x*, their old Enemies, who Insult them with the Scorn that is due to such Mean Politicks, and such Poor Submissions.

But admitting, that this Gracious Countenance of the T—s towards the *Wh—gs* and *F—ks* were but a Copy (as the wisest of them Suspect it to be) put on for a while only, to calm those *Unquiet Spirits*, and Lull them into a false Security, and that the Service and Security of the Ch—ch of E—d are only Respited (as it is pretended) till a Juncture, in his Opinion, more Favourable to them; Is he sure, that he shall be Able then, by the Service he shall do to Ballance the Mischief, that his Trimming in the mean time will have done? He has by his Countenance and Encouragement, not only rais'd up a *Faction*, that was absolutely down, but greatly Encreas'd and Strengthened it: But he must not therefore Flatter himself, that he carries so much Weight in his own Person, as to be Able to Turn the Scale to which side soever he takes. For tho' he has had the Power to Spirit up a Dejected Broken *Faction*, and to Engage them in a Quarrel, which, but for their Hopes in him, they durst not have Entred into; or if they had, must have fallen in, yet from some Parallel Instances, and some Arguments which We shall lay before him, We hope he will

will be Convinc'd, that his Success will not probably be so great, when he shall endeavour to quell them.

Parallel Katherine de Medicis (a much Greater Person than our I---
Instance of T——) Queen-Mother and Regent of France, during the Mi-
 Katherine nority of Henry the Third her Son, by reason of his ~~low~~ Age, and
 de Medicis. afterwards thro' his Weakness, had a mind to make the same Ex-
 periment, for much the same Reasons that our T——now, makes. She was apprehensive, that the *Interest* which the *Guises* had in the *Leaguers* was a *Diminution* of her *Authority*, and might in time remove her from the *Regency*; and this *Jealousy* grew so strong in her, that tho' she was a *Zealous Catholick* and a *Leaguer*, she resolv'd to Countenance the *Hugonots*, in order to Ballance the *Power* of the *League*, and by them to Support her *Regency* against the *Guises*, whom she suspected to be her *Rivals*. This Conduct she pursued but six *Months*; yet (as *Mezeray*, a *Historian* of Great *Candour* informs us) in that short time, she made more *Hugonots* by her Countenance, than all their *Preachers* had done in *Thirty Years*. 'Tis probable the *Influence* of our T—— may not make *Wh--gs* so fast, but it Visibly *Debauches* Great Numbers. The Consequence of these *Ambitious Contests* between the *Queen-Mother* of *France* and the *Guises* was, That the *King* was made to Act on all *Occasions* contrary to his *Interests*, *Inclinations*, and *Promises*, in Compliance to the *Desires* of the *Factions*, and became thro' their *Means* very *Unhappy* and *Contemptible* to all his *People*; whereas (the same *Historian* tells us) that had he stuck to that wholesome *Resolution* of *Tolerating* inviolably the *Hugonots* in the exercise of their *Religion*, and of *Excluding* them entirely from all *Offices* of *Trust* and *Profit*, he had seen a speedy *End* of all his *Troubles*, and in a few *Years* brought all his *Subjects* peaceably to *One Religion*; the contrary *Method* to which fill'd his *Kingdom* with *War*, *Bloodshed*, and all the *Miseries* that attend 'em; and brought *Himself* at last to an *Untimely End* by the Hand of an *Assassine*, after having been wrought by his *Mother* to Consent to a *General Massacre* of all the *Protestants* in his *Dominions*; which *Horrid Design* was with *Detestable Cruelty* and *Barbarity* executed at *Paris* on *St. Bartholomew's Day*, and follow'd soon after in most *Parts* of that *Kingdom*. And this very Katherine de Medicis, who had not long before taken upon her the *Protection* of the *Hugonots*, when her *Interests* changed their *Face*, and she began to grow *Jealous* of the *Princes* of the *Blood*, as she had been before of the *House* of *Lorraine*, made no scruple of *Sacrificing* those of whom she had undertaken the *Patronage*, or of
 Sealing

Sealing with their Blood her Reconciliation to the *Guises*, in which her Hand was so deeply dipt; that the Scheme for the Universal Destruction of those poor People was form'd in her Apartment, and the Young King wrought to authorize it by her Persuasions.

Tho' this Tragical Story (it is to be hop'd) is not applicable to *E——d* in all its Circumstances, yet the first part of it comes so near us, that it makes it not improper to consider the Conclusion: For the certain Moral of it is useful in all Countries, and at all Times, however peaceable and good Natur'd; that Friendships founded on Ambition are Fallacious and Dangerous, and never Lasting; for he that to serve a present Turn gives up his Old Friends, to serve a Future One, will give up his new Ones to them to recover 'em again. The *Wh---s* therefore will (if they be wise) consider for what Ends they are at present Caref'd, and whether their own Share of the Nuts, they are employed to Rake out of the Fire, be worth Burning their Fingers for.

On the other hand it may be no improper Speculation for the *M——rs*, to weigh well the Nature of the Tools they work with, and to examine whether there be not more Danger of Cutting their own Fingers, than of Shaping their Designs right by 'em; *S——nd——d*, whose Schemes they are suspected to follow, found 'em once too hard for him and his Master, for all his Indulgence to 'em met with very Ungrateful Returns: Neither his Kindness, nor their own Solemn Promises of standing by him with their Lives and Fortunes, cou'd keep 'em from Betraying him upon the first Opportunity that presented it self; so far were they from keeping their Faith with him, that they prov'd the bitterest and most ungentile Enemies he had. If the *T——* expects more Gratitude from 'em, he deceives himself; for tho' they may use his Assistance to pull down the *Ch---ch*, yet their intire Confidence and Dependance will rest elsewhere, and they will always be as ready to embrace any Occasion of Ruining him, as they were of doing it to their unhappy Indulgent Sovereign *K——J——*; yet lest they shou'd pretend themselves capable of such Carriage only towards *Papists* and *Popery*, and call it the Transport of an Ardent Zeal; let their Behaviour towards the *Ch--ch* of *E——d*, which immediately after an Attempt so provoking as a Conspiracy with the *Papists* to subvert her, in favour of them, repeal'd the *Penal* Laws, and gave 'em a *Perpetual Toleration* by a Law; let

let their Behaviour (we say) and Gratitude for that Indulgence be scann'd, and thence let a Judgment of their usual Returns be form'd. If therefore the Faction buoy'd-up by the M——rs 'till it gathers Strength sufficient to get uppermost, will in all probability turn it upon 'em to their Ruin; and if an unsuccessful Attempt so to buoy it up, will be almost as-fatal to 'em from another Quarter; the M——rs wou'd do well to be very sure, that they are able to Steer clear of these Rocks, which no Man hither has done, or to change their Course in time, while there is room to Tack-About: They are Courtiers, and know that to trip up the Heels of those that Raise 'em, is a familiar Court Practice; let 'em beware how they make it National, lest it come round to themselves.

The T—— may please himself with a Dream of Power and Popularity, and fancy himself some Mighty Monarch, when he sees his Levees crowded, and half a hundred Gentlemen waiting his Orders, and watching his Nods; but 'tis his Staff they follow, not him; if his Footman bore it, they wou'd all be as obsequiously at his Heels. These are Insects, that can't live out of the Sun-shine of the C——rt; let it lie on which side it will, they must be in it. He that admires this sort of Court and Grandeur, may as justly fall in love with a Sunny Wall, with a swarm of shining Flies upon it. 'Tis wonderful that any Judicious, Experienced Person shou'd put any Confidence in such Transitory Friends, whom the first Rude Blast of Weather blows to an opposite Quarter, or the first glimpse of Favour elsewhere lures away from 'em: Yet this has been the common failing of most of our Great M——rs, to neglect those who have constantly, and out of Principle or Inclination been in their, or the same Interest with 'em, to purchase those that have been in a contrary; as if they carried about 'em some Charm, that wou'd make Men true to themselves, whom they cou'd draw to be unfaithful to others. No other Reason seems possibly to be given for this, than these, That most Statesmen are apt to presume upon the Superiority of their own Understanding, and to think that they may by vertue of it venture where others formerly in their Stations (and perhaps as conceited of their own Wisdom too) have miscarried; or that commonly their Designs are such as require Instruments, whose Consciences are more at Liberty than a Man of Honour's, who is tether'd by Principles, and can go but a measur'd just length, and by consequence is not so fit a

Tool for large Designs, as one that is neither Scrupulous nor Inquisitive beyond what he shall get himself for his Pains.

All *Ages* and *Countries* have abounded with these obsequious *Prostitutes*, the Slaves of Prosperous Greatness, who Ply at the *Levee*'s of *Great Men*, as *Porters* do in the *Streets*, only to put themselves in the way of being *Hir'd*, and keep *Better Men* away, who are afraid of Contracting a *Suspicion* of *Dishonesty* by appearing often in such Company. All *Favourites* have been equally attended by 'em during their Favour, and alike *Deserted* by 'em when that was gone. 'Twas not the *Man* but his *Fortune*, that they Courted. Yet, tho' very few have Risen to be Pr——me M——rs, who did not know this, fewer have been able so far to Surmount their own Vanity, as to *Despise* a crowded *Levee*, and not to *Indulge* this sort of Court by *Returns* of *Favour*, and *Preferment*. But from the *Choice* of such *Agents* their *Designs* soon become Suspected to the *Honest Understanding Part* of the *World*, and that *Suspicion* generally renders those *Designs* abortive for which they were chosen. When *Men* of *Doubtful Integrity*, or *Obnoxious* to *Censure*, or even their *Partizans*, Men of their Stamp and Training-up are taken into *Grace* and *Confidence*, Wise Men grow justly apprehensive that the *Old Game* is to be play'd over again, or some other as *Foul*. They, that see the *Hand*, may easily Judge what the *Play* will be.

When we see the Bill against *Occasional Conformity* so often rejected thro' the Means and Influence of the M——rs, even after it had been alter'd to the Terms upon which the first *Opposers* of it promised *Compliance*; And when the *Great Patrons* and *Asserters* of the Interest of the Ch——ch at C——rt, the D——ke of B——m, the E——ls of R——, N——m, J——y, W——sea, Sir E——d S——r, L——d G——lle, Gl——rd, G——w——r, E——l of D——f——rt, Sir G—— R—— turn'd out, without the least Pretence or Colour of *Offence*; What can We judge of the Interests of the C——ch at C——rt? Perhaps We shall be told, that some of these went out Voluntarily, and that the Q——n so far approv'd their Service, that She Earnestly desir'd the Continuance of it in the *Same* or *Better Posts*. We grant it, and humbly Thank Her M——y for her Gracious Thoughts both of the Ch——ch and its *Friends*. But what then must We think of those M——rs, who render Joynt-Service with 'em *Insupportable*, to those who have the Highest Veneration and Affection for Her M——y's Person and Government? May we not justly Suspect, that they saw such things carrying on, as they could neither Con-

cur in nor *Prevent* ; and therefore Consulted their own Honour and laid down, lest by Appearing to Countenance 'em, they should share the *Imputation* ? But what will they say to those other *Noble Persons*, who not not being of the C—b—t C—l, had no other Means of keeping things right, than by doing their *Duty* steadily in their Places ? Were they guilty of any *Offence* ? Or was any thing *Objected* to 'em that might *Deserve* to be Punish'd with the *Loss* of their Places ? No ! their Services too were Approv'd, and their Fidelity Commended, but themselves *Dismiss'd*. What can be the *Meaning* of all this ? If Places were sold by Allowance, We might imagine, that some Persons were apprehensive of a *Storm*, and therefore made hast to get in their *Hay* while the *Sun* shin'd. But surely Places are not Sold, at least not all of 'em ; and therefore that can't be the Reason of all these *Extraordinary Changes*. However it be, by the *Choice* of *Wh—gs* to succeed, it looks as if some Persons had a *Design* to guard all the *Avenues* to the Q—n with their own *Creatures*, and to *Exclude* the Poor Declining *Ch—ch* and its *Friends* from all manner of *Access* to *Her*.

