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*Moderation truly Stated:*

OR, A

R. E V I E W

OF A

Late PAMPHLET, ENTITUL'D,

Moderation a Vertue.

WITH A

PREFATORY DISCOURSE

TO

DR. D'AVEANANT,

CONCERNING

His late ESSAYS on

PEACE and WAR.

*By W. A. A. A.*

---

*Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked Servant,  
St. Luke 19. 22.*

*Women are strongest, but above all things Truth beareth away the  
Victory, 1 Efd. 3. 12.*

---

L O N D O N :

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AC 9 11 704. A 87

To the Worthy  
Doctor D'AVENANT.

S I R,

HAVING Learn'd from an Ingenious Author, and  
deeply imprinted in my Mind, the Notion that all  
our Thoughts, Endeavours and Designments, should  
tend to the Good and Welfare of our Country; and  
being convinc'd, that even where Abilities are wanting, the  
very Intentions are Commendable and Vertuous: And that  
to cure the dangerous Distemper of Factions and Parties,  
should be the joint Care of good Men, whose Designs and  
Councils should all have the same End, that is, their Prince's  
Prosperity, and Country's Welfare; which as I think, and so  
do very many honest Men, can only be promoted by serving the  
Constitution, even the National and Establish'd Church, which  
will always be found the strongest Interest in England, as a  
great Author upon exact Computations assures us. I was under  
some apprehensions when your Book appear'd, lest mine should be  
contrary to the Maxims of such a Master, But upon Perusal, I  
found to my Comfort we Agree in the main, at least so far as my  
Understanding admits me into your Politicks.

F.T. upon the Ball  
of Trade, P. 3.  
Edit. 2d.

Dist. on the Pub.  
Revenue, Part 1.  
P. 82

Balance of Trade,  
P. 157.

No wonder then, that such a puny Author as I, your Humble  
Servant, am Proud to place your Name in the Front of my Discourse,  
and to point out those Notions wherein we agree, and those wherein,  
no doubt to my Disadvantage, we are thought to differ.

First, As to our End, we both profess 'to lay before the Peo-  
ple what is Honest, Safe and Advantageous to the Publick.  
'To paint out Faction in all its Colours, and to shew the mis-  
chief it produces; and all this for the Common Welfare. And  
how should we so much as seem to do otherwise, since every one who

Ess. on Peace and  
War, P. 7.

P. 10.  
Modera. truly Sta-  
ted, P. 1. 6, 50.  
78, 90, &c.

MS. A. 9. 2. 11. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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can but speak English, will declare a mighty Zeal for this? Wise Men indeed are of Opinion, that the only way to discover who are Sincere in these Professions, and who are otherwise, is, by examining the Ways and Means propos'd in order to those great Ends. If a Man's Ways and Means are such as have been often Try'd, and always found Ineffectual, Your Servant Sir, say they, we understand you. For all Men 'cover their Designs with pretence 'for the Publick Good, but most Men in their Turns Sacrifice 'the Publick to their own Ambition.

But Unity and Concord, Peace and Moderation, are Means that You, and I, and all good Men Agree in, only we are not quite so well agreed what is Moderation, or what Methods are most like to procure the so much desired Peace and Unity.

However, 'it seems evident that nothing will sooner lead 'to Peace at Home, or be more the Interest of all Sides, than 'to have dangerous Principles Examined and Refuted'. And to establish this Fundamental Truth, 'That to maintain the Safety and Honor of the Publick, and the Strength and Dignity 'of the Laws, and not to do any thing that may blast or 'wound the Constitution, is the true and Common Interest of all Persons; and ought to be the Principal Object of their Care. As also,

That there is not any thing more dangerous than Removing the Ancient Boundaries and altering the Constitution; and that the next worse thing is the not defending them, the leaving them open, without necessary Securities, and expos'd to the first bold Attack: That a Good Man ought always to exert himself in the Service of his Country, more especially when Factionous and Designing Men have brought it into Danger. And tho' he may put himself among the Worst Members of a Community, in order to Restrain and Reduce them; Yet he is not to joyn with the Best, in any unjust or dishonourable Measures. But one dares not say with some, that Faction contributes to the Preservation of Liberty, so good a thing as this, standing in no need at all, of so ill an one as the other. 'Faction it self (abstracted from the ill Use the great Ones 'make of it to serve their Turns) being in its Nature pernicious, and producing more Fatal Mischiefs than Foreign War, 'Sickness, Famine, or any other Evil the Anger of Heaven 'brings down upon us: And therefore it ought to be the Concern of every private Man to put as quick an End as possible 'to what is so destructive to the whole'. But it ought not to be his Concern to put an End to that, without which (as you say) perhaps

Ell. p. 59.

Ell. on Peace and War, p. 7. 11, 19, 1. Moder. p. 2. 3, &c. 26, &c. 31.

Ellips, p. 25. Moder. p. 70, &c.

Ell. p. 49.

Ell. Sect. 1. p. 37. Moder. p. 97. Ell. Sect. 11.

p. 60, 61.

l. 50. 55.

p. 61, 62.

perhaps Liberty is not safe. *Indeed, Sir, I'm a little at a loss to reconcile your second Section to its self; but it is like when you wrote it, you had before your Eyes the 4th Chap. of Machiavel's first Book upon Livy, and could not absolutely condemn Faction, because 'tis of such Service to a darling Commonwealth.*

P. 54.

*But if there is a Time when Faction makes us abandon all Care and Consideration of the Publick: And a Time when it does not interrupt the right Harmony of Government; all true Lovers of their Country ought to distinguish these Times, by giving us their Marks so plainly and precisely, that we may not be mistaken in a matter of such Consequence, since the applying wrong Medicines may be the ruin of the Body Politick, To be sure the Characters and Descriptions ought not to be left so loose and indefinite, that every Man may apply them as he thinks fit.*

P. 58.

P. 56.

*And therefore since better Authors are silent, and since I am not considering what Ends Governors may have, but what they ought to have, I will venture to lay it down for a Rule: That Faction ought never to be suffer'd, much less encourag'd, and is only to be endur'd when the Government is too weak to suppress it; and if it is a Wise one, it will use all Lawful Means to recover its Strength, and exert its Just Authority. But when Government is remov'd from that awful Eminency on which Reason, Religion, our own, and all Wise Lawgivers had plac'd it; no wonder that it comes to be Bearded by every little Fellow, that takes upon him to be a Leader, that is, a Seducer of the People.*

*It is further agreed, That an Honest Man may very Honestly leave his Party when he finds it wanting in that Honesty which engag'd him in it. 'Where he has a full Conviction of being in the Right, he ought even singly, to stand in Opposition to all the rest, and to give a just and true Suffrage, tho' it happens to be grateful to neither Side': And be so far from quitting his Post, whatever danger he himself may run by keeping it, that he ought to maintain it more vigorously, because it is not only more Generous, but upon the whole, more Safe, to face those Perils, which in the End must overtake us; and because in Truth the Actors themselves are not more guilty than they who sit still, if they have it in their Power, or even if they can but Hope, to prevent the raging Mischief.*

Est. Sect. III

Moder. p. 97, 115.

Est. p. 72.

P. 78, 79.

P. 79, 80.

P. 78

P. 71.

*And tho' a Man is not to be opiniated and wedded to his own way, as if all his Conclusions were Oracles, tho' it is too true an Observation, that every Man spends so much time in Contemplating his own Perfections, and so little Considers his Neighbours, that there is not one in ten thousand,*

P. 73. *thousand, but thinks himself above the Vulgar Make of Men, and that therefore the Privileges of the Superior Judgment are due to him: Yet it must be allow'd that after all, and when a Man has heard and examin'd impartially, all that other Men can say,*

P. 71. *if he is an honest Man, he must and will Judge Sovereignly by his own Lights upon all Occasions. For he who gives himself up to anothers Conduct, is either very sensible of his own Weakness, which few Men are; or else, if there's any thing to be got by't, as commonly there is, he gives the World a full Conviction of his Knavery.*

*But among all the Distinctions, Descriptions, &c. that you are pleas'd to make, to inform us when we ought, and when we ought not to change Sides; there is one that seems to me to be worth them all, (viz.) That if a Party's whole Proceedings tend to subvert the State, or to Undermine its Constitution; and if all this is apparent beyond Contradiction, that Party ought to be abandon'd, and a Good Man will certainly join himself to those that are honest, more disinterested, and who have righter Intentions towards the Publick. The Question then will be, how these Intentions are to be discover'd? and what are those visible Proofs that will Justifie a Man's Conduct to the whole World.*

P. 74.

P. 83. *'Tis casie to discern what will not Justifie him, for he who carries on Separate Treaty, who runs precipitately to make his*

P. 84. *own Terms, who deserts upon the least Fright, and is seduc'd by the smallest, or Greatest Hope; who is of any Side where he can best make his Markets; who out of a Sense of his own*

Tom. Double, Part I. p. 34.

Disc. on the Rev. Part II. p. 432.

Part I. p. 38.

Disc. on the Rev. Part II. p. 287.

*Uncorruptness, Activity, Publick Spirit, Useful Talents (forsooth!) or for better Reasons, is never asham'd of pretending to Business, but openly Brigues for Employments of Trust, or as Tom. Double has it, gapes for Preferment; such a Man plainly*

*shews, that he only makes the Publick a Step to raise himself. And tho' at first he may seem the best Patriot, and most zealous of the Nation's Rights; this lasts no longer than till he can bring to a good Market that Credit and fair Repute he had gain'd before: For when his Price is offer'd and agreed upon, he deserts his Countries Cause, and helps on, or at least approves of all that Mis-government, which had been before the Object of his Popular Speeches and Venal Eloquence.*

Part II. p. 79.  
Part I. p. 35, 36.  
57.

*A Flying Squadron therefore, compos'd of such Men as these Pretended Neuters, whom Tom. Double is to look after, and keep steady to his Interests, as being his best Foundation, and*  
without

without whom he must give up the Cudgels; those Tools and Engines with which he and his Party work, who are call'd Disinterested Persons, honest Whigs that Love England, tho' if you will consult him, he tells you he knows them better; and that they would as fain come into Business, and be suffer'd to Act (in his gross Language it is, to play the Knave) in quiet, as other People: Such a flying Squadron as this, will do Honour to neither Side, and it is no harm if the Pens and Voices of all Mankind pursue them. For tho' it is very true that a Man may be accus'd, may be but coldly supported at best, and frequently betray'd and given up, and that not for his Faults but for his Vertues; Yet it is as true, that a Man is as often Deserted for his Knavery. And he who in Dispite of Uprightness and Integrity would please every body, does generally, and as a due Reward for his Unmanly Compliance, please no body. Or suppose he should Take at first, yet the longer he lives the better he is known, and the more abhor'd; whereas the Honest Man's Innocence, however oppress'd, will in Time shine out, and be visible to the whole World.

It must be confess'd that if due Care is taken, 'tis easier for a Man to convince the World of his Integrity than of his Superior Judgment; and that it is rather the Honesty of his Heart, than the Refinements of his Understanding, that carries him to either Side. For Men are much less dispos'd to allow their Neighbour a Superiority in Sense, than an Equality in Vertue. He then who means to Justifie himself in assuming to be of the disengag'd and disinterested Squadron, must be as diligent in avoiding Preferment, as others are in hunting after it. And must let the World see that that foolish Vertue of serving ones Country for nothing is not quite out of Fashion. If he's none of those Men we describ'd above, his Honesty will neither be Question'd nor Suspected by either Party; but if he cannot pass this Self-denying Test, I own I am at a loss how to Justifie him.

Well! but if it be supposed that ' both Sides are in the wrong, ' and when almost the whole is Corrupted; since a Good Man must always bestir himself, what is to be done in this Case? Why truly ' in these Occurrences a Good Man is to take the best ' Course, to do that which he thinks will be of the best Example! Admirable Discovery! and for which all Good Men must own themselves Infinitely Oblig'd to you Dr! But what shall a Bad, or an indifferent Man do? by all that I can perceive he Will do what is most for his Worldly Interest. If he is out of Office, he will exclaim against Abuses till he is got in; and when

P. 55.

P. 59.

P. Ess. p. 48.

P. 83.

P. 47.

P. 73.

Tom. Daubie,  
Part II. p. 85.

Ess. p. 75.

P. 76.

Ball. of Power  
p. 85.

*he has feather'd his Nest and is warm in it, he will think it Prudence to be Quiet, and to be a Compounder. And thus among so many Seemings, Perhaps's, Peradventures, and traversing of Ground, as this third Section affords, I hope I have hit upon your meaning, or at least, and which is as well, I hope I have found out Truth.*

p. 74.

*Indeed Sir, to tell you the truth of my heart, I was wonderfully delighted with p. 72. but ah! how transitory is Earthly Joy! the very next Page damp'd my pleasure, and the following Pages Confounded me. I went whistling about to find out who they are, who carry Things too high, and who are deaf to Accommodation, and all that — Till calling honest Tom Double to my Assistance, he shew'd me their Pictures exactly. There I found, that the good Temper, the Tendency and Disposition towards Quietness and Moderation, which was observ'd to be among the Friends of the Constitution, or in his Language the Country Party, was that which perplext their Opposers most, and even frighted them out of their wits. Those real Patriots gave Proof that they were both for a War, and for healing Breaches, or in the later and refin'd expression, for Peace at Home and War Abroad; And that they were resolv'd to do every thing towards reconciling the Differences and Animosities of the Nation, except giving up the VERY CONSTITUTION. And good Reason, for as Mr. Double tells us, 'it suits best with those Gentlemen's Interest to preserve the Constitution, whereas his Friends do not think themselves safe, unless they can destroy it. And tho' none of them think of laying aside either their Fury or their Malice, yet it becomes them to act more covertly, when they find they are not so strong as they thought they should have been: And, since they are not strong enough to crush their Enemies, they must seem to be for Moderation. This is plain enough.*

Essay 2d p. 52.

p. 8.

p. 62.

p. 61.

p. 60.

p. 94.

