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THE
MEMORIAL

OF THE
State of England,

In Vindication of the

QUEEN,

THE
CHURCH,

AND THE

Adminiftration :

DESIGN'D

To rectify the mutual Mistakes of Protestants,
And to unite their Affections in Defence of our

Religion *and* Liberty.

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

IN our present Controversies Civil and Religious, divers Expressions are common in every body's mouth, but (*as all Sides complain*) rightly understood by few; being mistaken by some, and misrepresented by others, according as they are severally influenc'd by Ignorance, Prejudice, Passion, or Design. Such are Churchmen, the Church of England, the High-Church, the Low-Church, National and Tolerated Churches; the Dissenters, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; Toleration, Persecution, Conventicles, the Sacramental Test, Comprehension, and Occasional Communion: Nay, Whig and Tory, the New and the Old Ministry, and the Union of the Two Kingdoms, want an Explanation no less

To the Reader.

th, in the rest. Care has been taken therefore, in the short Compass of the following Sheets, to set these Things in a fair Light, and to dispel those Mists in which by Art or Chance they were involv'd; yet no where so industriously confounded as by the Sophistry and Illusions of the Memorial of the Church of England, whereof the Pages and Passages are quoted out of the Second Edition corrected in Octavo, but exactly compar'd with the First in Quarto, which did not come into so many as the other.

The Principal Heads of this MEMORIAL.

O F the CHURCH,	Page 6
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Escapes of the Press corrected.

Page 2, line 13, for *Memoralist* read *Memorialist*. Page 9, l. 29, for *execute* r. *execute*. Page 30, l. 13, for *Reliſts* r. *Reliques*. Page 34, l. 24, for *Oppſition* r. *Opposition*. Page 41, l. 17, for *Misrepreſentions* r. *Misrepreſentations*. Page 64, l. 7, for *have* r. *having*. Page 65, l. 3, for *Devules* r. *Deviſes*. *Ibid.* l. 22, *dele* the. Page 67, l. 5, for *open* r. *an open*. Page 86, l. 20, for *Roſation* r. *Rotation*.

There occur ſome few Miſpointings, but none that can diſturb the Reader.

THE
MEMORIAL
OF THE
State of England, &c.

The INTRODUCTION.

AS the Writer of this *Discourse* has more reason, so he has as much Authority to entitle it, *The Memorial of the State of England*, as the Author of a late *Libel* to entitle his Book, *The Memorial of the Church of England*. Few will be found weak enough to imagine, that either of them was commission'd by those mighty Bodies to speak in their Names to the *People*: But tho' some may reasonably suppose that the *State* won't disapprove a just Vindication of her *Majesty's* Person, Laws, and Administration; yet none will believe (at least none ought to do so) that the *Church* will approve a clandestine *Libel*, which is confidently said to be her Offspring, tho' with no more reason than many Persons have to call themselves her Sons. She's too chaste and prudent a Matron either to admit of such dishonourable Pretences, or to forbear expressing some Pub-

lick Repentment of the Affront; since her Reputation is no less expos'd, than her Dignity and Possessions are endanger'd, by the extravagant Behaviour of such a spurious Issue, who want Duty and natural Affection to her, as they do Submission and Loyalty to the *State*. But the Respect we owe to the Venerable Name under which the *Memorial* is usher'd into the World, as well as the Occasion it affords us of rectifying certain *Vulgar Mistakes*, and of clearing other matters which are not generally understood, oblige us not to let it pass without some *Animadversion*, however the Magistrate will think fit to account with the *Author*, whom we neither know, nor will endeavour to guess. Had the *Memorialist's* own Example been deem'd a good Pattern to follow, or that prevailing *Custom* were a sufficient warrant for such a Practice, 'twere easy perhaps to trace and discover the true *Author*; or, if there was a *Club* of them, 'twere easier still to exercise our Satyr on their *Characters*, as a certain Duke and a Doctor, a Lawyer and a Poet (the two last I believe unjustly) have already experienc'd from other hands on this very account.

But since we are only to examine the *Merits* of the matter, we are nothing concern'd for the *Names* of the Persons. Our Cause has as little need of ill Language as of violent Measures: For we are convinc'd *Scurrility* supplies the want of *Reason*, and that such things as cannot by *Justice* are maintain'd by *Force*. Yet of all Writers the *Memorialist* (for we'll suppose it one hand) has least
 P. II 68. reason to complain of sarcastick, licentious, or foul-mouth'd *Scriblers*, whether he considers the choice Flowers of his own gentle and good-natur'd Rhetorick, or whether he has any regard to the Credit and Honour of his *Party*. If the *Whigs* have their *Observer*, have not the *Tories* their *Rehearsal*? The *Review* does not take more liberty than the *Whipping Post*, nor is he a wilder Politician

cian than the *Mercury*. And many will think it a meaner Character for *Ridpath* to be *Atwood's* Antagonist, than to be Author of the *Flying Post*: For in one respect I place *Atwood* on the *Tory* side, since none in the Nation but the *Memoralist* and he assert our Dominion and Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In free Countries such *Writers* abound among all *Parties*, tho' they are commonly but *Voluntiers*, and supported more by their Hopes and good Opinion of themselves, than by any real *Encouragement* from others, which makes it an unjust, tho' a common Practice, to charge whole Bodies of Men with their Faults or with their Vertues. And it argues want of Consideration or Integrity to say, as the *Memorialist* does, That the Government *by conniving are pleas'd* Page 68. rather to countenance than to correct or put a stop to 'em: For our *Government*, unless they transgress the Laws, cannot silence these no more than other *Writers*, let them tell never so many unseasonable Truths, or form never so many indigested Schemes, which serve more for Entertainment than Instruction to the People. We may be sure the *Government*, tho' none of these are maintain'd at its charge, know what use to make of their *Pens*; and I am in doubt whether it be more ridiculous or officious to put those in mind of suppressing such *Papers*, who only can, and certainly will do so, whenever they think it lawful and convenient. This looks in it self like a trifling matter; but such as mean fairly and uprightly, will think nothing too little to be clear'd to well-meaning Doubt-ers, tho' others may abuse their Goodness by the impatient Explications they demand.

For the rest, let it be remember'd, that notwithstanding we speak for the State, we speak our Thoughts; having the Happiness to write in defence of a *Government*, with which *Honesty is the best Policy*: And so long as the *Pilots* of it keep to that Point, that is, so long as they

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appear to make the *Interest* of the Nation their own, and consequently to pursue it with all their heart, they need not be disturb'd by the Clamour or Envy of any *Party*; nor fear that the People will grudge 'em those Honours or Fortunes which are but the just Rewards of their Care and Pains for the Publick Good. But those *Princes* or *Ministers*, who, from being the common Fathers and Shepherds of all the Subjects, degrade themselves into the petty Heads of one *Faction*, will probably in a little time be undermin'd and blown up by the contrary *Party*, tho' it shou'd be the worst and weakest of the two; for in such a *State* Matters are no longer carry'd on by prudent Deliberations, unanimous Wishes, and mature Counsels, but by Numbers, Intrigues, Cabals, Expedients or Shifts, and at last by Tumults and Disorders. When therefore a *State* that is sensible of these things by Experience (such as ours at present) comes to proceed on the true Foundations of *Government*, they must not only resolve to bear at the beginning with the Vehemence, Calumnies, Railings, and other Affronts of those *Factions* or *Parties* that monopoliz'd all Profits and Preferments to themselves before, and of such as hop'd to gain their sinister Ends in the Confusion and Subversion of the whole Frame: but also the Complaints, Murmurs, Grumbling and Repining, of those other *Parties* or *Factions*, who, being hitherto oppress'd, and treated with Contempt, think it not enough that they are deliver'd from their *Hardships*, but judge themselves unsecure from falling again under the like Misfortunes, unless they obtain the Place and Power of their Adversaries; which is to change Hands, but not to alter Measures, and to continue all Things as they were, with the Addition of mutual Revenge and merciless Retaliations. People of either Stamp are astonish'd at *Indifference*; they condemn all prudent Measures as *luke-warm*, and abhor *Moderation*.

Notwithstanding all this, we shall discourse with Candour and Impartiality in the following Sheets, of the several Churches, Parties, Ministries, and Pretences of this Kingdom, commending their Excellencies, blaming their Defects, and exposing their Miscarriages; but so as to expect little Applause from the furious, bigotted, or designing Men of any kind, tho' sure of Thanks and Approbation from the calm, sincere, religious, and Publick Spirited Persons of all Denominations. The Grievances whereof the *Memorialist* complains, being the very Subject I propose to explicate, are chiefly reducible to Three Heads, The Church, the Dissenters, and the Ministry, to which may be added the *Toleration*. But that the true State of our *Religious Controversies* may the better appear, and that the Reasons of the present *Administration* may be the clearer perceiv'd, we shall begin higher with some of these Heads, than to unthinking Men will seem necessary; but not so to those who consider how *Constitutions* vary in their Frame as well as *Words* in their Significations, both being in a perpetual Flux, and never long at a Stand. This produces great difference of *Circumstances*, not equally applicable to all Times, Places, or Persons; and therefore skilful Pilots will alter their Buoys, and direct their Course, according to the shifting of the Sands or the Tides, and carefully avoid Shipwreck on that Bank, where there was formerly deep and safe riding for the Ship of the *Common-wealth*.

Of the CHURCH.

AFTER the *Christian Religion* had been miserably polluted and deprav'd almost over the whole World, and that it was metamorphos'd into the vilest Superstition, Idolatry, and Tyranny that ever was, far beyond the follies of the *Jews* or the frauds of the *Heathens*; it was at last by the special favour and blessing of Almighty God, recover'd and reform'd in many parts of *Europe*, and particularly in these Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It cou'd not be expected that this *Reformation* shou'd be so perfect at the beginning, as that all Persons shou'd have the same Notions about it, no more than they all had the same degrees of Application, Capacity, Light, or Knowledge: And it was a much greater wonder that any of 'em saw so much, considering the grossness of the preceding Ignorance, than that many of 'em did not see more or further. However, by the *Church of England* was then understood (in other reform'd Countries) all the *Protestants* in *England* without distinction, tho' from the very first they were divided in their Opinions; as we daily pray for the reform'd Churches abroad, wherein the differences both of *Doctrine* and *Discipline* are very numerous.

But as all Men are not agreed about what's orderly and decent, which *Ideas* cannot be the same to all Persons or in all places, as depending on habitual Customs and Arbitrary Institutions; so there arose many disputes here as well as elsewhere, about the best manner of preserving

erving the *purity* of our Religion, and the most acceptable way of performing our *Worship* to God. Some were perswaded that the *Doctrinal* part being to be learn'd only from the *Scriptures*, where it is fully exprest, the *Circumstances* of *Worship* ought to be regulated according to the light of *Reason* and the *Customs* of each Country, which tho' varying in many places might contain nothing wicked or prophane; as uncovering your head in one Region, and only bending your body in another, betoken the same *respect* and with equal *decency*. These Men (who from a Learned Physician of that Opinion were since called *Eraslians*) thought the Government of the *Church* did not differ from that of the *State*, the same Persons being Members of both, tho' the *Church* might have its proper Officers, about whose Names, Parity, or Subordination, they were not very sollicitous, provided they serv'd the purposes for which they were design'd and ordain'd. Others, on the contrary, held all these things to be particularly defin'd and specified in the *Scripture*, both as to the Names, Degrees, and Offices; and that the *Ecclesiastical* was wholly different from the *Civil* Power. The *State*, which in the mean while thought of these Matters with less passion and more circumspection, concerted the most effectual measures of bringing the body of the *People* to embrace the purity of the *Doctrine* as the principal matter; and were of opinion it might soonest be accomplish'd by changing as little as possible in the external *Forms*, *Habits*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Clergy*. Wherefore for this and some other considerations, after rejecting the *Pope*, *Cardinals*, and all *Spiritual* or *Foreign* *Headship* of the *Church*, they retain'd the Names and Offices of *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Arch-Deacons*, and such like. Yet few or none maintain'd the *Divine* *Right* of *Episcopacy* till later days, tho' they highly and learnedly contended for the expediency and reasonableness

ness of the same, no less from its being of so long standing in the *Church*, than from its Conformity with the Civil part of our *Constitution*.

There were others, and from the very beginning of the *Reformation*, who earnestly solicited to have this Order of *Diocesan Bishops* quite abolish'd, as *Popish*, unnecessary, not warranted by *Scripture*, and dangerous to the *State*. These affirm'd the *parity* of all the Gospel-Ministers; but differ'd among themselves about the manner and efficacy of *Ordination*, and the power of *Synods*. They, who for that Reason were called *Presbyterians*, allow'd *Presbyters* only to ordain, and that with Imposition of Hands, giving great Authority to their *Synods* over the inferior *Presbyteries*, equal to that of *Episcopal Convocations* in matters of *Discipline* and *Doctrine*. And such again, as were first call'd *Brownists* from one of that name, and since *Independents* from their Opinion, maintain'd against both the other, that *Protestant Synods* or *Convocations* cou'd claim no more Power or Infallibility than *Popish Councils*, and that all *Churches* or Societies (gather'd out of the World according to the mind of *Christ*) might by common suffrage chuse their own *Pastors*, who were to be in no subjection to *Synods*, nor accountable for their *Doctrine* to any higher Power on Earth, since they allow'd no *Catholick Church* as an Organical body with Spiritual Authority, meaning only the whole multitude of Believers by the *Catholick Church* whenever they us'd that Phrase. But *Episcopacy* was establish'd by Law, and the most rigid of that side affected to call themselves the *Church of England* exclusively of others, which in time obtain'd to be the Language of Custom, as it was the Stile of the Municipal and Canon Law before. Endeavours were us'd to bring to a Conformity the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, who were all promiscuously from their strict manner of Life and

and Conversation, branded with the nick-name of *Puritans*: and when they would not yeild in dispute, nor be reduced by *persuasion*, 'twas thought proper to treat 'em with *force*; tho' but a little before we justly exclaim'd against the *Papists* for the like practice, and exprest our abhorrence of all *compulsion* in matters of Religion as unreasonable and tyrannical. They who meant the most honestly in advising this *rigour*, were such as had a mistaken notion, that *diverse Religions* or *diversities in the same Religion*, were inconsistent with Civil Government, which hereafter we shall demonstrate to be an Error both in right and fact. They who meant worse, were such as professedly allow'd of *force* over Conscience, at least in points of *discipline*, or who by excluding others wou'd engross the whole Emoluments and Benefices of the *Church* to their own *Party*. And they who meant worst of all, were the secret favourers of *Popery*, who thought no method so likely to restore it, as to put our Princes on grasping at *Arbitrary power*, and setting our different Parties together by the Ears, thereby to weaken each other, or to drive some of 'em to join out of *resentment* with them.

I make no doubt but all *Protestants* are convinced, that the *Papists* have been carrying on a Conspiracy against the *Reformation* in *England*, and consequently against the *State*, ever since we abolish'd *Popery*; which is not so monstrous in them who believe *Infalibility*, as *Persecution* is in other People. They have endeavour'd to excute this *Plot* many ways, and it has often broke out under various Circumstances: But God has always defeated their mischievous designs, and sometimes wonderfully deliver'd us when our Recovery was thought impossible. One of the Enemies devices was to exasperate the *Church* against the *Nonconformists*, and to create strong Jealousies between both Parties. This they knew

could not fail of two effects: The one to make the *Church* recede from the *Nonconformists* as far as they could, which gave the *Papists* hope they would come the nearer to them; and the other, that the *Nonconformists* growing uneasy under their Sufferings, and more apprehensive of the growth of *Popery*, might prove undutiful, and provoke the *Government* to use 'em worse than before. In these disorders they expected to find their own *Account*; and he that is not unacquainted with *History*, can tell how well they succeeded. By such *Artifices* many of our *Clergy* became more concern'd to preserve the *Hierarchy* than the *Protestant Religion*; and I fear the Brains of some others were intoxicated with the Grandeur and Splendor of the Ancient *Patriarchs* and *Councils*, which made them in several Books regret the loss of certain Powers and Offices at the *Reformation*, no less than the alienation of the *Abby Lands* to *Laymen*, as judging 'em necessary to support the Dignity of the *Church*, for the *Church* in the Sense of these Men was only a Corporation of the *Clergy*. Arch-Bishop *Laud* gave much reason to suspect that he aim'd at a sort of *Patriarchate*, and to be stil'd as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was in former times, *Alterius Orbis Papa*, the *Pope of the other World*, as the *British Islands* were reckon'd on their first discovery: But I think 'em extremely ignorant or unjust, who affirm that this great Prelate was in Doctrine a *Papist* or *Popishly* inclin'd.

The *Nonconformists*, on the other hand, considering the *Bishops* were establish'd by Laws which must be only repeal'd by the same Authority, took sometimes imprudent and unprecedented methods to hinder them from acquiring further Power, and to prevent the introducing those new or rather old *Ceremonies*, which were reviv'd to beget the greater *reverence* for the *Ecclesiastical Body* under the pretences of *Order* and *Decency*;
but

but which in effect begot a more visible *conformity* between us and the *Church of Rome*. To Men of Sense this could do no harm, yet was it of dangerous consequence to the *Vulgar*, who are ordinarily led by appearances, and to whose dispositions great regard is to be had in all concerns of this nature. The Generality of 'em were against these things. And when the struggle was begun between *Liberty* and *Prerogative*, the Assertors of the first got all the *Nonconformists* to join with 'em; to continue which assistance they declar'd of course against the *Bishops*, who had medled too much in Civil Affairs, and particularly by raising the Kings *Perogative*. As a return of this service they hop'd to bring about their own designs, and to make his *Majesty* their steady Friend and Patron against all their Opposers, wherein he shew'd more constancy and gratitude than his Son *James* the II. did to the Preachers of *Passive Obedience*. The King's Enemies becoming superior in the War, and the *Gentlemen* who join'd with the *Nonconformists* on a Political bottom, minding the settling of the *State* and Foreign *Alliances* more than their particular *Discipline*; the *Nonconformists* (who were the greater number) gave such a weighty turn to affairs, that there was no protecting of their *Adversaries* from their Vengeance. They return'd all their ill usage fourfold upon their own heads, tho' it must be acknowledg'd they gave no such remarkable instances of Cruelty or Severity, as the *Star-Chamber* and the *Spiritual Courts* did before the War. But in their *Committees*, *Tryals* of Scandalous or unqualifi'd Ministers, in their *Deprivations*, *Censures*, and the like Exercises of Authority, there were more abuses and injustices committed, than are capable of any Defence or Apology, and which the former rigorous proceedings of the *Bishops* cannot any way justify in Men professing the *Christian Religion*, and that set up for Champions of *Civil Liberty*.

The MEMORIAL of

We all know by what means *Royalty* and *Episcopacy* were afterwards restor'd; and from the premises we may easily deduce the Original of the *distinction* which has ever since continu'd, and which makes so much noise among us at present, I mean the *High* and the *Low-Church*. By *Low-Church-Men* are signified those who approve of *Episcopacy*, the *Liturgy*, and *Discipline* establish'd by Law, but who believe the *Protestant* Religion may subsist (tho' not so well) without them; who therefore have a brotherly Charity and Communion with all other reform'd Churches; and who wish the *dissenting Protestants* at home wou'd comply with the Law in matters indifferent or un sinful, tho' in their private Opinion not the purest; but who, if the *Dissenters* will not allow this indifference or un sinfulness, are for bringing them to *conformity*, with calm reason and amicable persuasion, and not by laying them under any force or compulsion, so long as they join with us in defence of the same doctrine against the *Papists*, and are as hearty as our selves for supporting the *Civil Government*. The *High-Church-Men* are they who maintain the Order of *Bishops* (superior to *Presbyters*) to be of *Divine Institution*, being of such absolute necessity that no true *Orders* can be conferr'd, and that no regular *Christianity* can subsist without it; who on no Considerations are for making any changes in our *Discipline* or *Liturgy*, tho' they neither profess themselves nor the Authors of it infallible; who treat all *Protestants* abroad as if they were not *Christians*, so far are they from acknowledging them for *Brethren*; and who are for compelling the *Dissenters* at home to *Conformity*, by Penal Laws, Censures, and Incapacities. The *Low-Church-Men* have been always for limiting the *Civil Government* with Laws, preserving to the King and to the other two Estates, their several Priviledges and Prerogatives, and their Liberty and Property to the People.

People. But the *High-Churchmen* have been generally for the uncontrollable Power of the Prince in *Temporal Affairs*, as most agreeable to the Jurisdiction they claim themselves in *Ecclesiasticks*; tho' 'tis observable that they have twice declar'd for *Limitations* to the Crown, first when they question'd the Prince's *Title*, and next when the Prince was not for their *purpose*.

From this short view, and from the whole course of the *English History* it appears, that the *High Church* is not the *Church of England*; but a certain number of *Clergymen* and *Laymen*, who are either Favourers of *Papery*, or who are averse to our mixt Government and her *Majesty's* Right; both which sorts make those their Tools who keep a mighty noise to be let into Places, or who raise a great Clamour for being turn'd out of them. The Body of the *Church of England*, on the contrary, are as zealous for the *Protestant Religion*, and the Liberty of the *Government*, as any Community in the World, yielding to none for Learning, Piety, or Virtue. And therefore they are not to be charg'd with Disaffection to her *Majesty*, or Inclination to *Papery*, from the Discourses, Writings, or Actions of those *Conspirators*, who, under so many different Colours since the *Reformation*, have been labouring to destroy her, and who at length in our days have boldly thrown off the Mask, many of 'em refusing all *Communion* with us, and arrogating the Name of the *Church of England* solely to themselves. Nor needs there a more palpable demonstration of their *Hypocrisy* to any Man of common Sense, than the *Schism* that most of 'em have lately made from us, with whom they yet profess to agree in *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Worship*: having separated for no other Reason than because we depos'd a *Prince* that wou'd rob us of this same *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Worship*; and because our Parliament *depriv'd* those *Bishops* who wou'd not approve our thus preserving our
Spiritual

Spiritual and Civil Rights, according to the Laws of Nature and the Land, tho' we supply'd their *Sees* with Men of eminent Learning, Piety and Zeal, who signaliz'd their Abilities in defence of our *Religion* and *Liberty*.