The present *Prospect* of the *Ch—ch* is very Melancholy ; and whatever *Undiscerning People* may think, or some, that wou'd blind Us say, that of the *G—nt* is not much more comfortable. For if while the C—rt was for us, the H—se of L—ds almost intirely with Us, and the H—se of C—ns undebauch'd in their *Principles*, and the *Laws* vigorous on our Side, even in those Days *Wh—gs*, *R-p-bl-ns* and *F—cks* Encreas'd and Multiply'd upon us, How will they *Insult* us now, when all our *Strength* is Reduc'd to a *Remnant* in the H—se of C—ns only, and those *Oppos'd* by the other H—se, Brow-beaten by the C—t, and *Aspers'd*, *Villify'd* and *Abus'd* by the *Wh—gs*, *R-p-bl-ns*, and *F—cks* all the Nation over. How ought we to *Reverence* and *Cherish* the Constant Honourable *Fem*, who above the *Temptations* of the M—rs, or the Unjust *Clamour* of the *Wh—gs*, by their *Courage* and *Bravery* alone, Sustain our *Cause*.

There was a Time when our Clergy Defended our *Ch—ch* against the Joynt Attacks of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, with a *Courage* Becoming the *Cause* they Serv'd. But alas, Many of those *Reverend Persons*, that *Animated*, and *Led* 'em, are Dead ; the *Ch—ch* has lost 17 of those Heroick Pr—tes, that gave *Life* and *Vigour* to those *Noble Sentiments*, and most of their *Places* are fill'd with *Men* of another *Stamp*, who, not being *Warm'd* themselves with the same *Zeal* for it, by Preaching *Indifference* to the *Interests* of

of the Ch-ch, under the Specious, Deceitful Name of Mo——n, have very much Damp't, and in a manner Extinguish'd that Noble Spirit, which their Predecessours had Infused into the Inferiour Cl——y. However, our Case is not so Desperate, but that we have some B-sh ps left, who do not owe their Promotion to S——d or S——rs; but still retain their Primitive Integrity, and Affection to the Ch-ch, of which they are True Sons, and Tender Fathers; Men, whose Reputation is not built upon the Sandy Bottom of a Treacherous Mo——n; nor their Heads vainly filled with Chimerical Notions of an Impracticable Comprehension, but who are justly Rever'd for their Piety, and Honour'd for their Steadiness; Men, who, under the general Indefinite Term of Protestant, have not lost the Important Distinction between a Ch-ch of E——d-Man and a F——ck, and wou'd not put Pr——ns, In——ts, An——ists, Qu——rs, Soc——ns, under the common Negative Idea of Protestants, into equal Credit and Authority with the Ch-ch of E——d; Men, who are neither to be Awed by L——b-th, nor Wheedl'd by S——um out of their Principles, but can Con-
 strue Thirty Nine Articles without an Exposition; and Dare give a Vote for a New Law to Secure the Ch-ch of E——d, when by Jesuitical Shifts, the Intent and End of the Old are frustrated; Men, who, tho' the C——t be the Fountain of Preferment, Dare withstand it in Defence of the Ch-ch, and who wou'd not in Complaisance to any M——rs leave it the only Protestant Community not Secur'd by Law.

From the Pious Endeavours of these Reverend and worthy Pr——tes, in conjunction with the Lower House of C-nv-c-tion, the Ch——ch humbly hopes, and earnestly entreats that the Lower Cl-gy (who want only to be headed and countenanc'd) may be encourag'd to exert themselves in the Defence of that Ch-ch from which they receive their Bread; and that they may be instructed to shew their respective Congregations the innumerable Evils that flow from that dangerous, but too much receiv'd Position, That there ought to be no distinction amongst Protestants; let 'em instruct 'em in the Nature of True Moderation, and exhort 'em to the Practice of it; but let 'em make 'em truly sensible of the vast difference between that Moderation, which is a Vertue, and a part of the Moral Duty of every Christian; and the Moderation so Fashionable, and so much Recommended of late, which is nothing but Lukewarmness in Religion, and Indifference in every thing that relates to the Service of God, and the Interest of his

Ch—ch; let 'em make it appear that the *Toleration* may and shall be maintain'd without suffering the D—ff—rs to ride upon our Necks, and that there is no *High Ch—ch-man* (as they abusively call us) of us all, who wou'd break in upon the *Toleration*, if it were in their Power, provided, that the Ambition of the D—ff—rs wou'd stop there. Let 'em Remonstrate to 'em the *Scandal* and *Sin of Occasional Conformity*, and the Heinousness of *Mocking* or *Dissembling* with *GOD* in so Solemn an *Act of Devotion*, as the Approaching the *Lord's Table*. Let 'em reprove *Wantonness* and *Wavering* in *Religion*, and *Rambling* after *Variety of Religious Exercises*, which Argues more *Curiosity* than *Devotion*. Lastly, Let 'em in their *Conversations* with their *Neighbours* Represent to 'em the Present Real *Danger* of the *Ch—ch* and *St—te* and from *Whom* it is fear'd, as from this *Memorial* or other fuller Evidence, they shall be Convinced; and by rightly Stating the Truth of *Facts* to 'em, let 'em Vindicate those Worthy *Patriots* in Both *H—ses* (especially the *H—se* of *C—ns*) who are *Asspers'd* for their just *Endeavours* to Settle and Secure the *Ch—ch* and *Ci—l St—te*, and more Especially at this time Maliciously *Misrepresented* to the *People* by the *Enemies* of Both. To all these things, as We doubt not of your L—ps Concurrence and Direction, so We hope thro' the *Blessing* of *GOD* upon the Sincere Endeavours of your *Cl—gy*, to see the *Ch—ch* Triumph over the *Malice* of its *Enemies*, the Nation Settled in *Lasting Peace*, and Both Indebted to the *Zeal* and *Piety* of your L—ps, to whom, tho' not the Major Part in Number of your own O—r, the Whole Glory of Establishing It for Ever, will, next to *God*, be mainly Due. If any of our Clergy remain still *Prejudic'd*, and Intoxicated with the *Vain Hopes* of a *Comprehension*, let 'em know, that the *Dissenters* universally *Laugh* at 'em for a *Project* so Impracticable, and Despise 'em for their *Weakness* in Propounding an *Expedient* so Impolitick on their Part; if it were Practicable, no Man alive could ever yet tell on what *Terms* the *Dissenters* would accept of a *Comprehension*; nor can the *Wise*st of the *Church-Comprehenders* say on what he expects they shou'd. Do they Propose, That the *Dissenters* shou'd come over the *Church*, or the *Church* go over to the *Dissenters*? If either of these *Miraculous* Changes cou'd be wrought, it wou'd not be *Comprehension*, but *Conversion*. Let those that expect the *Former*, do their utmost to bring it about; let 'em in their *Sermons* and their *Writings*, endeavour to Convince the several

veral Sorts of Dissenters of their respective Errors. The *High Church Men* (as they call 'em) are ready to joyn with 'em in so good a *Work*. At the worst 'tis but so much *Pious Labour* lost, if they gain no *Ground* upon the Dissenters, and may probably have this good Effect, that it will Fix again those whom a false mistaken Notion of *Moderation* has Unsettled. As for those, who desire the Church should go over to the Dissenters, let 'em set the Example, which can't fail of bearing this good Fruit, that either they will be follow'd, which will Satisfie their End, or their *Places* will be Fill'd with *Better Church Men*, which will Answer *Ours*; and both ways put an End to this *Scandalous Fluctuation*, this *Halting* between several *Opinions*, and the Church arrives at some Settlement.

As for those, who are for compounding with the Dissenters, and for Meeting 'em (as their Phrase is) half way, they are either exceeding Weak Men, or worse Deluded Persons, or ———. There are three ways by which the Dissenters have receded and gone off from us, and consequently as many by which they may and must Return to Us, if ever they mean to do it (*viz.*) Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship. Which of these ways would these *Men of Comprehension* have us meet 'em with our Advances? In less than All, Dissenters themselves have often Declared, they will not be satisfied nor stir one Step towards us; and in All we can't make any without *Mutilating* or *Adulterating* the pure *Christian Faith*, Condemning our most Excellent Church, and in a manner *Apostatizing* from, and utterly *Subverting* it. We have been often told, that the *Protestant Dissenters* agree with us in all the *Main* and *Fundamental* Points of the *Christian Faith*, and differ from us only in *Trifles*, and Points *not Essential*. If this be true, Why did they *Separate* from us? And why do they not immediately *Return* into the Bosom of the Church, who, if this be all the Ground of their *Separation*, is Ready with *Open Arms* to receive 'em, For our Church is not so Rigid, or so Capricious as to Require an *Absolute Uniformity* of Sentiments among her Sons in Matters of *Doubt* or *Speculation*, which are not Essential to the True Faith, nor Necessary to the maintenance of Order and good Discipline: She does not require Implicite Faith, nor command her Sons to Believe as the Church believes, whether they comprehend her Meaning or not, or can be convinc'd in their Understandings, that those things are True which She delivers as such. She cou'd wish indeed, that all her Sons had as Sound and Clear Understandings to embrace

brace all Useful Truths, as strong Constitutions to Digest all wholesome Food ; but like a Tender, Indulgent Mother, She does not reject those weak Ones, who thro' Infirmary can't receive all that is good and conducive, if they admit all that is Essential to the Christian Faith, and Necessary to Christian Communion. Those therefore, that dissent from the Ch—ch of E——d on Points not of this Number, in their own Opinions at least, stand Self condemn'd, and can't excuse themselves from the Guilt of Obstinate Unreasonable Schism.

Those *Dissenters* that would alter our *Hierarchy*, and change our whole *Ecclesiastical Polity*, deal indeed fairly with Us, and let us know what they would be at : That is, provided we come over *entirely* to *Them*, they will be so *Gracious* as to *Comprehend* us ; but this *Grace* we can't expect from those of 'em only, who are for a *Comprehension* in their *Sense* ; that is, for *Pardoning* Us *Schismatics* of the Ch—ch of E——d. The *Presbyterians* pretend to have less *Aversion* for us, and to approach our Ch—ch nearer than any other sort of *English Dissenters*. But we have had such a taste of their *Lenity* and *Indulgence* in the *Iniquity*, and *Violence* of the *Proceedings* of the K—k of Sc——nd against the Ep——l Ch—ch ; which less than *twenty Years* ago was the *Establish'd* Ch—ch of that *Nation*, that we must be infatuated to *Extremity*, shou'd we suffer them to get the *Power*, and still hope to be *Tolerated* in our own way. They who have made it *High Treason* there, by *Preaching* or *Argument*, in *Discourse* or *Writing*, to defend *Episcopacy*, are not like to be very *Indulgent* to it here, whenever they shall have it in their *Power* to be *Severe*. Besides, as all the *Hope* which the E——sh *Pr——sb——ns* entertain of prevailing here at some time or other, is founded on their expectations of *Assistance* from their Brethren in Sc——d ; Can we flatter our selves that an *Arm'd Power* of S——ts, which shou'd come *Strong* enough to *Force* their *Discipline* upon us, wou'd not have the *Garbling* of our *Land*, as well as the *Modelling* of our Ch——ch ? The *Northern Counties* still remember the *Old Sc——ch* Can't, *We come for an your Gudes*, which they made constantly good in the *Litteral Sense*, upon all their *Moveables*, wherever they were not *frighted* or *beaten off* in time. And the whole *Nation* knows the time when the *Saints* shall inherit the *Earth*, was thought *Law* sufficient to give a *Sett* of Men, who *Sainted* themselves a *Title* to the *Lands* and *Possessions* of the *Wicked* and *Malignants*, which was every *Man*, whose *Estate* they coveted.

This

This must necessarily be the Case of any *Nation*, where it shall become a general *Article of Faith*, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*. For the *Body of all Nations* being no nice *Discerners* the *People* will be cheated by the *Prestigious Tricks* of *Impudent Hypocrites*, and false *Enthusiasts*; who will always take upon 'em to be *Judges* of the *Measure* of their own *Grace*, and of all other *Mens*, and thereby assume an *Arbitrary, Tyrannical Dominion* over all *Honest, Wise Men*, whose *Consciences* will not suffer 'em to make those *Scandalous, Hypocritical Pretensions*. This was the *Orthodox Divinity*, and these the *Consequences* which follow'd the *S—ch Reformers* into *E—d*; and these must follow 'em again, if ever they are suffer'd to return hither.