& p. 47.

p. 84.

p. 83.

Essay p. 75.

p. 72.

p. 60.

Dedic.

*But what if the Parties themselves are alter'd since Tom Double flourish'd, and that no Change is wrought in the Wise Man who forsakes those with whom he has always join'd, and goes over to their Opinion with whom he is not us'd to Mingle? Verily it might be so, but that you, Sir, were pleas'd even in your very last Essay to tell us, of the known worth, (I suppose you speak in the Present Tense) Experience, Zeal, and Integrity towards the Publick, the Wisdom, Probity and Unblemish'd Characters of the Gentlemen, who have all along shewn a true affection to the Antient Constitution of this Realm. These are they who you say, have given repeated Proofs of their Right*



Intentions to the Publick: *Who* are to be esteem'd the true Parents of the Constitution, *because*, when they could not enjoy it themselves, *they* yet desir'd its Preservation; and that therefore the Governing Part and the Authority should be possess'd by them, but can never belong of right to those who consented to have it mangled. Those whose Ambition may be still at Work, and who may yet be grasping at Power which they hope to compass by the Aids and Voices of their Faction: Whereas the Gentlemen we were speaking of, who are not the Faction, but the dutiful Members of the Commonwealth, and Friends of the Constitution, know how to be the Governing Part, or at least to Deserve to be so, by better Measures.

See also p. 98.

Prosperity and Power indeed corrupt Men, so that when one observes a Change, 'tis very natural to enquire whether the Person who Changes is not lately got into Prosperity and Power? There being nothing more necessary, next to the Grace of GOD, towards the Making or Keeping Men Honest, than their being humbled by Adversities. Even Machiavel who was no very heavenly minded Christian, ascribes the Bravery of the Romans, and the Conservation of their Liberties to their Poverty: He tells us Poverty is more usefull to Mankind than Riches; that it has produc'd and improv'd many excellent Arts, which Riches and Luxury have destroy'd. And yet notwithstanding the judgment of this famous Politician, there are some among our Moderns, who cannot forbear a certain bankering after Honour and Advancements. They qualify their Ambition indeed, by pretending they only desire to rise as their Vertues lift them up. And truly no Man desires more than to climb up as his Vertue, or what he substitutes in its place, will Advance him.

p. 1.

In his Discourses.  
B. 2. Ch. 25.

Essay, p. 84.

Be it also agreed that Divisions obstruct Dispatch and Secrecy; and so does the Many's interposing in that which is the Business but of One. Acts of State and Sovereignty, such as the Constitution lodges in the Executive Power, being for certain more venerable and better pursu'd, when they are left to the Care of the Prince, than when they are open'd to the view of a Multitude. Provided the People can Trust the Prince, as sure they may when that Prince is entirely English.

Sect. 4.

And if the Faction will be so wicked as to betray and ruin their Country, because they are not suffer'd to Rule it; if they will be Spies for its Enemies, whether out of Revenge, or in Consideration of Bribes and Pensions; if the least hurt they do, is the defeating Publick Counsels, bringing what Mischiefs, Disgraces and Disappointments they can upon a Government that does not bring them

See p. 89.

p. 83.

P. 101.

them into Play, putting a Spoke in the Wheel of all Affairs, which they are not permitted to drive; and subverting that State which they are not allow'd to Govern. *What's to be done? Heal the Breaches if it is possible, this no doubt is best; but do not dawb them with untemper'd Mortar, lest you be crush'd in the ruin of that Wall which you vainly thought you had Repair'd.*

Med. p. 30,  
118, &c.

Efl. p. 89.

P. 88.

*But if there can be no safe or Prudent Union, the next best thing is to put it out of their Power to hurt you, to be sure you ought to lay all opportunities out of their way; never admit them into those Councils which you would not have them Defeat and Betray; suffer them to have no hand in that Government which they believe it imports them should be weak and ill-administred. For the Prince must needs be ill serv'd, and his Business will never go right; there can be nothing stedy, if those who are at the Helm seek to humour Factions, or to be back'd and supported by them: If they have Correspondencies and keep well with them for fear of a Change, and to Create Confidence and give Marks of Friendship, communicate with them, and so lay open the Secrets of the State.*

P. 92.

*Nor can there ever be Dispatch, Celerity, and Vigour in Action, which not Fortune, for Fortune is a meer Chimera, but G O D, who loves to give his Blessing to Honest and Proper Methods, seldom fails of Crowning with Success; Any more than there can be well consider'd and mature Councils, where either those who Advise, or those who Execute, draw several ways, taking upon them the Administration, not because they approve the Constitution, and wish-well to the Government, but because they get by't: But of this more hereafter.*

sect. 3.

P. 94.  
P. 85.

*Now, Sir, as to your fifth Section, I think I have declar'd my Sense already. For every body should use their utmost Care to hinder the Growth of Faction, Ministers of State, and Princes more especially, because they have the most to lose by it. He indeed who thinks that Liberty is not safe in a perpetual Calm, does with a very ill grace talk of rooting out the very sound and name of Faction.*

P. 97.

P. 99.

*I will not Preach up Reconciliation among Christians, whose daily Prayers render it absolutely necessary; nor tell them that their Friendships ought to be Immortal, and their Enmities short-liv'd; Christians ought to have no Enmities. Nor need one prove, since he who tries will find, that Faction is but a rotten and deceitful Foundation (to rest upon, is a Tautology, 'tis imply'd in Foundation, so give me leave to drop that part of the Sentence.) That he who thinks himself a Leader will find himself a Slave; and that Power*  
will

will be but of short continuance, will prove a Curse and not a Blessing, if it is not obtain'd by honest and Noble Arts. All this is very true and good: But now to put some Cafes.

*Faction, that many-headed Monster, is to be subdued; but how must the Prince attempt it? which way can he incline with safety? shall he Trim (as we now call it) between the Parties, that is, lean sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other side? No, by no means, for this were to become Contemptible or odious to both. Is he to let the clashing Parties break and destroy one another? No, this were to ruin his Kingdom and himself. Is he to continue Neuter, and to let the Leaders of Sedition engross all the Power, Respect or Dependencies? This were to be a King and no King, a meer No-body. Well, what then? Is he to put himself into the Scale with the weaker side, to make the Balance even? That were fine indeed, to make but an Equality of Force, and submit to Fortune the whole Decision of his Affairs! But what shall he do? shall he not join with those who have the appearance of being strongest? No, not this neither; who knows but that they may be Insolent and Imposing, may awe him with their strength, and make him in a manner the Slave of their Irregular Ambition. Hey day! what then must the poor Prince do? Why we'll consider of it, and you shall know when our Second Part appears.*

Each of these Courses is attended with its particular danger. But if Princes can't compass an Accommodation, their usual way is to Head those who are strongest in Interest and Number. And if it happens that these are of an Honest and Dutiful Temper, if they are but so wise and so Loyal, so Good and so Moderate, as the Gentlemen we describ'd above, and whose Character you may read in the late Essays, p. 260. those Gentlemen I mean who are hearty Friends to the Constitution, why then all is well. The Prince may very safely and Honourably put himself at the Head of these, without danger of a Civil War. Nor is this the Heading of a Party, 'tis only Setting himself at the Head of the Constitution, the only Place that becomes a Prince. This is both that Perfect, and only commendable Neutrality, and that Necessity that Compels him; a Paradox you'll say, and yet a certain Truth. So then we have got out of Doubts and Uncertainties, Dangers and Difficulties, and have fixt our Prince at last.

But how must the Prince demean himself in this his Station, to give the truest Proofs of his Wisdom and Conduct, and Steady Government, setting aside all Sinister Arts, the suggestious

P. 100.

P. 102.

P. 104.  
P. 71. &P. 104.  
P. 105.

P. 104.

P. 105.

P. 105.

P. 110.  
P. 111.

P. 109.

P. 109.

## A Prefatory Discourse

- P. 111. *only of weak and worthless Ministers? Let him Act like the Common Father of his Country, making it appear that no body Governs but himself. Let him discountenance every thing or Person that is Unreasonable, dispensing his Justice and Mercy, as*
- P. 103. *Wisdom directs. Let him never be Compell'd to receive any Man into his Service, or to exclude him out of it; but let his own Prudence Govern, and not the Artifice or Insolence of any of his Subjects.*

- As for those discarded Ministers, who have been charg'd with*
- P. 115. *' Insolence, Treachery, Misgovernment, Rapacity, Profusion, ' Negligence, braving of Justice, &c. a heavy Charge! What shall be done with them? It is a nice Point, but we'll try to settle it. Now in the first place you must know, that those are very bad things; who denies it? all hurtful to a Country, and of a bad Example to be forgiven, and not to animadvert upon them,*
- P. 116. *' may encourage succeeding Ministers to tread in the same Steps, and to fear making no Attempts upon the Publick, which are first attended with Profit, and then with Safety'. 'Tis granted. But then you are to take notice that ' Faction it ' self is more pernicious and worse than any other Disease'*
- P. 116. *Who doubts it? And what if the Laws are impotent and unable to cope with powerful Iniquities, and the Guilty are too strong for you? Nay, what if the ' Age be so corrupt as not ' to bear the Correction of such Abuses, and so deprav'd that ' Guilt may be upon better Terms than Innocence it self? This is indeed a melancholy Prospect! Why then you must e'en be quiet: for 'twas a Saying even of Portius Cato's, and even*
- P. 126. *' before the Senate, It was safer that an Ill Man should not be ' Accus'd, than that he should be Acquitted'. And therefore, may it not be Learnedly and Logically argued from all these Preznises, ' that it more imports the Common-wealth to root out ' Faction, than to animadvert upon any Crimes whatsoever*
- P. 116. *' that may have been committed in the State? Very good!*

- Let's set to it then to root out Faction; the Sovereign Remedies you will be taught anon: In the mean time, first try the Strength of the Laws, how far they will bear, and your own Strength, and whether you have Vigor and Courage to exert them; and your Honesty too, that is, whether you intend to joyn openly with the Vertuous to support Truth and Justice; or whether you look no further than to affect being popular, by taking Aims in all the Transac-*
- P. 126. *' tions for the State, from what you think is the immediate ' Sense of the Superior Party, be it Right or Wrong. Then*
- P. 404. *'*

*in the next place consider your Men you have to deal with: Always remembering that ' in the Game Factions play for Power, as in ' Common Gaming all false Arts are made Use of, therefore beware of sly Tricks and Circumventions.*

P. 118.

*Now if Misfortunes have made your Men begin to melt, ' if ' they shew Minds dispos'd to peaceful Counsels, and desire to ' be quiet and to quit all Thoughts of returning to that Admi- ' nistration where they have not been successful, and are con- ' tent to be Obscurely safe; why then, 'tis Generous to abate ' the Edge of any Anger that may be against them. But if your Lenity makes Offenders bolder; if they Cabal at Home, and misrepresent your Affairs to the Princes Confederates A- broad; if they foment Divisions, hinder Business, give an ill Turn to all the best Actions, are sorry when Things Prosper, and receive with a kind of sullen Pleasure any Misfortune that befalls the Publick; if nothing but Power will content them, and they seem determin'd to force the Administration into their own Hands, tho' at the Hazard of their Countries Peace; give Visible Proofs that they design to disturb the State; are trac'd contriving dark Mischiefs; and if they tread in the known Steps that lead to Sedition, forming among themselves a Strength to oppose the Government and outbrave the Laws; if Private Persons or Parties are doing all this; why then gentle Courses are to be laid aside, say some Men; however all agree that you must of necessity rouse up and exert your self; apply strong Remedies and take ALL LEGAL METHODS, that may conduce to your Preservation. Right, very Right!*

P. 112.

P. 114.

P. 118.

See p. 119.

*Ay, but Sir, a late great Author tells us, that Faction ' seems ' not so well to be dealt with by Rough as by Gentle Remed- dies. And that even where those Jealousies seem not to be ill grounded, a great deal is to be overlook'd. A few angry Resentments, are not to be taken always for Designs to embroyl the State. Perhaps those who Cabal and endeavour to stir up the People, intend no more than a Defensive War; and Peradventure their Bustle is only the Struggles and Con- vulsions of departing Ambition in the very Agonies of Death; as some body has it, for Simile renown'd! Say you so, Sir; then pray where are we, to what a fine pass shall we be brought by Per- haps and Peradventure?*

P. 120.

P. 115.

P. 120.

P. 121.

*But tho' these Struggles and Angry Resentments are not to be taken for Sedition and Designs to embroyl the State, yet sure those other Practices, of which our Author gives us so large an In- ventory,*

ventory, p. 119, are visible Proofs of it. And we who have no Window into Mens Hearts can only Judge of their Intentions by their Actions. And besides, what are the Laws Good for? how are they Executed? and what sort of Government must that be? that suffers its Subjects to carry on any sort of War, no matter whether Defensive, or Offensive, either with the Government it self or with one another? Is not this a 'Mark your Government is loose  
 P. 126. ' and weak, and that your Laws are impotent? Is not this  
 P. 135. ' a Sign that there is a Party endeavouring to Contend with  
 ' the Prince even for Dominion, or who at least would set up  
 ' Imperium in Imperio? who rival the Princes Power, and have  
 ' indeed set themselves above the Laws'? and then what follows but that ' a Nation so deprav'd can't long preserve its  
 P. 136. ' Constitution? The Author I suppose did not think of this; but we are not yet come to the Section Of the Executive Power, there we'll harangue to purpose in praise of a steady Administration; and there you shall see, (such Feats can Authors play) that we'll presently set all right again!