From the *Church of England* we must likewise transfer to these Men, the Reputation we have got of being both *uncharitable* and *unmannerly*. 'Tis past controversy, that their Notions of *Schism* and *Ordination* (never approv'd or understood by the fiftieth Part of our *Church*) have occasion'd the Imputation of *Uncharitableness*, and not without reason, had we been justly chargeable with such strange Opinions. 'Tis no less evident, that it is in the Polemical or rather Political Books of the same Men, you read the scurrilous *Reproaches* they cast on others, and the vain-glorious *Commendations* they bestow on themselves, which are indeed the quintessence of ill manners: Such as that *they are the best Reform'd Church in the World*, which may be true, tho' not fit for them to say; *that they steer between the gaudy Dresses of affected Rome, and the slovenly Attire of nasty Geneva*; and the *Memorialist* says, *That no Sect or sort of Christians whatsoever can boast of so extensive a Charity, or so good natur'd a Discipline*, when in the same *Libel*, he who pretends to be their Mouth, arraigns the *Government* for not passing the *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, falls foul on the *Bishops* for the Mildness of their Discipline, in relation to their *Protestant Brethren*, without mentioning a Syllable of the *Popish Recusants*; and, finally, he heaps on the *Nonconformists* all the contumelious Nicknames, opprobrious Language, and scandalous Imputations, that ever the *High-Churchmen* invented since the *Reformation*. Our *Church* then, but not that uncharitable and unmannerly *Conventicle* which publish'd the *Memorial*, does glory in her *Moderation*, whilst those others declaim against her as indifferent or treacherous on this very score; and, as we shall

shall see anon, they cannot endure the very sound of the word *Moderation*. To speak of our *Church* likewise as part of the Civil Constitution in her *Discipline*, she's truly the Mean, and for that reason ought to be a *Mediatrice* between other *Churches*: But the Minute that she complies with the Schemes of the *High-Church* Faction, she becomes a *Party*, either by persecuting the *Dissenters*, which is not the Office of a Reconciler; or, out of hatred to them, by making too near approaches to the *Papists*. May she therefore ever preserve and merit this most *Christian* Character of being *Moderate*; and not forfeit such a Claim in Deeds, whilst she boasts of it in Panegyrics of her own making! May she avoid as much as she professes to dislike the narrow Temper, insolent Stile, and irreligious Conduct of the *Conspirators*, which render 'em odious to all serious Persons! May she daily improve in all *Christian* Graces, making continual advances in *Reformation*! And may she for all Ages be an Ornament and Defence to the *Protestant Cause*, as well as be reckon'd a particular Favour and Happiness from Heaven to this Nation!

We shall now proceed with the History of the pretended *Churchmen* to this present time. Instead of composing Differences at the *Restoration* (notwithstanding the dreadful Shipwreck they had so lately escap'd) they destroy'd all Projects of an Union, their Design being, as some of 'em plainly profess it, to keep the *Dissenters* out of the *Church*, and not to bring them into her *Communion*. It was their usual Cant, that no body knew what Alterations they demanded, and therefore 'twas uncertain where they wou'd stop. Whereas the *Dissenters*, to do 'em justice, had offer'd in writing several *Schemes*, all of 'em for Peace sake more moderate one than another, which are since printed, and yet these pretended *Churchmen* continue the same Cant to this very hour. The *Court*, having a Game
of

of their own to play, fell in with the Resentments of the Clergy. Hundreds of the *Dissenting Ministers*, many of whom wou'd have been of excellent Service to the *Church*, were turn'd out of their Livings in one day. The Moderate and true *Churchmen* cou'd neither help nor prevent these things, the other Party having the countenance of the *Government*, and so not only appropriating to themselves the Name of the *Church*, but calling in question the *Loyalty* as well as the *Orthodoxy* of all that wou'd not mount to their own pitch of *Violence*, which they sanctified, as is usual in such cases, with the holy pretence of *Zeal*. The several Penal Laws which were made against the *Dissenters*, were executed with great Rage and Rigour, and the Statutes formerly past against the *Papists* (tho' seldom extended to them) were turn'd against our *Protestant* Brethren with the utmost Severity. It was a strange kind of Edification to hear *Clergymen* quoting those Laws instead of the *Gospel*, for urging *Conformity*; witness the numerous Libels they daily publish'd, and the *Sermons* which they preach'd before all Persons in Authority, especially at Assizes to animate the *Judges*, which are as lasting instances of their *Moderation*, as their Books for *Passive Obedience* are indications of their affection to *Civil Liberty*. What impious, vile, and infamous things were laid to the *Dissenters* charge, to make 'em odious to the People, and by all dishonest representations to render 'em the abhorrence of the World! They were accordingly used with the utmost Contempt and Scorn, loaded with Opprobries and Reproaches, left at the mercy of wicked *Informers* and more corrupt *Judges*, laid in noisom Goals in company of Felons, Rogues and Scoundrels, dispossest'd of their Goods, many of them banish'd, and some were starv'd to death in Prison.

This is undeniable and recent in most Men's memory. And what was the Occasion, I don't mean the real and secret

secret Reason of the Court to destroy the *Protestants* by one another, but the Reason that was openly pretended? The *Statesmen* said it was because they wou'd not conform to the *Church*, and the *Churchmen* said, it was because they wou'd not comply with the *State*. This is the stale Pretence of the *Clergy* in all Countries, after they have sollicitated the *Government* to make Penal Laws against those they call *Hereticks* or *Scismaticks*, and prompted the *Magistrates* to a vigorous execution, then they lay all the Odium on the *Civil Power*, for whom they have no Excuse to alledge, but that such Men suffer'd not for Religion, but for Disobedience to the Laws. But, O Reverend Guides and Fathers, What Precept or Example do you find in the *Gospel* of our Lord, to make the Doctrine or Discipline of Religion the subject of human Laws and Punishments? The Terms of Communion you impos'd on the *Dissenters* were all of 'em in your own Judgment indifferent, and many of 'em unnecessary; while the *Dissenters* believ'd several of 'em to be uncertain, most of 'em false, and none to be forc'd on scrupulous Consciences. They were not permitted to declare their sense of the *Subscriptions* requir'd, or to make any Explications of the *Oaths* they were to take, tho' willing on such Conditions to conform; whereby it still appears there was a fix'd Resolution not to receive 'em, for this agreed not with the design'd *Monopoly*. If they refus'd Conformity they were reported to do so, because inconsistent with their Principles and Purposes of *Rebellion*; but if they submitted, then 'twas to get Preferments in *Church* and *State*, that they might be the more capable to destroy both. This was the Language of that time, as it is of many at present. In this manner therefore they shut the *Church Doors* against them, and then excommunicated 'em for not coming in. King *Charles* indeed took upon him once to grant them Liberty by *dispensing* with the Penal

Laws; tho' some wise Men of that time suspected it was not out of Tenderness of Conscience or Kindness to them, but that he might *dispense* with all the other Laws of *England* according to this Example. His Brother King *James* made the like use of his *Prerogative*, that this *Liberty* might also be extended to those of his own Religion. And tho' some Excuses might be made in favour of human Nature under the miserable circumstances of the *Dissenters*, yet (if they understood our *Constitution*) they were certainly to blame, not who us'd this *Liberty* which was their natural Right, but who *address'd* for that Indulgence, tho' very few in comparison of the rest. But this ought not to be made an Objection to 'em by those, whose *Abhorrences against Parliaments* are as much upon record to Posterity, as the *Memorialist* will have these *Addresses* for *Liberty of Conscience* to remain; and 'tis no uneasy thing to guess which of 'em Posterity will be most inclin'd to pardon.

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It wou'd be superfluous to relate how the *Priests* of the *High-Church* preach'd *Passive Obedience* to our *Papish Princes*, and promoted their *Arbitrary Power* over the *Protestant Laity*, till they perceiv'd King *James* was bringing *Papists* into their *Colleges*, *Bishopricks* and *Benefices*, and that tho' he had made 'em his *Scaffolds*, they were not the hands with which he meant to work. Then and not till then, not for God's sake or the Peoples, but for their own Preservation and Interest, *the Nature of these High-Church-men* (to use the Language of the *Memorial*) *began to rebel against their Principles*; and so they join'd in their Fright with the *Low-Church-men*, nay, what is yet stranger, they leagu'd with the *Dissenters* themselves to call over the *Prince of Orange*, who generously came to rescue our *Religion* and *Laws* from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. At this stupendous and memorable *Revolution* the true state of the *Church of England* did manifestly appear; and

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and

and thousands were cur'd of their innocent prejudices against her, which they had unwarily imbib'd from the *Conspirators* assuming that Name of a long time wholly to themselves. The Bulk of the *Episcopal Laity*, who never consented to the Hardships we have mention'd (tho' they cou'd not hinder them, nor believe they wou'd be carry'd so far) did now most chearfully concur to remove them. They shew'd their detestation of the *High-Church* Measures, and their contempt for *Passive Obedience* more (if it were possible) than the very *Dissenters*, and were as forward to grant as these to desire a *legal Toleration*; which is a sufficient Justification of the *Church of England* (as such) that she never was, nor ever will be for *Persecution*.

It must be confess'd that as more Pains were taken by the former *Courts* to pervert the *Clergy*, in order the better to seduce the *Laity*; so in proportion many more of the *Clergy* than of the *Laity* were at this time in the *High-Church* Interest. And 'tis observable that the *Jacobites* are still most numerous where the *Clergy* are most powerful, as in your *Cathedral Towns* and the *Universities*. This is likewise the Reason, why, in the *Convocation* summon'd immediately after the *Revolution* to heal our unhappy Breaches, there was not found that Readiness and compliance to cementing, peaceable, and moderate Resolutions, as appear'd in the *Parliament*; and therefore the *Toleration* was far from being *purely the Result and Indulgence of the Church*, meaning thereby the *Clergy*, who now wou'd not consent to the least *alteration*, notwithstanding their late repeated Promises to the *Dissenters*. On the contrary, the *High-Church-men* seem'd every where to repent, that once in their Lives they had been in the right. They oppos'd King *William's* coming to the Crown, and consequently *Queen Anne*. But, when they cou'd not prevent his *Promotion*, they were industrious to

Pa. 25, 26.

furnish him with a false *Title*, as if he had been only a King *de facto*, or by Force and Usurpation, but not *de jure*, or by Right and Law. They were engag'd in continual *Plots* against him all his life, and never preach'd *Passive Obedience* to him no more than they do to her present *Majesty*, tho' profess Members of the *Church of England*, and zealous *Defenders of the true Faith*. King *William* (most ingratelously accus'd of Jealousy, Coldness or Indifference in that point, by the *Memorialist*) did more than all his Predecessors together for the *Church of England*, not only in exposing his Person to deliver her out of the *Pope's* expanded Jaws, and so perpetually *securing* to her all her Privileges and Emoluments, but also in filling the Places of those who were *depriv'd* (for adhering to King *James*) with the very Persons who had appear'd during his Reign with the greatest Magnanimity, Learning, and Applause, in defence of the *Church* against *Popery*. He likewise gave the Royal Assent to Laws excluding for the future all *Popish* Kings and Queens from the Throne, that the *Church* may never hereafter fall into the like danger with that she then escap'd: And afterwards, in the new *Limitations* of the Crown, he provided that the *Protestant Successor* should be a Member of the *Church establish'd by Law*, which is the utmost that cou'd be reasonably wish'd or desir'd. I mention these but as the principal of very many other Laws that pass in his *Reign*, whereby the *Church of England* (both as it means all the *Protestants* of this Kingdom, and particularly as it signifies the *National Establishment* of Worship and Discipline) was left by him in a most safe and flourishing condition, as it still continues under our most Gracious and Excellent *Queen*, bred from her Infancy of the *Episcopal* Persuasion, tho' abounding with Love and Charity to all other good *Christians*.

But

But the High Church-Men, who can no longer monopolize the Dignities and Benefices to themselves, nor Domineer over their Fellows by the Prince's Favour, at the expence of the Peoples Liberty, are enrag'd to be brought down to an equal level with others, and wou'd fain perswade us that the Church is in imminent danger, tho' they are wonderfully put to it to show us what or from whence we are to fear. Popery they don't pretend, of which on the contrary they endeavour to lessen our apprehensions, because they are themselves in the Interest of a Popish Pretender to the Crown, and therefore closely link'd in Amity, Counsels, and Purposes with the Papists that adhere to him. And 'tis matter of fact, that partly from this odd Conjunction, and partly from their implacable Resentment, very many of 'em have apostatiz'd to Popery since the Revolution. What is our danger then? First they fondly imagine, that after sixteen Years experience the Nation is still blinded with those prejudices which the High-Church-Men had formerly created against the Dissenters; Next, They do as vainly suppose, that all who acknowledge the Dissenters as Brethren will be held for Favourers of their Cause and Way; and lastly, from these premises, which they expect will be taken for granted, they conclude that the Dissenters are a very formidable Party, likely to overthrow the National Religion, and so to set up for themselves. But of this Argument we'll evince the fallacy and impossibility, when we come to consider the present state of the Dissenters.

Nevertheless to gain credit to such absurd Suppositions, the Tongues and Pens of the High-Churchmen are let loose against the moderate Clergy every where, representing 'em all as Presbyterians. Their Rage is sharpen'd in a special manner against the Bishops, whom they revile, bespatter, and abuse in a strain neither becoming Priests

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nor *Gentlemen*; tho' many of these worthy *Fathers* be the individual Persons whose Zeal and Fortitude they extoll'd in King *James's* Reign; and with whose learned Labours they do at this time reproach the *Dissenters*. This among others is done by the *Memorialist*, boasting that the Church of England alone defended the Protestant Religion against *Papery*; and yet says, that the corruption is so far spread, that *Lawn-Sleeves* are no sure sign of a Churchman. But in King *Charles* the First and Second's days, when the severities us'd against the *Dissenters* (as Oppression will make wise Men mad) had provok'd 'em to Censure the immoral Actions of certain *Bishops*, tho' the Facts were not deny'd, yet the very Character of those *Bishops* was urg'd as a sufficient reason not to have their failings expos'd. But these were favourite *Bishops*, Men famous in their Generation for preaching *Will* and *Pleasure* to the Prince, *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience* to the People, and for pressing inexorable executions against the *Dissenters*. For these vertues the present want of 'em is regretted by such as are animated with the same Spirit, and the *Memorialist* sadly complains, that the Church has lost seventeen of those heroick Prelates that gave Life and Vigour to those noble Sentiments; and that 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 the Church under the specious deceitful name of Moderation, have very much damp't and in a manner extinguish'd that noble Spirit, which their Predecessors had insus'd into the inferiour Clergy. The best News that ever England heard, and the greatest Service the *Bishops* ever did the Church! I shall not particularly examine into the Characters of these seventeen Heroes: but I hope its no crime to say, that, to the great loss of the Church, one of 'em dy'd in *Ireland* with King *James*, when he was fighting there against the *Protestants*, and had

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had fill'd all their *Churches* with *Popish* Ecclesiasticks; and that four of 'em, who join'd first with the Prince of *Orange* against King *James* at the *Revolution*, deserted him in a Months time to King *James* again, as they and others of these same *Heroes* have deserted the Communion of the *Church of England* ever since. They are lost therefore to the *Church* to all intents and purposes; and we heartily wish for the sake both of *Church* and *Government*, that the furious *Spirit* of Bigotry and Persecution, with the Arbitrary and Slavish *Sentiments* which they have infus'd into some of the *Inferiour Clergy*, were not only (as they now are) much damp't, and in a manner extinguish'd by the free Principles and moderation of the present *Bishops*, but likewise that they were entirely lost with their deceas'd and abdicated Authors, Insufers, and Abettors.

Thus from its first Original, and thro' all the Gradations of it, we have given the brief History of the *High-Church*, that, in the first place, by shewing what the *Memorialist* and his Party mean by the *Church*, the *Dissenters* might be undeceiv'd from their prejudices, and not rashly impute to the *Church of England* the Principles or Practices of a head-strong, Ambitious, or *Popish* Faction, which she never approv'd: And Secondly, That no true *Church-man* might be impos'd on by Words or Names, but judge of all Persons by their Actions, blessing God incessantly for a *Queen*, who is so true a Nursing Mother to the *Church*; for *Bishops* so Learned, Charitable, and Religious; and for living under so wise and good a *Government*, where *Righteousness* and *Peace* kiss each other.

Of the DISSENTERS.

WE have already discours'd of the Rise of the *Dissenters*, and their various Fortune till the late *Revolution*; since which time they are tolerat'd by Law, and enjoy at present the benefit of her *Majesty's* Glorious Reign in common with her other Loyal Subjects.

Tho' we be no *Dissenters* our selves, yet the Principles of the *Church of England* have taught us to be just to them as well as to all the World: and tho' we do not join in their *Dissent*, yet as we wou'd not use force to reduce them to *Conformity*, so we wou'd lay nothing to their charge but what in Justice they deserve. Wherefore we must needs say that they speak improperly who represent 'em as leaving our *Church*, and who are for treating 'em on that Account as *Schismatics*. There were as early and illustrious *Reformers* in this Kingdom of their Opinions as any whatsoever, and even several *Bishops* profess themselves of their Mind in matters of *Discipline* and *Worship*; which are the only things wherein we differ. They were fellow-sufferers with us in the *Marian* Persecution: *Hooper* was not the only Person of these Sentiments, who offer'd his Body to the Flames in defence of the *Protestant Religion*: And the Exiles from the *Papish Fury*, carried their Divisions about those points along with them, and kept 'em still on foot in the places of their refuge. We commend not the *Rigidity* of the one side or the other, tho' we cannot blame Men for modestly testifying their disagreement where they are

are not fully satisfied in their Judgments. They may call it *Conformity*, but it wou'd be *Hypocrisie* to do otherwise.

On the ceasing of the Persecution, by Queen *Elizabeths* mounting the Throne, they all return'd to *England*, but more positively resolv'd in their Divisions; those we now call the *Dissenters* being encouraged and confirm'd by the example of Foreign *Churches*. Exceptions indeed they have always made to the *Liturgy*, either as imperfect, tho' excellent for the time; or as symbolizing too much with the *Mass*, which was counted needlets after the general Conversion of the Nation; or as actually containing certain *Errors* which they cou'd not subscribe, and much less read in the *Church*. Catalogues of these Exceptions they have often deliver'd, the *Lincoln*-Ministers and others before the Civil Warrs, and after the *Restoration* at the *Savoy-Conference*. They have likewise given the *Liturgy* compleat as they wou'd have it reform'd, which is still extant in Print. And here we have two things to observe: First that the *Dissenters* are misrepresented, when accus'd of never offering the *terms* on which they wou'd unite; And, Secondly, That they never declar'd peremptorily against the use of all *Liturgies*, no more than the other reform'd *Churches* which have their set *Forms*, without excluding the gifts of their Ministers in *Ex-tempore* Prayer, which is also practis'd by the Ministers of the *Church of England* before their Sermons. I wou'd therefore charitably believe, it is in expectation of a more favourable disposition for a Union, that they have hitherto neither translated the *Liturgy* of the other Reform'd *Churches*, nor ever establish'd any of their own. But the Innovations in Arch-Bishop *Laud's* time drove 'em too much to the other extreme; and made 'em guilty of many unseemly and sometimes uncharitable expressions against our *Common Prayers*: With which nevertheless the whole Body of them

is no more to be charg'd, than the *Church of England* with all the exorbitancies of the *High-Church*. No Man pretends but the *Dissenters* had their Tantivies of several sorts: nevertheless where Men are inclin'd to Peace, such things are mutually forgot; and if they have but natural Equity, the faults of a few will never be imputed to all.

But in the *Memorial* the *Dissenters* are made to aim at subverting the *Church* and the *Monarchy*, which is the Principal Subject of the Book. Cou'd this Charge be prov'd I shou'd not be the Man to make their Apology. They enjoy already as full, as free, and as legal a *liberty* as any others to Worship God according to the dictates of their own Consciences, in which Respect they have nothing more to desire, and they neither can nor do complain. But throughout the whole *Memorial* 'tis inculcated, that they design to overthrow the *Hierarchy*, and to make themselves the *National Church*. Whoever gives himself leisure to consider never so little, will perceive how wild and groundless this supposition must needs be, and how dissonant from the true state of things. For if the *Dissenters* had the Power, 'tis impossible they cou'd altogether and at once become the *National Church*, since they consist of various Sects and Constitutions, as different from one another as every one of 'em is from the *Church of England*, which is a thing indisputable and self-evident, own'd even by the *Memorialist*.

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But then if they had the Power, I deny they can have the Will to be the *National Church*. The *Quakers*, with whom the *Memorialist* is very angry, are against all stated *Clergymen*, against any *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, *Church Revenues*, or *maintenance* of *Ministers* from the Publick; and therefore they ought not to be reckon'd among the Candidates for a *National Church*, which without these things cannot subsist as such, and for the sake of which the *Quakers* alledge that all the bustle is made. They allow every

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every individual *Christian* (not excepting their Women) to Pray and Preach in their *Meetings*, according to every ones measure of *Light* or Knowledge, and as they are dispos'd by the *Spirit* of God to propagate his *Gospel* of Truth for the benefit of their fellow Creatures. This is the Account they give of themselves agreeable to their Practice; and therefore are not concern'd by Interest or Inclination to assist one *Party* more than another in their contentions about this matter. But finding their safety in *Civil Liberty* (from which *Toleration* in Religion is inseparable) they join in *Elections* for Parliament Men, with the *Party* likeliest to grant or to preserve it, in which regard they are indeed the exactest *Trimmers* in the Nation. Their Conduct in the last *Election* is one of the fruits of the *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, and we know it to be the Cause of the *High-Church-men's* displeasure against them now; but they shou'd remember the time (for 'tis within memory) when they voted, and that judiciously on their *side*, which was one of the two times I mention'd that the *High-Church-men* were against the *Prerogative*, and would pass for profest Converts to *Liberty* both Civil and Religious. The *Memorialist* was therefore in a Passion when he rashly said, *that they never extend their Alliance, Commerce, or Charity beyond their own Sect.*

The *Independents* are as little as the *Quakers* for a *National Church*, allowing only of *Congregations* voluntarily gather'd and call'd out of the World, which Societies are *independent* of all *Diocesses* or *Presbyteries*, not admitting *Synods* with any manner of *Church Power*, but only for mutual help and advice. The *Memorialist* positively affirms that *every individual Pastor among them is Bishop of his*

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Congregation, Absolute, Arbitrary, and uncontroulable in Spirituals, which will find credit only with those who examine the truth as little, or dissemble it as much as himself: for an *Independent Minister* is so far from having any

Ibid.

point of *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, that he can do nothing without the joint consent of the *Church-Members*, among which the Women are permitted in some cases to give their suffrage. He farther affirms, *that each Minister is subject and accountable in matters of Religion to none but God*, which is no Priviledge more peculiar to him than to every one of his Congregation, and what every *Protestant* professes as the first principle of the *Reformation*. But meaning it, as he does, of the Ministers *Authority* in ordering and directing matters of *Religion* or *Discipline*, he has no power at all, so far is he from being Arbitrary and Absolute. The *People* may withdraw from him when they have just Exceptions to his Life or Doctrine. Nor do's *Ordination* alone constitute a Minister among them without the *Election* of his Hearers, which is another thing inconsistent with a *National Church*; and I said before that they reject the Notion of a *Catholick Church*, as a Society vested with Authority, and to which all *particular Churches* are in Subordination and Subjection. Thus the Jest of the *Memorialist* is spoilt, *That the Independents have a little Pope in every Congregation, and that every individual Preacher among them is a whole petty Antichrist himself*. This indeed is Language befitting such as only think of Dragooning Men to their way without satisfying their Reasons; but not less becoming those who understand as little of the *Controversies* they manage, or the Men they Condemn, as the *Spaniards* or the *Turks*. This appears further in the like Sarcasm upon the *Presbyterians*, who, he says, *have one Pope in each Nation, which is the Synod; and that the several Ministers of which it is compos'd, are but so many Limbs of Antichrist*. The *Anabaptists* agree in all the foremention'd things with the *Independents*, permitting every Man that has gifts enabling him for it, to teach in the Congregation; and truly (as a Person of singular Worth, Knowledge, and Moderation, said once in a merry humour)

Ibid.