But perhaps some *Comprehension Low Ch—ch Man* will tell us, that they do not intend to comply so far with the *Dissenters*, as to consent to the *Abolition of Episcopacy*, but only to condescend so far to the *Weakness* of our *Dissenting Brethren* as to *Moderate* it, and to gratify 'em by taking away some *Extravagant Branches* of the *Power* of a *Bishop*: They that think by such *Compliances* to *Reconcile* any sort of *Dissenters* to the *Ch—ch*, will find themselves very wide of the *Mark*, when they shall come to the *Experiment*: For there is scarce any sort of *Dissenters* who do not exercise more *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* among themselves, and fulminate Men with their *Spiritual Thunder*, more frequently and freely than the *Ch—ch of E—d* does. It is not therefore that any sort of *Clergy* does not think their *Ch—ch* endued with as *Great Authority* and *Coercive Power* over the *Lairy*, as the *Ch—ch of E—d* has at any time, since the *Reformation* exercis'd; but their *Censures* being in this *Nation* meer *Bruta Fulmina*, that is, being neither *Allow'd* nor *Supported* by the *Secular Magistrate*, the *Law* has taken away their *Sting*, which it has not done to those of the *National Ch—ch*; the *Dissenting Clergy* wou'd therefore be glad that the *Law* wou'd restore the *Sting* to their *Censures*, that they might become more *Awful* to their *Congregations*, or that it were taken away from those of the *Ch—ch*; that its *Ministers* might be *Wronged* in their *Dues*, and its self *Affronted* in its *Discipline* with more *Licence* and *Impunity*. It is not the *Title of Lord*, nor the *Authority* which a *Bishop*, as such has, that offends these *Men*: but it is the *small Number of Bishopricks* that gives so few of 'em room to hope to arrive at the *Dignity* and *Power*, of which so many of 'em are *Ambitious*.

Synodical Popery the Foundation of Presbytery. The *Presbyterians* therefore, by lodging the *Jurisdiction* of *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* in their *Synods* and *Classes*; tho' they have not provided so amply for the *Ambition* of some, yet they have more liberally and equally for that of all their *Clergy*; for in their *Democratical Scheme* of a *Ch—ch*, they have given to their whole *Clergy* an infinitely greater *Power* than ours pretends to, even equal to that of the *Ch—ch* of *Rome*; and by their *Distribution* into *Classes* and *Synods*, they give 'em every one a *Share*, under the Denomination of *Classical* or *Synod-Men*, of *Dominion* over the *Laitie*, and entirely exempt 'em from *Lay Jurisdiction*.

Congregational of Independency. The *Independants* by another sort of *Distribution*, carry the *Authority* of every *Individual Priest* yet higher; every *Particular Pastor* is *Arch-Bishop* of his *Congregation*; a *Diminutive Pope* in his little *Dominions*; *Absolute*, *Arbitrary*, and *Uncontroulable* in *Spirituals*; *Subject* and *Accountable* in *Matters of Religion* (as he pretends) to none but *God*; whose *Particular*, but *private Call* to the *Ministry*, by way of *Perpetual Inspiration*, he pleads as his *Commission* and *Warrant* for whatever he does; which none but *God* that gave it him can exact any *Accounts* of in barr to all *Human Authority*. Thus the *Independant's Priest* lodges in himself the *Infallible Judicature* in *Sacris*, from whence there is no *Appeal*; which the *Presbyterian* with more *Modesty* resolves ultimately into, and places in the last *Resort* in the *National Synod*; so that the *Presbyterians* have but *One Pope* in each *Nation*, which is the *Synod*; and the several *Ministers* of which it is composed, are but so many *Limbs* of *Antichrist*; whereas the *Independants* have a *Little Pope* in every *Congregation*, and every *Individual Preacher* among 'em is a whole *Petty Antichrist* himself.

No terms of Comprehension offer'd by the D—rs. Upon what *Terms* then do these *Moderate Men*, these *Comprehenders*, propound a *Coalition* between our *Ch—ch* and *These*? Will the *Presbyterians* part with their *Synodical Popery*, or the *Independants* their *Congregational*? Or do the *First* desire to make their *Synodical System*, the *National Ch—ch*? Or the *Latter* to Turn their *Congregations* into *Parishes* by *Act of Parliament*? That is, in fewer Words, Do they offer to come over to *Us*, or require that *We* shou'd to *Them*? For by whichever of the ways abovemention'd such a *coalition* shou'd be effected, the proper *Name* for it (as we have already observ'd) wou'd be *Conversion*, not *Comprehension*. If they, or any of 'em are willing to come over to us, we here again repeat our *Promise* to receive 'em with *open Arms*, and to forget all past *Unkindnesses*; which we hope is *Testimony* sufficient of our

our *Moderation*; but if they still insist that *We* shou'd come over to *Them*, We desire *Them*, or their *New Friends* the *Moderate Ch--ch-Men*, to find some *New Arguments* that may satisfy our *Consciences*, without *Reproach* to which we can't seriously intend any such *Thing* upon the *Old Baffled Arguments* of the *D--ss-rs*, which have been so often, and so sufficiently answer'd already: Nor can we without incurring the Censure of *mispending* our Time, consider 'em any farther; and therefore we likewise pray this *Favour* of 'em, that whatever they shall hereafter offer on this *Subject*, may be *New*, and to the *Purpose*, without *Impertinence* or *Scurrility*: For we are not at Leisure to consider *Begatelles*, nor of a Humour to answer *Fibaldry*, such as of late have been generally offer'd on their behalf, which is another *Proof* of our *Candour* and *Moderation*, such as they are not able to give for themselves.

Those, that know how *Arbitrary* and *Unlimited* an Authority *Discipline* these *Dissenting Guides* have at all times *Usurped*, where they of the *Dis-*
Prevail'd, will have little *Hope* of an *Accommodation* from any *senters Ar-*
Concessions on their Part in Point of *Discipline* or *Spiritual Ju-* *bitrary &*
risdiction. The most *Reasonable* and *Moderate* of 'em, the *Presby-* *Unlimited*
terians have always set themselves, and their own *Censures* above all *Laws*, and pretended, that the *Sentencing* and *Correction* of *Sinners* without *Limitation* of kind either of *Sin* or *Punishment*, belong'd to them, as the *Ministers* of *Christ*, by which *unbounded Privilege*, they drew to themselves the *Judicature* in all *Cases* in the last *Resort*, and consequently the *Absolute Sovereignty* over all *Ranks* and *Conditions* of *Men*. This is still *Practis'd* in *Sc--nd*,
 where, upon whatever account the *Presbytery* is pleas'd to *Excommunicate* any one, the Custom of *Horning* still remains, that is, of *Seizing* all his *Estate* and *Effects* at the *Sound* of a *Horn*, which is the *Kirk's Warrant* for *Execution*; and against this *Sentence* (how-
 ever *Unjust*, the *Government* dare not give any *Relief*: So *Terrible* is the *Kirk* to it. This they pretended to, and exercis'd (tho' not by the *Horn*) in *En--d*, in the time of their *Usurpation*, till the very *Rump* it self, their own *Creature*, would no longer endure such *extravagant Domineering*, and thought fit by an *Ordinance* to *Circumscribe* it, as *Nye* the *Famous Assemblist* Complains.

* *The Exercise of Discipline in our Congregations was order'd by the Parliament; but limited likewise to an Enumeration of the Sins for* * *Nye's*
which we might Excommunicate, exempting other Sinners, that were *Beams of*
as much under our charge. This was look'd on by the Assembly, as a *former*
great Abridgment of their Ministerial Liberty, and so great as they *Light.* *p. 98.*
 E *Project's d*

Profess'd it could not with a good Conscience be Submitted to, as, not being able to Perform their Trust, which they receiv'd from Jesus Christ, and must give an Account of to him, resolving to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free.

*Absolute
Popery.*

This is a Note above *Ela*, a Strain beyond *Popery*. For the Pope, as High a Churchman as he is, restrains his Spiritual Thunder to his *Sins* enumerated and defin'd in the *Canon Law* of that Church. But the *Saints*, good Men, are for Fulminating at Discretion, and delivering over to *Satan* whomsoever they please, without any Stated Rule, or Restriction of *Law*. The *Synodists* and *Assemblists* wou'd be at once *Law-givers*, *Judges* and *Jury*, and Make, and Execute the *Law* at the same Instant. This may seem Extravagant, and look like a Misrepresentation to those, that are Ignorant of the Foundation, Nature, and Extent of their Discipline. But his Conviction *ex Ore proprio*, 'tis what is to be found in all their *Writings*, what they have all Argu'd for when time was, as much as *Nye* before-cited, and what they have Exercis'd, and wou'd Exercise still, did not the Fear of the *Laws*, and the Better Example of the *Church* restrain 'em at present. Were those *Obstacles* remov'd, there is not Doubt but they wou'd Resume their antient Practice, and Domineer as much *Here* as in *Sc—nd*. Nor cou'd they upon their Principles justifiably do otherwise. For if (as the *Independants* pretend) they are the *Immediate* Organs thro' which *Christ* Acts and Speaks by *present Inspiration*, Who dare refuse their Authority, that pretends to be a Christian? *Infallibility* attends *Inspiration*, and *Appealing* from them, is *Appealing* from *him*, as in their *Wrings* they frequently tell Us. This is the very Foundation and Essence of *Popery* refin'd upon. Both ground their *Usurpations* upon Mankind on the *Special* Authority of Heaven. But the *Pope* is in one Point more Modest, and more Ingenious than they; For he claims his Universal Vicarship under the *Scriptures*, which we Read and Understand as well as he, and therefore Dispute and Reject his Title. But they pretend a Warrant of a *Superiour* Nature, an *Immediate* Call, and require us to take that upon their own base Words, which no Man is bound believe under the Evidence of *Miracles*.

*Addresses to
the Moderate
G—gy.*

Consider, we beseech your Brethren of the *Ch—ch* of *E—d*, you especially, that pretend to *More Moderation* than the rest, whether the Designs of these *Separatists* tend, and whether you can be Content to follow 'em thro' all the Senseless Mazes of Crack-Brain'd

Brain'd or Knavish Enthusiasm. Yet so you must do, or be at last upon worse Terms with 'em than now you are, if once in Condescension to their *Obstinacy* and *Whimsies*, you stir a Step out of the Direct Paths of the *Ch—ch*; your least Deviation after 'em will be call'd a *Conviction*, and you will be treated as *Reprobates*, that had a Sight of Grace, but are fallen from it again, whenever you shall refuse to Dance any further after their Pipe.

But you wou'd win them over to You. The Design is Pious; but what Hopes have you of it? Have not all Attempts hitherto to bring any *Sett* of 'em over in a Body, prov'd all such Projects to be vain? Do you know whether they wou'd advance one Step towards you, or on what Terms? Has any Body offer'd any thing on their Part, for which he can shew their Commission? If no such Advances have been made, Whither is it you wou'd Lead Us, or to what End? If the parting with a few Ceremonies in the Form of our Worship (however Decent and Significant we do now and shall continue to think 'em) will Reconcile and Unite 'em Sincerely to our Church, We are ready to Sacrifice 'em to their Scruples, if we can't upon an Amicable Discussion of 'em Satisfie those *Scruples*. But let 'em then State their Demands, and give us Demonstration, that it is neither an Illusion (as the Savoy Conference about such an Union, soon after the *Restoration* was) nor the Presumption of private Persons without the Authority of the Body in General to which they retain.

We are not (as we are by ill Men represented) such Stiff Defenders of any Form, or thing not Essential, as to suffer a *Schism* in the Church for 'em, if we cou'd Remedy it; and tho' we are Sensible, that there is more *Humor* and *Design*, than *Real Conscientious* Exception, in the Objections to our most Excellent Liturgy; yet we had rather (if it can't be otherwise) bear some Deformity in the Outward Face of our Worship, than that the Church of Christ should Really be Dismember'd. For this We have not only the Warrant of our own Judgments, but of the Whole Church in that Incomparable Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by the most Learned of our Prelates and Divines, and Approv'd by the Whole Clergy of Both Provinces, Assembled in Convocation. The Sense of the *Ch—ch* is thus Express'd in that Preface. It hath been the Wisdom of the Church of E---d ever since the first Compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the Mean between the two Extreams, of too much Stiffness in refusing, and too much Easiness in admitting any Variation from it. For, as on the one side Common Experience sheweth, that where a Change hath

been made of things advisedly establish'd (no evident Necessity so requiring) sundry Inconveniences have thereupon ensued; and those, many times more and greater than the Evils, that were intended to be remedied by such Change. So on the other side, the Particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important Considerations, according to the various Exigencies of the Times and Occasions, such Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those, that are in Place of Authority, should from time to time seem Necessary or Expedient. Let 'em therefore shew to the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, and those that are in Authority, what Alterations they desire, and the Evident Necessity or Expediency of such Alterations, and no doubt but they will meet with a cheerful compliance from 'em. But if they are neither able to shew the Necessity or Expediency requir'd, nor willing to express Clearly and Fully, what they would have; let 'em be at least so just as to cease their Causeless Clamour: for we have gone as far as in Prudence or Conscience we ought, without farther evident Necessity.