In the mean time, Sir, and to confess my Dulness, which is more than every body will submit to, I am not able to find out what it is you would have us do in relation to Offenders. Shall we Punish them? No; for neither the Princes noble Nature, nor Necessary Prudence will allow it. Shall we acquit them? No, not this neither; ' for total Impunity brings Contempt upon the Laws, and begets a lasting Succession of ill Government', and even the Princes Lenity is to extend no further than is ' consistent with  
 P. 112. ' the Being of the Constitution'. What then are we to do? Must we neither Punish them, nor let them go Unpunish'd? this is a little Extraordinary; and if you would please to inform us, where the Mean lies, or what is Moderation on this Case, 'twould be a great Discovery and oblige the World extremely!

But stay, — I think I have found it: Bad Men are to go unpunish'd — not always — but for a while. They are to have  
 P. 114. Impunity, but not a total Impunity; there it is, and this nice Distinction has brought us off! A Rod, my Masters hangs over your Heads, and you are but upon your good Behaviour. And what has any body to say to the Justice and Prudence of this Method?

One Word, good Sir, I beseech you: If they are Men of Wit and Spirit, as sure their having got into eminent Posts, either by good or bad Arts, by some sort of Skill however, and their being Heads and Leaders of a Faction, must force us to allow them this is the most dangerous Course that can be taken. For by not forgiving them  
 P. 112.

them entirely, you keep up their Fears and do not gain their Love; and by not Punishing, you leave them a Power to Hurt you. Nor is it to be doubted but that they will endeavour to prove their Innocence from their Present Impunity. Therefore either Punish them Justly and Equitably if they Deserve it, and if you have a Mind to shew your Justice: Or else forgive them Generously and Entirely, if you mean to Magnifie your Mercy. Either of these ways may quiet their Minds and the Nation's Distempers; but part one, and part t'other, does only nourish Faction and keep us in endless Broils. Nor is this only my Opinion, for looking into Machiavel a little after I had wrote this, I found that Great Politician exactly of my Mind; in his Discourses on Livy, B. 2. Chap. 23.

And is this all you can Observe, says my Author; clear your Eyes a little and take notice of my good Address. 'Gentlemen, I would fain please you all; You Noble Patriots who have the Sword of Justice in your hands, who maintain the Cittadel, the Strong Hold, the Keep, and whom perhaps they have Justly provok'd; if you doubt it, read but my first Section, which can have no other Meaning but to remind you of that Provocation; and to make my Court to you. Make no question but that the Laws can reach a few busie Heads. Compulsion may be us'd without danger; Your Sword may be drawn upon those who will not hearken to the Dictates of the Law, and they whom right Reason and Common Utility, cannot contain within the Bounds of their Duty, can be kept in awe by severe Examples. This above board; Now a Whisper in your Ear out of the Love I bear you. 'Tis evident what mighty Expectations these Men have, from the future Condition of Things; they look for a time wherein they may carry all before them, and you may remember that a good Friend of mine has told the World, that they were never known to forgive, and that this is the Weakness of those Fools they have so long contended with, but if ever they are confirmed in their Numbers, not a Man of you shall be forgotten or Forgiven. But my Friends, Natural Heat might carry him too far, and tho' I was once of his Opinion, that to grant them Impunity, would render your Assembly as Contemptible as they could wish to see it; and make them too great to be question'd by a few resty Country Gentlemen; Yet the Times being chang'd, upon better Consideration I have alter'd my Judgment. And believe me, my worthy Friends, I would not have you be implacable, nor drive things to Extremity. For if one Side has as much Rancour as the other, the Commonwealth must bleed for ever. Be content then with the Triumph

P. 13.

P. 155.

P. 45.

P. 112.

P. 185;

P. 154, 155;

P. 355.

Tom. Double;  
Part II. p. 83.

ib. p. 45.

ib. p. 24.

ib. p. 74.

ib. p. 117.

P. 106.

P. 422.

P. 106.  
P. 123.

Triumph of your Charity and good-nature, and know you have quite disarm'd that Enemy whom you shall treat better than he treated you when at his Mercy. Do not tell me of your necessary Security, but trust to Providence and your own Vertue. And besides, I will hereafter think of Expedients to Secure you, and lay them down at large in my Second Part. You know how many Proofs I have given of my firm adherence to your Interest; and doubtless your Candor is so great that you will not be offended to hear what I have to say on the other side.

P. 161.

P. 160.

P. 159.

P. 157.

I turn now to you Unfortunate Gentlemen, who are at present out of Play, but who have conceiv'd vast hopes. I have laid aside all my inflaming Oratory, Satyr and Invective, at least so much of it as was not for your Service. For unless I had sprinkled my Essays with a little of the old strain, they had been so flat and languishing, that no Man would have given himself the trouble to have read the mighty Arguments I offer in your Favour. And besides all this, such a violent alteration as from the Quintessence of Gall to the Extract of Honey, would so have surfeited and disgusted my Old Friends, as that it would have entirely disabled me to serve you.

Pardon therefore I beseech you, those seemingly waspish Pages wherein I lay Insolence, Treachery, and the like, to some Peoples doors, p. 115, where I speak of Ambitious Men forming among themselves a strength, &c. p. 118, 119. The hard Inference I draw from the Actions of some noble Friends of whom I make fine Descriptions, p. 150, 171, 192, & 396. but this is only to set forth my Skill in Painting. Nor be offended that I tell the World, what sort of Men are under the strictest eyes of mutual Aid and Friendship, p. 222. and where one may fear there will be a stricter League than ever struck up, upon a certain Occasion; a League always formidable, and sometimes fatal, p. 246, 247. What tho' I inveil some of your Methods, p. 404. and shew what has been done, and what Men may argue, p. 253, &c. Tho' I talk of Men of abandon'd Principles, to whom Religion is indifferent, p. 251. of a Party, restless, undermining, and always at work, who have Liberty 'often in their Mouths, tho' it be distant from their Hearts, and tho' they are ready to give it up whenever they are bid what they think a sufficient Price, p. 149. alas! this is only to persuade 'those who seem to have the upper-hand, to keep within the bounds of Moderation. In a word, Tho' my Ingenious Accounts of some certain Persons and their Conduct, are every where dispers'd, as may be seen p. 129, 227, 278, 280, 338, 342, 397.

The Reader is desir'd to turn to these Pages.

tho'



tho' I remember how you drain'd the Publick, and made it a prey to Foreigners, p. 286, 287, 289. Nay which is more, tho' I complain of the Unsteddiness of your late Master, p. 392, &c. tho' I tax his profusion to those who had no real Merit, and yet whose Avarice was never satiated; blaming both the immoderate Gift and undiscerning Giver, p. 296. 299. Tho' I tell the World, that when the Publick Treasure was wasted, a great proportion of it issued out to reward bold Mercenaries, who made open Assaults upon the Constitution, or to pay Pioneers who wrought in the Dark to undermine it; and that these Aims at Arbitrary Power, had an influence on all other Male-administrations, p. 313. That you flatter'd his wild Ambition, p. 280. That even the Licentiousness of King Charles the Second's Court was not so bad as his, since Irreligion was not countenanced by the State; Atheism did not walk bare-fac'd, it had not its open Advocates, 'twas not a Recommendation, p. 219. I mean no manner of hurt in all this, but a good Memory is sometimes an Unlucky Quality, and out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. Nor could I tell how to say less, having so long and so often exclaim'd against that strange Mixture of Men which we lately saw upon the Stage, Irreligious Phanaticks, and Arbitrary Republicans. Who have never done good but for themselves and one another. Whose ruinous Conduct for 8 Years, was a greater weight upon this Kingdom than all other Burdens. And as for your Master, you know when time was, I bestow'd my Incense upon him very freely. And tho' Sect. 1. seems a little hard upon you, and a Retrospection to May 8<sup>th</sup> 1701. is scarce agreeable to my present Lenity; believe me, Gentlemen, it has no other meaning but to make a Leg, and to be Gentleman-Usher to the rest of the Company. Besides, you shall see, I will bestow a whole Section to teach you to behave your selves so Modestly, with such Submission and Decency, with such Respect to the Laws and to your Accusers, when you lie under Publick Accusations, that they shall be but as so many Squibs and Crackers, and do you no manner of hurt. Nay, if you'll but hearken to my Advice, I'll manage it so, that the fallen Minister shall have the general Suffrage of the People for him, and not fail of being restor'd to Favour.

Assure your selves, Gentlemen, the past Errors of your Managements should not be eternally remembered, never forgiven, and always upbraided to you, (for you know I declare against all: his p. 111.) but only that I may interpose for you. I would never

Alfo P. 273, 272

Ball. of Power  
p. 40.

Th. P. 49.

to. p. 80.

EII. p. 46.

P. 37.

Sect. 6.

P. 136, 137.

## A Prefatory Discourse

have taken notice that ' there is a Faction in the State, Corrupt, Ambitious, Implacable, Restless, bred under a loose Administration, impatient of a good one, and grasping at Power which they so much abus'd when they were in Possession of it; but only to let the Government know, how dangerous it is to engage in Battle with an Enemy, Desperate, Active and full of Stratagems, and that Slow Courses are best, and temerity ruinous, p. 413. If the Government will not be of my mind, notwithstanding all my Harangues to persuade them to it; if they think it is Absolutely Necessary to be upon the Guard, and to intrench themselves strongly against so Subtile, so Restless an Enemy, that Nests in their very bosoms, who can help this? It is not the fault of your Humble Servant, who cannot Compel Men, but who has done his utmost, and us'd all the sweet Charms of his Eloquence, to lull them into Security.

P. 385.

P. 381.

And now, Gentlemen, to address my self to both sides, can either of you have a more faithful, or so well-chosen a Friend? where can you contract a more sincere and solid Friendship? where will you find a fairer Advocate? I omit nothing that will bear on either side; I hold the Scale as even as any Man can; only because Mercy is the most popular Vertue, with your leave I will incline a little to this side, at least I will conclude this Section with a look towards it. Thus far my Author.

And truly, Sir, I am of his mind; for tho' I shall not pretend to advise my Governours, yet I find Good-Nature enough in my Breast to dispose me to be Merciful. And I make no doubt but that the Royal Heart excels in this as well as in all other Vertues; nor have the Church of England-Men flown higher in any thing, than in their Acts of Charity, Forgiveness and Compassion. I make no doubt then, but that the Government will Act as every body says they will, when they Forgive an Injury. Pardon the Offenders as freely and as fully as you please, but there's no Need, no Reason in the World, to Trust them. And if this won't content them, 'tis a plain Case to me what they would be at. I did not mean to tell you but that Tom Double has made it no secret, ' Dominion is our Idol, says he, and ha't we will by Hook or by Crook.

18. Part p. 44.

Before I dismiss this Section, I must tell you, Sir, that the World expects your Secret History, not that they question your Veracity, or cannot take your 107th Page upon your own word, but because they suppose it contains many Curious Things, as well as that Account you give us of King Charles I. and his Rebellious People, whom, you say, small matters would have at first contented.

My

*My late Lord Clarendon, you know, was a Person of Experience, of General Abilities, had a foundation of Merit, Administred Affairs Prudently, and did not stand in need of saying always what was pleasing, and his History has hitherto pass'd for Authentick. But as every body takes it, his Account of those times is very different from yours. Nay, I thought myself so sure of it, that in the following Discourse I've endeavour'd to prove from this Noble Historian, that no Concessions from the King, no Acts of Grace, could appease the Factious Men of those Times, nothing could satisfy them but the Ruin of their Sovereign and the Constitution.*

Balance of Trade.  
P. 149.

*But I must thank you for rectifying a mistake that the Common Historians had drawn me into. Homer (for Hemer I suppose is the error of the Press) is the Fountain, you say, of Policy as well as of all other knowledge. Now I have been so Ignorant as to think Moses and the Prophets of greater Antiquity; and looking into Danet's Dictionary just now, Article Homer, I find he tells us, that 'Tertullian has observ'd that the Pagans did not deny, that the Books of Moses were extant many Ages before the Cities of Greece, before their Temples and Gods, and before the beginning of Greek Letters. In fine, he says, that Moses liv'd 500 Years before Homer, and that the Prophets that came long after Moses, were yet more Ancient than all the Wise-Men, Law-givers and Philosophers of Greece. But because you know better things, you Sir, who have given so many Proofs of your firm adherence to the Doctrine of the Church of England; Who express so much concern for Religion, not only by bestowing a whole Section upon it, in your late Admirable Essays, but even in former Discourses which common Fame ascribes to you. There you shew how necessary it is in order to good Policy, that Governours should take care to keep the People to the Observation of some Religion or other. No matter which, whether it be that which the wiser sort have for themselves, or those gross Objects and Divine Rites consisting in Bodily Worship, Ceremonies and Sacrifices, which serve for the Vulgar. For Philosophy will not suffice to bind the Common People to their Duty; 'tis only the few and the sublimer Understandings, that are capable of the Benefits that may be receiv'd from thence: Wise Law-givers therefore have endeavour'd to keep the Inferiour Rank of Men within Bounds, by a Sense of Religion. So that those Men were much to blame, who objected against the Reveald Religion, as 'tis now transmitted to us,*

Essay p. 113.