Ibid.

mour) the *Anabaptist* is but an *Independent under Water*.

The *Presbyterians* therefore are the only Rivals the *Church of England* has to fear. They place Authority, we own, in their *Presbyteries* over the *Parochial Ministers*; but none ought to arraign 'em for that, who allow as much to the *Bishop* in his *Diocefs*, for this is only a Dispute about the proper hands wherein to settle the Power. What wou'd the *Memorialist* infer from it, if we granted that the *Presbyterians* lodge the *Jurisdiction of Archbishops and Bishops* in their *Synods and Classes*, tho' it be not in all things the same Power? Besides that the same Power differently lodg'd makes a great alteration in *Government*, as the Supreme Power in a *Single Person* is one thing, and quite another thing in the *Three Estates*. Now, we readily yield him what no body ever deny'd, that the *Presbyterians* are capable of being a *National Church*, and that they are actually so in many places of *Europe*. But he unfairly represents them, when he says, *their Clergy pretend to be infallible, and exempt from Lay-Jurisdiction; and that the sentencing and correction of Sinners without limitation of kind, either of Sin or Punishment, belongs to their Ministers*. I defy any Man to produce an Instance wherein the *Jesuits* did ever more audaciously calumniate. But because he was aware that nothing of this is known in *England*, he affirms that *it is still practis'd in Scotland, 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 (however unjust) the Government dare not give any relief*. If it were really thus in *Scotland*, what's that to the *Churches* where it is not so; as in *Holland*, for Example? For *Bishops*, no more than *Presbyters*, have not equal Power every where, these and the like *Temporal Privileges* being

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Ibid.

being essentially inherent to neither ; but as the *Civil Government* is pleas'd to grant or to take them away in such degrees or proportions as they think most convenient. But every Syllable of what he says is false in fact ; and indeed there was never known a more disingenuous Writer. In the late *Reign* the Civil Sting or Punishment of *Excommunication* was abolish'd in that Kingdom by *Act of Parliament* ; which is one of the important Services King *William* render'd the *Protestant* Religion there : And certainly 'tis no small Service to Religion to take away any Power from a *Church*, which is liable to be partially or vindictively exercis'd, and perhaps on very slight or trivial occasions ; besides that this was one of the worst Relicts of *Poper*y, not grounded on *Scripture*, nor to be tolerated by common *Prudence*. 'Tis most unquestionably true, that by the handle of *Excommunication* insufferable Abuses were formerly committed in *Scotland*, whereof we hear nothing since the *Revolution* ; tho' we need not go far for Examples, when in our own *Church* (a thing which all the sound Members of it passionately long to see reform'd) Men are daily made over to the *Devil* with great solemnity for a Tith-Pig, or Easter-Eggs, or three Tiles of a *Church*, whereby their Credit is ruin'd, their Goods seiz'd, and their Persons often imprison'd. Besides the Blemish this brings on our excellent *Church*, it takes away in great part the true Ends and Awe of the *Scripture Excommunication* ; nor shou'd this Power of inflicting Civil Punishments be committed to any *Church*, being a blame-worthy Article wherever found, whether among the *Episcopals*, *Presbyterians*, or *Papists*, from the last of which both the others have borrow'd it. But still 'tis objected with an ill grace by us to the *Presbyterians*, till we come to a temper first to reform it at home. As for *Horning*, 'tis not the warrant of the *Kirk*, but of the *State*, on occasions of *Treason* or *Outlawry*. But in such of his *Mistakes*

stakes we are no further concern'd, than to shew with what an air of *Assurance* he utters the grossest Fallhoods.

Now the laborious research of the *Memorialist*, to discover which Sect of the *Dissenters* bids fairest for the *National Church*, on the suppos'd Downfal of our *Hierarchy*, appearing impertinent; and acknowledging it possible for the *Presbyterians* alone to become the *National Church* in that case, yet 'tis most certain that their *Ministers*, in the first place, would be no Gainers by it, they being already as well if not better (and the *Memorialist* owns more equally) provided for, than the *Inferiour Clergy* of the *National Church*. The rich *Dignities* wou'd not fall to the share of their *Clergy*, with whose *Parity* they are incompatible; but, as it happen'd here as well as in other places before, and lately in *Scotland*, they wou'd all devolve to the *State*. Neither wou'd their *People* get any more by it, than to be exempted from their voluntary *Contributions*, which among so many are insensible, and no such Burden as that to ease their Purses of it, they wou'd madly hazard their Civil and Religious *Liberty*. None of the other *Sects* wou'd assist the *Presbyterians* in such an Enterprize, it being indifferent to them which is the *National Church*, provided they enjoy a free *Toleration* of their own way: For as to the degrees of Severity they felt in their turns under each, they are not more natural to one than to the other, all *National Churches* being ready enough at that sport, where the *Clergy* are not over-rul'd and kept on their good Behaviour, as they are in every wise *Government* by the Civil *Magistrates*.

But it will be objected, That Men have often acted by Passion and Ambition against their Interest, and that the other *Sects* did actually join with the *Presbyterians* before. We grant the *Presbyterians* may act against their Interest as well as other Men; but we deny, that, if they were insatuated enough to design it, they can ever be able to

contend with the *National Church*, in respect of which they are an inconsiderable number, and indeed deserving little regard when the other *Secls* and the *Church* are both unanimous against them. But the other *Secls* did combine with them before. They did so; but it was not to advance 'em to the Preheminence of a *National Church*, but to pull down another *Church-power* that oppress'd 'em all with a heavy Yoke and an intolerable hand. The *Gentlemen* who resisted the Encroachments made on their native and legal *Liberty*, invited to their assistance the *Non-conformists*, who were Sufferers for their *Religion* under the same *Power*; and as soon as the Order of *Bishops* was abolish'd, the *Presbyterians* did of course, and as a reward of their Services, come without Competitors to be the *National Church*. Yet this Exchange was not made with the consent or good liking of the other *Secls*. For in the beginning of that unhappy War, nothing was generally propos'd but reducing the *Prerogative* within its just bounds, and timely restraining the *Innovations* of the *Clergy*, without Peoples laying any Schemes beforehand of what was to be done in case they succeeded, because they really design'd no alteration in the *Civil Government*. Therefore after they had obtain'd their principal Aim, all sorts of Men found themselves deceiv'd in their particular expectations; and, as it seldom fails to happen in such *Confusions*, some were insensibly and most were impetuously carry'd beyond their first Intentions with the Torrent. To exemplify this in detail, such as intended no more than the securing our *Constitution*, which they reasonably thought to be in some danger from certain *Arbitrary* Proceedings, did above all others abhor the Invasion of the *Military Power*, and the barbarous *Murder* of the King. The *Independents*, the *Anabaptists*, the new sprung Sect of the *Quakers* and others, were not less irritated to find the *Presbyterians* rigidly exercise the
same

same Power the *Bishops* had done before, which they promis'd themselves wou'd be *abolish'd* here for the future in all *Churches*, loudly protesting that they chiefly *fought* for this purpose, and that the *Liberty* of the Nation was not *compleat* without it. The *Republicans* were nolets disappointed in their *Models* of Government by *Cromwel's* treacherous *Usurpation*. And all of 'em together successfully join'd to undermine the *Presbyterians*, the *Army* for their protesting against the King's *Death*, the *Secularies* for their refusing *Liberty of Conscience*, and the *Episcopals* (to name no others) that they might return once more to be the *National Phurch*. For in *Conjunctures* of this kind, there's no necessity of *Agents* or *Treaties* between the several *Parties* (as there was then no settled intercourse or correspondence between so many hostile and repugnant *Interests*) because all are united by their present *Suffering*, or impending *Danger*; and, however disagreeing in their other *Actions*, yet by a sort of *Mechanism in Politicks*, they naturally tend to the same *Centre* of *Opposition* against their common *Advertary*. This *Observation* was eminently verifi'd by the universal *Resistance* made to the late *Bill against Occasional Conformity*; and prudent *Governors* will accordingly square their *Measures* in all such *Occurrences*.

The other *Sects* therefore and the *Presbyterians* did once join together; but it depends upon us that they never do so again. Let not our *Clergy*, instead of looking after the *Souls* of their *Flocks*, busy themselves in *Politicks*; let them not be the *Instruments* of the *Prince* to enslave the *People*: and let them neither be rigorous themselves, nor excite others to be so, against such as *dissent* from them in matters of *Religion*. The only possible way for the *Presbyterians* to become the *National Church*, is by the *Laitys* being ever forc'd again to call for their help (and they'l never do't unless they be forc'd) or by

obliging the other *Sects* to confederate with them for their mutual defence. But we leave every one to judge, whether the *High-Church* Methods be the most likely to prevent such a fatal Catastrophe; especially if it be consider'd (for I think it worth repeating) that the very *Quakers*, who are not immediately touch'd by such a Law, yet strenuously oppos'd the *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, as a degree of Infracti^on upon our common *Liberty*, and which they reasonably expected might afterwards be *extended* to other matters. For any thing else in the World, not relish'd by the Faction of the *High-Church*, might as well be call'd *Spiritual Juggling*, were they left Judges of Men's Sincerity or Hypocrisy; And all Acts of Worship perform'd by *Dissenters*, tho' agreeable to our Confession of Faith or *Liturgy*, might be reputed, *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 sinistrous ends of eluding the Law.*

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It wou'd therefore be a lamentable prospect (were we not secure in the Temper of our *Government*, and the Wisdom of our *Ministers*) to see how certain Persons, instead of bending their Care to preserve the present *Tranquility*, labour with all their Might and Industry to bring us again to *Confusion*, using the most sophistical and nefarious Arts imaginable to compass their wicked Designs. They talk of *Dissenters* always in a Lump, to render 'em the more formidable to ignorant *Bigots*, as if they had all the same concerted Views, or were equally chargeable with the same Imputations. Three of their *Accusations* I shall distinctly examine, as injurious to the *Dissenters*, tending to disturb the Peace of the *Church* and *Government*, and reflecting on her *Majesty's* Person. First, they are all charg'd with being *Common-wealths-men*, or for popular Government, in opposition to our establish'd Constitution of *King, Lords, and Commons*. This Invention might

might pass on those Princes who held all for *Republicans*, that dislik'd their Designs of *Arbitrary* and *Despotic* Power. But now, that the *Liberty* of the ancient *English Government* is secur'd to Posterity by the *confirmation* of all former Laws in its Favour, by the *Bill of Rights*, the *Limitations* on the next *Successor*, and by divers other excellent Regulations; there is not a *Dissenter* in the Nation a *Republican* in any other sense, than as being ready to expose his Life and Fortune for this admirable *Form*, whereof they daily taste the incomparable Blessings, which have cur'd the few *Democraticks* we had (and those mostly *Church-men*) from the Impressions they receiv'd by King *Charles* and King *James's* Administration. They were all most cordial for King *William*; they are as truly loyal and dutiful to Queen *Anne*: And not one of 'em but are such *Republicans* as to be zealous for the House of *Hanover*, which is like (they say) to furnish the Crown with numerous Successors. But considering the *High-Church-men* had so lately endeavour'd to turn the *Monarchy* into an *Oligarchy*, or rather from the consequences of it into an *Anarchy*, by the *Regency* they propos'd at the *Revolution*; they ought to be the more reserv'd in aspersing some with the Chimera of a *Common-wealth*, as they wou'd fright others with the ridiculous Sham of the *Church*.

The *Dissenters* are, *Secondly*, accus'd of being against a *Toleration* to one another or to others, because some of 'em were for *Persecution* in the late times. 'Tis the most absurd and unjust thing conceivable, and sufficiently refuted by daily Experience, to make Parties, Opinions, Virtues or Vices, so absolutely *hereditary* to Families or Nations, that they can never be cur'd of 'em. Had this Position been true, how from *Heathens* cou'd we have become *Christians*, or from *Papists* turn *Protestants*? All the Posterity of the late *Sectaries* have no more the same Designs with their Fathers, than all the Descendants of

the *Royalists* : For not a few of both sides have very significantly distinguish'd themselves in contrary Notions and Parties to their Progenitors. But the *Memorialist* tells us not only that *the Sons of those Men yet remain, and inherit many of 'em the Principles of their Fathers*; but that *it wou'd therefore be no very uncharitable Supposition, without any other Argument, to imagine 'em heirs of their Designs likewise*. It were certainly most uncharitable to take that for granted, which is possible to be otherwise; but if we us'd *no farther Argument* in the matter, that is, if we made no use of our *Reason*, we cou'd imagine this as easy as any thing else, and all things in the World alike. The *Independents* and *Anabaptists* were profess'd Advocates for *Toleration* from the beginning, and they still continue of the same Opinion as well as the *Quakers*. The *Presbyterians* were not always so, but have sometimes us'd *Compulsion* in matters purely religious, and publish'd diverse *Books* to justify their Proceedings. Yet Experience, and a more sedate Consideration of things, have furnish'd 'em with clearer Information and better Dispositions. As many antient and modern *Churches* have frequently chang'd their Sentiments about certain Articles, so the *Presbyterians* are all now for *Liberty of Conscience* to all Men in Points of meer Religion or Opinion; and they have expressly declar'd their Minds to this purpose in several of their *late Books*, particularly in the Writings of Mr. *Calamy*, which they generally approve. But, as an evidence of their Sincerity in Fact, I'll give an Instance worthy of Publick Notice. Certain *Quakers* came not long since to some of the most eminent Ministers of the *Dissenters*, complaining that their *Friends* were hardly us'd in *New-England*, and even some of 'em put to death for their Persuasion, tho' under the thread-bare pretence of *disobeying the Laws*. Wherefore they desir'd those Ministers, that, if they allow'd of the same *Liberty* to others they

enjoy'd here from the *Government*, they wou'd write their Thoughts of this Affair to their Brethren in *New-England*, who, they doubted not; wou'd respect their Judgment. Whereupon those Ministers, after consulting the rest of their Body, and receiving their *Consent*, dispatch'd two Letters to *New-England*, one from the *Independents*, and another from the *Presbyterians*, to the perfect Satisfaction of the *Quakers*.

The *Dissenters* are, *Thirdly*, accus'd of *Disaffection* to the Queen's Person. Of all Calumnies this surely is the most hardy as well as the most groundless. 'Tis now the Fourth Year of her Majesty's Reign (which God long continue) and in this whole time there has not been one Dissenter heard to murmur or repine, so far are they from being found guilty of any *Conspiracy* or *Treason*; whereas 'tis notoriously known, that many who highly value themselves on being *Church-men*, do obstinately disown her *Title*, and very undutifully reflect both upon her *Person* and *Government*. Never was Prince so rever'd and below'd almost to Adoration by her Subjects, and by all the *Protestant Sects* without exception, as is Queen *Anne*, for her Wisdom, Justice, Piety, Moderation, Clemency, and other Royal Virtues without number. She's truly *Head* and *Queen* of all her People, which has seated her Throne so *firm*, that she may rest secure and easy at all the rude Clamours of the *Conspirators* (and not even be provok'd to let the Laws loose against them) were they twenty times more numerous; considering she has the Hearts and Hands of all the *Low-Church-men* at her Service, that is, of almost the whole *Laity* and *Clergy* of the *Church of England*, with the powerful addition of all the *Dissenters* in the Kingdom. In respect of these the *Papists* and *High-Church-men* are but a handful; and are therefore in their present seditious *Inveclives* and senseless *Menaces*, rather the Objects of all Men's Laughter, Scorn
and

and Contempt, than of her *Majesty's* notice or indignation.

Notwithstanding the evident truth of this, yet one part of the grand *Conspiracy*, and on which did hang the most promising hopes of the *Popish Pretender*, was a desperate effort the *High-Churchmen* made to impose on the *Queen* at the beginning of her *Auspicious Reign*, before (as they imagin'd) she cou'd have time or opportunity to learn the true state of her *Subjects*; and so prepossess her Royal Breast with an Opinion that the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* were sworn Enemies to her Person, that they had always endeavour'd to lessen her *Reputation* with the People, and enter'd into close measures with the late King to *Exclude* her from the Crown. These things, we may remember, were industriously spread and reported every where with the utmost assurance: and had her *Majesty* been more credulous or worse inform'd, she must of necessity have caus'd inexpressible *grief* to the greatest number of her Faithful *Subjects* to be so unhappily misunderstood by her, and perhaps she had through a fatal *mistake* thrown her self into the Arms of insidious Men, who prefer'd the *Title* of another to hers, and were prepar'd to deliver her *Person*, the *Church*, and all of us into the hands of their *Foreign Protector* and *Confederate*.

The *Queen* to the unspeakable felicity of these Nations knew better things; and every day of her Life since has afforded her fresh proofs that she was not deceiv'd. But for the satisfaction of the People a *Committee of Lords*, who had examin'd the Kings *Papers*, Publish'd their Report by Order of the *House*; and Dr. *Drake's* Book was by the same *House* Order'd to be burnt as False, Malicious, Villanous, and Scandalous, tending to create divisions and jealousies between her Majesty and her People, for countenancing and promoting that heinous *Aspersions*, without being able to produce any Voucher or Author for the same. But the

Memorialist, as if he were ignorant that any thing of this had happen'd, harps still on the same string, and strives in vain to render the *Dissenters* suspected, in spite of the Queen's and the Nation's Experience. *They*, says he, *who not a Month before* (the King's Death) *breath'd* Page 5.
nothing but Defiance, and insulted the Church, and treated the Princess 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, and Christian-spirited People in the Universe. This is the Ironical Turn he gives the matter, because the Queen did not find 'em what they were represented by the *High-Church*. And in another place he insinuates a distrust of their peaceable Demeanor, Personal Respect, and cheerful Submission to her Majesty, by asking whether *we are* Page 17
sure, that they who ill treated and bespatter'd the Princess, and hop'd that she never wou'd reign, are grown sincerely fond of the Queen, and heartily glad that she does reign? By no means; he'll have their *Loyalty* and *Moderation* only a copy of their countenance, from the terrifying apprehension of their Guilt. *Was it natural*, says he, *No*, he answers himself! *but they had just before* (tho' Dr. Drake could not tell how, or by whom, or where, or when) *injured and affronted the Princess and Church of England, in so insolent and outrageous a manner, upon presumption that durable Schemes were upon the Anvil in their Favour, that their own Consciences upon the vanishing of them, prompted them to seek Pardon and Peace from those they had so abus'd, by an extraordinary Submission.* One wou'd think by reading such Passages, that there had been Tumults against the *Church*, Endeavours for a *Bill of Exclusion*, and infamous *Libels* at least dispers'd against the *Princess*; when all was orderly and quiet, without a word or syllable of this matter. The *Project* they reported to be found among the King's *Papers* is broadly hinted by the *durable*
Schemes

The MEMORIAL of

Schemes upon the Anvil, which we must needs call, tho' we love not such Language, a *Villanous Calumny* in the Forgers of the Story, and *incorrigible Impudence* in the *Memorialist*. Yet the fancy of it tickles him; for in the same Page he says that *the Dissenters were mortify'd, humbled, and disappointed at the late King's death*, and that the *Whigs* wou'd have been glad to have taken a general *Indemnity, with an Exclusion from all Trust and Office*: Whereas King *William's* Death (for which the *Dissenters*, no doubt, were sorry) was no otherwise a Disappointment to them than as it was to all *Europe*, having had no Designs of their own to carry on by him, separate from the Common Cause of *Liberty* and the *Protestant Religion*.

Neither were the *Whigs* conscious to themselves of any Crimes why they shou'd need or desire an *Indemnity* from that Faction he calls the *Church*, who thought to manage all without Control at that time, and who were never known to be so liberal of their *Pardons* when they had 'em to give. They were those *High-Church-men*, on the contrary, who wanted an *Indemnity*, and had it at the *Revolution*, having justly deserv'd to be for ever excluded from all *Trust and Office*, which they had forfeited by their base and traiterous Surrender of *Charters* to the foregoing Kings; whilst the *Whigs* as bravely and loyally oppos'd that Invasion of our Rights, for which they were fin'd, imprison'd, banish'd, hang'd, and libell'd for *Rebels* by those pretended *Church men* all over the Nation. But are the *Whigs* no better known yet to the *Memorialist*, who so often goes out of his way to dive into the inmost Folds of their Hearts? Whereas, when on the supposition of those *Forgeries* which he imprudently revives, a certain *dismal* Gentleman, of such deep *Politicks* that his *Wisdom* never appears till he quits *Business*, and of such unparallel'd *Eloquence* that his Speeches are never understood for the musical *chiming* of his Words; I say when this

this Secretary of the *High-Church* had gravely propos'd such an *Indemnity* to certain *Whigs*, they rejected his Offer with the Scorn and Indignation that became their *Innocence*, letting him understand (in very plain Language) who it was that stood in greater need of a *Pardon*; and that they were resolv'd with the last drop of their Blood to stand by the *Queen's Person*, to support the Freedom of the *Government*, and to maintain the *Protestant Succession* against all Attempts and Adversaries whatsoever, wherein they have been hitherto, and ever will remain, as good as their Words.