Moderate
Men chal-
leng'd to
explain
their mean-
ing.

But before we dismiss quite the Consideration of the Desires or Designs of the Dissenters, We challenge the pretended *Moderate* Men their Advocates to explain to Us what sort of *Moderation* they require of Us, and to shew Us their own. We don't Persecute the Dissenters, nor desire that they ever should be Persecuted. We have very willingly bound up our own Hands from doing that, to which our Hearts are as Averse as the most *Moderate* Men of 'em all. We have perpetuated the *Toleration* to the Dissenters, and are ready to joyn it at any time to what farther Security we shall ask for our Selves. We are Ambitious of, and have demanded nothing but what we have a Right, to a Perpetuation of our Settlement, which, we have reason to think, has been a long time design'd against. What can be more *Moderate* than such an Equitable Desire? But if under the Fallacious Name of *Moderation*, they would have us treacherously abandon all Care and Solitude for the Security of the Church, they do by their *False Moderation* awaken Us and excite our Vigilance. For they give Us just Reason to Suspect, that they have Confederated with our Enemies, and are in the Plot against Us, as in Effect We see they are by the Opposition, which, in Conjunction with them, they make to Us on all Occasions. But whether *Ignorance* or *Treachery* has led 'em into these Measures, their *Obstinacy* or *Repentance* will discover.

It

It will be hard for 'em to perswade us that we are in no *Danger*, while they press us every *Session* of *Parliament* with their *Apprehensions* of the *Papists*; who, tho' our *Enemies*, are Inconsiderable for *Number* or *Power*, compared with the *Fanaticks*, who are equally *Inveterate Enemies* of the *Church*, and more of *Monarchical Government*: Nor want we *Proof* of this, we need only look into their *Writings*, or cast an *Eye* back upon what they did here to Both *Church* and *State*, or forward to what they do at this *Instant* to the *Church* in *Sc——d*. If therefore a handful of *Disarm'd, Disabl'd Men* be so *Terrible*, upon the score of their *Disaffection*, only to require more and more *Severe Laws* to Curb 'em: What *Reasons* have we not to Hear those, who being at least as well *Arm'd* as our *Selves*, are mixt among us, and lodg'd, as it were, in our *Bosoms*, and appear powerful enough to *Rival*, nay even to turn us out of the *Civil Administration*, and to procure *Laws* to be made in their own *Favour*, and to hinder any from *Passing* in ours? We have had too dismal *Experience* of their *Tenderness* for us, when they got us down, to trust to their *Mercy*. And the *Arming* of *Sc——nd*, our *Enemies*, by antient *Aversion*, and at this time by pretended fresh *Provocation*, with whom our *Fanaticks* have more than once heretofore join'd, nay have indeed call'd 'em into our *Destruction*, seems to threaten such another *Juncture*, and gives but too lively an *Apprehension* of our present *Condition*, and does, as it were, bid every *Honest Englishman* be upon his *Guard*, especially the *Churchmen*, who must expect no *Quarter*.

For these *Evils*, so much to be fear'd, we have little hope of *Remedy*, but from the *Affured Goodness* and *Affection* of the *Queen*, for her *Church*, or the *Wisdom* and *Hearty Resolution* of the *Next present in Parliament*. But if the *M——rs* shou'd *Misinform* and *Mislead* the *Q——n*, as *M——rs* have sometimes the *Opportunity* of doing, by very *Wise* and *Good Princes*: And if they shou'd violently meddle with *Elections*, and presume so far as to *Closet*, and make new *Regulations*, What might the *Result* of these *Things* be? If these *Practices* shou'd have the desir'd *Influence*, and produce a *Corrupt P——nt*? Might not the *Q——n* want the *Power*, when she had the *Will* to rectify these *Abuses*? But suppose with the utmost *Struggle* such a *Majority* shou'd be *Chosen* as wou'd not be *Debauch'd*, nor *Sell Themselves* or their *Posterity* for *Slaves* to any *M——r*; How shall they be assur'd, that they shall not be *Sold* by *Others* *Three Years* hence? Since the *String* of *Impeach-*

Impeachments, and other Prosecutions of M——rs for Publick Misdemeanours, has been taken away, the People are the Sheep, the Asses (or what they please to make 'em) of Great Men; they may Fleece, or Ride, or Slay, or what else they please to do with us, Impune. Inferiour Courts dare not meddle with 'em, and they can bring Themselves before Themselves, and then all the reason in the World that they shou'd Acquit Themselves, and who dare question their Judicature, a Thing so Sacred that it must not be Touch'd?

Rights and Privileges of the Commons insulted.

But the *Rights and Priviledges* of all the *Commons of England* are *Trifles*, that every *Cobler*, every *Fellow* that takes *Alms* of the *Parish*, may call in *Question coram non judice*; when he, or the *Person* that supports the *Suit* of the *Cobler*, pleases. Suppose then that any *Lord* shou'd order a *Dozen*, or a *Score* of his *Tenants*, to go and *Vote* in any *Corporation* where they have no *Right*; If the *Mayor* or *Constable*, or whoever takes the *Poll*, admits their *Votes*, there is *One*, and perhaps *Two* *Wrong Members* return'd to *Parliament*; and where shall the *Electors*, who have had the *Use* and *End* of their *Right of Election* taken from 'em by *Intruders*, and a *Timerous Officer* have *Redress*, and procure themselves to be *Rightly Represented*? Shall they have it in *Westminster-Hall*, or in the *House of Lords*? No, they profess they have nothing to do to *Determin* concerning the *Right of Elections*: But here is a *False Return* made, and who shall *Judge* and give *Redress*, is the *Question*. Why, 'tis confest of all *Hands*, that the *House of Commons* shall, as the only proper *Judges*. How shall they *Determine* concerning the *Election*, without judging *Sovereignty* concerning this *Right* of the *Electors*? If they can't do that, they are liable to have their *Judgments* *Revers'd*, and to have *Members* forc'd upon 'em. For the *Dueness* of an *Election* follows the *Right* of the *Electors*; and by the same *Method* that *Two* may be forc'd upon 'em, *Two Hundred* may, or indeed *Five Hundred* and *Thirteen*.


Perplexity of Elections and Danger to their Freedom arising therefrom.

But let us suppose that the *Mayor* or *Constable* does his *Duty*, like an *Honest, Couragious Man*, and *refuses* to take their *Poll*; and the *Lord* in his *Pride* and *Wrath* orders 'em every one to bring a *several Action* against that *Mayor* or *Constable*, and bears them out in it at his own *Expence*; the *Judges* bring this to *Trial*, and do *Justice* thereupon, and declare the *Plaintiff* had no *Right* to *Poll*; yet what *Reparation* to the *Poor Man*, who has born the *Charge* of *Twenty Suites*? Does our *Law* give sufficient *Damages* in such *Vexatious Suites*? No, but the *Lord* causes them to bring *Writs of Error*, and gets the *Judgments* of *Westminster-Hall* *Revers'd*, and

and *Great Damages* given to the *Appellants*; then here is an *Honest Man* Ruin'd for doing his Duty. Will not this make *All Men*, *Free-Holders* or *Free-Men*, of what Country or Corporation they shall please to take a *Liberty* with their *Consciences* in? 'Tis no Answer to say that the *Lords* are not capable of such manifest *Injustice*; 'twas rightly said, That *they that may do Right, may do Wrong*; and when Men violently *Thrust* themselves into the *Judgment* of a *Cause*, 'tis shrewdly to be suspected that the meer *Love* of *Impartial Justice* was not their only *Motive*.

We do not say that this is exactly the *Case* of the *Constables* of *Aylesbury*, for the late *Constables* of *Aylesbury* have as yet had but *Six* several *Actions* brought against 'em, and of these but *One* has been brought to *Judgment* in *Westminster-Hall*, and from thence remov'd by *Writ of Error* into the *House of L——ds*; and the *Judgment* thereupon *Revers'd*, and *Great Damages* (far beyond what the *Appellant* was ever thought worth) given to the *Appellant*; nor has any *Noble Lord* own'd that the *Plaintiffs* are his *Tenants* or *Servants*, or directly and expressly avow'd that they *Sue* by his *Order*, and at his *Charges*. For tho' a * *Noble Lord* did tell some of us at a *Free Conference*, That he knew a great deal of the *Matter*, perhaps he might not mean of the *Contrivance* and *Charges* of these *Suites*: For 'tis possible, these *Men* being *extream poor*, were therefore resolv'd to *Vindicate* their pretended *Right* at an *Expence*, which they knew themselves far *Unable* to bear; and that knowing by their *Great Acquaintance* in *Westminster-Hall*, and a *Superior Court* from some *Suites* of his *Own*, what a *Strenuous Assertor* of other *Mens Rights* that *Noble P——r* was, they might presume upon his *Support* without his *Frivoly*, in a *Case* so full of *Precedents*.

The *Rank*, *Education*, and *Other Circumstances* of the * *Plain- * Inhabitants*, inclinē us to think they might dispence with the *Ceremony* of *Writing*, a Thing *Persons* of their *Quality* are seldom good at; and that their present *Familiarity* with that *Noble L——d*, their *Interest* in him, and his *Knowledge* of them and their *Case*, may proceed from a *Natural Instinct*, a *Generous Sympathy* between *Great Souls* without any *Information*. Nay and 'tis possible, we say possible, that his *L——ps Agent*, *Mr. cl——n*, might without any *Warrant* or *Order* from his *L——p*, *Pay* for their *Lodgings* in *Newgate de Proprio*, only in *Maintenance* of their *Cause*, or for some *Extraordinary Graces* and *Charms* he (after his *L——ds* great Example) met with in their *Persons* and *Conversations*: But if the *Lawyers* too, a *Race* of *Men*, generally insensible to all *Charges*

 charms but those of *Money*; we say, if these Men, *Impregnable* to *Grace*, shou'd have been *Inspir'd* with the same *Generous Sentiments*, and shaking off the *Mercenary Love* of *Filthy Lucre*, have resolv'd without *Fees*, *Right* or *Wrong*; and in *Spite* of *Law*, *Reason* or *Par—nt*, to *Maintain* the *Pretensions* of these *Bewitching Men*, and the *Laws* and *Customs* of the *Borough*, notwithstanding to make 'em *Free Burghers* of *Aylesbury*, the *Case* would be full of *Wonder* and *Astonishment*. But O *Graceless*, *Obdurate House* of *C—ns*, that didst not *Melt* like *Wax* before the *Fire*, at the approach of such *Wonder-working Men* to this *City*; as cou'd so *Soften* a *Noble L—d*, not fam'd for *Softness*, and *Four Famous Lawyers* as *Hard* as *Flints*. O *Happy Aylesbury*, whose very *Refuge* is so *Surprizing*, what must thy *Chief Burghers* be, when such *Alluring Persons* are *Pass'd* away from thy *Parishes*!

Hardships
that may a-
rise upon
this Prece-
dent to all
Officers
taking the
Poll at E-
lections.