P. 264.

Dist. on the Revenue, p. 264.

Ibid p. 269.

Ib. p. 269.

Ib. p. 268.

Ib. p. 270.

if they had not another Scheme ready. And to confess my Ignorance once more, I have often thought that this was the Faith of a Republican, but never knew before that it was the Doctrine of a Church of England-Man. These things considered, I hope you will condescend to advise Mons. Danet to correct his Error about Moses and Homer, in his next Edition.

Sect. 6.

And here we come to the Sixth Section. Now the best Measure for Great Men to take, that I know of, is to be careful not to Deserve Publick Accusations; and then 'tis no matter whether or no one lies under them. If a Man is Innocent, his Innocence will bring him off, or make his very Fall a Triumph over those who shou'd him down. It is not a Modern Opinion I grant, yet perhaps 'tis a true one, that when a Good Man is Persecuted, either by Court Intrigues, or Popular Fury, tho' it be to Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death, 'tis not he, but the Nation, that's the greatest Loser. A Good Man therefore may do any thing in the World with great Security, any thing that a good Man can allow himself to do: But an Ill Man can do nothing safely. So that if your Great Men have made themselves so Little as to lose their Innocence, I have nothing to say to them. But I beg you to mark my Antithesis, which seems to be as good as——if you are still in the Post of Power, —— and if you are quite out of it.

P. 368.

It is not my Business to advise Criminals to any thing but Repentance; if they like your Advice let them follow it. Tho' methinks if a Man will needs be a Villain, his best way is to be a Bold one. For if Conscience lays no Restraints upon us, what other Consideration can? And what are your half Saints and your half Villains good for? The first has not Virtue enough to carry him to Heaven; nor the other Villainy enough to make him Considerable upon Earth; and here again I agree with Machiavel, that half honesty is good for nothing. For my own part, I had rather be a Socrates or a Phocion, and perish by Popular Fury, and it would satisfy my Ambition a great deal more; than to be a —— any Great Man whatsoever, who Triumphs in the Ruin of his Country.

P. 385.

Sect. 7.

What is now to be said to the next Section? Why, not very much. For I am intirely of your Mind, that Misgovernment will never be redress'd but by Mending Things, as well as by removing Persons. Tho' 'tis like you'll meet with many that won't allow it, and they have their Reason. For if Things and not Persons were look'd after, 'twould Ruin their Affairs, Places would be good for nothing, there would be no Advantages left for them to Succeed to.

P. 142.

Again, I durst venture to lay my Life on't, that if ' Friendship,  
' Acquaintance, Kindred, holding the same Opinion, with several

ral other Reasons and Excuses, let me name some of them, as *Vicious Inclinations contracted by Evil Habits, and the being Partners in the same Guilt, did not set Men up Advocates for Wickedness, they would be ashamed of Defending what is in it self a Real Crime. For this must be said for Vertue, She has Reason so clearly of her Side, that a Man must be a Fool and a Blockhead when he Deserts her. And he who sets up to Plead for Vice, whether Directly or by Consequence, Openly or Cunningly, is of all other Coxcombs the most Notorious. So that if in the next Book you publish for the Benefit of Young Gentlemen, you would be pleas'd to instill into their Minds such Principles as these, I dare say they would have Reason to thank you for them. and find them of greater Use than any other Arts whatsoever.*

*You are pleas'd to allow that a small Number of Preachers, or Heads of a Faction, or whatever one may call them, who gain by the Separation, keep the Dissenters from joyning with the Church: And that there are many Instances that a Few have been the first Authors of Revolt and Sedition; which is what I endeavour to prove. What it is that gives the Few such a Weight, shall not be here argu'd. But it is a very Natural and Necessary Inference, that since a few can do such Mischief, Good Patriots should be upon the Watch, and not so much consider what may Pleas'd at Present, as what is Right and Safe, and which way they may Establish and Secure the State in all succeeding Ages, against those who would Embroil it. As little Severity therefore as you please, and as much gentle Usage and Lenity in relation to what is Past, provided there be a strict Care of what's to Come. Most of the Great Changes and Disturbances in Government, having been brought about by a Small but Active Number.*

*The Point then is settled to our Hearts Content: So one would have thought, but*

‘ O dangerous Estate of Sovereign Power!

‘ Obnoxious to the Change of every Hour.

*I had not got to the End of the Section e'er all was in Confusion! Men must not be allarm'd with angry Retrospections; and yet in half a dozen Lines, Inquiries are of Absolute Necessity! Now this is to be done——and anon, so much and no more! Well, commend me to Men who creep servilely after Sense, as Mr. Johnson has it. For alas! I'm too dull to understand those who are given altogether to elevate and surprize; and who accustom themselves to a correctness and choice of Words, as a greater Author expresses himself.*

What

P. 149.

Moder. p. 83, 84,  
93, 96, &c.

Dedic.

P. 150.

P. 147.

P. 148.

Rehearſal.

P. 157.

See the next Page

Ball of Trade; &c.

## A Prefatory Discourse

What shall I do? what Conduct shall I find,  
 To lead me thro' this Twi-light of my Mind?  
 For as bright Day with black Approach of Night  
 Contending, makes a doubtful Puzling Light;  
 So Justice here, and Mercy put together,  
 Puzzle me so, I can resolve for neither!

*any more than Volscius could determine whether he should pull on his Boots; and so I pass on to the next Section.*

sect. 8:

P. 161.

*And here we happen to set out with an ill Omen, for since all the Vices Men can be Guilty of; their Impiety, Ambition, Envy, Malice, Revenge, Hypocrisy, Fraud, and Intemperance, (you might have enlarg'd your List) tend to the Damage of our Country, so that he who bears it a true Affection won't be guilty of them, for we are not willing to hurt what we Love: By the Rule of Contraries, he who is Guilty of these Vices does not love his Country, and so we have lost a World of Patriots at a dash. And further, if that Man's Mind is not much bent upon the Publick who sets too high a Rate upon himself, I doubt we shall lose all the rest, and then good night England!*

P. 162.

*And now give me leave to take notice of a very pretty Conceit, which is New and your Own. We have had many fine Schemes of Government, have traced it up to the State of Nature, Original Contract and all that, ——— but I don't remember that ever I heard till now, that Pride was the Foundation of Sovereign Empire over the rest of Mankind. And that if it had not been for Pride, we had all been Fellow-Citizens of One great Commonwealth the World! All upon a Level no doubt of it, and why should we not endeavour to reduce the World to its first Principles, since You and I should be no Losers by't? I like this Thought extremely, and were I not in haste at present, I should be as troublesome to you Sir, as Mr. Smith was to Mr. Bayes, by asking a hundred Impertinent Questions, concerning this fine Description of the Production of what we call Civil War.*

P. 162, 163.

P. 163.

P. 164.

*But as for the World's being deceiv'd, by Vice dress'd in the Robes, and adorn'd with the Attributes of Vertue, this is no News, nor any thing extraordinary, setting the Metaphor aside. For Vice is so Ugly, that tho' a Man might entertain it for his own Turn, he would gain no Followers, no not among the Factions Crew, who are ready enough to follow any thing, if he did not disguise it in the Appearance of Vertue. And were I able to trace a Thought up to the Fountain head in imitation of your great Example, I fancy I should*

should find that this is the Reason, why there is so little Real, and so much Appearing Vertue, among Mankind.

P. 165.

I approve the Advice, but I can't relish the Expression, that the best way is for every Man to mend one, my Grand-mother has told me so a hundred times. In a Book so Rhetorical as yours, it sounds a little Flat, and is neither set off with True nor False Eloquence. Besides, we have been admirably well told by a Divine Author, that every Man should Study to be Quiet, and to do his own Business; and what can that be, but to Provide for himself? that is, to Mend one.

P. 1. 6.

But whilst you are Mending other Peoples Morals, I find you've almost spoil'd mine. I shall ne'er have a good Thought of Divines and Philosophers again, if their Precepts can't do so much good as the Authority of a few Factionous Men. But the Reason may be, because Philosophers and Divines propose a Pleasure too Refin'd for the gross Palates of the Most; and their Recompence is to come Hereafter. Whereas Faction offers something in hand; there's Golden Mountains, as Men think, to be got by't.

And this may also stand for a Reason why Men Love the Crooked Roads of Vice, rather than the easie Paths of Vertue. There's little to be found in these but Tranquillity of Mind, and that Peace which the World can't give; whereas the former glitter with Riches and Preferments, and tho' Folks may be seen quarrelling upon them, yet this is only about dividing the Booty. You know who it is that says, 'Men will probably be more willing to listen after Vertue, when Poverty is grown upon them'. But Poverty is not that they like, he understood Mankind better, who tells us that 'he who has good Store of Money shall be esteem'd and Courted let his Birth be never so Mean, or his Life never so Infamous.

P. 187.

P. 63,

Disc. on the Rev.  
Part I. p. 274.Tom. Double,  
Part I. p. 14.

But pray, Sir, how comes it that you take upon you to give so fair a Character of our late Prince King James II? You say he 'had many Vertues, and that his worst Enemies could not justly charge him with any Material Fault in Government, but what he was first led into by Superstition. How happy was it for this Nation that by cutting off his Father's Head, we sent him and his Brother into Banishment to learn this Superstition: Otherwise we should not have had with the other Blessings of the late Revolution, the very President, which is not to be accounted among the least. We had not obtain'd that happy Opportunity of answering all our foolish Doctrines, and setting Liberty upon a better Foot. And upon this Account it is, I suppose, that some People are for abolishing

Eli. P. 198.

Grants & Refump.  
P. 24.

*abolishing the Fast upon the 30th of January, or rather for turning it into a day of Rejoycing, because of the President and good Effects. But it may be, Sir, you Publish'd King James's Vertues, to make us sensible that by GOD's Blessing we live in a Reign so just and good, as that a Man may utter Truths which some Governments could never bear. Real Heroes 'tis true, have not been known to suffer any Petulant and Fawning Sycophants to make court to them by Invectives against their Enemies. For they who have real and Eminent Vertue, know they stand in no need of such a Foil. And yet, I can't tell how it happen'd, that there was a Time, when all the little Scriblers about Town, acted Shimei's vile part, by venting all their no-wit, and over-flowing malice in reviling Afflicted Majesty.*

*'Tis indeed a very just Observation, that tho' a Man may pardon those who Injure him, yet he never Forgives those whom he Injures. And some will tell you, this is the Reason, that the Ministers of a certain Prince who shall be nameless, were not only Pardon'd, but reciev'd into Favour, and Advanc'd to Places of Honour and Trust, while the poor Prince only was the sufferer. Tho' according to your last Politicks ' it is not quite clear, whether or no ' GOD allows the Subject any other Remedy for Mis-govern-  
' ment, but to punish Ministers for what the Prince has done  
' amiss, by reason it was their Duty to advise him better :  
' And tho we have formerly read Declarations that have profess'd  
the same thing. But words are but the Cloaths of the Mind, and consequently may be laid aside as the Season changes, and when they grow uneasy and out of Fashion.*

*And now I must tell you a Thought that's just come into my Mind. If the Heads and Leaders of Faction might by their Authority, (as you say they can) put an End to this Madness of the People, tho' it be not good to multiply Laws, yet in such a Case as this, there ought one to be made to force them to make Peace at Home, at the Peril of their Heads; notwithstanding what may be more conducing to their Designs and Interest.*

*As to History and Eloquence, I dare not contend with you, only as I understand the matter, your Historical and Florid Account of the Rise and Progress of Faction in this Kingdom, might have been sum'd up in three or four Words. For it got head among us, either when the Prince was Weak and the Ministry Wicked, or else when both were Weak, or both Wicked, at least there was Weakness and Wickedness among them, wherever it lay. Not but that the People were as much in fault, or rather more than the Prince, but this we shall take notice of hereafter; nor should I have made so  
free*

E.D. Dedic.

P. 379.

P. 366.

P. 334.

P. 166.

P. 173, &amp;c.



free with Crown'd Heads, which is not according to my Principles, but that I have Convers'd among the beau monde ever since the late Revolution.

But pray, Sir, since you are an Admirable Historian, be pleas'd to help me out of one Difficulty. Among other things that you tell us have been the chief matter and occasion of Discord here, you reckon the Prince and his Ministers aiming at Arbitrary Rule; attempting Changes in Religion; Persecuting tender Consciences; wasting the Publick Treasure so as to bring heavy pressures upon the People. Now in your fore-going History of the Rise and Progress of Faction, at not many Pages distance I read, that notwithstanding the Sanguinary Temper of Henry VIII. the perpetual and heavy Taxes he laid, his Profusion of that great Treasure his Father left him, and the total Change he made in Religion; yet no Party could be rais'd, that by its Numbers, Interest and Strength, could be able to shake his Throne; and yet here was all the above-mention'd matter and occasion of Discord.