We held our selves oblig'd in duty as good Subjects; who desire the Peace and Welfare of our Country, and that our Fellow-Citizens (who are hearty for the same Cause) may not fight against one another in the dark, to defend the *Dissenters* against the virulent and manifold Misrepresentations of the *Memorialist*. But in particular we sincerely aim'd at three things: That the *Church* may not be disturb'd by imaginary Fears of the *Dissenters* forming any Designs against her *National* Establishment; that the *Dissenters* may be convinc'd, 'tis neither their Interest nor in their Power to destroy the *Church*; and that every body may perceive what a perfect *Harmony* there is between all the Subjects of this Kingdom to perpetuate the *Toleration of Religions*, except a certain *Faction* (more considerable for their Noise than for their Number) who sedulously endeavour to set the *Queen* against all the rest, that they may the easier set up a *King* of their own against her *Majesty*.

Of the TOLERATION.

THE right Notion of the *Church*, and the true State of the *Dissenters* being thus fairly settled, 'tis time we shou'd begin the Vindication of the *Queen* and her *Ministers*, who are invidiously traduc'd as favouring the *Dissenters* against the *Church of England*. But because we begun so high with the other Heads of this *Discourse*, as to leave nothing suppos'd or to be understood that was necessary for the clearing of what follow'd; so the *Toleration of Religions* (which extends much further than a bare *Permission of Publick Worship*) being the avow'd Principle of the *Queen* and her *Ministers*, and one of the principal *Maxims* by which they govern, to insist a little on that *Subject*, before we descend to Particulars, will neither be unnecessary nor unprofitable. According to the *Memorialist*, there is no *High-Church-man* of 'em all who would break in upon the *Toleration* if it were in their Power, provided that the *Ambition* of the *Dissenters* would stop there: But who is to be *Judge*, whether or no they precisely keep to the *Toleration*? When Writing or Preaching in defence of their *Separation* may, by the stronger *Party*, be deem'd exceeding what they are allow'd; as the *Persecution* in *France* did first begin under pretence that by the several *Edicts* the *Protestants* might publicly perform their *Worship*, but not defend their *Religion* by opposing the *Roman Catholick*. Besides that we have reason still to believe that the *High-Church-men* are no real Friends to the *Toleration*, since the Promise of securing it in the first *Bill*

Bill against Occasional Conformity was wholly forgot in the *last*. But be this as it will, 'tis impossible to discover intelligibly and distinctly of *Comprehension*, *Occasional Conformity*, the *Sacramental Test*, and the *Consistency or Inconsistency of many Religions with Civil Government* (which come all under that head) without previously stating the nature and extent of *Toleration*.

First then we must consider that no Argument can be drawn for *Compulsion* in matters of *Religion*, from the Power of the *Magistrate* to punish *Offenders* in the State, for the Business of the Magistrate being to take care of the Publick Quiet, and to preserve every Subject from Violence and Fraud, he takes notice only of *Actions* which confessedly tend to the disturbance or subversion of the *Society*, and to the *injuring* of any Man in his Person or Possessions; but he has nothing to do with what either does no *harm* in these respects to any body, or that wholly consists in *Speculation* and *Opinion*. He therefore restrains outward Transgressions and immoral Actions, let the *Motives* of him that commits them be what they will. But he can take no cognizance of those *inward Dispositions* which are wholly seated in the Mind, nor can he certainly judge of the Docility or invincible Errors of others, whether they truly want Light and Satisfaction, or are whimsical, obstinate, and refractory. So that, with respect to the *Government*, 'tis all the same to the *Magistrates*, whether a Man be *sincere* or a *Hypocrite* in his Opinions, since no other receives any damage, tho' perhaps he gets no good by them himself. Had the *Memorialist* observ'd this distinction, he had not confounded *Persecution* for Opinions with *Punishment* for Crimes, as he does when he says, that *if diverse Persons were not almost daily persecuted at certain places call'd Old Bailies, we shou'd neither sleep, walk, nor ride in safety*. And then applying this worthy Principle to the *Dissenters*, he adds, that *if*

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raking away the benefit of Hypocrisy by Persecution, hanging for picking a Pocket is undoubtedly Martyrdom. But leaving him to please himself, for I'm perswaded he'll convince no other, with such strange sort of Reasoning; we are all agreed, that as Men have different Capacities, Apprehensions, and Opportunities, so they cannot possibly but have different Notions of things. This is no truer of Men in Free than in Arbitrary Dominions. But a great variety of Opinions is a certain sign of a Free Government; and no wonder, since Men are there permitted to live as Men, making use of their Reasoning Faculties, and speaking what they think, as they think what they please.

It being granted then that we cannot be of the same Mind in all things, the only Question is about openly professing our Sentiments, and particularly about joining to this Profession such external Ceremonies, as every Sect or Person does judge the most agreeable to God, or convenient among Men. As for the meer Articles of any Man's Creed, they hurt no body besides; for tho' a Man may spend his time in vain, who thinks he profits very much by praying an hour to a Saint or an Idol, how does such his Belief injure any other? And if the Rites he uses be as harmless to his Neighbour, tho' in themselves absurd or ridiculous, why shou'd any compel him if he will not be perswaded to quit them? As a Man may kill his own Calf, or eat his own Loaf at home, (to use the Instance of a celebrated Author) so he may do in his Closet or in his Temple, without Loss or Danger to any Man. But whenever such Observances are with Justice prohibited, 'tis not as they are the Ceremonies of any Religion, but as they are destructive of Society; for which reason human Sacrifices deserv'd to be abolish'd, but not as Honour was intended thereby to the Deity. Otherwise, no Man hurts another by his particular Doctrines or Worship. And therefore he ought not to be punish'd, because not guilty of

of a *fault*. The *time* or *place*, the *habit* or *posture*, and other necessary *Circumstances* of *Worship*, may be good and convenient after several manners; but to all Men and in all *Seasons* and *Countries* they cannot possibly be the same. But as all *Societies* agree on their particular *rules*, what imports it me how they order their *affairs*, if they leave me at *liberty* to do in mine as I please? Yet suppose my holding another Opinion were to be *restrain'd* or *punish'd*, where shall we find a *Judg* in such *Controversies*, I do not say *infallible* which is a jest, but who is of *neither side*; as the Magistrate ought to be in point of property? Or where will the consequences of this practice stop? For such as are *persecuted* now, will resent this usage when they are got uppermost, as it often happens in this changeable World: and the others cannot persuade them that they ought not to do as themselves did, because they (forsooth) are *sound* and *Orthodox*, and these are *Schismatics*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, or *Unbelievers*; for every Man thinks himself in the right, and will or may use the like power when he's able. And therefore 'tis a wonder how such as are Advocates for any sort of *Restraint* among us (for they are grown ashamed of the Word *Persecution*) should pretend to blame the *Severities* under the *Roman Emperors*, or declaim against the *Mahometans* for propagating the *Alcoran* by the *Sword*; when the Christians in *persecuting* one another, and sometimes forcing whole Countries to their way (as *Charles* the Great did the *Saxons*, and the *House of Austria* the *Bohemians*) have often out-done the most barbarous Nations, are a shame to humanity, and far more Savage than Lyons, Bears, or Tygers.

Here some *Self* or *Party* will say, we are not so cruel and bloody as those you mention, but very *moderate* in our *Restraints*, laying only such easie *Mulcts* and *Penalties* as may dispose People to *consider*, or perhaps bring them

to Church to be in the way of instruction, and that they may *hearken* to the truth. Now all this is Sophistry and Illusion. There's no *Punishment* so small but it justifies a greater. He that *fines* me a Shilling every Sunday, I absent from the publick Worship, may *fine* me two, or ten, or twenty, if he thinks this will make me *comply*. He that likewise deprives me of my *liberty* may deprive me of my *Life*; and he does as much in effect who brings me to *Poverty* or *Disgrace*. Every one of these *punishments* is a real *Persecution*, which is but a *Mans suffering in any manner for his Opinion*. And 'tis plain that the least of these *Persecutions* does naturally, if not inevitably, lead to the greatest; nor without good reason, since if a small *degree* has any effect, a greater must have more. They impose on themselves and others therefore, who pretend that an *Incapacity* from places of honour, trust, or profit, is no *persecution*, nor inconsistent with the *Toleration of Religions*. But of this hereafter. As for compelling Men to come into the way of *Instruction*, this Treatment, instead of disposing 'em to *hearken* and *examine*, does infallibly *prejudice* and *imbitter* them, taking themselves to be mock'd by those who profess a *tenderness* for them, and nevertheless use 'em as barbarously as if they were not reasonable creatures: especially when they reflect that the same *kindness* is pretended by such as revile, imprison, or banish, who deliver their bodies to the *Executioner* here, and their Souls to the *Devil* hereafter. And indeed the testimonies or arguments which *Persecutors* alledge in behalf of Religion, tho' possibly true in themselves, yet lose all their weight with their hearers, who remark that they do not trust their Cause to the *evidence* of such proofs; and therefore believe they commend it out of *Interest*, as they support or propagate it by *Violence*, which may as well be done for the false as the true Religion.

Men, you'l say, shou'd not think thus, but 'tis certain they will think thus. And in all *Political* or *Legislative* proceedings, we are not so much to mind what Men ought to be, as what they are. Then, as for laying 'em under *gentle Fines* to make 'em *consider*, it looks as if we thought none did *consider* but our selves; or if we allow any others to do so, why do we hold those that do *consider* and those that do not *consider* alike culpable? If it be reply'd that they have not *consider'd sufficiently*, tho' they protest to have sincerely us'd their utmost application; The meaning is plain, that we allow none to think *sufficiently*, but such who think as we do. Wherefore to say, that those who do not *Conform* are *weak* or *obstinate*, is but to say, that they are *weak* or *obstinate* who do not *conform*.

Now, from all this it follows as clear as the Sun, that the *Magistrate* taking care of the Civil Interests of the *Government*, is to leave Men to their own *perswasion* in matters of meer Religion; and that Admonitions and Advice, Persuasion, Arguments, and Examples, are the only efficacious *Spiritual Arms*, or just means of converting the *Erroneous*. The Question is not if Mens *Opinions* be true, or their *Ceremonies* the best, but if they be hurtful or not; and they are still less to be forc'd when reckon'd *Indifferent*, because they may not be so to another, or, if they be *indifferent* to him, 'tis like he will not have them impos'd on him as *necessary*. In these or the like cases 'twere better to let such *Disputes* insensibly drop on all hands, then to create any *Disturbances* about matters of little importance. So long as we are not hurt or injur'd, God is Judg of the Honour or Dishonour done to him; and that Law of antient *heathen Rome* is to be wish'd were observ'd in Modern *Christian Rome*: *Divos adeunto casté; Siquis secus fecerit, Deus ipse vindex esto*: *Let the Gods be purely worship'd; but if any is guilty of*
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the contrary, let God himself be the Avenger. But these Pagans thought God to be potent enough to vindicate profane Addresses, or clement enough to forgive devout Ignorance; but we *Christians* must *come to the help of the Lord against the mighty*, and be readier to execute his Justice, than to exercise his mercy.

But *Persecution* is in it self so horrid and abominable, so prejudicial to *Truth*, and so destructive to *Society*, that nothing more demonstrates the pravity of humane nature, than to find it ever had any Advocates or Abbettors in the World. It obstructs all progress in *knowledge* or advancement of *Learning* and *Sciences*, which is as true of *Divinity* as of *Politicks* or *Philosophy*. And on the other hand, it begets ignorance, prejudice, narrowness of Soul, a slavish disposition, and a brutal barbarity. These effects are as natural to *Protestant* as to *Popish persecution*. Lubeck in its empty Streets, smarts as much for denying liberty to its inhabitants, as *Colen*. And the contrary of all this is seen wherever Men enjoy a free and Impartial *Toleration*; witness the Plenty, Riches, Power, and Populoufness of *Holland*. How amazing is it that Men shou'd proceed so far as to put their fellows to *Death* by Murders, or Massacres, or under forms of Law, not because they are not Temperate, Charitable, Meek, Honest, Good, or Pious (which virtues have been often reckon'd the Symptoms of their *Hereffe*) but for Notions, Fashions, Abstruse Speculations, Discipline, and Rites. Putting a Man to Death for a Religion by which you think *Salvation* is not to be had, is no better nor worse than the Action of that *Italian*, who made his Enemy *blaspheme* God, and then Stab'd him that he might be *damn'd*. We may expresse what detestation we please against those *Heathens* who are said to have offer'd *human Victims*; but putting Men to Death for Religion, is absolutely making them grateful *Sacrifices* to God for corrupting his *Institution*,

ration, as Goats were offer'd to *Bacchus* for spoiling his *Vines*. The *Papists* openly assert that *Death* ought to be inflict'd on *Hereticks*, which with them are all those that will not do as they are bid; and under this execrable pretence they have destroy'd many Millions by several other Barbarities besides their horrendous, most unmerciful, and unparallel'd Court of *Inquisition*, never satiated with *Blood*, nor weary'd with *Tormenting*, indiscriminately exercising their Cruelties on *Mahometans*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and all *Christians* that will not be absolute Slaves to the *Pope* and his *Clergy*. *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Rutherford*, are not the only *Protestants* who wrote *Books* to recommend *Compulsion* in matters of Religion, and to justify in certain Cases, the putting of *Hereticks* and *Apostates* to *Death*. *Servetus* was burnt for *Arianism* at *Geneva*, and *Valentine Gentilis* for *Tritheism* at *Bern*. *Franciscus Davidis* for denying adoration to *Christ* was severely persecuted by the *Socinians* in *Poland*, who themselves deny'd him to be *God*; and were they in possession of executive Power, I doubt not but *Davidis* had been prevented by the *Fire* or the *Sword* from flying^a for mercy among the *Turks*. We burnt some *Anabaptists* here in *England* at the beginning of the *Reformation*. *Bartholomew Legat* and _____ were put to *Death* for the same Opinion, and for defending those of the *Arians* and *Socinians*, in the Reign of King *James* the first, who was more eager than the very *Bishops* to cry out *Faggots* and *Flames*: and I wish no other Instances of this kind could be produc'd among *Protestants* any where before or since that time.

But how is it possible to prevent this, if *Persecution* be allow'd in any degree; for we have prov'd that the least does justify the greatest. The *Clergy* when posses'd of such a power, will not fail (as univertal experience shows) to preach such *Notions* as make for their own *Credit* and *Advantage*, and none must contradict them under pain of

suffering for it one way or another : but Wise *Ministers of State* will observe, that, considering the Passions and frailties of human Nature, the most *Orthodox Divines* are inclin'd to such methods, no less than the most *Heterodox* and *Erroneous*. This is not the worst. In all Ages and Countries, since the Establishment of *Christianity*, ambitious or discontented Persons have endeavour'd to gain the Multitude to their side by *Zealots* and Seditious *Preachers*, as making the deepest Impression on the Minds of the People ; who think they obey *God* when they obey their *Ministers*, but that they only obey *Men*, when they obey their *Magistrates* ; and so, according to their several Interests or Inclinations, they apply the *Scripture* to their own purpose, that *it is better to obey God than Men*. This is what some directly aim at among us now ; but their labour is spent in vain, since there are no *Discontents* for want of Liberty. And, upon the whole ; as nothing can proceed from God but what tends to our *happiness* ; 'tis impossible that *Persecution* should be acceptable to him, which disturbs the Peace of the World, and destroys all vertue, familiarity, friendship, and true Love among Men.

There remain two *Objections* against this Doctrine : that *Conventicles* are not to be suffer'd, as dangerous to the *State* ; and that *Diversity of Religions* is inconsistent with all good *Government*, as being the occasion of Tumults and Disorders. In answer to the first of these, we have already prov'd, that *Conventicles* are not to be fear'd on the score of Opinions, the *Magistrate* having no Right to disturb any *Church* as a *Conventicle* or unlawful, since what they are about is lawful and good, to wit, the Worship of God. As to the danger from *private Meetings*, where Men might be hatching Treason under pretext of preaching Religion, the Severity of their Enemies is to blame : if the Privacy of such *Conventicles* be suspected, and all complaints.

complaints against 'em will cease wherever a free *Toleration* is Establish'd, as may be seen now in this Kingdom, where no such *private Meetings* are held, the Doors of all *Religious Assemblies* being as open and free for any Man to enter as those of the *Publick Church*. And 'tis most impertinent, I may say disingenuous and insolent, for *persecuting Magistrates* to brand any *private Meetings* with the name of *Conventicles*, as the first *Christian Assemblies* were opprobriously call'd by the *Heathens*; or for *persecuting Writers* to challenge an *Answer* to what they publish themselves, and then to *punish* the Authors for defending their Belief, tho' at their own request and desire. This commonly keeps the Advocates of *Truth* silent, and makes their Adversaries ridiculously *Triumph*.

The second Objection against a compleat *Toleration* brings us nearer to our point: for if *Diversity of Religions* in the State, or even *Diversities in the same Religion* be inconsistent with good *Government*, it must be confess'd that all we have said hitherto about *Toleration*, was to no purpose, and that the *High-Church-Men* are the only Men of the Nation that are in the Right. But is it not obvious and manifest, that not the *Difference* of Opinions, but *using Men ill* for this Difference, is the true cause of the hatred and animosity between various *Seits*? Of this the *Heathens* are an Example, who differ'd among themselves as much as we do, and wrote as many *Books* against one another, which is praise-worthy and lawful for each to inform, instruct, or perswade his Neighbour; but none of them suffering for their *Dissent*, and being all employ'd in the *State* without Preference or Distinction, there were no Disorders among 'em on a Religious account. This is not more peculiar to the Genius of *Heathens*, than to any other Communities of Men under the like Circumstances, as it appears in *Holland*, in many parts of *Germany*, and some other places of the World,

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where they have many Religions, and yet they occasion no Disorders. We our selves the nearer we approach this State, the more we enjoy the Benefits of it, and the more we are likewise convinc'd that *Diversity of Religions* is so far from being dangerous, that it ought rather to be counted beneficial, as it creates a noble Emulation in Manners, Learning, Industry, and Loyalty. The *Dissenters* are as faithful to the *Queen*, and as zealous for the *Government*, against all Foreign or Domestick Enemies as the *Church establish'd by Law*; their Purses are as open to support both, and their Hands (if they were permitted) are as ready to defend them as any whatsoever. Our People of all sorts drive their Traffick and Commerce, set up their Stocks and Companies, and keep their Feasts and Clubs *promiscuously*, without exception to one another's Opinions. And who sees not that the Heats which yet remain among us, are by no means owing to the *Church of England*, or the different Persuasions from it; but to that Party, who, under pretence of being this *Church*, endeavour to take away our *Liberty of Conscience*, or, which is as bad, to hinder the *Government* from making it more durable and compleat? I appeal to all the Subjects of *England* if this be not so in fact; or, if any is yet in doubt of what can be a Secret to no body, let him read the *Memorial*, and see who are the Complainers, the *Dissenting Religions*, or certain Members of the *Establish'd Church*. 'Tis a Notion therefore false as common, that *it's necessary for a Government to have but one Religion*. Nor do I see any reason why we shou'd even wish for such a thing, as many good *Tolerants* do; for to worship God purely and sincerely, it is not necessary that it be done by every body in the same manner; besides that it's foolish to wish what is impossible to be obtain'd, since Men will inevitably be of *different Opinions*, and that in free Governments they may safely profess their *Dissent*.

If the *Memorialist* has any Project in reserve (for he's as singular a Projector as Sir *Humphry*, the other *Don Quixote* of the Church) to make all Men in all things of one Mind, let him publish so advantageous a Discovery to the World: But as for the *Expedient* he wishes from Dr. *Davenant's* Politicks, by which the *Queen* might have the hearts of all her Subjects, I, that am no Projector nor Politician, will for once help him to that, and not value my self on the Secret neither, as being the most audible Voice of God and Nature: And it is, that her Majesty may go on to administer Justice equally, and to employ all her good Subjects indifferently. Let the Reward of some Opinions, with the Punishment of others, be taken away; and there will be no longer any quarrel about them, tho' Men may differ still as they did before. Let the Clergy of the *National Church* be oblig'd to preach *Liberty of Conscience*, as being the constant Tenour of the Gospel, the *Dissenters* (we may be sure) will not petition the Government to be persecuted; and then all will be for Peace, as all will be for Liberty. May not our *National Church* continue in her Splendor, tho' the *Dissenters* continue in their Obscurity; as a great Lord lives never the worse, that he has some mean neighbouring Cottages? They desire, according to the Precept of our Saviour, and the first Rule of Morality, that we would but do by them, as in the like Case we would be done unto our selves. And, considering among the *Papists*, that *Heretick Assemblies* are hunted to Destruction, while Gangs for Debauch and Riot are left undisturb'd, it was a just Request, tho' odly worded, which the *Protestants* made to them somewhere, That they might have as much Liberty to serve God, as the Church's Friends had to serve the Devil, and they wou'd desire no more.