But if all this shou'd not *Spring* from meer *Inspiration* and *Rap-ture*, (but as it does sometimes in *Human Affairs*) from *Foul Practice*, *Confederacy*, and *Collusion*; and if these *Men* neither *Sue* for their own *Sakes*, nor with their own *Money*, but are prompted and supported by some *Great Person*, who is resolv'd to *Command* that *Borough*, or perhaps to break a *Way thro'* the *H—se* of *L—ds* into the *H—se* of *C—ns*; then the *Real Case* of the *Constables* of *Aylesbury* may very far exceed the foregoing suppos'd *Case* in *Hardship*, and these *Six Actions* may be but the *Forerunners* of *Six-Score* more. At this *Rate* the most *Substantial Mayor* or *Officer*, concern'd in taking the *Poll* at any *Place*, may be *Ruin'd* by the *False Actions* of *Beggars*; against whom he can have no *Remedy*, but that which the *Proverb* assigns him. This is downright breaking the *Fences* of *Freehold*, and levelling the *Man* of *Property* and *Privilege*, with him that hath *Neither*; for what *Officer* will dare to *Refuse* a *Vote*, tho' he shou'd know that the *Person* who offers it has no *Right*, and is a *Beggar*; when he knows that he may be *Sued*, and tho' he shou'd *Non-suit* the *Plaintiff*, can recover no *Costs* of him who is not worth a *Groat*. *Beggars*, on the other hand, will be ready at all times to *Present* themselves at *Elections* as *Purse-Proud* busy Men shall *Direct*; and to lend their *Names* to *Vexatious Suites*, that by being the *Instruments* of their *Ambition* or *Revenge*, they may entitle themselves to their *Encouragement* and *Support*: But the *Privilege* of the *People* as *Free-Holders*, *Citizens*, *Free-Burghers*; and *Inhabitants* of *Counties*, *Cities*, *Towns-Corporate*, and *Boroughs*, vanishes under a *Promiscuous Usurpation*, and the *House* of *C—ns* will be fill'd with

with the *Representatives* of *Vassals*, *Beggars*, and *Vagabonds*, instead of those of the *People*, which puts an *End* at once to *Free Parliaments*; which take their *Name* and *Essence* from the *Freedom* and *Independency* of the *Electors*, who have upon that score only, a *Right* to send *Representatives* to *Parliament*.

He, that takes away the Privileges that distinguish between a Vassal or Slave, and a Freeman, takes away Freedom it self, ^{Freedom is self} which consists in the Sovereign or unrestrained Exercise of certain Privileges, of which that of being bound only by Laws of our own making is the Greatest, and the very Foundation of all the rest. ^{Impair'd by such U-} This we Exercise by our Representatives, and by them only, it being Impracticable for the Collective Body of the People to Assemble and Exercise in their own Persons, the Powers which they delegate, because of the Greatness of the Nation. But if the Nature of the Representation be alter'd and impair'd, then our Liberty which subsists in it is impair'd likewise. If the Liberty of our Representatives be Invaded, the Liberties of Us by whom they are sent as Plenipotentiaries, to Transact for Us as Fully as if We were in our own Persons present, are therein Invaded. For what they *Do* is our *Act*, and what is done to *Them* is done to *Us*: What *Powers* they have were given by *Us*, and what is taken from them is taken from *Us*, who can Exercise our Power in General no other way. If then any Privileges of the House of Commons have been Invaded, the Privileges of all the People have been Invaded, and consequently their Liberties. For in the Exercise of Privilege, which signifies an Exemption from Foreign Jurisdiction in those Matters for which Privilege is Pleadable, consists our Liberty. So that Privilege is nothing else but that Reserve of Liberty, which we have not submitted to the Dominion of any thing but our own Reason. This is to be understood of the General and Common Privileges of the Whole People, and not of any Separate or Personal Privileges of Particular Societies or Men, which being founded on Concessions or Grants, are limited by the Conditions express'd in those Grants from whence they are derived.

Of these *Privileges*, as being the Remains of Natural Liberty, ^{What Pri-} and the only Pledges of Civil, the Body to which they appertain, ^{villege is,} are and can only be the Keepers or Judges, which in this Case are ^{and in} Terms Synonimous. For whensoever they shall Trust the Keeping ^{whose} or Judgments of 'em to any others whomsoever, they cease to be, ^{Keeping,} and with 'em the Liberty of that People or Body is gone, and they become *Alieni Juris*, Subject to the Dominion of others, even in the Maker of their Privilege. For He, that hath a Power to

judge Sovereignty in any Matter, that is, to cause his Judgment to be receiv'd without Appeal, is the Absolute Disposer of that Matter : He can allow or disallow it, it continues or ceases at his Pleasure. If therefore such Sovereign shall permit to any People the Use of such Absolute Privileges, whatever they may seem to be in the Exercise of 'em, they lose their Name, and dwindle into meer Courtesies, Temporary Concessions, which have but a Precarious Being, and are Revocable at the Will and Pleasure of such Supreme Judge.

*Privileges
of C—ns
Asserted.*

If this had been rightly Consider'd, it might have shorten'd the Dispute between the *Lord* and *Commons* about the *Aylesbury* Men's Wits of Error very much, and might put an End to the Senseless Clamour of some Bawling Fellows that still make a Villainous Noise about it. For to judge Solely and Sovereignly of all Matters touching Elections, appears Indisputably to be the Privilege of the H—se of C—ns, as well by the Confession of the L—ds themselves in this very Dispute, as from the very Nature of such Privileges already laid down from the Statute Law, and from the uninterrupted Course of the Practice of P—r—l—nt. Now if that be a Privilege of the H—se of C—ns, they, and they only ought to Judge when that Privilege is broken. For he that his Judgment can limit or retrench it, may by the very same Authority make it no Privilege at all. For if the H—se of C—ns does Commit for Breach of Privilege, and the H—se of L—ds by a *Writ of Error* takes this Commitment into Judgment before them, and Judges that the Person so Committed shall have a *Habeas Corpus*; if the *Commons* Submit to this Judgment of the *Lords*, What does their Privilege or Power of Commitment for the Breach of it signify more than the *House of Lords*, pleases, except it be to give the *Lords* a sort of Authority over 'em, to which, but for their Privilege, the *Lords* cou'd make no Pretence? So that from the Privilege of the *Commons* this Absurdity wou'd follow, that meerly by their reserv'd Liberty, they would become Subject to the *Lords*. Their Privileges (if the *Lords* must be Judges of 'em) instead of being a Reserve of their Natural, and Pledges of their Civil Liberty, wou'd be a Snare to 'em, and Hamper 'em perpetually with the Jurisdiction of the *Lords*, who, according to the Humour they are now in, wou'd probably give it sufficient Exercise.

*Privilege
receives
Limitations
from
those only
that give
it Being.*

If the *Privileges* of the *Commons* of *England* had sprung originally from the *Grace* and *Bounty* of the *Lords*; if they had no other *Foundation* than their Concession, the *Lords* might with some colour of *Reason* pretend to Limit the *Exercise* of 'em : For it looks at least like a reasonable *Plea*, that they who *Grant* any Thing, should

should in all *Disputes* about it, be *Judges* of the *Extent and Meaning* of their own Grant; but the *Reverse* of this is certain (and it shall be made out at large, if the *Lords* Challenge it) That these *Privileges* had a *Being* long before the *Race* of *Lords* existed, and that *Lords* are the *Creatures* of those that own'd these *Privileges*. We were told by some of the *Lords* at the *Free Conference* on this *Subject*, that *Arguing* from *Consequences* was *Impertinent*, if it was the *Law*, it shou'd be the *Law*, let the *Consequence* be what it wou'd; of which we can make no other *Construction*, than that they did *Declare* (as it were in the Name of all the *Lords*) that whatever *Power* they cou'd get over *Us*, they wou'd keep, be it never so *Unreasonable* or *Grievous*: But then why did they not shew us the *Law* that gives 'em the *Power* over our *Privileges*, which they pretended to in this *Instance*? A *Learned Manager* for the *Commons* enumerated the several *Species* of *Law* in *Use* in *England*, and *Challeng'd* 'em to shew which of 'em favour'd their *Pretensions*, and demonstrated, that the *Power* they pretended to wou'd *Destroy* 'em *All*. But since we are not to *Talk* of *Consequences*, we will respite that *Head* till Anon, and only desire to know how the *Law* comes to be on their *Side*; at the *Conference* they did not vouchsafe *Us* either *Law*, *Precedents*, or *Reason*, and we cou'd find no sign that the *Law* was on their *Side*, but their own *Words* for it.

There is no *Privilege* of *Parliament* so expressly provided for by *Some Privileges* *Act* of *Parliament*, as the sole *Determination* of all *Matters* relating to *Elections* in the *House* of *Commons*. This particular Care was not taken, because that *Privilege* was thought more *Disputable* than any of the rest, for it was never attempted upon till now; nor because the *Privileges* of the *Commons* were not thought as *Secure* without an *Act* of *Parliament* as with it: For it stands upon the same *Foot* with the *Authority* of *Parliament* it Self, and is part of the *Original Contract*, if there be any; but it was express in an *Act* (as the *Privilege* of the *Persons* of *Members* for the same Reason) that *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Bailiffs*, *Constables*, and who are usually no very *Nice Judges* of the *Privileges* of *Parliament*, yet have a great deal to do with *Elections* for *Parliament* out of the time of *Session*, might exactly know their *Duty*, and presume no farther: The *Act* therefore does not create any *New Privilege* to the *Commons*, or give any greater *Force* than the *Old One* had, but *Recognizes* and *Publishes* it only to the whole *Nation*, that they whom it concerns may take *Notice*.

If the *Constables* of *Aylesbury* had refus'd to take the *Poll* of any *Persons*, who had a *Right* to *Vote*, they ought to have *Complain'd*

*Specifick
Remedy to
be had in
the House
of Commons,
and no
where else.*

plain'd to the House of Commons, who cou'd have given their Votes their due Force by allowing 'em there; and could have expell'd the Sitting Members, if for want of their Votes, a false Return had been made. This had been a *Specifick Remedy*, and had settled their Right for the Future. But this neither *Westminster-Hall*, nor the *House of Lords* cou'd pretend to give 'em. What then did they go thither for? Why for Damages! Damages for what? Did they lose the Sale of their Votes? Or did the Purchaser come upon 'em to Oblige 'em to *Refund*? We wou'd be glad that their *Great Friend*, who professes so frankly to know so much of the Matter, wou'd be pleas'd to open a little of that *Mystery* to Us; for we are apt to think that it was the *Purchaser* who *Sued* for his *Bargain*, and that very little wou'd have been given for such *Votes*, if it had not been to create a *Dispute* that might open a Gap in the *Privileges* of the Commons, and let in the *Jurisdiction* of the *Lords* upon 'em. But why did they not bring their *Complaint* into the House of Commons? Can any other *Reason* be given than these? Either that they doubted their Cause, and therefore would not trust it, where, upon a *Full Hearing*, it might be dismiss'd with the Complement of being *Groundless*, *Frivolous*, and *Vexatious*; or that the *Method* was not like to be *Grievous* enough to the *Constables*, or (which we are upon *Good Grounds* satisfied was the *Main Reason*) that it did not expose the *Privileges* of the Commons to the *Judicature* of the *Lords*. What deep *Statesmen* wou'd these *Aylesbury Men* have made, if they had been taught to *Read* and *Write*!