So in *Q. Mary's* Reign; tho' the Protestants were perhaps the stronger Side, yet they durst never take up Arms in their own Defence, against her cruel Persecutions: Persecution then it seems is not always an Occasion of Sedition. Nay, even in the Reign of her Glorious Successor Queen Elizabeth, who is a Pattern which Princes who intend to rule well and wisely, should ever have before their Eyes; Tho' as another very Authentick Author tells us, and proves what he says from Records, 'tis certain She now and then exerted her Authority in a manner very unwarrantable by our Constitution: Acting as if she had had the same Arbitrary Power here, as the Princes her Neighbours pretended to have in their Dominions: Yet the Commons were Obedient, her Authority was awful to the Lords, and the Church was rent asunder by no Schisms. Now pray Sir, how am I to reconcile these Differences; or which of these Authors and which of these Pages, am I to give credit to?

But be this as it may, before I dismiss them, give me leave to make this Observation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. That when a Queen makes it evident to the whole World that it can never enter into her Thoughts to make any Step that shall hurt England; when she is known to have such Right Inclinations to the Realm, that she will make no ill use of her Authority; when she keeps the Ballance of Power even, never engaging in Wars, but what are unavoidable and

P. 196.

P. 198

P. 199

Ball. of Power, &amp;c.

P. 197.  
See also Ess. p. 216

Essays p. 180.

Ball. of Power,  
P. 198.

P. 197.

P. 196.

P. 197.

P. 198.  
Eiff. p. 216.  
Eiff. p. 181.

manag'd with Frugality, Acts of Power should not be mur-  
mur'd at in her, nor her Proceedings oppos'd; *but the more (I will not say Arbitrarily but) Sovereignly she Acts, so much the better, so much the more is her Subjects Good consulted and her own Honour. Her People will enjoy more Plenty, Quiet, and a farther extended Trade; and be more Formidable to their Enemies and make a greater Figure among all their Neighbours. Thus it was in Queen Elizabeth's Days, and thus we hope it may be again, by following her Councils. What they were, we have endeavour'd to shew in the ensuing Discourse; nor can any one be Ignorant with what a steady hand she held the Reins of Government, never debasing her self so much as to Court the Seditious and the Factionous, by any Method but the Wisdom Justice and Goodness of her Conduct; by the Noble Arts of Ruling well; by a Management without Reproach, and by Discountenancing such as endeavour'd to give Disturbance to the State.*

See Moderat p. 82,  
83, 94. Also p.  
29, 38.Eiff. p. 201  
P. 414.P. 168.  
P. 166, 167.

P. 169.

Moderat. p. 26, &amp;c.

P. 191.

*And this methinks has brought us to the main business, even the Cure of Faction; which in the plenty of your Fruitful Brain, was almost forgot. I take your word Sir, that Civil Dissentions are not an incurable Disease, and that they are more easy to be subdued in a Monarchy, than in a Democracy or Aristocracy. And tho' you had not, yet even common Sense would have told us, that they tend to the Ruin of the State. And that therefore it is the Duty and Interest of a Good Prince to put an end to these Discords. But how shall this be done? how, but by the Princes Authority, and by his vigorous Execution of the Laws? which contains all your other By's. For as for your But, p. 191. tho' you have Machiavel's Authority for it, I can by no means allow it, and have given my Reasons elsewhere. But however I will here add another Reason of more weight with most People, than twenty Truths. It is not seasonable, it has been out of Fashion almost these Two Tears, it is not at all the Air of the Court. Not only Liberty and the Force of Laws, but what is a more effectual Security, the Vertue of our Prince, has banish'd from Her Throne this abominable Doctrine, that Honesty and Vertue are in some Cases Pernicious, and that a Prince willing to retain his Authority is compell'd to be bad. Our Sovereign has Nobler Arts of maintaining her Authority; For there is a Natural Superiority in Vertue, that extends its Empire over the Minds of the most Corrupt; forcing them to do Homage wherever it is observ'd in any eminent degree. And tho' it must be confess'd that Vice has obtain'd a strong Dominion among us, this will only be an occasion*

caſion for Her Maſteſty's Great Genius to exert it ſelf in the Redemption of her Country, from this moſt deplorable Calamity. Our ill Example inſtead of being a Temptation to her to follow it by Humouring and Indulging us in our Follies, will only inſpire her with a noble Ardour to ſet us a better.

P. 79.

As for the Cure of Faction; you ſay ' it is moſt evident from ' the experience of all Ages, that no ill affected Man can be able to diſturb the State, where there is an honeſt, careful and Uncorrupt Adminiſtration. Our work then is done for this Reign, we are only to take care of Poſterity, and ſo to ſecure the Conſtitution, that Faction may never ſprout up hereafter. Upon which view no doubt it was that you thought fit to beſtow upon us the 9th and the following Sections. Theſe I ſuppoſe are that Part of your Diſcourſes which you deſign'd to make Publick in November, 1701. For there is not the leaſt danger, GOD be thanked, at Preſent, either of Arbitrary Power, Miſmanagement of Publick Treaſure, or that National Intereſt ſhould not be purſu'd any more than that Property ſhould be Invaded. Nor indeed is there any Reaſon to fear, either Religion or Liberty of Conſcience, whatever alarms ſome Men would ſeem to take. Would to GOD we could as well ſecure them to all ſucceeding Generations, however we hope to do it, if a ſtrange mixture of Cunning and Folly don't defeat the zeal of our Prince and of all good Patriots. It is upon Poſterity then, that you beſtow your Labours, and ſure, thoſe Gentlemen can't be in the wrong, who following ſo great a Precedent, are for ſecuring the Conſtitution, and conveying it intire to their Nephews.

P. 172.  
So again.  
P. 185.

P. 10.

P. 101.

We will examine therefore the ways you propoſe, and ſee how much they excel other Mens Expedients. For nobody doubts ' that Faction is more Pernicious and worſe than any other Diſeaſe, ' and will, whenever it gets ground be the ruin of a Nations and conſequently, that all Juſt and likely Methods ought to be taken not only to extinguiſh it at preſent, but to prevent its riſe hereafter. But how and by what Means it is to be prevented, is not ſo ſoon agreed.

P. 115.

However, to know what Faction is will go a good way towards the Cure, tho' ſome perhaps may ſay, after all this talk about it, does it yet want to be Defin'd? But theſe Men ought to conſider, that a great many pretty Speeches and fine Diſcourſes would be loſt, did either Speakers or Writers keep cloſe to the Point. An Equivocal Expreſſion helps a Man to cuff a Subject about at ſuch a rate, that thoſe who make more uſe of their Eyes and Ears, than of their Thoughts, believe him Invincible. Eſpecially if he has

P. 362.

False Parts, and false Eloquence, ' because it is not hard for Great  
' Parts and flowing Eloquence so to cloath Falsehood, that it  
' shall appear as fair as Truth it self.

Pai. of Tr. p. 130.

Now Faction is not merely an Opposition of other Men, for then  
the Best and Wisest Persons must always be Factionous, for they will  
always Oppose the Wicked. And according to a Great Author,  
' 'Tis wrong to call them the Faction who by all Dutiful  
' and Modest Ways promote the Cause of Liberty; he might  
have added, or that stand up in Defence of the Constitution. So  
then, tho' there be two Sides, there may be but one Faction, since  
they who are in the Right are not Factionous, and those who are in the  
Wrong always deserve that Character, if they carry their Error so far  
as to create Disturbance in the State. Faction therefore is either the ma-  
king of a Party in Opposition to the Laws and the Establish'd Government;  
or else the pursuing of a Publick Good by Unlawful Means. Whoever  
be he that does either of these things is a Factionous Person, be his appa-  
rent Good Qualities, and fair Pretences what they may. And if we  
carry this Idea in our Minds when we read a certain Author, it will  
untye a great many Sophisms, and lead us out of the Dust and Ob-  
scurity which a promiscuous and equivocal Use of the Word has  
rais'd.

P. 362.

And se again, p.  
421.

For Instance, we are told that ' it is Prudent Moderation to  
' countenance Men of Real Worth and Merit without Distin-  
' ction of what Side they are: and we are made believe that this  
is the same thing as ' to receive all the Good with Impartial  
' Kindness. Now this is only a mere play of Words, there's no-  
thing in it; for Men truly Good will never be Factionous. If by Worth  
and Merit you mean a Man of Learning and Eloquence, of Cunning  
and Dexterity in Affairs, and such like Qualities as usually recom-  
mend a Man in the World; if it be Merit to confound the Notions of  
Good and Evil, to put Darkness for Light, and Light for Dark-  
ness, I grant there's enough of such Merit as this to be found, and  
'tis usually of Faction's Side, and these are the Men that do the Mis-  
chief. But these are not Good Men, far from it, and an Author  
who has given such frequent and ample Descriptions of such Men as  
these and their dark Proceedings, must never pretend they are.

A Good Man is he who acts in the Integrity of his Heart, with-  
out any sinister and selfish End, and I won't deny but that there may  
be some of these among the Factionous, but then they are Men of no  
Reach, of very indifferent Understandings, and are only made the  
Tools of the other. Such as these, as they are not fit for weighty  
Affairs, so I suppose they don't often pretend to them. For tho'  
thei,

their Honesty might recommend them to the Service of their Prince, their want of Abilities forbid it. All then that these Men can pretend to is Protection, and an Approbation of their Integrity. But if the Dangerous and the Active, the Men of Intrigue, of greater Ability and less Honesty, are to be employ'd, this is what our Author calls the Trimming Game, and a Course full of Difficulties, so far is it from being Prudent or Expedient, or Moderate, if Moderation in this Case be a Vertue, and not rather a supine Remissness, a want of Fore sight, or of Application.

P. 202.

Forgive me this, Sir; now to make you some Recompence, I own you write like an Oracle, Page 200. There is no good indeed to be done by complying with the Avarice and Ambition of Mankind, for these are never satisfy'd. And since that which they generally contend for is not who shall best serve the Prince, but whose Service he shall be compell'd to make use of; the only way is to shut the Court Gate against all such Brigues as these. So I think, tho' I am not in Office; but others are of Opinion, that Men who are yet unprovided for, give you no thanks for this Maxim. A Maxim, which had it been follow'd, would long ago have clipt the Wings of those Gentlemen, whom common Fame and the Voice of the World, have pointed out as the ablest Men. Tho' they have 'nothing but the Appearances of Worth with false Vertue, 'false Parts, and false Eloquence, which yet makes them so Popular sometimes, as that 'they are able to disturb their Countries 'Peace'. It being more easie to blow the Coals of Discord than to quench them; as any body may be convinc'd, who will but compare the former Discourses and Essays of a Certain Author, with that cool and cautious Oratory, which has lately appear'd.

Letter to the Author of *Ways and Means*, in *Disc.* of the Rev. Part I.

Eli. p. 68.

Good Government then must heal those Distempers, which, as you say, first arose from Male-administration; but whether they may not have another Original, shall be enquir'd hereafter. And this Good Government is to shew it self, as we learn from the following Sections, by pursuing National Interest; Avoiding Arbitrary Power; Taking care of Religion, that it have its Influence on the Manners as well as on the Opinions of the People; that the Establish'd Church have the Affection and Favour of the Prince, because Regal Authority has no other solid Basis to rest upon but the Church; that Church Preferments be fill'd with worthy Men; and that Dissenters have Protection and Liberty of Conscience: These must also be Frugality in managing of Publick Treasure: A careful and steady Execution of what the Constitution requires; that Government going on so currently and regularly through the Prudence

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Sect. 9.

Sect. 10.

Sect. 11.

P. 224, 205.

P. 233.

P. 232.

P. 226.

P. 233.

Sect. 12.

Sect. 13.

P. 302.

P. 207.

and

and Vigor of the Executive and Ministerial Parts, there may be but little Occasion of resorting to the Legislature: And to bring all this about, the Prince must do as much of his Business himself as he can, and because he cannot do it all, he must be very careful to make use of the ablest Heads and Hands, calling to his Assistance a Wise and Honest, a Faithful and Courageous Ministry; Men Stout and Circumspect, afraid of 'doing nothing but what is ill in it 'self, and against the Rules of Vertue: He must be steady in his Conduct, Protect his Servants no longer than they do well; and so long as they are Honest and Upright, he must Defend them against all Assaults. This is as I take it, the Sum and Substance of the remainder of your Essays, I dare not take upon me to affirm, that it might have been as well said, and as much to the Purpose, in just so many Words. But since you think fit to be more particular, and are so Liberal of your good Thoughts, I will endeavour to follow your Example as far as my Penury will allow.

Sect. 9.

The Petty Sections of National Interest and Arbitrary Power, are soon dispatch'd, tho' methinks for two such mighty matters, they make but a very little Figure in your Book. A Starter of Cases indeed would needs say, that if it is a Rule with Machiavel 'self-dom or never subject to Exception; and with you Sir, the Fountain of our English Policy, our very Homer; 'that in Matters of Empire, whoever is the Cause of another's Advancement, is the Cause of his own Diminution; for Ambition was 'never known to set it self any bounds: By a Parity of Reason, in a certain Case, they who are the Cause of a Party's Advancement, or which is all one, who do not hinder it, do hereby lessen themselves. A Truth so plain that the Dissenters and their Patrons are well aware of it, and spare no Diligence to conceal it from the Friends of the Church and Constitution.