Now do we expect to hear the hideous Roar of such as with open Throats, and not without a Volley of Curses, will.

will ask a thousand Questions in a breath, but all ending in this. Whether we would have the *Sacramental Test* taken away, and the *Dissenters* let into Civil Employments as well as the *Church-men*? which they are peremptorily resolv'd never to suffer, nor to allow 'em as much as a *Comprehension*. We answer as plainly as we are positively ask'd the Question, That *we are for repealing the Sacramental Test*; because this is the most infallible Method of preserving the *National Church*, and of perpetuating the Tranquility, as well as augmenting the Wealth, Power, and Plenty of the *Nation*. But before we give our Reasons for this, we'll speak one word concerning the long projected Design of a *Comprehension*, which we hold to be absolutely impracticable, from what has been already said of the *different Opinions* which will be necessarily profess'd, where Men may freely declare their Minds. There can never, therefore, be any *Comprehension* of all the *Se&ts* at once with the *Church*: And if the *Deputies* of any one of them will come to an amicable Conference with her (as they may easily do, provided she pleases to admit of it) and that they shou'd happen, which is not likely, to agree, these can only promise for themselves; or if the whole *Party* shou'd come over, 'tis but as every individual Person of 'em is persuaded from the Arguments offer'd by the *Church*, or his own *Ministers*. All this is commendable, as are all other ways by *Reasonable* or *Christian Overtures*. But for a *Comprehension* between the *Church* and any *Party* (as the *Presbyterians* for Example) on condition that all others be deny'd their *Liberty* who will not come into it, what else is this, but that the *Oppression* us'd by one *Party* will be infinitely more grievous by the *combination* of two? Yet this Design was once upon the Anvil, but quickly abandon'd by the worthy Undertakers, when once they were made to perceive the consequences. The *Memorialist* therefore needs not dread a *Comprehension* of all the *Dissenters*

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with the *Church*, and might have dispens'd with the great Pains he has taken, both in reflecting on the *Bishops* and *Ministers of State* for favouring such a *Project*, and in examining the several *Methods*, whereby it might be effected, where he is absurdly mistaken in every particular. But the *Comprehension* being according to himself, chimerical, we shall not dispute with him about the means. How ill did such pious but weak *Endeavours* succeed with *Cassander*, *Duræus*, *Calixtus*, *Grotius*, and all others whose charitable and moderate Dispositions engag'd 'em to write about the *Reunion of Religions*, as of all *Christian Churches* in general, or of the *Lutherans* and the *Papists*, or the *Calvinists* and the *Lutherans*, or the *Episcopals* and *Presbyterians*, and the like numberless Divisions! The *End* they propos'd was undoubtedly good, being the ceasing of *Persecution*, and the establishing of *Brotherly Love*. But this is only possible by granting *Liberty of Conscience* and *Community of Employments*, but by any manner of *Comprehension* or *Reunion* is impracticable; which ought to be well consider'd by all *Princes* and *Ministers of State*, who desire the Peace of the *Church* or *Country*, but who abhor any *Methods of Force* or *Persecution*, and therefore in Affairs of this nature their *Priests* must never be their *Counsellors*.

We shall now examine which is the likeliest way of preserving the Dignity and Safety of the *National Church*: Whether by *excluding* all others but the Members of it from *Civil Trusts*; or by letting all others share with them, who love and own the *Government* as much as themselves. That is the *National Church* (true or false) whose *Priests* and *Places of Worship* are maintain'd at the common charge of the *Nation*, which may be done in several manners, as by *Tythes* and *Offerings* among the *Jews*, by *Land* and *Tythes* here in *England*, or by *Money* quarterly issu'd out of the *Treasury*, as in *Holland*. Those

of the *Heathen Greeks and Romans*, tho' false in their Opinions, were admirably accommodated to the *Government*, yet not more than genuine *Christianity*; but they were so different in their *Constitution* from ours, that we shall say no more of 'em as foreign to our purpose. The *Tolerated Churches* are they which maintain their *Priests and Places of Worship* (or their *Places of Worship* only as the *Quakers*) by the voluntary *Contributions* of all the Members that are not disabled by *Poverty*. We have already prov'd, and the *Church of England* does acknowledge, that such *Tolerated Churches and Diversities of Religion* are consistent with the *Safety of the Government*, or she had never consented to grant them a *Legal Toleration*: Tho' the *Memorialist* knows so little the sense of that *Church*, in whose Name he presumes to write, that he represents all the *Dissenters* as *Enemies to Monarchy* in several Places of his *Libel*. The only *Question* therefore is this, Whether, altho' they are *good Subjects*, it be for the *Safety of the National Church*, to have them admitted into a share of the *Civil Government*? Where I would have it noted, that I fling out of the *Question* all who neither will nor can be *good Subjects*, as they who admit of any *Power superior or more binding* than that of the *State*, such as the Members of the *Roman Church*: Or if any were found who think that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, as if none had a *Right to govern*, or indeed to possess any thing, but the *Elect of God*; and then nothing but *Confusion* could follow, since all sorts wou'd believe or pretend themselves to be the only *Saints*. But we are certain that among all the *Dissenting Sects* there is not one that holds this *Tenet*, whatever some *Enthusiasts* might have formerly vented in *England* or elsewhere; which makes it highly unfair in the *Memorialist* to insinuate as if at least the *Presbyterians of Scotland* were still of this *Opinion*.

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Now, so far is the safety of our Church from consisting in the *exclusion* of *Dissenters*, that this is the sole intestine Danger she has to fear. Neither the *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, or *Quakers* (as we have shewn) would be the *National Church*, if permitted; nor can the *Presbyterians* ever be so, but by the help of others. And what help can they so probably expect as of those, who' tho' good and faithful Subjects, yet are not only infamously *branded* for their Opinions, but *depriv'd* of the *common Benefits* of Nature, and from sharing what is due to their *Abilities*, or ought to be the reward of their *Services*? The *Memorialist*, by his leave, is much mistaken, when he says, that *it is no Man's Birthright to enjoy Civil Trusts, but the result of the Confidence the Government has in his Merit or Fidelity*. If the *Affertion* were meant of this or that particular Man, no body wou'd question their *Preferment's* being a matter of *Grace* and not of *right*; since there are many others as capable as that one, and that the *Government* among all may chuse the best: But intended (as by him) of a whole *Sect*, which by the same Principle may as well be done of a whole *County*, 'tis egregiously false. The *Government* has no right (however it may have Power) to *exclude* from a possibility of obtaining such *Trusts*, those who from Nature, Birth, or Endowments, have an equal Title with all of the same *Nation*, unless they had justly *forfeited* their Claim, of which *forfeit Speculative Opinions* in Religion can be no adequate Cause; neither will any wise *Government* deprive themselves of the Heads, Hands, and Hearts of so many Thousands, as if they were *Captives* taken in War, to be dispos'd of at the Will and Pleasure of their *Masters*. The *Presbyterian Ministers*, or any other set of *Ministers*, might preach *Sedition* long enough to little purpose, if their Design was only to induce the People to make them the *National Ministers*; but when the Cause is the *Peoples* own, as to remove any

Yoke laid upon them by the *National Church*, they are dispos'd enough all over the World to hear their *Ministers*, or any others that exhort them to shake off a *Power* by which they think themselves *oppress'd*.

What is to be done then? In the first place, let the *National Church* continue in her *Legal Ecclesiastical Preheminence* to perpetuity; let her *Clergy* enjoy all their present Dignities, Immunities and Possessions; and, to confirm these beneficial Privileges, let *New Laws* be added to the *Old*, if any be wanting. Secondly, let the *Tolerated Churches* likewise enjoy their *Legal Religious Liberty* for ever; let them be treated, as well as reputed, like *good Subjects*, and admitted without any *partial Distinction* to all Offices in the *State*. And, Thirdly, let it be the *Irrevocable Law* of this Land, that whatever *Señt* is not contented with this *Civil and Religious Liberty*, but shall endeavour at any time to make themselves the *National Church*, be to all intents and purposes reduc'd to the condition of *Helots* or *Slaves*. But there will be no fear of this *Direful Misfortune* befalling any; for those of the *National Church* finding themselves in all respects secure and unmolested, will never seek to oppress the *Dissenters*. The *Dissenters* being permitted to worship God as they think most proper, and equally sharing with others in the *State*, will never go about to disturb the *National Church*, merely to be eas'd of what they contribute to their *Ministers*. And the *Ministers*, being as largely provided for in this manner as if they had the *inferior Benefices* of the *Church* (for the *greater Dignities* agree not with their *Parity*) would contentedly remain as they are, since they could get nothing, and would run a hazard to lose all, by the *change*. Thus the *Temptations* and *Causes of State-Hypocrisy* would be effectually taken away. But I must not forget to mention, that as the *Doctrine* I here deliver is not only grounded on what Men ought to be, but
also

also on what conduces to their *Interest*; so it is actually observ'd, and with suitable success, in other Places of the World. Yet as in all I have hitherto written of *Toleration* I am persuaded I speak the Sense of my *Superiors*; so, in proposing to *abrogate the Sacramental Test*, I only deliver my own *private Opinion*, which I submit to the Judgment of others. How the *High-Church Faction* obtain'd the *Corporation Act*, and for what Ends it was granted by the *Court*, is too well known to need a particular History here: But as it is no Disparagement, but a glorious Testimony to the Wisdom of the *Government*, and the Charity of the *Church*, to dispense with part of the *Act of Uniformity*, and to restore *Liberty of Conscience*, which was taken away by the same Men; so it will highly redound to the Safety of the *Church*, to the Strength of the *Government*, and to the Eternal *Honour* of both, by repealing that other *Statute* to compleat and perfect our *Civil Liberty*.

But the *Conspirators* are so far from such *peaceable* and *prudent* Dispositions, and are so averse to bringing the *Dissenters* into the *Church*, that they cannot bear even their expressing any *approbation* of our way, or their *conforming occasionally* to our Worship, either to shew their charitable and good Opinion of us, or their laudable Inclinations to a *Union*: But they declaim against this Practice as *hypocritical*, and *equivocal*, a novel *Trick* to elude the Force of the Law that *incapacitates* them for Civil Trusts. This Charge is contrary to Charity, Fact, and Prudence. God alone can judge of the *Dissenters* Sincerity or Dissimulation in this Case; but they certainly make *Hypocrites* of others, who force them to come to *Church*, or to profess what they don't believe; and are *Hypocrites* themselves who say they do this for God's sake or Religion's. The *Dissenters* from the beginning of our Divisions own'd the *Church of England* to be a true and most

Protestant Church, tho' not so pure as some other *Reform'd Churches*; yet not so corrupt but that they could communicate with her Members as *Brethren*, which they could not do with a *Church* so deprav'd and idolatrous as the *Papish*. Thus they profess *Communion* with the *Lutheran Churches*, and even with the *Greek*; it being an ordinary thing for the *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, and *Anabaptists*, to communicate with one another. In effect, they did generally communicate in our *Churches* (except the *Brownists*) before the *Civil Wars*, and would continue to do so after the *Restoration*, if by *Oaths* and *Subscriptions* (with which it was impossible for most of 'em to comply) they had not been cast out of the *Church*; and afterwards in a manner out of the *State*. Yet several of their most eminent *Ministers* (of which I shall name for an Example but the deceas'd Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Bates*, with Mr. *Humphreys* still alive) and a great many of their *Laity* have practis'd this *Occasional Communion* long before the *Revolution*, and in times when *Entire Conformity* could not get the *Whigs* of any sort into places of Trust, whereof they had then no Prospect or Expectation. But the Ignorance or Malice of those who charge the *Dissenters* with inventing this as a *Trick* to evade the Laws, is at once laid open and for ever baffl'd by a Proof I am going to produce beyond all exception: For the *Independants*, who in the Year 1658 were no *Dissenters*, but rather had the disposal of most *Preferments*, and who nevertheless, since they are become *Dissenters*, get into *Preferment* the seldomest of any, did allow and ratify *Occasional Conformity* in the *Declaration of their Faith and Order* agreed unto by their *Elders* and *Messengers* in their Assembly at the *Savoy* the same Year. After declaring, in the Twenty ninth Article or Paragraph of their *Discipline*, that *Persons sound in the Faith, and of Conversation becoming the Gospel, tho' of different reforming Churches, ought not to refuse the Communion*

union of each other, so far forth as may consist with their own Principles respectively, tho' they walk not in all things according to the same Rules of Church Order: The next Article, which is the last in the Book, runs in these Words; Churches gather'd and walking according to the mind of Christ, judging other Churches, tho' less pure, to be true Churches, may receive unto **Occasional Communion** with them such Members of those Churches, as are credibly testify'd to be godly, and to live without offence. The Text is so plain for the Name and Thing, that it needs no Comment, and so I leave it to the *High-Churchmen's* Consideration.

The Readers may be assur'd that what we have hitherto said, is not out of any particular Favour or Affection to the *Dissenters*, whom we have not forbore to blame and condemn, when we found they deserv'd it; but out of a due Concern for the *National Church*, which we thought our selves bound in Duty to vindicate from the Aspersions of the *Conspirators*, and the Prejudices of the *Dissenters*. All who wish well to our Churches Peace, are exceedingly pleas'd with the practice of *Occasional Conformity*, which has already brought over great numbers to her *constant Communion*, among whom are many considerable *Families*; and the rest, tho' they still keep to their own *Meetings*, have yet a better Opinion of us than such as never come into our Churches. For such as least frequent either way of *Worship*, or that never saw but their own, are observ'd to be the most positive in their *Censures*, the basest in their *Representations*, and the boldest in their *Calumnies*; because *Ignorance* is always furious and inconsiderate, as not being moderated by the Dictates of *Reason*, nor enlighten'd by the Rays of *Knowledge*. Our Governors both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, perceive these Approaches with Joy, and forward 'em by their Encouragement, as the Care of the *Church* and *State* requires at their hands. But they who design the Subversion of the *Government*,

and consequently of the *Church*, by setting over both a *Popish Head*, are enrag'd to see all their *Measures* so wisely disconcerted, and their *Projects* of dividing us so happily disappointed. For this, without Fear or Caution (as Men plainly in *Despair*) they damn the *Dissenters*, rail at the *Whigs*, unchurch the *Bishops*, degrade the *Lords*, threaten the *Ministers*, vilify King *William's* Memory, insult and traduce *Queen ANNE*. Instances of all these, and much worse things (if worse can be) are to be read in their late *Memorial*, whereof we have mention'd some, and many more will follow.

Of the MINISTRY.

IT appears by the constant Series of our *History*, as well as by the deduction now made of our *Controversies*, that the greatest Grievance and Unhappiness of this Nation, was to have some of its *Princes*, who miscarrying in their Aims at a larger Power than the *Constitution* allow'd, were forc'd to make use of certain corrupt *Instruments*, that for their own Lust, or Gain, or Grandeur, would make no scruple of betraying their *Native Country*; and these again, having no real or true *Interest* among the People, were oblig'd to make use of *Parties*, either resolutely to carry their *Point*, or to *extricate* the King and themselves out of the Difficulties their *Mismanagement*, had occasion'd. This Method of *Government* did of course produce a most unstable and contemptible *Administration*, hated at home, and without Weight or Credit abroad. Frequent *changing of hands* was one of its principal, but
 una-

unavoidable Effects; and how this encreas'd our *Divisions*, exasperated the *Parties* against each other, and made *Opposition to the Court* the surest way to *Preferment*, with the pernicious *Influence* of such weak Counsels on all our publick and private *Affairs*, cannot be unknown to any Man of Observation, and therefore is a Subject, that wants not here to be Illustrated.

But it being now our unspeakable Felicity, to have a *Queen* on the Throne, who has no *Interest* of her own separate from the *good* of the Kingdom, and consequently no need of *Governing by Tricks or Expedients*, she has graciously chosen a *Ministry*, not only most capable of discharging their several *Offices*, but instructed and inclin'd to treat all good Subjects without any *Distinction* or *Partiality*, having no designs to carry on by one *Party* against the rest, her *Majesty* being the common Mother, Ruler, and Protectress of *all her People*. These *Ministers*, as they are each of them sincere Members of the *National Church*, which they deservedly prefer to any other, and for whose *Welfare* they'll always be no less Vigilant, than Zealous in it's *Support*, as a part of the *Government* committed to their Care by her *Majesty*; so they can *Tolerate* others according to their private Judgments and the Laws of the Land, without being *lukewarm or indifferent* in their own Faith, which is the common accusation of *Biggots*, against those who are for *Peace and Liberty of Conscience*. In the *Distribution of Employments* they chiefly consider the *fitness* of the Person, yet confer no trust on any that is not *qualified by Law*, whatever Opinion they may have of his Fidelity or Merit: but, for the reasons we have alledg'd above, they do not reckon *Occasional Conformity* to be *Hypocrisie*, nor is it dangerous (as was shewn) but serviceable both to *Church and State*. They are so thoroughly engag'd for *Liberty* (which is the noblest as well as the most honest and certain way of recom-

The MEMORIAL of

recommending themselves to the Love of a *Free Nation*) that they are against all new *Impositions* in matters of Religion; and so far from keeping up or perpetuating our *Differences*, that they do not unreasonably impute to any of the present the *Rebellions* of the past Age, most Men now alive being then unborn, others opposing what was done, many of the Guilty have since repented, and all disapproving those Actions, which are much fitter to be forgot, than reviv'd on every trifling occasion; for no *Party* could be innocent, were they accountable for the Opinions or Practices of their *Predecessors*. As the *Church of England* has their Heart, so the *Dissenters* have their Protection, they finding them to be peaceable and Loyal Subjects, Numerous, Wealthy, and Industrious, Improvers of Land and Managers of Trade like other People, increasing the Publick Revenues in proportion with their Neighbours, and paying their Taxes as willingly. But as *vast numbers of People* are the truest Riches of a Country, not only by their manifold Possessions, but also by their Strength or Wisdom, and, in a word, by the *united Service* of all their Corporeal and Intellectual faculties; so neither the present *Ministers*, nor any future set that will be desirous to resemble them, will advise or contrive to rob the *Queen* of such powerful Assistance, or by any degree of *Persecution* to diminish the Wealth and Glory of the Nation; either to gratifie the *humorous ambition* of a few, or for differences about certain Points not essential to *Christianity* or good *Morals*, and which on all sides are consistent with the *Civil Government*.

Such a *Prince* and such a *Ministry* have long been the Objects of the *Peoples* wishes, and for the happy enjoyment of both, their *Expressions* are as grateful as their *Satisfaction* is compleat. They are so universally pleas'd with the steady and equal *measures* at home, with the great and glorious *Actions* abroad, with the unparallel'd

Oeconomy and faithful *Application* of the Publick Treasure, that neither the malicious *Aspersions* of the despairing *Conspirators*, nor the subtil *Deviles* of any sort of *Aldicated Ministers*, can gain the least credit with either *Moderate Church-Men* or *Dissenters*, who are all aware both of those who *envy* the Nations Prosperous State, and of those who are *enrag'd* they are out of the *Ministry*, or that they cannot possibly get into it.

Discontented States-Men, and *Traitors* to the Government are thus strictly combin'd against the present *Administration*. But next the Queens *Majesty*, the Lord *Treasurer* is the Principal object of their spite: First because he pursues these excellent *Maxims*, and then because he's not so weak as to be *frighted* or *bully'd* out of them; for the *Enemies* of all *Wise-Men* do hate 'em the more on this very account, that they still continue to be *Wise*, and will not fall into those *Snares*, which they have laid for their *Disgrace* or *Destruction*. Nevertheless, their *Venom* is shed without *poysoning* the Judgment of the meanest *Peasant*, since 'tis not unknown to any body, that all his *fault* is for being Faithful to the *Queen*, *Impartial* to the *Subjects*, and firm for the the *Protestant Succession*, while the most virulent of his *Enemies* can make no exception to his *Ability* in the Post he possesses, or to his *Integrity* in the discharge of it; and truly 'tis an odd way of attacking a *Publick Minister*, by owning that he's the most deserving in the Nation of his *Publick Trust*, and yet to be unmeasurably angry with him, without ever shewing that in his *Office* he has been guilty of the least *Miscarriage*. This serves but to render his *worth* more generally known, and to make him the more beloved and valud by the *People*, whose favour no *Wise Man* ever neglected; for an inclination to *Popularity* from meritorious *Services*, is not the *weakness* expos'd by *Historians*, but the *vain Pretences* to it, on very slight or no foundation.

dations. His incomparable *Management* needs no foils to set it in a better Light, and therefore I forbear to reflect, as much as I justly might, on any other *Treasurer* who kept not his *Accompts* so fair and *entire*, or whose Zeal for the *Church* is hard to be prov'd from being employ'd in *King James's High Commission*. How intuated is the *Faction* grown, to pretend my Lord *Godolphin* is no good *Church-Man* by reason of his moderate carriage; at the same time that they complain they are wrongfully accus'd themselves of being against the *Toleration*? Whereas no *Family* in the Kingdom has been more devoted to *Episcopacy* than his, and that he himself is acknowledg'd to have done most signal *Services* to the *Church*. But they say (without offering to prove it) that he has deserted his *Principles* and *Party*; and, supposing it matter of Fact, that through the Contagion of *King Charles's Court* (in which he was early bred) he were tainted with *Principles* that had engag'd him to any *Faction*, contrary to that *Moderation* and *Latitude* he now appears to have, the quitting of such a *Party* and *Principles*, will but confirm the Reputation he has obtain'd in the World of being a *Wise Man*, and add Lustre to his *Name* in *History*. We must not forget that the pretended *Church-men* (as it's commonly known) do take it for granted that his Lordship is extremely *Timorous*, from their mistaken Notion of the *Caution* which is inspir'd by that *Wisdom* they are forc'd to allow him; and the main end of publishing their *Memorial*, was, on that supposition, to terrifie him into their *Measures* or out of his own. But they ought to consider, not only that the most *Cautious* are the most *Constant*; but that as the *Conspirators* have great fury, so they have little force. However, they are in the mean while most *Prodigal* of their *Menaces*, especially against one, who, the *Memorialist* says, has got the Reputation of a *cunning Man*; to whom they allude in another place,

Page 7.

ibid.

when

when they complain of some Mens coldness to what they call the *Church*, which, they threaten, for all their cunning, may at some time or other undergo a severe Examination: And, at last, when they would have us expect no less than open *Insurrection* from their Party (tho' few in their own account) or at least, that they'll lay violent hands on the *Ministers*, they tell us *the Treasurer is Wise* (they mean Timorous) let him therefore look to it, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this juncture. Page 18.

Now after all, if the *Treasurer* proves Stout as well as Wise (which we have no Reason to doubt if his Political be as good as his Personal Courage) what a *Disappointment* will it be to our profound Politicians; and to what a fruitless purpose, was the *Memorial* contriv'd, the laborious result of so much Oil and Thought. Besides that if the old saying be true, *forewarn'd forearm'd*, his Lordship understands what *Quarter* he's to expect, and so will probably secure himself where he is. If they think him *Wise* (and if they don't, I guess who are *foolish*) why do they trouble him with *Advice*, Page 31.
32. whereof no *Wise Man* was ever ignorant; as if all Persons in elevated Posts did not know, that their *flatterers* were mixt with their *Friends* at their *Levees*, the Men of *Expectations* with the Men of *Business*; and while he distinguishes the one from the other, he needs not grudge the worst of them room in his *Anti-Chamber*: For his reliance is not on such *transitory crowds* attending his Office, which are common to him with all *Ministers*; but in the knowledge of his own *Integrity*, in the *Confidence* of his Queen, and in the *Gratitude* of his Country.