*Consequences
of the
Aylesbury
Attempt*

The Plot however was well laid, for if the House of Commons had not stopt their Career by *Adverting* upon 'em, the *Lords* had gone roundly on to *Judge* of the *Merits* of *Election*, and so to have brought the *House of Commons*, which *Co-ordinate* to them, to have been *Subject*, and as they did *Advert* it, gave the *Faction* an *Opportunity* of *Clamouring* against the *House of Commons*, as *Arbitrary* and *Oppressive*, and the *Lords* to set up for *Patriots*, *Affertors* of the *Liberties* of the *People*. The *Commons* committed the *Aylesbury Men*, and their *Agents*, and the *Lords* pretended to *Discharge* 'em from that Commitment by a *Writ* of *Habeas Corpus*, upon a *Writ* of *Error*; but the *Commons* denied the *Jurisdiction* of the *Lords* in this Case, and refus'd to part with their *Prisoners*. This, a *Clamorous Faction* (who in our *Memories* were for resolving all *Civil Power* into the *Authority* of the *House*) of *Commons*, as the *Representatives* of the *People*, because the *Faction* fancied they had then a more particular Interest in that *House*; now the *Majority* is better *Principled* and *Dispos'd* towards *Establishment*, call *Arbi-*

trary,

trary, Illegal, and Oppressive Proceedings. If it were really so, the *Whigs*, of all *Men*, shou'd be silent on that *Head*, because they have been the most *Notorious* of all *Men* living, for *Stretching* the *Prerogative* of the *House* even *beyond* its due *Bounds* : So that if from their past and present *Practice* compar'd, we are to form any *Conclusion* concerning the *Power* of the *Commons* in *Parliament*, it can be this only, *That a Whig House, whether of Commons or Lords, has all the Power of the Nation committed to 'em, and is Absolute and Uncontroulable; but a House of Monarchical Church Principles has none at all, nor can exercise any Power or Privilege, but as the other House (if it happens to be Whig enough) pleases to permit.*

This, as absurd as it seems, is the Rule of all their *Practice*, and the Aim and End of all their *Libeller's Pamphlets*, tho' they dare not be so *Ingenuous*, as to tell the *World* so in plain *Familiar Language*. And were We at *Leisure* to trace their *Foot-steps*, We might prove it by a thousand *Instances*. But tho' neither this Great *Whig Maxim*, nor their *Practice* be justifiable, yet shou'd we tread in their *Steps*, no *Whig* that has not a *Face* of *Brass*, cou'd *Reproach* us for it. But as We detest the *Examples* of their *Faction*, so we *Scorn* to justify our selves only by an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and think a *Recrimination* a just *Defence*. Tho' we can't but observe what *Base Recreants* these *Modern Whigs* are, who to set up their *New Patrons*, and serve a present *Turn*, *Recant* all their old *Principles*, and *Condemn* all that their *Predecessors* or *Themselves* have done for these *Three or Four Score Years*, not excepting what was justifiable, and according to their *Strict Duty*. But whether the *Whigs* had ever *Defended* the *Privileges*, and *Power* of a *House of Commons*, it was certainly the *Duty* of as many of 'em, as have had the *Honour* to set in that *House*, to do it, otherwise they were guilty of a *Breach* of the *Trust* committed to 'em.

Yet how they shou'd be able to *Defend* the *Rights* of the *Commons of England*, who send 'em up to *Parliament* for that *Purpose*, unless they have a *Power* to punish any *Invasions* upon 'em, and open *Affronts* to their *Authority*, is a *Riddle*, that it wou'd puzzle *Oedipus* to resolve. *Data facultate datur jus facultatem tuendi*, is the *Foundation* of all the *Law* in the *World*. For what does *Property* signify if we have no *Power* to defend that *Property*? Because in the *State of Nature*, *Men* were frequently unable to withstand singly the *Violence* of *Invaders*; *Civil Government* was invented, and *Magistrates* created, to terminate *Differences* among one another, and by *Joynt-Force* to *Repel* and *Punish* that *Violence*, which separately they were not able to resist. But it is not

Present
Maxims
and Practi-
ces of the
Whigs
contradi-
ctory to
their for-
mer.

Rights sup-
poses Law
and Power
to defend
it.

to be suppos'd, that when they submitted to Rules (which are call'd Laws) by which, for the Ease of the Communities, and the facilitating of Justice, the Magistrates were empower'd to protect the Individuals from the Insults of one another, that they left the Grofs of the Community naked and open to the Insults of Particulars. No! But either they committed it to the Care and Protection of the Magistrate, by which the Magistrate became Absolute Monarch, unless they did reserve a Power of Controuling him in the Execution of his Office, and then the Sovereignty remain'd still in the People.

*Excellency
of our Con-
stitution.*

Our Constitution is of a Nature partaking of both these kinds, and therefore rightly call'd a limited mix'd Monarchy, wherein Stated Rules of Government are contriv'd by the People, and receive their Sanction from the King, but the Execution of 'em is left to him, who acting all things by his Ministers, is therefore not accountable himself to any Power in the Nation, nor Punishable in his own Person (which is Sacred) for any Misgovernment; but his Ministers, who are the Immediate Agents, altho' Acting by his Commands, are Responsible to the People, and Punishable if they exceed the Commission given 'em, in the Law. But if the Commons are not able to Vindicate *Themselves* and their own Authority from the Rude Insults and Attempts of the Meanest of their own Body, How shall they pretend to Protect themselves from the Oppression of the Ministers, who usually are of another Body, and part of another Estate (or have Interest enough at Court to get themselves remov'd into it, whenever they find the Wind in their Teeth) over which the Commons claim no Jurisdiction?

*Commons
One of the
three E-
states and
their
Rights nei-
ther preca-
rious nor
dependent
on any o-
ther.*

On the other hand the Lords themselves confess, and it would be as Dangerous as Ridiculous to deny it, that the *Commons* are One of the *Three Estates* of the Realm; a *third* part of the *Sovereign Legislative Power*, and as such have Rights and Privileges Absolute and Independent of the other two, as the other two have of them, which separate Rights, neither do nor ought to Interfere with each other. But it is absurd to confess all this, and yet to pretend, that the Violation of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of any one of the *Estates* shall be submitted to the Judgment of *Another*. For that Submission creates a Dependance and Subjection for those Rights. It is yet more Absurd to imagine, that the *Commons* shou'd Reserve to themselves certain Rights and Privileges on the *Full* and *Free* Exercise of which depends all their Liberty, and yet shou'd leave that Exercise precarious, and at the Mercy of the other Estates. Yet so it is, if either the Queen's Courts, or the Lords, may judge decisively of the Violation of 'em.

To avoid this *Absurdity* (as the Commons have in their Arguments at the Free Conference rightly observ'd) the Lords have had recourse to a Distinction without Difference between the Merits of the *Election* and the Right of the *Electors*, as if one did not necessarily flow from t'other. To avoid any unnecessary Dispute about the *Judicature* of the Lords, which these late Attempts have given occasion to look more nearly into than had otherwise been done: We will allow that there are many Cases which may draw any or every Commoner under the Judgment of their Lordships, and we desire, however Unkind they have been to Us, that their Judicature may be preserv'd to 'em entire, and in its just extent: But We deny that the *Right* of any Commoner, *qua Elector*, Is upon any Pretence whatsoever, subject to the Judgment of the Lords, or the Crown; because the Judgment of such Rights does virtually include a Judgment of the *Merits* of *Elections*, and creates such a Dependence as formally overthrows the *Liberties* of all the *Commons* of *England*.

Distinction us'd at the Conference without Difference.

As upon the reserving the Judgment of these Rights depends the Preservation of 'em, so the Punishing of all Invasions of 'em, as a Branch of that Judicature belongs to the Commons only; nor can the House depart from it without Betraying the Liberties of those whom they Represent: Nor can we see where lies the Danger of Oppression from this Power of the Commons, nor why they may not as well be trusted with the Personal Liberty of their Principals, as the Lords, or any Court whatsoever; but on the contrary there are many Reasons that shew 'em to be fitted for that Trust, beyond the Lords, or any Court whatsoever. First, because they are but *Commoners*, and *Themselves* by the same Authority, and for the same Reasons, expos'd to any *Hardships*, which the Lords in many Points are not; and consequently, having no Apprehension of being reach'd by their own Precedent, not likely to be so Tender. Secondly, They are chosen by the *People*, and derive their Authority from their Choice, which no doubt but most of 'em Resent as a *Great Obligation*. And Lastly, (not to multiply Arguments in a plain Case) their Authority is of but short Duration, but of *Three Years* at most, and their *Election* Precarious, which obliges 'em to behave themselves with abundance of Circumspection and Deference to their *Electors*, if they expect to serve any more in that Capacity; none of which Inducements to Tenderness are to be found among the Lords, who have *Personal Privileges* for surpassing those of the Commons as well in Extent as Duration; who Represent *only Themselves*, and are a Perpetual, Immutable Body, not liable to be put out of Authority for any Abuse of their Power; and lastly, who are many

Commons as equitable Judges as the Lords.

of 'em Tainted with the common Disease of *Human Grandeur*, and apt to think themselves of a Nature, as well as Order, exalted above the Commoners, and therefore to Treat 'em Superciliously, and to exact more Respect than they are willing to return. Which way these Things operate, We may see by the Contempt wherewith divers of 'em now Treat Us, who of the most stiff Assertors of our Power, while they were chosen by, and sate among Us, are become the haughtiest Oppugners of it, even in the most indisputable *Branches*; and to let Us see how ill Souls, not truly Noble, bear Advancement, we meet with more Candour and Regard from the Antient Nobility, than from many of those who have been but lately taken from among Us.

Commons bound in duty to commit for Insults upon their Rights or Authority.

But all these Considerations, how operative soever, notwithstanding if any Commoners will be so Fool-hardily, We may say Traiterously to themselves, Mutinous, and endeavour to subvert their *own* Power in that of their *Representatives*, it is no wonder to see 'em committed by 'em for it. The Duty of their Trust oblig'd 'em to it, to deter others from the like Attempts, and they had been unworthy of it, if their Tameness had betray'd it to more such Assaults. The Forbearance in the first Attack of *Ashby*, was a Fault that drew after it the rest, and is scarce sufficiently repair'd by their Courage and Vigilance since: Nor is it any more to be wonder'd at to see some Lords espouse their Quarrel, and under Pretence of Publick Spirit and Care of the Liberties of the People, to Stalk by these Fellows to Arbitrary Power, to which nothing is so great a Bar as the Power of the House of Commons, which therefore must be depressed by those that aim at it.

Design of the Aylesbury Suit

We are not unaware for what Ends and by whom this Suit was carried on, which these Beggars lend their Names to; But such Fellows, who have no Property of their own to Secure, are the fittest to be employ'd to break down the Fences of other Men's; had they had never so legal Votes, their Cause might have Starv'd, and themselves have Rotted in Goal, e'er there had been such Struggling for their Liberty, if the Privilege of Commons, the Right of Elections, and the Commitments of the House had not been struck at by it. Cou'd they have prevail'd and render'd Commitments by the Commons for Breach of Privilege, Subject to their judgments. Such is the Corruption and Degeneracy of this Age; that they might have had Volunteers enow of a certain *Faction* to have Affronted and Insulted the *Authority* of that *House*, with hopes of Impunity. For this the *Habeas Corpus* Act was so insisted upon by those who knew, that *no Court of England* wou'd allow it in a Case of Contempt; and that which all look upon as

as an Inseparable Adjunct of their Authority, by Commitment to punish an Affront was denied to that Court, which knows no Superior, which was never yet Disputed with the Lowest. A Commitment by the House of Commons being in execution of their Sentence for Punishment, not Tryal, there was no pretence for a *Habeas Corpus*, much less for a *Writ of Error*, which is an Appeal from the Judgment of an Inferior Court to a Superior; which no Court, not the House of Lords it self, has yet openly pretended to be. This is the first Overt Attempt to make it so, while they dare not call it so, and we hope it will be the last; at least we look upon it to be our Duty to watch and resist all such Attempts, which if they succeed, must prove Fatal to the Liberties of the People, and by swallowing up the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, render 'em a *Precarious Body Dependant* on the *Lords*, and alterable at pleasure, and so have prov'd the first great Step towards such an *Aristocracy*, as some People seem to drive at, to which but Two Steps more had been necessary to accomplish it, the pulling down the *Church* and the *Crown*, which God give our next *Representatives* Courage and *Wisdom* to preserve.