P. 205.

But you take care to tell us, that 'it is not meant by what you 'advance, that a Prince must always head his Army. This I suppose is in Complement to her Majesty, and in respect to her Sex. We know there have been Queens who have Commanded at the Head of their Armies with as much Bravery and Resolution as the greatest Hero; even Queen Elizabeth, if I mistake not, did wear her Jack-Boots. But we have too much National Interest in our present Sovereign to expose Her to these Hazards, lest it should quench the Light of England. She is the Breath of our Nostrils, we know not how to Live if this fails us. Most Men, 'tis true, Worship the Rising Sun, if they can do it covertly, and make their Harvest at Present, as well as Sow their Seed for the Future. But since when  
Time

Time was, they left this Service unpaid, for Reasons themselves are best acquainted with, 'tis but just and equitable that they should double and triple their Present Devoirs, centring all their Services Here, without a Look or the least promising Expectation of Hereafter. For when our now Meridian Sun must leave us, and Oh! that it were possible to protract it for Ages! we shall too surely find, that the Glory of England sets with Her.

So then we have done with these two Sections, since we entirely agree, That a Constant Pursuit of National Interest is good for every body; but an endless Contention about Arbitrary Power is good for no body; and what we disagree in shall be taken notice of hereafter. Only by the way, since things are ill Governed when the Prince has either too much Power, or too little; a Man of your clear Thought should have inform'd us what is too much, and what is too little; For that Degree of Power, whatever it be, that enables a Prince to defend the People; if it is lodg'd in ill hands may be us'd to Oppress them. And that Regal Authority that is reduc'd so low as that there is no possibility of its being abus'd to Oppress, is on the other hand utterly unable to Defend the People. And since it is most certain that the Laws of GOD instruct us to suffer a great deal from Princes, it had also been worth the while of an Author of your Exactness, to have argu'd and determin'd how much we were to suffer, and to have setled the Bounds of Liberty; a perpetual Wrangle about these being no small Occasion of the growth of Faction; and Subjects having been often reduc'd to Bondage by aiming at unbounded Liberties. It might be thought Presumption in me, to touch this Draught after such an Apelles; nor is this a proper place to treat the Subject as it ought to be handled; one knows not what may be attempted upon a just Occasion.

Religion and Liberty of Conscience are the great Arguments of the next Section; but if this Dispute is for a while postpon'd, I hope I do not lose my Right to resume it. This is 'the Cittadel, the strong Hold, Keep and last Refuge', and perhaps all the rest of the Book was wrote for the sake of this; and therefore we will take in the Out-works before we approach it.

What then is to be said to the Twelfth Section? very little, for the Great Governour of the Universe made nothing in vain, but gave every Man a Genius good for something or other, and if he has but so much Skill as to know his own Strength, and not to go beyond his depth, he may not be unuseful to himself and the Publick. Nor do we only allow in Theory, that Oeconomy in Managing the Publick Treasure is for the Honour of the Prince and Ease of the People, who doubts it? but

Sect. 10.

P. 211.

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P. 14

Sect. 12.

but we can now go further than the bare Speculation, we feel every day the Benefits thereof.

Sec. 13.

Resamp. p. 24.

P. 373.

The next thing to be consider'd is the Executive Power, and we are glad to find you grant that the Constitution lodges it Originally in the Prince, and in him only. Tho' some nice Criticks are a little surpriz'd to find an Author who has profess'd so long and so violent a Love to Liberty, as not to think the setting our Minds at Liberty from foolish Doctrines of Unlimited Obedience, was too dearly purchased by fifty Millions and some Hundred Thousand Lives, which a late valuable Precedent cost us; to find an Author who was once so fond of the very Precedent, within sixteen Years after run Government up to the utmost height, and even beyond those foolish Doctrines from which it deliver'd us! For does that ' Obedience, say they, ' which the Scripture enjoyns to Government in general, include all the Ministerial Officers of the State? and have none but the Peoples Representatives a Right to question their Proceedings? Should a Minister send to cut our Throats, or to distress upon our Lands, must we suffer it? may we not secure our selves and appeal to the Laws? or must we stay till the Representative of our County or Borough complains to the House of Commons, and they call him to Account and punish his Offence? We have been taught indeed that there is no Power but of God, and that the Powers that be (that is the Lawful Powers, for St. Paul was no Friend to Robbery and Usurpation) are ordain'd of GOD. Most of us took the Test, wherein we declar'd, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; ——— or against those Commissioned by him according to Law. But we never heard till now, that Ministers whether or no they have the Prince's Commission, or the Authority of the Laws, for you say not a Word of this, are only to be dealt with or question'd by a Parliament! This is Passive Obedience with a witness, and the most foolish sort of it that ever was taught!

P. 379.

P. 314. &c.

Modor. p. 27. &c.

Eff. p. 316.

Well, however this may be, 'tis very sound Doctrine, that not the Good but the Bad Business of a State, is Difficult and Unpleasant: And that a Wicked States-man is a Miserable Slave amidst all his Gay Trappings and Servile Adorers: That a Good Prince has Thorns a-now in his Crown, and therefore the People need not envy him a few Prerogatives, nor grudge him that Money which is only employ'd in their Service. But it is not his Centring all his Thoughts in the Publick, and directing all he does to the Common Welfare, that makes him Uneasie, for this is the Pleasure, as well as the Business of a Great Prince; his Noblest Prerogative, the only Jewel that



that makes his Crown worth the Wearing. *But that which afflicts him is, that his People will not be made so happy as he desires and endeavours to make them.*

*Who knows not that ' the chief End of Government is to prevent Corruptions? and that the fewer there are there will be need of fewer Laws? But who can discern that it follows from hence that there ought to be but few Laws, unless you had Condescended to Prove that the Men of this Age have but few Corruptions; or that New Laws Corrupt them? You have writ enough in all Reason to render it impossible to prove that this Age has but few Corruptions: And as for New Laws being the Occasion of Corruption, there's something said indeed p. 334. that would look big and put on the Air of a Proof; but People tell me it is an Imposture and nothing at all to the purpose, and being very much of their Opinion, I dare not undertake to defend it, for if it proves any thing, it proves too much, and would conclude that no Alteration, no New Law is to be made upon any Account whatsoever; for thus we may argue. The leaving any Fault whatsoever uncorrected, or any Necessity unprovided for, can't be so great an Evil, as the ' making the People lose that Reverence to the Publick, without which Government cannot long subsist. But a Multiplicity of Laws deprives them of this Reverence, and therefore 'tis better to let Evils grow to a head, than to make New Laws to Restrain them.*

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P. 334.

*A worthy Argument! but why was it not thought of sooner? and before so many Changes were made, even in the very Foundations? Do not mistake me, and say, I speak of England, at present I am only reflecting on Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and the New Atlantis. For if a frequent Correction of the Errors, or pretended Errors of a Constitution, deprives the Government of the Reverence of the Vulgar, I doubt these poor People have at present not much to lose.*

P. 335.

*As for England, let it be wise in time, and not set other Nations Precedents, but learn Wisdom from their Misfortunes. Let us keep as many as we have of the Ancient Land-marks, they are the Palladiums of the State, let us use all our Power and Skill to secure them, for the further we deviate from the good old Paths, we shall only find our selves the more bewildered. But I suppose, Sir, you offer'd that Argument only as one of the ' many Proofs of your firm Adherence as well to the ' Interest as the Doctrine of the Church of England; and in opposition to Dissenters, who are always for Alterations, and yet know not where to fix; and then I agree with you. Otherwise all*

P. 361.

*I have to do is only to admire that extraordinary Quality of drawing Consequences which no body else can, and having a Reach and Fore-sight beyond all your Fellow-mortals! But it is certainly a Gift, and one of the greatest Bounties Nature can bestow upon a Man; For without this Talent what Man could have dreamt, that the making a few harmless Laws, would end in a total Subversion of the State.*

P. 336.

P. 331.

*How far ' Wealth and Vertue may consist together, shall not be here argu'd ; nor how a Wise Man brings it about to be both Rich and Vertuous. Only by the way, Truth it self has assur'd us, that it is easier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a Rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And what can it be but his want of Vertue, that keeps him out? So that tho' it may not be Impossible, it is at least very Difficult for a Rich Man to be a Good Man. And therefore tho' it is a wonder why a Wise Man and much more a Christian, should strive for Riches; yet it is none why Lycurgus should banish them from his Government. Could you reduce England to that Simplicity of Manners, for which the Spartans were so famous, I make no question but you had got the Specifick that would Cure all our Diseases, even Faction it self, as inveterate as it is, and might pluck it up by its very Roots. But whether or no you think it proper, or have any Intentions to write us into the Spartan Discipline, I know not. This I know, that you grant that all wise and great Nations, when they discern'd Corruptions coming upon them, made early Provisions against them by wholsom Laws. For tho' much Physick vitiates the Blood, it does not follow that therefore we must never take any. Even in that strong and healthy Body Politick, the Roman State, we find there was a Mischief they could not root out all at once, but were forc'd to pull at it thrice; ' to wit in the Licinian, the Cincian and Oppian Laws; and thro their remissness in consenting to the Repeal of this third Law, the Mischief broke in upon them to the ruin of the Commonwealth. And to infer that all is out of Order, because something is to be mended, will hardly pass upon the Vulgar, but to be sure will never be admitted by Men of any Form or Understanding.*

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P. 331, 332.

P. 334.

P. 331.

P. 333.

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P. 336.

P. 143.

*No doubt there can be nothing more dangerous than to mingle, and so to confound the Legislative and the Executive Power, but all other Questions apart, we need only inquire, whether an Error in the State may not be redress'd unless by the Law-makers? If it can't, then to be sure they must exert their Power: But if*

it can,

it can, then it may be most prudent, safe, and consistent with the Nature of the Constitution, to let Business go on in its Natural and Ordinary Method.

We remember who it was that not many Years ago had found out very many minute Inquiries for the Legislative Authority, and thought it could bring the most effectual Helps to set us right in case of ill administration. Nay, went so far as to advise Committees of Inquiry to sit in the Interval of Parliaments; which was never yet heard of, but in that Long Parliament which overthrew all our Laws and involv'd us in a Civil War. And this has given some People occasion to say, that the only way to take off the wanton Enemies of the State, who hurt it without Malice, and only because they have nothing else to do; is for a certain Author to Publish a Volume of Essays every Year, which it is suppos'd will furnish the Fault-finders with a full employment.

Balance of Trade,  
p. 186. &c.  
P. 188.

See my Lord Clarendon, Vol. 1.

Essay p. 350

It was some of those witty Folks, that would needs persuade me, that you are extremely kind to the Legislature by excusing them from Business and begging them a Play-day. Because you tell us that their Time must neither be taken up with Inquiries, nor employ'd in making Laws, since a Multiplicity of Laws depraves the Manners of the People, that few Laws are best, and that New-Laws are only the prescription of State Empericks.

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P. 334.

But I correct these Idle People and assure them that you know better things, than to shew such a monstrous sight as the great Champion of the Legislature turn'd Recreant, and giving them up as an insignificant Assembly, and thus I go about to prove it. To Do and Undo, without knowing where to fix, is such a fault as should not be made before the Vulgar, lest they think themselves Wise enough to instruct such inconstant Law-makers. An unnecessary multiplying of Laws may like enough deprave the People; And Laws are Unnecessarily multiplied, when the Constitution has already made Provision, if you will but Observe and Use it. It is therefore to no purpose to make Laws if you never execute them; or to use your Remedies so short a time that the peccant Humours can't be carried off; but to make Laws when they are really wanted, is another thing.

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If the Legislature has already done its part, and the fault is in the Executive Power; 'tis unnecessary to multiply Laws to the same purpose, you need only quicken the Execution; for Laws not Executed are in Effect no Laws. But if on the other hand, the Evil still continues, tho' the Laws are vigorously Executed, 'tis a sign some

## A Prefatory Discourse

*good Law is wanting, and that the Legislature has not yet made due Provision for the Cure.*

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P. 345.

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P. 339.

P. 347.

Laws must not be Enacted upon every slight suggestion, nor Repeal'd with the same Levity. Yet Emergencies may happen, allow it be but rarely in a State well govern'd, yet sometimes they arise, and new Distempers shew themselves, and in this Case 'tis certain, fresh Remedies must be apply'd, and recourse must be had to the Legislature. The Body Politick must not Live upon Physick and strong Cordials, but in Cases of Necessity it may innocently make use of them. And who shall be judge of those Emergencies, and this Necessity but the Legislature? If it leaves the Executive Power where the Laws have fixt it, and only exerts its own Authority, methinks neither you nor I, nor any modest body has reason to find fault. For every Man, and every Body of Men are best in their own way, and about their own Business. And to help the Government by Advices, or new Laws when wanted; to leave no vice or Crime unconquered when once assaulted; to intervene with its Authority as the matter requires, not only with Representations, and Advices to the Throne, but by Offering New Laws, when the Fault or Misgovernment can be mended no other way, is the Business of the Legislature. When Vices have been fixt many Years, and the People have been long misgovern'd; be the Affairs of the Publick upon a good or bad foot for the present, the Assistance of the Legislature will, from time to time, be wanting to keep what stands upright from warping, and to straighten what is crooked. Nay, sometimes there lies upon 'em an absolute Necessity to interpose, or all must go to Ruin. Do but turn to p. 342, and you'll find a great many If's, and even some reserv'd in petto, p. 343, ready to be produc'd upon occasion if all the rest are dispatch'd, that are the proper Objects of the Legislative Care and Wisdom.