His Grace the Duke of *Marlbrough*, at the time that he exposes his Person abroad in Defence of the *Church* against her profest Enemies, tho' he was one of the first, who, to rescue the same *Church* from *Papery* at home, join'd with the Pious Arms of the Prince of *Orange* (for which he'll never by some Men be forgiven) yet he too

Page 8.

is represented in the *Memorial* as having *warp*t from the *Church*, tho' we are still left to conjecture what *Sett* he has embrac'd, except that we are certain he's not a *Quaker*, witness the Immortal *Trophies* gain'd by his Victorious Sword at *Schellemburg*, *Hochstet*, and by his forcing of the Lines in *Flanders*. But this, even this, is his Crime; he thus irrecoverably defeats all the *French Schemes* of the Mock-Court at *St. Germans*, and frustrates the Expectations of their *Papist* and *High-Church* Friends on this side of the Water. He approves and assists the *Moderate Councils* of his Royal Mistress, without which he could not be so truly faithful in her *Service* as his Duty and Gratitude oblige him. For the same reason the Dutcheß of *Marlborough*, is also made to pass for an Undutiful Daughter to the *Church*, because she will be neither tempted, nor threatn'd, nor libell'd to abuse the Trust repos'd in her Fidelity by her *Majesty*, whose Honour, Safety, and Tranquility, she's bound above all things to study and desire. The Reflection of the *He and She Ministers* is ridiculous and childish as well as spiteful and little; as if all *Queens* did not consult the *Ladies* who are first in their Court or their Esteem, whose *advices* won't be consider'd by the People as *He or She Advices*, but as they are noxious or salutary to the Kingdom: And we are not unfurnish'd with Examples in our own *Annals*, where some of our wisest *Princes* did not disdain to receive good Counsel from the *Female Sex*. But these Nice *Church-Men* would find no fault with her *Grace*, did she but in conjunction with them, betray the Kingdom to *France* and *Popery*, no more than they did with those famous Mistresses who Reign'd over their own King *Charles* the Second.

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The Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary Harley* is not once nam'd or characteriz'd in the *Memorial*, which was not done by our *High Flying-Politicians* out of Design to render him suspected; for he's so much an *Englishman*, that, temerarious and unthinking as they are, they could not hope

to make him pass, even with the most *credulous* of their own implicate Herd, for a Friend to their Cause. But all mention of him was omitted either out of *Hope* or *Fear*; being too considerable to be neglected or forgot. If they *fear'd* to irritate him, and to rouse so formidable an Adversary, their *Caution* is certainly to be commended: For none in the Three Kingdoms better understands the extent of the Peoples *Liberty*, the Bounds of the Prince's *Prerogative*, the Privileges of *Parliaments*, or the Force and Tenor of our *Laws*; all which Qualifications, with his consummate *Literature*, render him indeed the most capable of any to encounter those, who would confound all our Rights, and bring us under a slavish and barbarous *Subjection*. But if they had any such fore-sight, as to *hope* he would become a Mediator on their behalf, in case they found no possibility of *succeeding* in their Design, they are again no less to be commended; for in every *Party* he always hated *extreams*, which are apt to carry the best too far, and he has often generously endeavour'd to bring those of *all sides* to a right Understanding and Love of the true *old English Government*: wherefore even those misled or pretended *Church-men*, may securely depend on his good Offices, when ever they are so penitent as to deserve, or so wise as to sue for them.

So far is the *Government* from being unforgiving or implacable at the infinite Affronts offer'd by these Men (whose *Welfare* no less than that of other Subjects they would gladly procure) that whenever they return to themselves and their Duty, they may expect the same *Mediation* from all her Majesty's *Ministers*, who ('tis most apparent) were not advanc'd to the high *Posts* they enjoy, either for being all *Tories*, or for being all *Whigs*, and therefore much less for being the keenest of either *Party* to execute the vengeance of the *Court*, or to gratify their own private *Piques* against the other; but for being Men

of clear *Estates* and undoubted *Interest* in their *Country*, of fair and unspotted *Reputations* with all Men, declar'd Advocates for *Peace* and *Toleration* about disputable Opinions, and, notwithstanding any Difference about smaller matters, having an *Extensive Charity* for all Denominations of *Englishmen* that will unanimously agree to support her Majesty's Title and the *Protestant Succession*. Altho' this Character does very particularly belong to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, whose being more intimately receiv'd into her Majesty's *Councils*, was universally esteem'd the Prefage of an upright and impartial *Administration*, as being a Person that could have no other possible End or Prospect but the Service of his Country, in taking upon him the trouble of any *Post*: Yet without competent Measures of these *Qualifications*, Men of the greatest *Abilities* may aspire in vain to the Honour of being the Queen's *Ministers*, in whom she indispensably requires a high degree of *Moderation*. For this Disposition, we deny it not, *they were pick'd out among so many*; in these things we acknowledge *they are ready to do as they are bid*: And we have all the reason in the World to believe that the *Queen* will still prefer the best and wisest Men among the *Whigs* and the *Tories*; tho' tis somewhat odd, that no sooner a *Tory's* known to be *moderate*, but he's presently reported by his *Party* to turn a *Whig*.

But why shou'd this become the subject of our wonder? when even the *Queen* her self, for daily practising and recommending this healing Vertue of *Moderation*, is most unworthily and falsely traduc'd in the *Memorial*, as *partial to the Dissenters*, and *obstructing Laws in favour of the Church of England*, for which the Author of that *Libel* sticks not boldly to say, that *her Zeal is damp't*, and that *the Church holds not the same rank in her Esteem and Confidence that she held heretofore*. This needs no *Aggravation*, and as little needs any *Answer*, considering her Majesty's

jesty's strict *Education* in the Principles of the *Church of England*, her adorning the Doctrines of it with a *Life* so religious and exemplary, appearing at the *Revolution* in it's defence (attended with the most critical *Circumstances*) even to the hazard of her *Life*, and being so remarkably kind and bountiful to the *Clergy*, since her happy accession to the *Throne*; and without question their numerous *Addresses*, wherein they ascribe all our *Successes* to her appropriating part of her own *Revenue* for their *Maintenance*, will be thought a more authentick Evidence of her *Affection* for the *Church*, than the wretched *Insinuations* of the *Memorialist* concerning her *Partiality* to the *Dissenters*. All these things are as fully known to the *Nation*, as that the *High-Church-men* never treated *Charles the Second* at this rate, nor gave any warning of the *Churches* Danger then, notwithstanding the hasty *Advances* made to that *Popery*, which appear'd bare-fac'd in his *Brother's* Reign. Wherefore their *Calumnies* are sufficiently answer'd by repeating them, and thereby shewing to the *World* the *High-Church-men's* matchless *Ingratitude*. But what can it be that has thus inflam'd their *Rage* beyond any regard to *Truth* or *Probability*? The Cause is plain and confess'd. Her Majesty's repeated *Cautions* in her *Speeches* against *Divisions*, Her frequent *Inculcations* of the necessity Pa. 10. 17. of moderate *Counsels*, and Her repeated *Exhortations* from the *Throne* to *Peace* and *Union* (the most glorious *Elogies* of the best of *Princes*) by which not the *Church of England*, but the *Conspirators* against both it and the *Government*, find themselves (as the *Memorialist* complains) sensibly reproach'd with want of *Christian Charity*, and the true *Spirit of Peace*. Now for this very Reason, every Man endu'd with ordinary *Sense*, must needs conclude them guilty; for if they are *innocent*, why should they apply those *Advices* particularly to themselves, which her Majesty without *distinction* directs to all her *Subjects* represented in *Parliament*?

liament? For in order to conclude a Peace, both sides must consent, and have the same Disposition.

Yet this sensible Reproach from the Throne is not all the cause of their Discontent. Moderation quite spoils their Designs, being the only thing that can unite the Nation against them, while their main hope consists in our Divisions, which cannot be more successfully excited than, by Rigueur and Persecution. For this it is that the very Word Moderation is abhorr'd, and so many Invectives have been made of late against the thing, that it has rais'd a kind of Civil War among the Learned, one of 'em being forc'd at last to write a whole Book to prove Moderation a Virtue, which Book was answer'd and defended. The Author would run no small risk of being counted phrenetick and ridiculous by Posterity, if the other Party had not so warmly written against him: And that the Memorial of the Church of England, with several other such Libels, will fully prove, that there was then in being the Sect of the Tories, otherwise call'd High-Church-men, who deny'd Moderation to be a Virtue; and that it will be recorded as a commendation, which few other Sects deserve, that their Practice was ever agreeable to their Profession. Nor will it be mention'd with less Honour to their Critical Learning, that one of their prime Doctors prov'd Moderation to mean Persecution, when we are commanded in Scripture, to let our Moderation be known to all Men, which was an Exhortation to the Bishops (as the Doctor will have it) to let the effects of their Church Government be severely felt by all Hereticks or Schismaticks, or other obstinate and contumacious Persons; since in the Latin Tongue moderor signifies to steer and govern. Now was not this an admirable Argument for so worthy a Cause? And what pity is it the Doctor was neither so good a Divine as to know the New Testament was originally penn'd in Greek, nor so good a Classic as to know that tho' Moderamen be put for Government, Moderatio is never

never so, which makes me hope that this *Sermon* was not preach'd before the most literate Auditory at *St. Mary's* in *Oxford*.

By this time every Man must perceive the meaning of the Outcry against both the *Queen* and her *Ministers* for their *Moderation*; and what the *Memorialist* intended a *Reproach*, is sure to be hereafter, as it is at present, the truest and noblest *Character* of this Reign, that *Moderation* was the *Word*, the *Passé-par-tout* that open'd all the *Places* Page 9.
doors between the *Lizzard-Point* in *Cornwal*, and the *Town* of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*: And that, at her first coming to the *Throne*, the *Head* of the *Church* inclin'd not only to forgive but to forget past *Injuries*, for the Exercise of which *Heroic Virtue* she has still occasion enough, as appears by the *Memorial*, and the Behaviour of certain of her *Subjects* who abuse her extraordinary *Lenity* and *Goodness*. Page 5.

The *Memorialist*, among many other unnecessary *Pains* he has taken, might have likewise omitted helping the *Ministers* to an *Apology* for their moderate and impartial *Conduct*, since they need no *Excuses* of any sort, and least of all such as he borrows or makes for them; as if they were forc'd to comply with the *Times*, and to act by necessity against their *Inclinations*, till they find a favourable *Opportunity* of putting those *Projects* in execution which they keep in *reserve*. The *Ministers*, on the contrary, are plain and above-board, they have none of the *Old Games* to play in the dark; and one of the *Excuses* he makes for 'em (a strange thing indeed to be made an *Excuse*) is the true and only ground on which they act, the fundamental *Maxim* whereby they square and order all their *Measures*, which is, that the *Queen* must have the *Hearts* Page 13.
of all her *People*, and in order to it, give equal *Encouragement* to all her loving *Subjects* without distinction of *Parties*. And is not this to be in the highest manner *God's Vicegerent*, who is no *Respecter* of *Persons*, but in every *Nation*,

he that fears him and works Righteousness is accepted of him ?
 If the *Ministers* (as I doubt not but they will) do steadily abide by this *Profession*, and convince the Nation of their *Sincerity* by their *Practice*, they may boldly bid defiance to all the *Machinations* and *Enterprizes* of their *Adversaries*. But the *Memorialist*, who undertook to fright 'em out of their Wits, pretends they are not so secure, for that they have forfeited the *Esteem* and *Affection* of the whole *Body* of the *Church-men*, to make themselves the *Heads* of a *prick-ear'd Faction* : As if losing the good liking of the light and high-flying *Body* of such *Church-men* as he means, was not the most certain way of recommending 'em to the *Love* and *Confidence* of the whole weighty *Body* of the *Nation*, able indeed to crush a corrupt *Ministry* to pieces (as it has frequently happen'd) but an unshaken *Support* to the *Good* and the *Wise* of all sorts. By the *Contempt* express'd in the *Phrases* of *Prick-ear'd Faction*, *Spiriting up a Faction that was down*, and a *Broken Dejected Faction*, one would think the *Memorialist* has not so good a *Memory* as he seems to have a claim to ; for we have it more than once (as we are going to see) under his own hand, that his *Party* is but miserably small, and that the *Whigs* (on the contrary) are both numerous and formidable. Nor can I perceive that the *Flower* of his *Church-men* are many in number above the *constant honourable few*, who only by a single couple exceed *One hundred thirty and four* ; and these without any *Dependance* or *Support*, since their *suppos'd great Friends*, *Affertors*, *Pastors*, and *Protectors*, are, according to himself, gone over to their *Enemies* : So that, for ought we can learn, they are without *Prince*, *Bishops*, *Ministers* or *Statefmen*.

Why therefore all this he *storing*, *blustering*, and *swagging*, from a *despicable Handful* in to lamentable and torlorn a *Condition* ? Considering especially, that, in the
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brightest Sun-shine of the *Tories* Favour and Power, they were not an equal Match for the *Whiggs*, tho' labouring under a Thousand Disadvantages, and wholly depriv'd of the Countenance of the Court? Should I be suspected herein of Partiality, I humbly desire the *Memorialist* may for once be heard with Patience: *If while the Court was for us (says he) the House of Lords almost entirely with us, Page 21. the House of Commons undebauch'd in their Principles, and the Laws vigorous on our Side, even in those Days, the Whigs, Republicans, and Fanaticks, increas'd and multiply'd upon us; how will they insult us now, when all our Strength is reduc'd to a Remnant in the House of Commons only, and those oppos'd by the other House, Brow-beaten by the Court, and aspers'd, vilify'd, and abus'd by the Whigs, Republicans, and Fanaticks, all the Nation over? It may be justly wonder'd how, after so long Experience of their Principles and Practices, they should happen to have a Remnant any where among so free and intelligent a People! The best on't is, that the Court, the Lords, and the whole Body of the Nation, are against 'em in their own Opinion, as well as in Reality: And, since their Remnant in the present House of Commons is almost reduc'd to nothing, they are rather to be pity'd than to be fear'd; for the most helpless Women and Children in their Anger, are as liberal of their Threats as of their Tears. As for the Whigs, there are among them, as in all other great Bodies of Men, self-interested and corrupt Persons, for whom I shall be far from making any Defence; I only justify such as keep to the Principles of the Party, which the Tories themselves know to be the Principles of the Nation, by affecting to honour the Memory of the Old Whigs, whom yet they imprison'd, banish'd, or hang'd, in the foregoing Reigns, pretending now that the Practice of the Modern Whigs is not answerable to their Profession, being base Recreants, recanting all their old Principles, in the Stile of the Memo- Page 59*

memorial, which we grant cannot be objected to the *Antient* or *Modern Tories*, they being acted by the same uniform Spirit of Arbitrariness, Violence, and Persecution; and whenever any of them quits these *Principles*, he's thought to quit his *Party* (as we said) and to become at least a *Whig de facto*.

By the way, one prime Artifice of the *Conspirators*, is, To talk constantly of the *Whigs*, as if they were all *Dis-senters*, when their main Body are Members of the *Church of England*; the distinction of *Whigs* and *Tories* being wholly Political, and relating only to *Civil Affairs*. The *Whigs* maintain, That all good *Governments* are (under God) originally from the *Choice* of the People, for whom, and by whom, they are *Establish'd*; and that no *Government* is good which does not consist of *Laws*, by which the *Magistrates* are restrain'd and regulated no less than the *Subjects*, for their common Happiness. This End of all *Society*, they think, may be compass'd by several Methods, Means, and Forms, since the *Sovereign Authority* is safely and commodiously lodg'd in a few or many Hands; and, among the rest, they like none so well as our own *mix'd Form*, of King, Lords, and Commons, the latter being purely *Elective*, the Second, absolutely *Hereditary*, and the First *partaking of both*: For the *Regal Line* is on the one Hand, *Hereditary*, to avoid the Uncertainty, Venality, Tumults, and Disorders, of frequent Elections from different *Families*; but on the other Hand, to prevent the worse Inconveniencies of having for our Kings Mad-men, Fools, Tyrants, Papists, or Persons otherwise unfit to govern, the *Succession* is so limited by Laws, as to be subject to divers *Incapacities*, and 'tis at the Pleasure of the Legislative Power to encrease or diminish such *Incapacities*, as they shall find most conducing to the Welfare of the Nation. From these Principles of the *Whigs*, and from such a *Constitution*, 'tis easy to conclude, That, in the First Place, they hold it lawful to *resist* Tyrants and Usurpers by Arms; belie-

believing *Princes* to be made for the *People*, and not the *People* for the Use, Will, or Lust of the *Prince*. Secondly, That the ample *Revenues* of *Princes* are a Reward proportionate to the high Dignity, and vast Pains, of their *Office*: which are paid by every Man in particular (according to their Ability) for the assiduous Care those *Fathers of the Country* take of all the Subjects Interest in general. That, Thirdly, the *Respect* which is paid to their Persons, is a grateful Acknowledgement of their prudent Councils, equitable Administration, or valiant Actions; and that those *Honours* are only due by Custom to bad *Princes*, the greatest Professions of Fidelity to *absolute Masters* being never offer'd from the bottom of the Heart, when either *Fear* requires such Ceremonious Submissions, or when *Flattery* finds 'em convenient. The *Whigs* are therefore avowedly Defenders of *Liberty* and *Laws*, Opposers of *License*, and *despotick Power*, Maintainers of the *Legal*, but not *Absolute Succession* of the Crown; the *Friends* of good *Princes*, for whom they wou'd freely expose their Lives, as they wou'd do the same against Tyrants to whom they are *Enemies*, being every one of them for *Liberty of Conscience*, and mostly for a *general Naturalization*.

The contrary of all this is a *Tory*, one who is for *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance* to the Will of the *Prince*, for the *Hereditary Succession* of the Crown without any *Limitations*, yielding a servil and blind obedience to the *Prerogative*, being all for *Persecution* in matters of Religion, and very few or none for any sort of *Naturalization*. 'Tis true *their Nature is often apt to rebel against their Principles*, but that these are their *profest Principles*, is undeniably evident from all their *Laymen* and *Divines Books* in *Charles* the Second's time, which was properly their own Reign. The contrary Principles they did then (as they do still) object to the *Whiggs*, for which, under the Name of *Republicans*, they render'd them odious to some

of our Princes ; and here I refer in particular to the *Decree* publish'd by the *University of Oxford* in the Year 1683, and which (as I am inform'd) did lately, if not at present, hang in some of their *College-Halls*, notwithstanding their *Oaths* to King *William* and Queen *ANNE*, and the *Oath of Abjuration*, which contains the Right of the House of *Hanover*, with all which, and the *Arms* taken up in their Defence, that Famous *Decree* is flatly incompatible. But whoever rejects and disowns this *Decree*, or denies those to be his *Principles* which are here imputed to the *Tories*, he may dislike the word *Whigg* or *Republican* as much as he pleases (and no body will quarrel with him for *Names*, commonly given to all sides by their *Enemies*) but he certainly agrees about *things* with the *Republicans*: for there are no *middle Principles* between theirs and those of the *Tories* ; and we have already hinted that a *Whigg* does not peculiarly signify a *Dissenter*.

Now where is the wonder, if the *Whigs* have been always too hard for the *Tories*? That is, if the bulk of the *English Nation*, who live under a *free Government*, and are in their Principles for *Liberty*, should continually get the better of a certain Faction of *Ambitious States-Men* and *Clergy-Men*, with their few implicate Followers; who, to gratifie their own *Vanity*, *Avarice*, *Revenge*, or *Superstition*, would Sacrifice all our *Civil* and *Sacred Rights*, nay *human Nature* its self, to the *Arbitrary Will* of the Prince: for a *Despotick Government* is truly and properly a *Government of Beasts*, tho' even most of these will Grumble, Snarl, Roar, Kick and Bite, at *Passive Obedience*. Opinions in *Religion* then are not concern'd in the distinction of *Whigg* and *Tory* ; for may not a Man be indifferently a *Whigg*, or a *Tory*, whether he holds *Baptism* is best admittred by *dipping* or by *sprinkling*? Whether he understands *Bishop* to be a *Synonymous Name* for *Presbyter*, or the stile of a *higher Order*? Or
which

which soever he prefers, receiving the Lords Supper *sitting* or *kneeling*, or to hear his Parson preach in a *Cloak*, or in a *Surplice*, or without *either*? And were *Whiggism* restrain'd to the *Dissenters*, I fancy the *Memorialist* would find it a hard task to make 'em so *wise and powerful a Body* as he's forc'd sometimes to represent 'em: But the late *Revolution* with the Acts consequential to it, is the most infallible *Test* whereby to distinguish and discover the true *Whigs*.

The generality therefore of the *Church of England*, and all the *Dissenters* being *Whiggs*, the *Memorialist* is in the right to advise the *Ministers*, to be sure that they are able Page 31. to steer clear of these *Rocks*, which no Man has hitherto done: he might have added, *no, not the Whig Ministers themselves when they were playing a Tory Game*, to the disadvantage of the *Principles* for which they were prefer'd, and to the Indignation of those whose *popular Recommendations* brought 'em first to the knowledge of the *Publick*, and then advanc'd 'em on their Shoulders to those *Posts*, which some of them so little afterwards deserv'd by their mean *Complaisance*, and those hasty *Methods* which others took to raise *Estates*, wherein *Tools* are ever necessary; and this last is the true *Reason*, why they generally deserted or neglected their *Old Friends*, and were fonder of employing *Footmen*, *Bankrupts*, *Poets*, *Players*, and *Pettyfoggers*, than *Men of Family*, *Learning*, *Ability*, or *Virtue*, besides that one of two of 'em cou'd bear no *Rivals* to their reputed *Capacities*, which made 'em discountenance those of their own *Party* who were fittest for *Business*, and therefore all *Business* quickly miscarry'd in their hands. But (this Conduct relating only to their *private Interest*) what made 'em incur the *Displeasure of the Nation*, was their endeavouring (tho' in vain) to bring all the *Whigs* to vote against the *Triennial Bill*, the *Judges Bill*, the *Bill for regulating Tryals in Cases*
of

of High Treason, the Bill for disbanding the Army, and their contriving to gain certain other *dangerous* and *invidious Points*, in order to make their own *Court* or *Fortunes*, tho' directly contrary to their former Professions, which induc'd several to call their *Ability* in question, no less than their *Integrity*. As a Judgment of God the *Tories* might justly suffer in King *William's* time under *brib'd Judges* and *perpetual Parliaments*, without knowledge of their *Crimes*, or Advocates to plead their *Cause*, for promoting these *Hardships* formerly against others, without considering how another time they might turn on themselves. But such a Spirit of *Partiality*, *Arbitrariness*, and *Revenge*, was strangely unbecoming any *Whigs* (and detested indeed by the true *Whigs*) who by their *Principles* are Patrons of the Liberty of Mankind, and formerly struggl'd to obtain those *Laws*, as being the most genuine Dictates of *Nature*. Of these and the like things, that make for or against the Common Good, the *People* are ordinarily sharp-sighted *Judges*, even those of 'em who know not what is meant by the Words *Whig* and *Tory*: And therefore all wise *Ministers*, will take care to steer clear of these *Rocks*, on which they may otherwise be sure to split. Even our Deliverer and Restorer King *William* himself, when (by the *misinformation* of such as ought, in Duty to him and the Publick, to have *advis'd* him better) he fell once or twice into *Measures* not contributing so directly (as he intended) to his own *Glory* or the *Interest* of the *Nation*, found the *Whigs* no stupid silent Slaves, no obsequious *Asiatick Sycophants*, which the *Memorialist* mentions to their *Reproach*, calling their Opposition in such Cases *Ungrateful Returns*, and themselves *bitter and ungentile Enemies*: Whereas others will remember this to their *Everlasting Praise*, thus to obstruct the Mistakes of a *Prince* whom they so highly trusted, lov'd, and valu'd, without defrauding the very *Tories* of their share in that Honour;

for 'tis no matter to the State who are for a *good thing*, nor for what *Ends*, provided the *thing* its self be truly useful, seasonable, and necessary.