The last House of Commons was so sensible of the extream danger of the Church (and consequently the Government it self) was in, that they prepar'd a Bill to secure the Ch--ch of E--d, the Moderation, Reasonableness, and Necessity of which Bill have been already largely spoken to; but the L--ds, who were either not so Apprehensive of the Danger, or not so Solicitous for the Ch--ch, as the Commons, had rejected it twice; and the Second time, in a way so Unparliamentary, and that had in it so little of the Respect due from one Estate to the Acts of another, which is so necessary to preserve a good Correspondence between the Two Houses, that the Commons had Reason to look upon the manner of rejecting their Bill as a Declaration that there was an End of all Intention, to observe Measures barely Decent with 'em. It was with Difficulty that their Bill obtain'd one Reading, and was after that flung out immediately, with divers Scornful Speeches, reflecting both upon the Bill, and those that sent it up. To this Contempt within Doors, was added a greater Insolence without, for a certain L--d came that Evening, to a Musick Meeting Erected at the Play-House, by the Subscriptions of his Faction, with a Roll of Paper or Parchment tied up like a Bill in his hand, which in the Face of all the Audience he threw scornfully upon the Publick Stage, and told 'em, *There was the Occasional Conformity Bill for 'em*; which was immediately made the Subject of the insipid Drollery of all the Fools that applauded that Action. The Solicitations underhand of some M---s against that Bill concurring with and Encouraging these Insolences and Affronts, made the Commons despair, that they who had in-

*Tacking of
the O--d
C--y Bill,
why at-
tempted.*

sulted 'em in so open a manner, wou'd ever be brought to hear Reason any more upon that head ; For if they took no Notice at all of these Insults, they did but encourage farther Insolencies by their Tameness, and if they resent'd 'em as they ought, the only effect it cou'd have, wou'd be to exasperate and inflame the Animosities that were already begun between 'em. On the other hand, they cou'd expect no Security to the Ch--ch, from the farther Deliberations of those Men, who had already made it the Scorn and Jest of a publick Play-house : On the other hand, they saw some M--rs, who had dissembled Indifference hitherto, begin more openly to incline, whether out of Fear or for other By-ends to their Adversaries, which was likely to increase their Insolence, and render the way of Conference and Debate utterly impracticable, or at the best, ineffectual and useless, as it has since prov'd ; They consider'd, that at the first sending up the Bill, the L--ds of the greatest Consideration, Experience and Reason, were for the Bill, and that most of those that oppos'd it, Excepted only against a Clause or two, which mended, they declar'd themselves willing to admit it, and that with those Clauses in it ; the Faction with their utmost Struggle had been able to throw it out but by one or two, that since that those Passages had been Mended as desir'd ; and that the Bill had then Miscarried only thro' the Means of a M--r or two, who were however ashamed to appear against it openly in the House, and that for all this it was lost by a very small Majority, most of 'em influenc'd by those M--rs ; That from hence it was plain, that the real Scruples of the L--ds were satisfied, tho' the Designs of those M--rs might not : That the Ch--ch ought not to be expos'd to Danger in Favour of the secret Designs of any M--rs ; yet that it cou'd not be secur'd against any attempts of the Presbitery from S--nd, which now is Arming there by Authority, and against such as wou'd creep into Employmens at Home perhaps to favour their attempts ; but by the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, or some such Equivalent as had not hitherto been offer'd or thought on. Since therefore the Objections made to the Bill, were obviated by the Amendments made to it, some of the Commons resolv'd to Tack it to the Land-Tax-Bill, in hope that the M--rs wou'd rather recede from their secret Designs, than hazard the losing or retarding that Supply, for the passing of which no particular Men in the Nation, cou'd pretend an equal Concern in Interest with themselves ; which if they had done, a Bill which themselves confess'd to be a good one had pass'd, the Ch--ch of E--nd had been Secur'd, and only a few Obstinate Persons, whose own Objections were remov'd, had been Disappointed.

This Attempt has rais'd a great deal of *Unreasonable, Unjust, Clamour*, upon the Gentlemen that were for it in the House, who have with open Mouth been *Aspers'd* and *Wilsified* by *Rascals*, that have neither *Sense, Honour, Morality* nor *Religion*. These Villanous *Slanders*

Slanders are Printed and Publish'd almost daily, under the *Noses* of some in *Authority*, and Ought to be *Adverted* upon by them; but since by *Conniving*, they are pleas'd rather to *Countenance* than to *Correct* or put a *Stop* to 'em, and are pleas'd to leave the *Vindication* of *Us* to our next *Meeting*, it may be found *Necessary* to do it in a manner more *Comprehensive* than they will like.

The *Arguments* that are *Brought* against the *Tacking* of this *Bill*, *Argument* are of two sorts, some are against the *Bill* it *Self*, which we pre-^{against}sume are already sufficiently *Answer'd*; others are against the *Rights* of *Tacking* in *General*, and a third sort against it at this *Juncture*. Those that *Deny* the *Right* of *Tacking*, go upon the *Novelty* or the *Inconvenience* of the *Practice*.

It is, they say, very *Rare*, and of very *Fresh Date*, and wou'd, if *Practis'd*, take away from the *Lords* the *Right* of *Deliberating* on any *Bill*, and thereby render their *Share* in the *Legislature* insignificant.

Those that *Object* against the *Right* of *Tacking* upon the *Score* of its *Novelty*, are either very ill read in the *Antient Practice* of *Parliaments*, or very *Foul Arguers*, *Lyers* that *Supress Truth*, and utter *Falshoods*, which they know to be such, to deceive the *People* into *Faction*. 'Tis *Probable* that the *Practice* of *Tacking* is in *Effect*, as *Answer'd* Old as the *Peoples* giving of *Money*, however new the *Name* may be; for 'tis *Reasonable* to think, that when the *People* were *Convened* to give *Money* (which was *Antiently* the usual, as it is now the only *Cause* of calling *Parliaments*) they desir'd whatever *Grievances* they *Complain'd* of, might be *Redress'd*; and upon that *Condition* gave their *Money*; so that instead of *Tacking* very rarely, they did in effect *Tack* all their *Laws*. And that this was their *Constant Practice*, appears from all our *Histories* and *Records*; and to as plain a *Tack*, as any now made, we owe our *Magna Charta*, which it self tells *Us*, That in *Consideration* of *Divers good Laws* there recited, they do *Grant* to the *King*, &c. This is not the *Case* of that *Great Law* alone, but almost all our great *Laws*, in *Favour* of the *People*, have been so bought. It is indeed *Absurd* to *Imagine* that a *Free People* can be call'd together to give *Money*, which they might refuse to *Do* if they see *Cause*, and yet be *Denied* any reasonable *Request*, which they had to make on their own *Behalf* for their *Money*. To pretend to *Bully* the *People* out of their *Money*, without giving 'em the desir'd *Satisfaction*, is indeed a new *Practice*, which none but a certain *Faction* among *Us*, who *Labour* to *Confound* all *Antient-Rights*, durst have ventur'd upon. If in *Antient Times* the *Generosity* of our *Kings*, and the *Simple Honesty* of the *People*, did incline 'em to take the *Prince's Word* for the *Redress* of their *Grievances*, and in case of *Pressing Necessity* to give their *Money* first; yet this was as express a *Tack*, as if the *Sum* given, and *Conditions* upon which it with given, had been *Express*

on the same *Parchment*. For as the Word of a *King* ought to be *Sacred*, the *Non-performance* of the *Conditions*, for which it was the *Security*, was as much a *Robbery*, as if the *Money* which was given for 'em, had been taken from 'em by *Violence*. However our *Ancestors* found *Reason* very Early, to be more *Cautious* upon what *Terms* they parted with their *Money*, and to take care that how many *Bills* soever they past, the *Money Bills* shou'd always be the last; and remain as a *Security* for the *Rest*. The *Alteration* of this *Practice* we may truly *Affirm* to be of very late *Date*, and upon what *Reasons* soever introduc'd, we find that the interest of the *People* was not well *Consulted* in it; we might here produce a long *Roll*, with a longer account of *Laws* that are Owing to *T--cks*, or an *Equivalent* to *Tacking*, but having taken care that an *Exact History* of *Tacks* shall in due time be given to the *Publick*, we need not give 'em Room here.

Free gi-
ving im-
plies Power
of doing it
with, or
without
Condition.

They that will take the Pains to Search our *Histories* and *Records* impartially, will find, that our *Ancestors* have from *Time* Immemorial, even beyond our *Tracing*, been possess'd of the *Right* of *Tacking*, or a sufficient *Equivalent*. But whether they had Exercis'd it or not, since they have not by any Formal *Act* renounc'd it and past it away, nor in a Legal manner made it over, it *Descends* in as full Force to *Us*, their *Heirs* and *Succeffors*, as ever they enjoy'd it. We shall not here enter into any *Dispute*, whether they had a *Power* to *Convey* away from *Us* their *Posterity*, the *Right* of *Disposing* of our own *Money*. 'Tis *Confest* that they have not done it, and we ought not now to do that *Injury* to our *Posterity*. Those that give *Money*, may either make it a *Free Gift*, or a *Conditional One*, as they see *Occasion*. But if they may be *Limited* and *Circumscribed* in the *Conditions*, and yet be oblig'd to *Give*, they are no longer *Givers*, but dwindled into *Assessors*, that have nothing to do, but to *Measure out* and *Proportion*; they who appoint the *Conditions* or *Limitations* of 'em, are the true and real *Disposers*, and the *C—ns* do not *Grant*, but give *Security* to *Pay*. This, if the *House* of *C—s* cou'd be brought to submit to, they wou'd no longer be the *Representatives*, but the *Assessors General* of the *People*, which is what some Persons, back'd by the *Whig Faction*, have been labouring for some Years. Whenever this Point is gain'd upon the *Commons*, either by the *Crown* or the *Lords*, the *People* are brought that very Moment under a *Tyranny*, whether *Monarchical* of the *M——rs*, or *Aristocratical* of the *H—se* of *L—ds*. For the giving of *Money* on their own *Terms*, is the only *Remainder* of *Sovereignty* over themselves, of which the undisturbed exercise is left 'em, if we may call that undisturb'd, which has been so often *Attempted*, as we have known this to be of late.

Principal
objection
consider'd.

The great *Objection*, that it wou'd take from the *Lords* their

Right

Right of Deliberating, is of no *Weight*: For in the Case of *Money Bills* they have no *Right* to *Deliberate* upon any thing concerning 'em, but whether they will accept the *Money* upon the *Terms* it is Offer'd, or not; in which they are at their *Liberty*. Whether the *Lords* wou'd have accepted the *Land-Tax* with the *Occasional Conformity Bill* Tack't to it, is more than any one, even themselves, can tell; but we are sure that the *Commons* ought not to take Notice of any Resolutions entred in the Books of their House in Prejudice of their own *Rights*: If the *Commons* had thought (as some time or other perhaps they may) that the *Preservation* of the *Church of England* was as necessary as any thing for which they gave *Money*, and the *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity* the only *Expedient* whereby it might be preserv'd, Why shou'd they not give their *Money* on that *Condition* as well as any other? Tho' the present War, and the *Condition* of our *Confederates Abroad* do deserve our *Consideration*, *Compassion* and *Assistance*; yet why may not the Ch--ch of E---d. claim a share in our *Concern* likewise? And why may not Both be provided for at once? But if the *Lords* shou'd resolve to Drop either the Ch--ch of E---d or the *Confederates*, be it upon them if either Falls; Let not Us be *Accessary* to it, but provide for Both; What wou'd they have done, if we had call'd it an *Act* for granting an *Aid* to Her Majesty, for the better *Establishment* of the Ch---ch of E---d, and for the more *Effectual* Carrying on the War against France and Spain? Had there been any *Repugnance*, any *Incongruity* between these two *Ends* of giving *Money*? Might not both have been pursued without any *clashing*, if the L---ds had so pleased?

But how was the *Right of Deliberation* taken from the L---ds in this Case, *Right of* if the *Bill* had been Tack't? Had not this *Bill* been past by the *Lords* with *Deliberation* certain *Amendments*? And was it not now *Alter'd* to the very *Terms* on *taken not* which the L---ds had consented to it? If the L---ds were sincere at first, *the L---ds* Can it be imagin'd that they wou'd so far Hazard the *Publick* as to go *Back* in this when so much must have been lost by it? Wou'd not some M---rs rather have *Suspended* a while the Pursuit of their *By-Game*, laid aside their *Shuffling Tricks*, and have come *Roundly* into the *Bill*? If they had, their *Weight* wou'd have turn'd the *Scale*, and put an End to a *Dangerous Contest*; and if they had not, they had deserv'd *Hanging*. The Matter of *Deliberation* concerning the Substance of the *Occasional Conformity Bill* had long been over, when the *Attempt* to Tack it was *Made*; and the only Question that remain'd *Undecided* was, Whether the *Commons* shou'd lose a *Bill* they had been so often by themselves judg'd *Necessary*, and part with an *Undoubted Right*, for the *Achieve* of a *Resolution*, found on the Books of the House of L---ds or not? How it was Determined, few among Us are *Ignorant*, and We hope by this time, most *Intelligent Persons* are *Convinc'd*, whom they are to thank, if the *Consequence* shou'd at one time or other Cost 'em their *Liberties*.

Those that grant the *Right of Tacking*, and were afraid only of *Exercising* it at this *Juncture*, for fear of the ill effects it might have upon our *Confederates*, may, to what has been already said, take this farther Answer:

That it *Concerns* not *Us* to *Inquire* what those *Consequences* might have been, since (as *We* have already *Prov'd*) they could not have happen'd thro' our *Fault*. But it seems as if the *L--ds* had no such dreadful *Apprehensions* of 'em, when they Stopt two *Money Bills* above three Weeks in their House, only to Quarrel with and *Bully* the *Commons* about a Matter with which they had nothing to do.