P. 34, 35.

And now I hope I have prov'd to some purpose that the Legislature is not become an Idle and Antiquated Part of the Constitution, notwithstanding those Banterers who will needs have it, that several of your Sentences look with a suspicious Air; and as if you meant to add to those Libels which endeavour'd with utmost Malice and Virulence to bring a part of the Legislative Authority into Contempt and Hatred. No, Gentlemen, you that so valiantly maintain the Cittadel, the Keep, never fear that you shall want employment, we have found you enough to do. For indeed, so great is our Authors Civility and Compassion, that he never seems to strike a blow in one Page, but he takes care to ward it in another.

The

The only danger is, that in so many travellers, one should lose their Guide, and not be able to find out what the Author would be at. Nor can every Man's Brain endure so many turnings; therefore beware; Reader, that in following such a Guide you do not lose your self.

And if there be ever a Case or Instance wherein the Three Estates, that is Two parts of the Legislature, or the Lords and Commons the Subject Body of the Parliament, that Corporation of which the Queen is the Head, the Beginning and the End, as the manner of Holding Parliaments tells us; For that the King is one of the Three Estates, was Pryn's Doctrine indeed, and his Fellows, but we have not heard it affirm'd by any better Men: The Oracle of the Law, my Lord Coke, is of another Opinion in his Chapter of Parliaments: But if, as I was laying, there be ever an Instance, wherein the Two Houses have thought fit to proceed so far, as to carry a Bill through each House in one Sessions; and to go through with it very speedily in One House the next Sessions; every Man who has a Reverence for the Wisdom of that Great Council, must needs suppose it a matter of Absolute Necessity, and that they would not take such Pains but in a Case of the Greatest Moment. If they shall think fit to Consult and Treat upon any Bill for the Service of the Queen, the Defence of the Kingdom, and of the Church of England, which are the three things that by the Writ of Summons, the Queen has call'd them to consult with Her about: This is then the Emergency, this is that Necessity, which all true Patriots will provide for, with an Integrity and Prudence, Spirit and Resolution, becoming the Trust repos'd in them, and I pray GOD give them good Success.

But, Sir, I am to thank you for a Discovery, alas! I have hitherto thought, that according to Moses, we were all of Adam's Race, and that a State of Nature was a meer figment of Hobbs's Brain, or borrow'd at least from the Fable of Cadmus, or Æacus his Myrmidons, till you were pleas'd to inform me of that Equality wherein the Race of Men were plac'd in the free State of Nature. How I lament my Stars that it was not my good Fortune to Live in those Happy Days when Men sprung up like so many Mushrooms or Terræ Filii, without Father or Mother or any sort of dependency! Without doubt it is the Innate Idea of this great Original, and not any Fault in the Executive Power, that makes each particular Member of the Common-Wealth think it Lawful for him to intermeddle, As you say a few Pages after.

## A Prefatory Discourse

And truly who can blame a Man who finds himself not at Ease, or so well as he would be, if he reassumes a Fundamental Right, a Privilege of which no Man can divest himself, and so soon as he can get more Men of his Mind to make his Party strong enough, declares the Contract broken and that those who are no wiser (this a Man always supposes) and by this time no stronger, than he is, have no Right to Command him; but that he is return'd into the full Liberty his Progenitors enjoy'd in the Free State of Nature, and that he may Act for himself, and take all the ways of Consulting and Compassing his own Safety. Most admirable Doctrine, equally true and Loyal! and is not her Majesty infinitely oblig'd to you Sir, for spreading it?

And truly were I good at making Schemes, and tracing matters up to their Original, I should be apt to ascribe the Miscarriages of Government in a great measure to those fine Notions which every Man takes upon him to vent without Fear or Wit. For these make the People Proud and Turbulent, so that the Few can't Rule the Many, and this unquietness in the People, puts Princes and Ministers upon Measures they did not mean to take. Princes who have so much Power above the rest of Mankind allow'd them by the Laws of GOD and Man, would I believe be satisfy'd with this Lawful Power, were not the deliciousness of Arbitrary Power, ever rung in their Ears, and every little Fellow among the meanest of their Subjects setting up for it. Is there e're a Cobler that is not absolute in his Garret, and thinks that in this he does not go beyond his Last? Do not all Degrees of Men Act as Arbitrarily as their Strength will suffer them, in their Families, their Lordships, Jurisdictions and Offices, and is it not then very natural for the Prince to think that he may be as Absolute in his, whenever he is strong enough to maintain his Authority? Thus the Corruptions of the Feet Fume up to the Head, and Men grow sensible of the mischiefs of Arbitrary Power when exercis'd upon them, but take no notice of the Evil of that which they exercise themselves.

But the truth is, Arbitrary Power how much soever Corrupt Nature may hanker after it, is no fine thing, 'tis a Burden no Wise and Good Prince would wish for, much less endeavour after, where Custom and Laws do not allow it. 'Tis the taking upon himself an Inmolerable Burden, a heavy account for the next World, and Distracting Cares in this, of which the Laws do very much ease the Prince in a well regulated Monarchy.

That

That an Usurper should endeavour after Arbitrary Power is not strange, for if he got the Crown by the Sword, the Sword must maintain it. Or if he came in by the Caprice of the People, another Humor may work upon their Levity and turn him out again; And therefore if he thought another Man's Crown worth Accepting, he may think it worth Preserving when he has it on his own Head.

But I really believe that a Prince of Probity and any tolerable Understanding, who is an Hereditary and Lawful Prince, never attempts being Arbitrary thro' his own Thirst after Power, but it is the Petulancy and Unquietness of his Subjects that puts him upon it. If they are ever struggling with their Sovereign, wresting from him all the Power he has to do them good, under pretence that he may happen to use it to their hurt; they even compel him either to give up the Government, or else to make some Vigorous Attempts to maintain his Authority.

Or if this is not the Case, then it is because the Prince does not enough attend his own Business, but suffers Evil Ministers to do Acts of Power in his Name, and under pretence of his Authority to gratify their own Avarice or Ambition and other Passions, or to secure their Power or to Enlarge it. This is indeed the Princes Fault since it is entirely in his Power to cure it; and in such a Government as ours, the Two Houses of Parliament by Application to the Prince, or by the known and regular Methods of calling evil Ministers to an Account, may easily put a stop to these Proceedings, delivering both Prince and People out of such ill hands.

If the Prince does not see their Faults, or the Laws will not reach them, the Commons who are the Great Inquest of the Nation, may pursue and take them from their Sanctuary, upon Just and Sufficient Grounds, and with the Gravity and Equity becoming such an Assembly, making it evident that it is the Crime and not the Person they are angry with. And that their Intention is not only to get one Man out to put another in, who, 'tis like, may act no better than his Predecessor: But that they Design to do Right to the Publick; and to warn all ill Men that they should not dare to Meddle with Business they are not fit for.

But the Wantonness of the People arising from too much Plenty, Pride and Self-conceit, wrought up into Faction and Disrespect to their Governors, by evil Principles industriously instill'd into them, is not so easily cur'd. It usually increases till it comes to such a height as to bring upon them the very Evil they so loudly exclaim'd against. And those who were taught to be so much afraid of the Encroachments of their Lawful Prince, as to scruple his Just and Necessary

## A Prefatory Discourse

cessary Power; become in a little time mere Slaves to the Arbitrary Rule of some of the worst of their Fellow Subjects, those Popular Demagogues who drove them into these pernicious ways. Of which to name no more, we had too deplorable and too recent an Instance in our own Civil Wars the last Century.

So that tho' 'tis very fit to tell Ministers in Private what's amiss, or even Princes themselves if they will allow it; tho' it may and ought to be spoke of in a House of Commons in a Parliamentary Manner; it is by no means proper to Print Books of Misgovernment, in a Plausible Stile and spread them among the Rabble, among all who pretend to be Judges, however unquality'd, and who are but too apt to find fault with their Superiors, with or without Reason. It will never make a Nation happy to offer such Sophistical Arguments and give such doubtful Characters and Descriptions as People may apply how they please, nor ought a Wise Government to endure it. For these are the ways that make the Vulgar grow Inquisitive, Censorious and Turbulent, hardly to be kept within the Bounds of Duty to their Rulers.

P. 555.

P. 556.

But the way to serve our Country, and to remove the Matter out of which Wicked and Ambitious Men create Factions in a Kingdom; is to plant in our own Minds, and as much as we can, in the Minds of our Fellow Subjects, a Reverence for Authority. A Readiness to excuse the almost unavoidable Slips of our Governors, and a backwardness in Censuring their Measures, of which indeed Private Persons are not Competent Judges, since they know not the Springs of Action, and it is not the Wisest Counsel that is always attended with Success. And I will be bold to say, that this Veneration for our Governors, that Reverence which is due to them, not so much for their own sakes as for GOD's whose Deputies they are, and without which all Government must needs be at a stand, can never be preserv'd in Mens Minds by the Principles of our Modern Politicians. Their Foundations are rotten, their Schemes are inconsistent, their Productions Monstrous, and what they build with one hand they pull down with the other.

Absolute Power can never be free from Fault, except where it is directed by Infinite Wisdom, however it must be Reverenced. But since Absolute or Unaccountable Power, or which is the same thing, a last Appeal, must be lodg'd some where; otherwise there is, there can be, no Government, whatever Men may talk, but all is in Confusion: Therefore the only way is for the Supreme Power wherever it is Lodg'd, to Govern it self; and to take all its Measures according to the Direction of the Laws; which, tho' they may not be Infallible, are yet the Supreme Wisdom of the State. And whoever

builds



builds his Politicks on such a Scheme as this, will approve himself a Benefactor to Mankind; will equally provide for the Honour of the Prince and the just and wholsom Liberty of the Subject, and for the mutual Quiet, Interest and Prosperity of both. But I doubt I am gone beyond my Sphere; however, since all the World is Mad, why should not I be so?

What has been already said may suffice to shew our thoughts concerning Ministers of State, and therefore we have but little to remark upon the 14th Section. Only I can't suppress my Joy to find that good Wits jump, for it seems I had blunder'd on that very place in Machiavel which you are pleas'd to take notice of, p. 359. and a little after there's another Agreement. And as to Love their People and consult their Welfare, is in Princes the highest, and carries along with it all the other Parts of Wisdom: So upon the Choice Princes make of their Ministers, depends both their own, and the Felicity or Unhappiness of their Kingdoms.

How then are Princes to chuse their Ministers? perhaps this is one of the hardest Arts of Empire, especially in some Ages, where there seems to be almost an Universal Corruption. So that a Prince tho' he has large Dominions may have so little choice of Men very wise, and very Honest, and Vertuous in all Points; that tho' he is ever so well dispos'd, and has as Royal and as English a Heart as ever any Prince was blest with, and as tenderly affected towards his Subjects; he will find it a difficult thing to meet with fit hands to Execute his Generous Intentions.

For whether it is Fortune or Prudence that helps a Prince to a good Ministry, shall not be here argu'd; this is certain, that it is but by Accident that he can be a good Minister who is not a good Man. He may, perhaps, have prov'd Honest hitherto, and so far as he has been Try'd; but it is only because a Temptation has not been laid in the right Place. For whenever it is oppositely offer'd, you can't reckon upon him; he has not a Strength of Vertue, or rather, if one may mix Divinity with Politicks, a strength of Grace, sufficient to overcome it.

But I take a Perfect Disinterestedness, and even a contempt of Money, to be the Cardinal Vertue of a Statesman. Voluptuousness I own does very ill suit with a Man of Business; But a Man of Pleasures will hardly seek after employments, unless he is needy and wants a Fond to supply them. Nor will any Prince be so unwise as to Employ him, unless he is to discharge two Offices, the Business of the State, and the Pleasures and Riots of the Palace. Ambition is always watch'd, and if it be of the Right Sort, that is, if it leads a Man to the pursuit of truly

Moder. p. 19. 32

P. 29. &amp;

Ess. p. 363.

P. 365.

P. 389.

P. 386.

P. 219.

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*Great and Noble Ends, by Just and Honourable Methods, it is a Vertue in a Statesman, necessary to give him Spirits, and to carry him through the Fatigue of Business. But Avarice, or the Love of Money, tho' it goes no further than that Value and Concern for Wealth, which is so Fashionable, so Reputable, and reckon'd a point of Wisdom by those who would take it ill to be thought Covetous; even this leads us into every dirty Path. From whence we can never disengage our Selves, but by a Generous Contempt of Riches, a readiness to rid our hands of them as soon as ever we can with Bounty and Discretion. Love of Money is indeed a sordid Vice, and more unbecoming a great Man than Ragged and Nasty Apparel; it ensnares him in all Treachery and Baseness; 'tis an Idol to which he sacrifices his Reputation and Honour, his Prince and Country, and even his very Soul. No Benefits, no Bounties can secure him, he is always at the Price of the Highest Bidder.*

*But Sir, the Ministers whom you describe p. 375, 376. and who contribute very much to root out Faction, have none of this Blot upon them. And when none but these approach the Throne, Men of whose worth other People are sensible as well as themselves; and who are conscious of a stock of Vertue sufficient to bear them out in the roughest Storms of Fortune, and to resist all the Temptations which Eminent Power may lay before them. And who do what is Right and Wise, without regarding which side is pleas'd or displeas'd with their Actions or Councils: The State will be incomparably well Govern'd, and they will at the long run, receive Universal Approbation. And if they make just so much hast as Necessity, and therefore the Rules of Prudence require, the Peradventure may be left to seek its Fortune.*

*There is one Omission in your directions to Statesmen, which I beg leave to supply, and that is concerning Benefits. Are not those Complaints of Ingratitude which Great Men sometimes make, wholly owing to their own Ill Conduct? Whether it is through Vanity and Ostentation, or because they think a Crowd of Suitors at their Levée, is a mark of Grandeur; or whether it is to raise Mens expectations and the Value of the Benefit, tho' this is a very false Thought; or whatever may be the Cause, it is the general Practice to make a Man attend a tedious while for any Favour they do him. Which is certainly the very worst Way they can take; for it loses them all the Thanks and the Friendship and Service of the Person, whom they might have gain'd intirely, if he be a Man of Honour and worth Gaining, by a Handsom and Generous way of Obliging.*

*And*

P. 390.

P. 412.

And if he has Spirit, he not only thinks the Attendance they have made him pay, and all the Trouble of Soliciting too great a Price for the Favour, and so concludes that he has not receiv'd a Gift but bought a Purchase, but which is worse, that Dissimulation, Falshood and Design, that sort of Bargaining for your Vote or your Service, together with the Insolence of treating Gentlemen, (who some little Advantages apart, are perhaps, as good as themselves) like Valets and Foot-men, which tho' a Man may bear for his own Interest, yet he always Remembers and often Resents; all this put together, makes him instead of a Friend become an Enemy. Thus the Great Men who bestow their Favours so awkwardly, not only lose the Good Will of those whom they Deny, but even of those to whom they grant them. So that tho' Places and Preferments seldom want Receivers, yet at the Price Great Men set upon them, a Man of Merit will hardly be the Purchaser.