But how comes the *Memorialist* all of a sudden to be thus solicitous for the safety of the *present Ministers*, against whose *Fame*, *Designs*, and *Management*, he has Publish'd so leud an *Invective*? Why, meerly to create *Divisions* and *Misunderstandings*, according to the fundamental *Maxim* of the *Conspirators*; and our Author (it seems) was chosen for the subtle *Ulysses* to set the Lord *Treasurer* and the *Whigs* together by the ears, by giving wonderful wise *Cautions* to the one against the other, as being equally concern'd for the good of both. You have heard how sagely he was admonishing the *Ministers* against the *Whigs*; for he supposes my Lord *Treasurer* all this while to act a part, and to be against the *Whigs* in his Soul, tho' the *Whigs* are so simple as to be well satisfy'd of the contrary. Now he addressess himself to the *Whigs*, who, he says, *if they be wise, will consider for what Ends they are at present carest, and whether their own share of the Nuts they are employ'd to rake out of the Fire, be worth burning their Fingers for.* They have consider'd it, and will consider it the more to gratify their kind-hearted, civil, and ingenious Friend the *Memorialist*; but still they are such stupid *Politicians*, and stand so much in their own *Light*, that they can never consider to his purpose, so long as they find their share of the *Nuts* is honestly given them: Well, if he can't prevail with the *Whigs*, he'll try his Lordship once more, and tell him a Story of *Katherine de Medicis*, the *French Hugonots*, and the *Parisian Massacre*; whereof the *Moral* is in his own Words, 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.* And no doubt but the *Treasurer* (who acts not for new or old Friends, but

P. 24, 30.

Page 32.

Pa. 29, 30.

for the *Queen* and the *Nation*) will look on the application of this *Moral*, as a mighty Complement ; especially when 'tis thus by way of *Advice*, from so zealous a Well-wisher, who in the very next Lines says as much to his suppos'd *Whiggish* Bubbles. I forbear to recite any more of these *Counter-Advices* just upon the heels of one another, it being a nauseous piece of Vanity in the *Memorialist*, when purblind Children may see thro' his Cob-web Devices, to dream of deceiving the Eyes of one of the most perspicacious and wisest Men in *Europe* ; or of a *Party*, that in his own account made shipwreck of all the *Kings* and *Ministers* that did not keep clear of 'em. Page 31: Nay, they prov'd too hard for *Sunderland* himself, who, without all question, was the ablest *Statesman* of his Time ; and to whom, when his Story comes to be impartially told, *England* will appear to owe the highest *Obligations*, tho' no less ungratefully us'd by a few of the leading *Whigs*, than vilely misrepresented or misunderstood by most of the *Tories*. But what all these could not effect, one singular *Politician* propos'd heroically to atchieve in the Name of the *Church*, as if that Word had carry'd some irresistible *Charm* ; and when he has done it, we'll be content to raise him *Trophies* as high as her *Steeple*s.

What, is all the Wind and Venom against the *Ministry* thus idly spent, and is there no Dirt that can stick ? No Imputation that can fasten, or pass at least for probable with the unthinking *Mob* of any Side ? Yes, a double Charge yet remains ; and if neither hits, some Body is like to die in Despair. First, We are told, that there needed no managing of the *Dissenters*, by obstructing the *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity*, and that therefore it was an unnecessary Opposition to the *Church*, which makes it the less excusable. But 'tis suppos'd *gratis* here, that this was done by way of *Trimming* or *Management*, but not on the Principles of *Toleratation* ; and that *Occasional Conformity* is injurious or dangerous to the *Church* : For both these

these *Notions* we have already exploded. Yet, contrary to all Reason and Experience, the *Memorialist* affirms, Page 15. that the *Dissenters* would not be disoblig'd, if the *Bill against Occasional Conformity* had pass'd. But what if the *Dissenters* were disoblig'd? Ibid *What is it*, says he, *the Publick wants from them?* He answers, *The Assistance of their Hands and Purses.* *The first of these*, continues he, *we have not*; and, pray, whose Fault is it, theirs who offer or refuse that Assistance? And if our *Fleets* and *Armies* did wholly consist, as they do not, of such as can always conform to the *Publick Service*, yet would it not be still much better, if all good *Protestants* and faithful Subjects might join their Strength in the Progress of our *Arms*, tho' they cannot agree in the Methods of their *Prayers*? Besides, that if our *Forces* (whose Gallantry exposes 'em daily to a thousand deaths) are all form'd of *Church-men*, the *Dissenters*, according to *Political Arithmetick*, must in time surpass us both in Wealth and Number, and consequently in Power. As for their Purses, the Taxes, he says, Ibid *being impos'd by the Legislative Authority, they could not refuse, unless they would rebel.* An Oracle fit for a *High-Church* or a *Morocco* Politician to utter! but not to be heard in *Free Countries*, where States and Princes must have the *Hearts* of their Subjects, as well as their *Hands* or *Purses*; being never sure of the two last, without possessing the first, and being only sure of the first by an *equal distribution* of Law and Justice. But, if his Word be taken for it, there is no fear of their refusing to lend Money to the Government, while they receive good *Interest*; and may not this as well be turn'd upon the *High-Church-men*? only that they are neither such good *Subjects* nor so rich (few *Merchants* being against *Liberty*) that the *Government* should much depend on their *Loans*.

Now the *Memorialist* turns Adviser again, and is not a little concern'd that the *Dissenters* are abetted, headed, or supported by *Latitudinarians*, *Socinians*, and other Page 19.

Men of no Principles or immoral Lives. Our *Biggots* of the *High-Church* little think what *Honour* they sometimes do (by their unwary Heat) to those they intend to *discredit* or *defame*; for if any Man be more *serious* or *strict* in his Conversation than others, he's streight esteem'd a *Presbyterian*, as if *Levity* and *Looseness* were essential to a *Church-man*: Or he's branded for a *Socinian*, if he possesses more than ordinary *Learning* and *Judgment*; as if a Man of any *Knowledge*, *Thought* or *Reach*, could not possibly believe the received Opinions: And every one's a *Latitudinarian* in their account, who has any *Friendship* or *Intercourse* with others, tho' never so firmly grounded in his own particular *Faith*; as if the Cause of a *Church-man* was so very weak, that he must needs give it up to the first who keeps him company, and therefore those Babes of the *Church* are to be carefully kept out of harms way by their *Spiritual Pedagogues*. But, not to run into Digressions, the *Dissenters* (if they be not *Enthusiasts* indeed) would doubtless rejoice to obtain Favour or Assistance from *Governors*, *Statesmen*, and *Politicians* (as such) tho' not of their Persuasion, nay even from *Mahometans* or *Heathens*, were they under their Rule or Dominion. And if some of the great Men, the *Memorialist* names as their Patrons, were guilty of the *Immoralities* he lays to their charge, 'tis evident from the Experience of all Ages, that an ill Man in his own Life may do excellent things for the *Publick*, as a great Pretender to *Religion* may possibly be a great *Knave*, a rapacious, cruel, or bloody *Tyrant*, who either seeks to cover his Villanies under this *pious Cloak*, or imagines to atone for his Impieties by formal and superstitious *Observations*, of which we might produce numerous Examples. The *Dissenters* therefore are not to blame, if some of the late *Whig-Ministers* (as they are call'd) be neither finish'd *Saints* nor *Heroes*. They were all staunch for *Liberty of Conscience*; altho' in the *Memorialist's* usual Rhetorick, *they can never be brought to*

Page 20.

Ibid.

submit

submit to the sower Rules and saucy Encroachments of *Edinburg* and *Geneva*. And might not good Men prudently wink at the Frailties of others in scraping for *Estates* at home, so long as either to secure these, or from a nobler Principle, they would be zealous and vigorous against our *Enemies* abroad?

Now, might I put in for an Adviser with the *Memorialist*, I would conclude, from the Consideration of such heterogeneous and repugnant Interests, as the *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, and the several *Sects* of *Dissenters* (supposing 'em all combin'd, as he's pleas'd to tell us) that neither the *Church* nor the *State* ought to pursue any *Measures* that will unite all these against them: Since they can never naturally agree, unless compell'd by some *Necessity*, which *Necessity* must directly, or by consequence, touch 'em all; and therefore must be in it self a *National Grievance*. It may well be some common *Oppression* of all other Men, to gratify the *Humour* or *Ambition* of a Few, but cannot be any *Regulation* for the *Publick Good*; for to all proper *Laws* for restraining *Murder*, *Theft*, *Adultery*, and the like *Vices*, the *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, and *Dissenters*, are sure to concur: And so will the very *Atheists* (if such there are in the *World*) as in all Things else where *Social Vertue* is concern'd, and whereby they are to be *Gainers* as well as others. Nor will they likewise ever oppose any thing, wherein they are not particularly to be *Losers*, such as all *Laws* in favour of the *Church*, which tend not to the *Injury* or *Detriment* of others.

But that the clamorous and bitter *Zeal*, which some Men of late have express'd for the *Church*, is nothing else but a *struggle for Places*, and that the *Bill against Occasional Conformity* was but a meer worldly Project to monopolize all the *Places* to a few *High-Churchmen*, and a particular Set of *Tories*, is as true and certain, as commonly known and believ'd: And we are not to learn how the *Brains* of *Projectors* are disturb'd, when their *Designs* prove abortive,

tive, are discover'd or despis'd; and therefore they must have leave to talk, tho' not to engross that Commodity to themselves, giving others, at least, the liberty to laugh. And who can forbear doing so, when we are told the *Church* is betray'd, ruin'd, and undone, because the *Queen* has been pleas'd to make some Alterations in her *Ministry*, tho' she has not brought one *Dissenter* into Office, and that (without Envy be it spoken) all Things both at Home and Abroad are much mended, since Her Majesty has mended Her *Ministry*. This cannot be unknown to any Man in *Europe*; for the *Characters* of our several sorts of *Ministers*, are not more known at Home than Abroad, tho' they are not all equally lov'd, as they are not all equally fear'd in *France*: And which of 'em has done more Hurt to *France*, or more Good to *England*, given better *Orders* at Sea, or furnish'd readier *Supplies* at Land, the rest of the World is left to judge.

Is it such a novel Thing then for the *Prince* to change Hands, without any other reason sometimes, but to gratify Men of *Merit* by this kind of *Rosation*? Or if frequent Alterations be the occasion of their Complaint, why was no Alarm rais'd when the *Queen* chang'd Her *Ministry* before? O but the last *Ministers* were the *Great Patrons* and *Affertors* of the *Church* at Court, able *Ministers*, and the *steddy Champions* of the *Church*, the D. of B—m, the E—s of R—r, N—m, J—sy, W—sea, D—rt, the L—ds Gu—rd, G—w—r, Gr—le, Sir E—d S—r, Sir G. R—k, &c. Here's the *Church's* White List, or Black List, which you will. And how bold soever the *Memorialist* was pleas'd to make with certain *Noblemen's* Personal Characters, even to the imaginary Faults of their most private *Recesses*; yet I frankly profess to decline his Example, as being neither so little a *Christian*, not so angry, nor so desperate. Nevertheless, without having recourse to such uncharitable and improbable *Conjectures*, or relying on *common Fame*, which is often a *common Liar*, I might quickly swell this
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Discourse into an authentick History from Materials of the most Publick Records, as the *Paper Office*, the *Council Books*, and the *Journals of Parliament*, where it will appear that some of these Champions (if we be not mistaken in their Names) are accus'd of being in the *Papish Plot*, and *Pensioners to France*, for which Crimes they were voted *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*. Some of'em were employ'd in King *James's High Commission* to destroy the *Church of England*, and not far from the *Treasury* when that *Prince* levy'd Money on the Subjects by his own Authority. The same, and others of'em, were open Enemies to the late *Revolution*, oppos'd the *Abdication of King James*, and the *Bill for recognizing King William's Title*. These are undisputable Facts, and so is the notorious Corruption and Bribery of one of'em in *Parliament*, with the Behaviour of others in Her Majesty's *Councils*, and of some in divers Transactions both by *Land* and *Sea*. I cannot therefore but admire at the Imprudence of the *Memorialist* to give the least provocation of examining the Merits of his *able Ministers*. If their Foreman was to speak for them (for they want but One to make them the *Churches Jury* as well as her *Champions*) we would grant the whole Contents of the *Memorial* to be true, could he find half as many Reputable Men, in any one, or in all the *Parties* of the Nation, that said he was a good *Christian*, a good *Subject*, or a good *Man*, without ever descending to Particulars. Yet God forbid that the *Innocent* should suffer in their *Reputations* with the *Guilty*, for a *Libeller's* tacking their Names together without their *Consent*: For (if according to his own Rules) we are to judge of the Children by their Parents, then my Lord *Gower* (who is not turn'd out as he reports) may possibly be *mistaken*, but can never be other than a true *Englishman*; or if *Understanding* and *Vertue* be the best Foundations for the Love of *Liberty*, my Lord *Guilford* may (as it daily happens) lose his *Post* for a time;

but will be never the more for *Poper*y or *Arbitrary Power*.

Reading the *Court* for the *Church*, and *Places* for *Power*, in many parts of the *Memorial*, the Book will become a great deal more plain and intelligible: For if *Discipline* (as some would have it) were the sole occasion of our *Disputes*, then the Controversy (one would think) might be manag'd with more *Order*; or certainly with more *Decency*, if we only disagreed about *Ceremonies*. No, no, there's another matter at bottom: And if we are to judge of the Tree by its Fruits, 'tis something quite different from *Religion*, which naturally produces Goodness, Meekness, Peace, mutual Forgiveness and Forbearance. However, 'tis not unserviceable to our *Constitution*, that now and then (as it sometimes happen'd) Men of *Arbitrary Principles*, or Adherents to the *Popish Interest*, shou'd get into a few *Employments*, because the *Prince* will thus have an Opportunity of satisfying the *People*, why the rest are excluded from any share in the *Administration*. For their very *Scheme* is founded on Violence, and *violent Men* will be driving things too hastily, and often to *Extremities*. The least shew of *Favour* makes 'em imagine that the *Government* is going into all their Measures, then they persuade themselves that those they did not love are in their *Power*, and so they begin to use 'em as if they really were; which makes the Nation quickly grow weary of them, to whose Satisfaction they are immediately *sacrific'd* by a wise *Prince*, and their *Places* fill'd with Men of contrary Characters.

The last Charge against the present *Ministry* relates to the Affairs of *Scotland*, as if they were likewise *Ministers* of that Kingdom, or answerable for any Transactions of the *Parliament* there. The *Scots* make loud Complaints (how justly I will not determine) that all the Affairs of their Country have been long manag'd by *English Councils*, as if they had been rather a conquer'd *Province* or *Colony*, than an *Independant Kingdom*. And in *England*
again

again we have certain Persons giving so much countenance to that Accusation, as to arraign our *Ministers* for leaving the *Scots* at this juncture to act by themselves, or rather for *assisting* and *advising* them. But of all others I wonder least at this from the *Memorialist*, who says, that *every thing past in Scotland at the desire of the Presbytery, even to the endangering of the Church and Monarchy of England, and the Disherison of its Crown, and the immediate prejudice of its Sovereignty*: Whereas neither our *Court* nor *Parliament* make any such Claim of *Sovereignty*, all the *Records* to that purpose being *Monkish Forgeries*, or violently and fraudulently procur'd; no *Prince* having any Right to dispose by *Will* or *Deed* of his Kingdom, as a *Man* may do of his proper *Goods* and *Chattels*. Nor can any valid Pretence be drawn from antient *Conquests*, since as good Authority may be alledg'd from their setting themselves again at *Liberty* either by *Force* or *Treaty*. And fortuitous *Possession* is but the *Right of Reunion*, that was trump't up some Years ago by the present King of *France*, whereby he laid claim to all the Countries formerly contain'd in the Empire of *Charlemain*, or which belong'd at any time to the *Gallick* Crown, not considering to whom the *Gallick* Crown it self belong'd of old: For this *Right of Reunion* confounds all the *Titles* in the World, and that of *France* no less than the rest, as much as *Filmer's* Patriarchal Succession from the eldest Son of *Noah*.

But (leaving such fantastical Disputes as I found 'em) since during the *Reigns* of several Kings and Queens, we have treated with *Scotland* as an *Independent* Kingdom without any *Saving* or *Exception*; and since in the mean while they have exercis'd all the Rights of *Sovereign Majesty* within themselves, without any *protestation* from us to the contrary, 'tis manifest that they were therefore as much at *Liberty*, and had as plenary Right to make *Conditions of Government*, as we in settling our *Succession* on

the most Serene House of *Hanover*. Neither is it any *Differison* of our Crown (to which the *Scots* owe no Subjection) that they have not yet declar'd for the same *Family* with us; tho' I doubt not, after their *Limitations* are completed, but they will heartily join with us for the *mutual Security* of our Religious and Temporal Welfare. The *Arming of their People* is but the common Right of all others that are *free*; and fitter for us to imitate, than meanly to fear, or ridiculously to blame. They are highly to be commended for obtaining their *Act of Security*, as the *Queen* will be for ever extoll'd and admir'd for adding such excellent and inexpugnable Fences to their *Liberty*. We may reasonably suppose the *Advisers* of her Majesty's passing that *Act*, to have been *Scottish Ministers*, who understood *Liberty*, and lov'd their *Country*; as who but such would intermeddle in *Scottish Affairs*, otherwise than as they concern themselves in those of any other State or Kingdom, whose *Interest* has an immediate relation to ours? Yet if any *Englishman* had a hand in it, he ought to be proud of such natural *Politics* and so worthy a Deed, eternally beneficial to the *Scots*, and no way injurious to the *English*; tho' we want not those among us, who either think no other Nation deserving of *Liberty*, or that none besides us have the Sense to value and acquire it. It would be therefore no Service to his Design, if we had the *Clue*, which the *Memorialist* mentions, to lead us to the knowledge of who were the *Advisers* of the *Scottish Act of Security*; but we wou'd gladly learn how the *Church* here was disarm'd at the same time the *Presbytery* was arm'd in Scotland; for the only Men disarm'd in this Kingdom are such as will not swear *Allegiance* to the Government (which no doubt are the *Church* he means) and the highest of all *Churchmen*, the *Papists*.

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The last Dependance of the *Conspirators* is upon *Scotland*, hoping from thence for Troubles and Confusion.

Yet

Yet the true *Patriots* there know very well, that many who joyn with them for *Limitations*, do it only to keep 'em the longer from nominating the *Protestant Successor*, wherein they are not so weak as to refuse their *Assistance*, foreseeing that these very *Limitations* (if they be just and reasonable) will prove the *Chains* hereafter to restrain their Madness, as it has already happen'd in *England*. They likewise perceive that the same sort of Men, who are against declaring for the House of *Hanover* in *Scotland*, pretend to be angry in *England*, that it is not yet done there; notwithstanding they fail not in both Countries on all occasions to disperse their malicious Insinuations against that *Family*, as if, like the late King, who they say Page 25
was a *Foreigner*, educated out of the Pale of the Church (the *Popish* expression discovers the Cloven Foot) they should come over without any extraordinary tenderness or regard for the Church, tho' in their own Church they have much the same *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* as in ours. But *Ibid*
'tis highly reasonable to believe, says the *Memorialist*, that Page 26
when a Prince educated in another Church shall come to the Helm, his Servants and Favourites, who will have the privilege of his Ear in a peculiar manner, may take upon 'em the Patronage of the *Dissenters*, who will not fail to make stronger Court to 'em, than the Church will think to be their Due (as it happen'd in the late Reign) and so occasion such *Promotions*, as maybe of fatal Consequence to the Church. Granting the next Prince to be Educated in another Church, tho' not in another Religion, and that he may lie under any Bias in relation to our *Religious Controversies*, 'tis much more reasonable to believe, that it will be rather in favour of the *Church of England*, of which he's to be a Profest Member by the *Limitations* of the Crown, than in favour of the *Dissenters*, who have neither such a *Liturgy* nor *Ceremonies* as he's accustom'd to. All *Churchmen* made due Court to the late King (as well as the *Dissenters*) except them who dislik'd his *Cause* or *Tit-*

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tle; and sure he needed not the insligation of *Favourites*, to make Promotions fatal to such a *Church* or *Faction*: Which Treatment is to be likewise naturally expected from the next *Successor*, towards all who *oppose* or *dislike* him; for Opposition to the *Government*, tho' not *Opinions* in Religion, is a sufficient reason for an *Exclusion* from Offices.