But some that Grant the *Right* of Tacking to be very *Antient*, say it was only *Exercis'd* against the *Crown*, not against the *L--ds*. We *Freely* Acknowledge, that the *L--ds* did not *Antiently* give the *Commons* such *Provocations* to Tack upon 'em, as of late they have done. The *L--ds* were in those days *Men* of very great *Estates* and greater *Honour*, who by not letting their *Estates* at Rack Rents (as they do now) but being paid partly in Service, had most of the *Commons* of the *Campaign*, the *Country Gentlemen* and *Yeomen*, the best of our People for their *Vassals*. This made 'em regard *One* *Another* after *Another* manner, than now they do; they thought they had but *One* *Interest*, and therefore the *L--ds* were *Obliging* and *Tender* of the *Commons*, and the *Commons* *Respectful* and *Observant* of the *Lords*; and all things past between 'em with the utmost *Kindness* and *Decency*. They did not in those Days *Affect* so much *Distinction* as now, but sat *Friendly* together in the same House, and *Concerted* Matters *Amicably*; but all these *Bands* of *Amity* have long since been *Dissolved*. The *L--ds* have neither the great *Estates*, nor the great *Qualities* that endear'd 'em to the People then, and the *Antient Noble Practices* are almost *Extinguish'd* with the *Antient Noble Blood*, and we have very few that can *Boast* of a *Hundred Years Nobility* in their *Families*; but to those that can, we are very thankful for the *Interest* we have in 'em, we *Honour* 'em as we *Ought*, and are very sensible that our *Differences* are wholly *Owing* to three or four *Upstarts* of a very *Fresh Date*, and late *Edition*, *Sublata causa tollitur Effectus*, say the *Logicians*; but these *New Gentlemen* *Require* more *Submission* than ever was shewn to their *Predecessors* (We are sorry that to most of 'em, we can't say their *Ancestors*) even tho' the *Reasons* of our *Respect* be entirely *Ceas'd*; but in *Vain* they *Require* it, for we can't *Reverence* a *pimp*, a *Plunderer*, a *Buffoon*, or a *Barrator*, tho' he shou'd wear the Title of *L-----*.

This may serve to shew why the *Understanding* between the *L--ds* and *Commons*, is not ~~any~~ so good as in the days of our *Ancestors*. But they that tell *Us*, that there were Tacks, which were not Tacks upon the *Lords*, wou'd do well to tell us what sort of Tacks those were: For since the *Lords* are bound to *Receive* or *Reject* all *Money Bills* intire, with all their *clauses* as they are sent up to 'em by the *Commons*, there can be no Tack upon the *Crown* which is not equally a Tack upon the *Lords*. But if they mean only that the *Lords* did in those days readily agree to Tacks, *We* Answer; so they would now, if the *Practices* of some that have lately *Crept* into their House, did not render that, and all other *Powers* of the *Commons*, dreadful to 'em, and them therefore desirous to *extinguish* 'em, which is the *Ground* of our *Present Quarrels*.

If, after all that has been said, any *Persons* will *Obstinately* *Persist* to *Maintain* that the *Ch--ch* of *Eng--* has no *Right* to *Interfere* in the *Internal* Affairs of the *Commons*, let them be assur'd, that the *Commons* will not fail to *assert* their *Right* to *Interfere* in the *Internal* Affairs of the *Ch--ch*.

curity, they wou'd do well to *Obviate our Objections*, and to *Remove our Fears*, Those that shewing such *Undeniable Grounds* for their own *Confidence*, as may be *Slight* our like in *Us*, or by *Proposing* some sufficient *Equivalent* to what we have *Apprehensions* so Necessary for our *Security*, while they remain *Sullen* or *Impotent*, *Unwilling* or *Unable* to do either of these; We cant *Relie* so far upon any thing that they say, as to abandon our *Care* and *Concern* for our *Ch—ch* and *Constitution*, or to cease the *Pursuit* of such reasonable *Measures* as still seem to us absolutely *Necessary* to their *Preservation*. Nor can we take *Railings* at our *Displacing* Gentlemen of the Greatest *Honour* and *Quality*, whose only *Fault* is, a too watchful *Zéal* for the *Security* of our *Ch—ch* and *Nation* (if it cou'd be prov'd that their *Fears* were not absolutely *Necessary*) to be a *Method* of giving *Us* *Satisfaction*, or *Lessening* our *Apprehensions*; on the contrary, we take the laying aside such *Steady Champions* of the *Ch—ch*, such able *Ministers*, and such *Faithful Servants* to the *Queen*, as the *D—ke* of *B—m*, the *E—s* of *R—r*, *N—m*, *J—fy*, *W—sea*, *D—rr*, the *L—ds* *Gu—rd*, *Gr—le*, *Sir E—d S—r*, *Sir G—R—k*, &c. to be manifest *Indications*, that the *M—rs* are resolved by *Force* to make the *Ch—ch* truckle to the *Faction*, whose *Favourers* are generally put into their *Places*.

What other *Construction* can we make of *Disarming* the *Ch—ch* here, and *Scorch* *Arming* the *Pr—ry* in *Sc—nd* at the same time? Is this a time for the *Ch—ch* or *Nation* to be *Stript* of the *Assistance* and *Protection* of such *Friends*, when *Thirty Thousand* *Sc—s* (which the lowest *Calculations* make 'em) *Bigots* to their *Sett* and *Way*, and *Enemies* to our *Church*, *Discipline* and *Worship*, are *Arm'd*, *Regimented*, and *Exercis'd* in our *Neighbourhood*, without so much as a *Hedge* between *Us* to *Stop* their *Way*, if they shou'd take a *Fancy* to come and prescribe *Laws* to *Us*, or our *Dissenters* shou'd (as they formerly did invite 'em to come and reform our *Worship* and settle the *Kingdom* of *Christ* (as their *Cant* is) among *Us*? Can the *H—se* of *C—ns* be blam'd, if upon so *Dismal* a *Prospect*, they endeavour to secure *Us* by lodging the *Civil Power* in such *Hands*, as without *Invading* the *Prerogative* may best *Protect* *Us* against an *Inundation* of *Sc—ch* *Pr—*? The bare *Possibility* of what has once happen'd thro' their means, is enough to justify the utmost *Caution* of *Wise Men*. But, if (as we ought) we add to it the *Consideration* of their present *Posture* and *Inclinations*, and the *Disposition* of a *Party* among *Us* (now taken into *Favour* by some *M—rs*) who by their own *Vaunts* shou'd be considerable for their *Strength*; our most lively *Apprehensions* of their *Conjunction* can never be thought *Unreasonable*.

Community of *Danger* always produces a *Concurrence* in *Judgment*, as to those *Points* from which the *Danger* is *Fear'd*. And therefore whatever unhappy *Differences* have been of late *Created* between the *L—ds* and *C—ns*, they have *Concurr'd* in this, that the late *Act* of *Security* (as 'tis call'd) pass'd in *Sc—nd*, is of the most extreme danger to *En—nd*, and we doubt not, but that when they meet next, they will agree to *Enquire* who among us advis'd it. Many *Wise Men* suspect that it was done first to beget a *Terrour* of the *S—ts*, and thence to *Evince* the *Necessity* of a *Stand-*

Judg'd
dangerous
to E—d by
both H—s
of P—t.

ing Army here. If that shou'd have been the *Drift* of the *Advisers*, it may serve as a *Clue* to lead Us to the *Knowledge* of who those *Advisers* were, by considering who were likely to make the best *Market* of the *Issue* of that *Advice*. But 'tis a *Dismal Prospect* to see a *Civil War* (as it were) cut out before we can guess at the *End* of the *Foreign* one. We are very well satisfied of the *Courage* and *Bravery* of the *Soldiers* of both *Nations*, who bring 'em to the *Proof* in our *Streets*; We pray *God* therefore in *Mercy* to avert such *Judgments*.

But, while We may, it behoves Us to Consider, what remains yet for Us to avert the *Storm*, which seems to hang over our Heads. Besides our *Supplication* as *Christians*, there is something *Incumbent* on Us, as We pretend to be a *Prudent* People. For We must not expect to be pray'd only out of our *Difficulties*. It may therefore import Us to Consider, what the present *Disposition* of our *Neighbour Nation*, that is now *Arming*, is towards Us, and who among our selves stand most *Affected* to 'em, and wou'd farthest indulge their *Designs*. The *Scots* have already banish'd our *Ch—ch* and *Disinherited* our *C—n*; and therefore, if ever they come hither, it will not be to *Fetch* our *Ch—ch*, or *Go—nt* into *Sc—nd*. Those therefore, that love these Best, will least *Desire* their *Company* here; But if We have any among Us, that are *Fond* or *Favourers* of the *Scotch Kirk Discipline*, it will be a more *Dangerous Experiment* than has been made above these *Forty Years* to *Trust* 'em with the *Civil Power*.

That to prevent the *Civil Power* from falling into suspected Hands, was the *Sole Design* of those, who promoted the *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity* (and not a *Struggle* for *Places*, as their corrupt *Adversaries* pretend) was fairly demonstrated by their hearty *Endeavour* to *Incapacitate* even *Themselves* for *Court Places* (which are the only *Places* of *Profit* and *Influence*) while they were honour'd with the *Trust* of their *Country*. Neither did they desire to take away from others their *Liberty* of *Conscience*, while they endeavour'd to secure their own, as has been as *Falsely* as *Maliciously* *Insinuated*, and *Villanously* *Objected*, by those who themselves *Practise*, or *Countenance* others to *Practise*, such *Equivocal*, *Hypocritical* *Shifts*, to elude the *Force* of *Plain Laws*, as have proceeded from the *Jesuit's Mint*; and were then *Invented*, as they are still *Levell'd* and *Aim'd* against the *Ch—ch* of *E—d*, to which, as well those who serve themselves of such *Vile Expedients*, as they who *Contriv'd* 'em, are the *Invererate Enemies*. Is it not an *Inconceivable Stupidity* to *Accuse* or *Suspect* those *Monopolizing Places*, who would *Voluntarily* *disable* themselves from holding any by a *Self-denying Bill*? Or of *Designing* against the *Free Toleration*, while they are with all their *Might*, *labouring* to set it on *Foot* with their own *Security*? But these things have been largely *Spoken* to already, We shall not *Prosecute* the *Discourse* of 'em any farther here.

We can't conclude without *increating* our *Countrymen* to take these *Things* into their *Consideration*, and that all sorts of *Men* (especially the true *Sons* of the *Ch—ch*) wou'd weigh well the *Greatness*, and the *Evidence* of their *Danger*. This will make 'em set a *just value* upon those ever to be honour'd *Gentlemen*, who, in *opposition* to a *Restless*, *Clamorous Faction*, an *Intriguing*, *Self-ended*, *Single M—ry*, and a *Troop* of *Mercenary Renegades and Pensioners*, have made *Head* for the *Establishment* of the *Ch—ch*, the *True Interest* of the *Q—nn*, the *Maintenance* of our *Constitution*, the *Defence* of the *Privileges of Parliament*, the *Rights* of the *People*, and the *future Peace* and *Quiet* of the whole *Nation*: That We may obtain all these *Blessings*, We hope they will *Recommend* to their next *Representatives* the *Care* of the *Occasional Conformity*, and *Self-denying Bills*, and the *Protection* of their *Privileges*, which are the *Peoples* own, and their *Sole Pledges* of *Liberty*. The *Care* of these, as touching Us nearly and sensibly, ought to go at least *Hand in Hand* with our *Concern* for our *Foreign Allies*; which done, We may be again so *Happy* as to see the *Q—nn* well and faithfully *Serv'd*, by *Persons* duly *Qualify'd*, the *People* rightly *Represented* by *Gentlemen Unbrib'd, Disinterested, and Unbias'd*; *Religion* *Flourish*, *Trade* *Revive*, our *Arms* *Trooper*, and our *Confederates* *Reliev'd*; and thro' these *Fortunate Islands Salus Populi Suprema Lex erit*. Which *God* grant, and long *Preserve* the *QUEEN*.