Here I would not be mis-understood, as if I meant every *Scruple* about the Princes *Title*, to be a good cause of keeping a Man out of all *Employments* in the Kingdom; but only out of those where his being *entrusted* might create any possible danger to the *Prince* or the *Publick*: For well-meaning scrupulous Persons giving good *Security* for their peaceable Behaviour, may with safety to all others enjoy several *Offices*, from which they will not be debarr'd by *Wise Ministers*, who are for reconciling as many as they can to the *Government*, and for enlarging the foundations of it, by endeavouring to make all Men whatsoever *easy*. And therefore in some Instances the late *Whig-Ministers* did not act very conformably to the Maxims of *Liberty*, by excluding all *Non-jurant Lawyers* from the exercise of their Profession without any *Distinction*, which indeed was to take from them their Daily Bread. And (had it not been for some exasperating *Provocations*) perhaps a Method might have been found out to prevent the *silencing* of certain unsatisfi'd, but *pious Clergy-men*, tho' they would not joyn with us in all the Prayers of the *Liturgy*; when both the *preaching* of Divines, and the *pleading* of Lawyers, are perform'd in so publick a manner, that they can never prove dangerous to the *State*, without bringing themselves into the utmost *Hazard*. To this might be added the impolitick device of *Double Taxes*, which create great *Heart-burnings* among Relations and Neighbours, are of no *use* to the Crown, and *ease* very little the rest of the Subjects. On this occasion I cannot but wish that the late

Acts of Im indemnity had been more clear and general, and without so many *Clogs*, which render'd them of little use to many, for whom they were probably design'd a *Kindness*, wherein the *King's* Gracious Intentions were frustrated by *Clauses*, *Quirks*, and *Cavils* of Law. Nor can the present *Ministers* perfect the Character they have justly obtain'd of Wise, Upright and Impartial, till (in order to reduce the *Moderate*, and to render the *Obstinate* inexcusable) they procure a more ample and intelligible *Amnesty*; without asking People before-hand (as we heard of another *Minister*) whether they will please to accept of it, which is to put those to the reluctant *shame* of accusing themselves, who without noise or notice, would gladly lay hold of the benefit of such an *Act*. Hence the *High-Church-men*, may perceive the difference between the Genius of the *Tories* and the *Whigs*, the latter believing they may secure their own *Liberty*, without robbing other People of theirs; nor can any be displeas'd at the *Moderation* we recommend to be us'd towards honest and peaceable *Non-jurants*, but such as are *High-Flyers*, tho' they may be no *High-Church men*: And every *Minister* ought to remember the old Advice, *Multis Terribilis, caveto Multos*.

But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*, the glory of uniting the two Kingdoms is reserv'd for Her Majesty, in this most favourable conjuncture of Imminent *Danger* from Abroad, and the dread of Civil *Broils* or Contentions at Home. All the good People of both Nations earnestly long for such a *Blessing*, and 'tis so much the *Publick Wish*, that they who think it their interest to render it ineffectual, dare only go about it by treacherously proposing an incorporate Union, or the impracticable Scheme of *One Parliament*, *One Church*, and *One Body of Laws*, which can never be accomplish'd, but by a total alteration of the *Constitution* of one or both Kingdoms; nor can this be brought about under Ages, unless by *Conquest*, and
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wou'd sooner produce an *Anarchy* than an *Union*. Whereas a *Federal Union* is easie and expeditious, without all Jealousy, Disputes, or Partiality, and confirm'd by many Ancient and Modern *Examples*, as particularly by the Union of the *Seven United Provinces*, where the Laws of *Holland* and *Friesland*, are much more different than those of *England* and *Scotland*; and by the League of the *Achaean* Republicks, whose Constitutions were yet more different than ours.

I. The *Union of England and Scotland* does wholly consist, according to my humble Opinion, in Three most intelligible, practicable, and advantageous Articles. Both Kingdoms, in the First Place, may still continue *Sovereign* and *Independent* within themselves, neither of them yielding or being obnoxious to the other in the *Forms* of their Courts, in the conferring of *Honours*, or in preserving the Precedence of *Rank* at Home, while they retain the Stile of *Great Britain* Abroad, as they do at present in that and some other Points; having each their particular *Laws*, *Usages*, and *Customs*, and ordering their own *Domestick Affairs* by their own *Legislatures*, without occasioning any Trouble or Expence to the other, after the Method of the *Seven United Provinces*. And, according to the Example of the *Switzers*, they may have their several *National Religions*, as at this time. But there must be in *Scotland* (as well as here) a *Law for Tolerating all Dissenters*, how false or absurd soever in their Doctrine, whose *Principles* do not tend to the Subversion of the *Government*. Nor is it to be fear'd, that the *Scots* will endeavour to impose their *Discipline* or *Directory* upon us, unless we endeavour (as formerly) to impose our *Liturgy* and *Bishops* upon them: For this was one of the worst *Advices* ever given our Kings, even had the *Scots* been of a different Religion with us, and that *Episcopacy* were absolutely necessary to Salvation. But they were made to believe that *Presbytery*

was inconsistent with *Monarchy*, whereof we find the contrary by Experience. And that *no Bishop no King*, was neither a true nor a wise Saying, is most evident; not only from the Kings of the *Heathens*, but from those Princes among *Protestants* who govern without *Bishops*, and who, tho' in their Dominions they have no Ecclesiastical Degree above *Presbyters*, yet are absolute and uncontrollable.

II. In the Second Place, Let *both Nations* agree to live under the same Race of *Princes* for ever, having but one *Interest*, as they are to have the same *Friends* and *Enemies*, making *Peace* and *War* by common Consent, and maintaining *Fleets* and *Armies* (to defend their Subjects, to offend their Foes, and to assist their Allies) supported at the *Publick Charge* of both, according to such *Proportions*, as shall be agreed by *Commissioners* appointed to state that Matter, with respect to *Land Taxes*. For as to *Customs*, *Excises*, *Capitations*, and such other *Publick Duties*, they must be equally laid (for keeping an even Ballance) on all Goods and Persons concern'd in both Kingdoms: And since they are to be levy'd or collected by the *Officers* of one and the same Prince, for the same Ends and Purposes, there will be no Fear of *Fraud* or *Partiality* in favour of one, to the Prejudice of the other. The *Civil List* of each Kingdom, and the particular *Assessments* relating to their several private *Necessities*, being (as was said) left solely to their own Discretion, there may be a *Council* appointed, vested with such *Powers* as shall be thought expedient, and consisting of an equal Number of Persons of *both Nations*, to digest, prepare, and adjust those other Matters of *common Concern*, for the Information of the *Prince*, and of his respective *Parliaments*.

III. In the Third Place, Since this *Union* (in the Regards above-mention'd) is for the *mutual Security* of both Nations, as well against their *common Enemies*, as against the *Invasions* or *Foreign Alliances* of any one of them
against

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against the other; so let there arise from it a *common Advantage* in an equal Distribution of *Privileges* and *Immunities* to the Natives of both Countries, and also in the *Communication* and *Protection* of Commerce. Let us not hesitate therefore to let the *Scots* come freely into our *Plantation Trade*, whereby these particular *Merchants* may possibly be Losers, who engross that Part of the World to themselves; but the *Plantations* will flourish infinitely more, as the Profits are infinitely more that arise from the *Industry* and *Consumption* of many than of few, which is unanswerably prov'd by the ingenious Dr. *Paxton*. The Nation will likewise be *Gainers* in Proportion, the *Proprietors* being all *English*, and *London* (the Centre of Trade, and Seat of Empire) attracting all the Riches and Expence of the *three Kingdoms* into it's capacious Bosom, by a regular and necessary *Circulation*. The *cheapness* of Food and Labour, will quickly be at an end in *Scotland* by the *increase* of Trade and People; and the *Commodities* and *Manufactures* of *Great Britain* (all which things I would have also undeastood of *Ireland*) being thus united as well as their *Inhabitants*, *Councils*, and *Power*, we are not only an equal match at least for the greatest Prince in *Europe*, but must *overwork* and *underset* all other Nations of the Earth, which in matters of *Trade*, is the utmost we have to wish. Our present view will not let us enlarge on the other innumerable Benefits that will naturally flow from such a *Union* to the *Britannick Islands*, which are truly a *little World* by themselves, and may thus not immodestly vie with the *greater World*; but these seem to be the *principal* things, and all the rest are easily *reduceable* to this Model, Nor ought any *English Man*, who regards our present Safety, or future Tranquility, oppose so practicable and desirable an *Union*.

We have done at last with all the Sophistry and Aspersions of the *Memorialists* against the *Queen*, the *Church*, and the *Ministry* of *England*: And defended all sorts of *Dissen-*

Dissenters against his Misrepresentations, not only as oblig'd by the rules of Truth and Justice in relating *Matters of Fact*; but also on such Grounds and Maxims as were thought most agreeable to our own *State*, and to all other kinds of *Free Governments*. But if any one is curious to know what the *High-Church-men* propose to do, in case (as it's more than probable) that their *Memorial* is detested by the *People*, and neglected by the *Court*, 'twere easy for a Man of no greater reach than his Neighbours, to tell what is fittest for 'em to do in such a Condition. Yet in this particular, which concerns them so nearly, they are as much in the *wrong*, as in every thing besides. For contrary to all their reiterated professions of *Passive Obedience* to Princes, notwithstanding their continual reproaches of *Rebellion* against the *Dissenters*, and (what they ought first to consider) in spite of the despicable number of their *Church* and *Party*, yet they are desperately resolv'd to get all up in *Arms*, to seize upon the *Government*, to Assassinate or Imprison the *Ministers*, and in one word to *Rebell*. Some body not acquainted with their *Temper*, or that has not read their *Memorial*, will be apt to think that we make 'em madder than they really are, notwithstanding the perpetual *Disappointment* of all their *Projects* and *Conspiracies*. But putting the Reader once more in mind, that they mean themselves by the *Church of England*, as they do all moderate Men by *Dissenters*, We shall present him with a long passage of the *Memorial*, with studied and repeated *Expressions*, and not warm or hasty words slip't out by chance, nor Phrases of an *Ambiguous* Signification. *If the Dissenters will be dis-*

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oblig'd (says the *Memorialist*) *if they are not put into places of Authority, and the Church of England 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 Church, against any Resentments on that side, and therefore bend all their Application to gain t'other, 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 Church of England will dispose Men to bear a great deal, but he's a Mad-man that try's 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 provocation given to the Church of England may not, if continu'd, be strong enough to rouse Nature, some of our States-men would do well to consider in time. For tho' the Church is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so alarm'd, as to secure themselves at the peril of those Ministers, 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 know seek their ruin, courted at their Expence. But the Treasurer is Wise, let him therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this juncture. The matter is plain; and let the Treasurer timely look to it, before he be secur'd by those who are so highly provok'd, who can bear so little, and who are so apt to be rous'd, having a King of Brentford, with an Army in Disguise to back them.

But of all the weaknesses the *Memorialist* has shown, the very greatest, is, his imagining that ever *anywise Man* thought himself secure in the *Passive Principles* of the Church, when all manner of Men know the Rise and Occasion, as well as the whole History of that *Monstrous Doctrine*, from *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, down to the *Abdication*; none being ignorant for what ends of *Ambition*, *Adulation*, and *Avarice*, it was invented, in what *Popish* and *Arbitrary Cabinets* it was promoted, and by what *Humble Saints* it was the most zealously preach'd. No, no, take our word for it, we know but *one simple well-meaning Man*, whom it's easy to guess, that was ever deceiv'd by such *wretched Politicians*. We grant that the *High-Churchmen's Nature*, is very apt to rebel against their *Principles*, but we deny that the *Principles of their Church* dispose 'em to bear

bear a great deal, since they own themselves that *the odds are vast on Nature's side*; for we *Low-Churchmen* believe that *Christian Principles* ought to correct and subdue Nature: Wherefore we think *Principles* that have so little effect, to be little worth; and indeed all Men of Sense or Honesty, have abhorr'd their shameful *Prevarication*, and laught from the Beginning, at the Inobservance, Absurdity, and Hypocrisy of *Passive Obedience*. They render their Cause still more ridiculous by their *Distinctions*, as if *securing themselves at the peril of the Ministry* (which is securing the Ministry at their own peril) were not *Rebellion*, and pretending *they cannot be wrought up to Rebellion*, at the same time that they confess, *their Nature may rebel against their Principles*, and talk of being *provok'd, rous'd, unable to bear long*, and that *they are mad, who would try how much they can bear*. Mad Men indeed; for if these be not hopeful Dispositions to *Rebellion*, I know not what are. But are they not honest by far, who profess *Resistance* on some Occasions, than such as profess *Passive Obedience* on all Occasions, and who yet are *vastly more apt to Rebel* than to Obey, since *the odds are vast on Nature's side* against their Principles.

Another of their *Distinctions* is more to the Purpose, and I wish as heartily as any of 'em, that it were by all the People of *England* most diligently observ'd. *Perhaps the wisest step the friends of the Church con'd take towards her Security*, says the *Memorialist*, *would be to distinguish nicely*, Pa. 22. *between those that are of the Church only, and those that are both of and for the Church*. Where we understand, *those that are of the Church only*, to be such as prefer our *Liturgie, Discipline and Doctrine* to all other Institutions, tho' they are against *persecuting* any that disagree with their Opinions; and therefore are Members of the *Church of England only*, as they think it the best *Reform'd Church*, but not for any politick end of *Temporal Grandeur*. Those are *both of and for the Church*, who likewise profess themselves

Members of the *Church of England*, which in their account is nothing besides the *Hierarchy* and the *Ceremonies*, but especially the *Revenues* and the *Monopolizing of Offices* by the *Sacramental Test*, which makes 'em zealous for it's Pomp and Power, and are for compelling others to be of it, tho' they seldom come into it themselves. Wherefore we'll take the liberty to mend the *Distinction* unto those that are only of the *Church*, and those that are only for, but never of it, nor in it.

A little while since we left the High-Church-men very much provok'd, and resolv'd not to bear any longer; but when they are thoroughly rous'd, how is it (think you) or by what Force will they be able to carry on their intended *Rebellion*, so perilous to the present Ministry? We frankly acknowledge it was a considerable time before we cou'd come to any *Resolution* in this difficult and intricate Case, the Game of the pretended *James the Third* being desperate, the *French King* so earnestly suing for Peace by the *Mediation* of the meanest Cantons of *Switzerland*, their own Party being reduc'd to an inconsiderable *Remnant*, and the real great Friends, Patrons, Pastors, and Protectors of the *Church of England*, being all against 'em. But that peerless Politician the *Memorialist* has kindly communicated the *Project* of raising a *Spiritual Army* for carrying on his Holy War; and, to do him justice, he's the first who concerted the Operations of a *Campaign* in a manner which a world of People have rather wish'd than hop'd, namely, that *Princes* and *Divines* would be pleas'd to fight their own Battels. He proposes then that the lower *Clergy* (who want only to be headed and countenanc'd) may be encourag'd to exert themselves in defence of that *Church* 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* among *Protestants*. Now here's an Army

my model'd, paid, and instructed. I have read of a *General* of the *Franciscans* who once offer'd the *Pope* Thirty thousand tall Warriours of that *Seraphick Fraternity* to fight against the *Turks*, and yet that their Attendance should not be missing in the Ministrations of *holy things*, there would be so many left behind. I have likewise heard among ourselves of the *Guide of the Inferior Clergy*, but never yet of their *General*, and much less that *Protestant Priests* were to fight by any other Weapons except *Syllogisms*; so that in fine, we know now who are the *Churches Janizaries*, as well as the *Churches Champions*.

But why should we talk of *Protestant Priests*, when their principal Instruction is, 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 among *Protestants*? We appeal to all Mankind, whether this *Position* can be dangerous to any other but *Papists*, and we thank God it's become a *Position* so universally receiv'd. For this sort of *union among Protestants*, and not the vain design of a *Comprehension*, has been long the object of all good Men's Wishes, tho' of few wise Men's Hopes; nor is there any thing more frequently occurs in their *Books* or *Discourses*, than that there ought to be no distinction among *Protestants*, who are all united against the *Idolatry*, *Superstition*, and *Tyranny* of the *Papish Church*, tho' differing among themselves about the Nature of *Church-Government*, the *Modes* or *Circumstances* of *Worship*, the *Prescience* and *Decrees* of God, with certain other *Speculative Opinions*, of no concern to a *Christian Life*, and in which things it is impossible for Men to agree. Nor is it necessary for any ends of the *Gospel*, that they should all have the same *Notions*, provided they have but mutual *Charity*, *Forbearance*, and *Communion*. Any Man therefore is desir'd to produce a worse *Maxim* out of the Writings of the *Papists*, whose interest and endeavour it has constantly been, to divide *Protestants* before they could
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destroy them. And if the most finish't Politician among the Jesuits, had been prescribing methods for extirpating the Northern Heresy, let it be consider'd whether he would not first of all advise the *Congregation de propaganda fide*, to exasperate the *Protestant Sects* against each other, which they have often done by such Emislaries as the *Memorialist*; and whether, as the ground and reason of this Advice, he would not say that *innumerable Evils have flow'd from that dangerous position of many Protestants, that there ought to be no distinction among them*. One of those *innumerable Evils* is, that if they be for making no *Distinction*, they'll be of course for *Toleration*. Another *Evil* is, that they'll be for a Brotherly Intercourse and *Occasional Communion*. A Third *Evil* is, that they'll be all for Law and Property against *Arbitrary Power*. A Fourth *Evil* is, that they'll laugh at *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*. A Fifth *Evil* is, that they'll be for the advancement of Learning and knowledge, and therefore against partial *Restraints on the Press*. And a Sixth *Evil* (that I may compleat half a dozen among Innumerable) is that they'll as one Man (the pretenders to the name of *Protestant* only excepted) joyn their hearts and hands against the *Pope*, or any *Popish Prince*, who can be the only gainers by their *Divisions*; and that they'll here in *England* with their Lives and Fortunes, maintain the right of the *Protestant Successor*, who they are sure will make no *distinction* among 'em as *Protestants* and *Englishmen*, no more than is done by her present *Majesty*: But will (after her Example) protect the *Church of England* in it's lawful Dignities, Priviledges and Emoluments, and continue an impartial *Liberty of Conscience* to all *Protestant Dissenters*. This glorious Prospect, is the greatest of those *innumerable Evils*, which by the *Memorialist* are observ'd to flow from that dangerous, but too much receiv'd *Position*, that *there ought to be no distinction among Protestants*.

It will be said, It's probable, by the *Highb Church-men*, that *beading, countenancing, encouraging, and instructing the Inferior Clergy*, were meant as to their informing their respective Congregations concerning our present *Differences*. And, allowing this to be true, from the other *Seditious Instructions* that are given 'em in the same Place, yet 'tis a very insufficient *Apology*: For what have they to do with *Whig and Tory*, with *Court Intrigues*, or *Ministers of State*? Is not reforming Men's *Lives*, and bringing *Souls* to *Heaven*, Employment enough for all their Time, but they must find *Leisure* to be officiously *intermeddling* in Matters they don't understand? Does not all History shew, that they are thoughtless, precipitant, troublesome, bungling and wretched *Politicians*? Are they not (to the shame of their *Profession*) made the readiest *Instruments* of all ambitious and discontented Persons to embroil *States*; to raise *Jealousies*, *Murmurs* and *Tumults* against *Lawful Governments*; to stir up wicked or weak *Princes* to *Rapine*, *Oppression* and *Persecution*; and to engage whole *Churches* and *Nations* in bloody *Civil Wars*? The very *Deists* have frequently own'd, that the strange *Turns* and *Changes* of the *Clergy* within the compass of a few *Years*, their becoming the *Boutefeux* and *Incendiaries* of all *Factions*, more assiduously preaching and printing of *Politicks* than *Religion* or *Virtue*, their unnatural *Jarrs* and *Quarrels* among themselves for *Trifles*, with their implacable and dishonourable *Treatment* of those they do not approve, did prevail with them above all other *Motives* to reject the *Authority* of *Divine Revelation*, being strongly persuaded, that the *Clergy* gave no credit to the *Gospel*, since they observ'd it so little. This is a poor *Argument*, but poor as it is, the *Ministers of Christ* shou'd not give any occasion for it. And the *Clergy* ought likewise most seriously to consider, that (whatever *Figure* they make in their own *Opinion*) they are in reality but the contemptible *Tools* of the worst of Men, when once they quit the *Duties* of their *Function*; and that when the *Turn* of designing Persons is once serv'd, they commonly cast off with *Scorn* their *Infortunate Priests*. Thus *O. Cromwell* abandon'd the *Presbyterian Ministers* in *England*, and a much better Man, *William*, the old wife *Prince of Orange*, when the *Ministers* reproach'd him with their *Services*, and thought they could never enough be rewarded with *Power*, he procur'd wholesome *Laws* to curb their *Insolence*; as they on the other Hand, endeavour'd to make him pass for an *Atheist* in their *Pulpits*, notwithstanding

standing he had so gloriously established *Civil Liberty*, and the *Protestant Religion*, in the *Seven United Provinces*. His Great Grandson, who laid the same Obligations on *England*, met with the like Returns from many of the *Clergy*. But in the wise Republick of *Holland*, a Staff and a Pair of Shoes for his Journey, are sent to any *Ecclesiastick* that presumes to meddle with *State Affairs*. How *James* the Second deserted the *Passive Obedience Preachers* is fresh in all Men's Memory; and 'tis to be hop'd that our *Inferior Clergy* will learn more Wisdom from the *Contempt* which their Behaviour in *Charles* the Second's Reign drew upon their *Character* in the Minds of the *Laity*.

The best on't is, That let the *Inferior Clergy* receive never so many Seditious *Instructions*, and from whatever Hands, yet we have nothing to fear from the *Man* who sets himself at their Head, and acquires the *Inferior Dignity* of being their *General*, tho' his Name were *Celsus*. Our *Priests* are not such Saints, and our *People* are not such Fools, without one of which the *Inferior Clergy* can never have a tolerable *Influence* in any Country. Indeed, where the *People* are dissolute and ignorant, wholly depending on the *Clergy* for their Information, as well as for the Absolution of their Sins, there their *Spiritual Guides* can raise dangerous Commotions, and lead their *Flocks* into any flagitious Attempt, that they'll please to sanctify with the Names of *Religion*, or the *Church*, or the *Cause of God*. But where the *Clergy*, by their Learning, Lives, and Doctrine, do justly acquire the Love and Veneration of the *People* (as such *Divines* can never fail of it) their *Influence* is more to be desir'd of all good Men than fear'd, as most certainly tending to promote Holiness, Peace, and Universal Love. We have therefore great reason to be very thankful to God in this respect, as having never enjoy'd before, a Set of more Learned, Moderate, or Orthodox *Bishops*, the magnanimous Champions of the *Protestant Cause*, and the most exemplary Preachers of *Christian Charity*. Our *Inferior Clergy* likewise want not many excellent Persons of *Eminent Abilities*, who are shining Lights amongst a crooked and perverse Generation; the *Animosities* artfully rais'd among 'em by the common Enemy, are much allay'd; all *sovereignness* and *narrowness* of *Temper* infus'd from the same Quarter, visibly decays; their *Moderation* encreases in Proportion with their great Learning, which Accomplishments, Gifts, and Graces, will truly render them the *Glory of the Reformation*.