Stand off now, and make Room for Religion and Liberty of Conscience, bring them in hand in hand! Alas Sir! Religion is left at the Door; she can't croud in, for Liberty of Conscience has got the Start of her. Liberty of Conscience is the Goodlier Person, uses a little Art, goes Finer, has the better Address and more plausible Eloquence. Religion is a Plain, Honest Matron, and this as Times go is no great Recommendation. Room there for Dame Religion who has lost her Head-Cloaths and is almost tore to pieces in the Croud. Help, help! let some good Christian run and intreat the House of Commons to send their Officers to make way for her!

Sec. 11.

And now we are got to the Eleventh Section; and because there is great Variety of Matter and Argument, much of that which some sort of Judges may call False Parts and Eloquence: Since the Point is so knotty that even such a Master as your self, Sir, has left it a Moot-Case what is best for Religion, or in your own Phrase Dubious; I will tell you how the Case was argued by two Worthy Gentlemen t'other day.

P. 260.

Enter John a Nokes and William a Styles, with their Company; Place your selves Gentlemen and listen with Attention, and now let the Disputants begin.

NOKES. It is so plain a Truth, Gentlemen, that I need not display my Eloquence to Prove, That Princes who would keep their Governments intire and uncorrupt, are above all things to

P. 210.

P. 217. preserve Religion in its Veneration. Machiavel himself allows it, and attributes all the Roman Greatness to the Care that was taken to Season the Peoples Minds with the Notions of Religion. And as Religion in general is necessary to the good Government of a State, so the Religion of the Church of England is not only the Purest, but seems to agree best with the Nature of our Constitution. So that for indisputable Reasons of State, and by the Rules of Policy, Princes who respect the Present or Future Happiness and Peace of their Dominions are to promote and encourage the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and to Countenance such whose Zeal, and real Opinion lead them to adhere firmly to it; as having always been the truest Friends to the Legal Constitution of this Country. The Personal Piety of the Prince and his Example does indeed some Good, but if he would have it last, he must endeavour to Establish it in the Hearts of his whole People. Not by Speeches only to amuse the Vulgar and faint Edicts, but by obliging the Magistrate to put the Laws in stricter Execution, and by noting with the highest Marks of his Displeasure, those who lead vicious and immoral Lives, and by advancing and shining upon such as tread in the right Paths of Vertue.

P. 263. P. 242. P. 244. P. 242. STYLES. You have discoursed admirably well Brother, but give me leave to ask you what you mean by Immoralities? and putting the Laws in stricter Execution? For you can't but know that these are loose and indefinite Expressions, and that there are a sort of Men who would run the Government upon fatal Precipices, by endeavouring to persuade us, that it is Hypocrisie and Immorality for a Dissenter to qualify himself for a Place by Occasional Conformity; and are therefore for making a New Law, only as they pretend, to prevent ill Mens evading the Old ones, whereby Dissenters would be put upon a New Foot, and might no longer at one and the same time, have their Liberty of Conscience, and yet enjoy all the Privileges and Advantages of Englishmen, qualifying themselves as the Law requires.

P. 241. NOKES. You must excuse me, Brother, if I am of those Gentlemens Opinions, and take this Practice to be as gross an Immorality and down-right Hypocrisie as ever was heard of among Christians. A means that Bad Men have found out at home, to undermine our Constitution, while Storms look Black upon us from abroad. From whence they take occasion to pretend the Unseasonableness of endeavouring a Redress, and restraining those who play fast and loose;

loose; who are not satisfy'd with modest Terms of Liberty; and who instead of being upon an equal Foot with others, insist for a strange kind of Latitude, and to have Privileges above the rest of their Fellow Subjects, and who begin to assert as a Right this unbounded Freedom; too plainly declaring by such an Arrogance that they contend not for Equality but *DOMINION*. These Wise and Moderate Men, as they would be thought, do what they can to flam us into a Belief that a Restraint upon this Practice is carefully to be avoided if we would preserve that Union, which alone can make us Powerful abroad and Strong at Home. And that tho' it may be strictly Just not to allow Men any longer to Undermine the Constitution with Impunity, for this is so evident they cannot with any Face deny it, yet they pretend to make a Question how far this may be at present Prudential. As if because we are in Danger Abroad, therefore we must suffer our selves to be Destroy'd at Home! For this worthy Reason I suppose, that it is not so Honourable to fall by our Enemy's hands as by our Own!

**STYLES.** You are warm, Sir, and one of those who think they can never carry it on with too high a Hand, and whose misguided Zeal wants to be temper'd. For tho' your Side is to be indulged in its just Pretences, it ought to be check'd in all its Passions. And what's at the bottom of all this? why do you desire to use the Arms of Flesh, but because you are not strong enough in Vertue to weild Spiritual Arms? This is the Original of Persecution; which is so far from compassing the Ends propos'd, that in all Ages and in all Places, Hereticks and Sectaries have rather been encreas'd than Diminish'd by Persecution. Whereas by being very careful to preserve and maintain an Act of Toleration, the Minds of the People are set at quiet; and the Measures of all Separate Congregations broken. Has not Persecution always been the surest Method of reviving Zeal? And can there be a greater Persecution than the depriving Men of the convenient Privilege of being of both Sides; as they see it most for their Profits? Will it not occasion a Conjunction between such as Malign the Church, and such as Malign the Government? and may not this be Fatal? and the Consequence of this tend to divide the Church it self? As one Side deserves Favour, so the other have a Right to Protection. And the Prince's Care of the Establish'd Religion ought never to raise up a Spirit of Persecution in those who are favour'd and Countenanc'd. If the Dissenters Sin by Hypocrisie, what then? there's a God to inflict his Vengeance on them. 'Tis true we are wiser than to refer an Unjust Prince to GOD's Tribuna

P. 244.

P. 232.

Bal. of Tr., p. 125.

Eiff p. 242.

P. 235.

Dedic.

P. 233.

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P. 2. 2.

bunal, but think it much better that the People shou'd call him to a Reckoning, whenever he has so little Grace as to displease them. But our Brethren, the Dissenters, ought to be allow'd a greater Privilege. Not but that we Moderate and Low-Church-Men are as much of the National Church, and have given as many Proofs (you must not examine them too nicely) of our firm Adherence to its Interest, upon Occasion, as the best of you. But we are not for a hasty Submission, not much to be depended on, but for a Gradual and Safer Advantage. We are for Caution and Slow Courses, which are best for us, whatever happens, and most like to rivet us. And who can blame us for securing our own Stake, whatever Card is Trump, since Perhaps and Peradventure, this may not hurt the Church?

**N O K E S.** And is this all you have to say? Here are Words enow, tho' I find you have only given us the Epitome and Spirit of a Great Author's late Essays; but where are the Arguments? Have you Answer'd a Man's Reasons, when you have call'd him Warm, and a High-Flyer? and have taxed him with Heats, and Indiscretions, and Inconsiderate Zeal, tho' without any manner of Proof?

The Honour of G O D, the Interest of His Church, the Service of our Prince, and the Welfare of our Country, will warrant our Zeal; and render the Narrow, Selfish Spirit, the Cowardice, and Trimming, and Supine Indifferency of Base and Treacherous Spirits, under the specious Name of Moderation, inexcusable. And if what was doing from May 8. 1701. made it difficult for a certain Author not to run into some Warmth; there are other Epoches that might be nam'd, when as Audacious Attempts have been made upon the Publick, and which therefore may excuse a little Fervour.

But who are those Zealots that wou'd run the Government upon fatal Precipices? It cann't be those Gentlemen who have so unblemish'd and fair a Character for their known Worth, Experience, Zeal, and Integrity towards the Publick, true Affection to the Ancient Constitution, Wisdom, Probity and Candour. These are none of the Leaders of Parties, who, whatever Shapes they put on, do not strive to Heal Breaches, but let the Wounds widen or fester. Those Gentlemen do not pursue the Game of their own Interest or Ambition, to the Ruine of their Country: Are not dextrous to mislead the People, nor at any time ready to subvert the State, or to undermine its Constitution. They do not condemn the Innocent, and acquit the Guilty, in Opposition to the State. Nor would involve the Commonwealth in their Private Ruine, or Ravish from Her her Honours and Preferments; nor keep up our Divisions, only to fight their own Battels.

P. 261.

P. 413.

P. 403.

P. 106.

P. 45.

P. 47.

P. 263.

P. 260.

P. 61.

P. 101.

P. 74.

P. 135.

P. 238.

This whole Page is  
worth the reading.

tels. *They are not the Men who love Crooked and Stony Paths, and to do by Tricks, what might better have been brought about in the plain Ways of Dealing; Who take Measures visibly Destructive to their Prince's Happiness and Honour; Who run into all his worst Inclinations, and spoil the Seeds of Vertue and Goodness that were in Him; Who Foment Divisions, that they may be restor'd to the Greatness from whence they are fallen, by the Aids and Voices of their Faction. They are not for the Profit of Foreigners, to our Ruine; are not endow'd with Intrepidity in Dangerous Councils, with the Dexterity in Deceiving, with the Audacity in Asking, with the Plyant and Supple Temper in Consenting, with the Front in Justifying False Steps; or with Servile Compliance, in a Place that shall be nameless; with Talents to Deceive the Prince themselves, and to suffer him to be Deceiv'd by others; to procure high Titles, and erect to themselves large and invidious Fortunes in Times when their Country is under Calamities. No, the Description here made, is the Picture of such who wou'd now be thought your Moderate, your Prudent Men.*

P. 187.

P. 98.

Bal. of Power,  
P. 83.

Ib. p. 88.

*Whereas those whom they reproach with Intemperate Zeal, are the very Men (to go on with our Author) who made such a Stand as prevented Universal Ruine; who Contested indeed, but it was only to promote good Government, and who attack'd the Corruptions of the Age with Vertuous Courage; at first by thin Squadrons, not above Eighty in Number, and yet this \*small, but fearless Band, did for several Years so bravely Charge through the Listed Mercenaries, that at last, by having Reason on their side, and by constantly pursuing the true Interest of the Nation, they made so many Converts as to be strong enough to Defeat and Rout the Adverse Party; and 'tis to be hop'd they are now entirely Masters of the Field.*

P. 106.

Dedica.

Bal. of Power,  
P. 90.

\* Essay, p. 77.

*And what was it that possess'd this Small Band with such Undaunted Courage? What was it that Encreas'd their Numbers? but the Honesty and Integrity of their Designs, their having the Constitution on their side, which is a Weight that will turn any Scale, give Honour and Advantage to all who Adhere to it, and sooner or later Ruine all who Oppose it. For unless the People are utterly deprav'd, they will at last discern who they are that stir them up, and promote Popular Things, only to gratifie their own Ambitious Ends, and who it is that desires no more but to awaken them to look after their own Interest and Safety.*

Essay, p. 57

*Now methinks it is not hard for a Prince who is desirous to Reform the State, to determine which Set of Men he is to make use of. And for what are these Descriptions given, but in order to incite Good Men to watch over the Growth and Progress of Faction? And to shew that the small Number, if they persevere with undaunted Courage, may prevail at last to defeat the malice of the Corrupt Part, especially when the Endeavours of a Few, are assisted by a Prince dispos'd by Interest and Inclination, to promote the Common Welfare. For if good Men were but as active and Vigilant as their Opposites, it would not be so easy a matter to change the Constitutions of a Country. For Guilt makes bad Men tremble and break their Ranks, when those who are concern'd in Honour and Interest, to have things well Administr'd, do resolutely and firmly join together to oppose them.*

*When then are your Temperate Councils Necessary? For does it not import all good Men, to watch the very first Invasions and Encroachments upon the Constitution, and betimes to intercept them in their Course? For if on one hand the Prince sees Men desire no more than to be well Govern'd, if on the other he perceives they desire Mis-Government, because it makes best for them; upon such a View he ought certainly to join with the Good by which the Bad become so weak a Side, that they are no longer able to disturb Affairs. And a Church can never fail to Flourish, when Sovereigns by their own Principles are entirely firm to the Interests and Religion of the Church Establish'd, and consequently are enclined to Countenance those who have the *TRUEST ZEAL* to support it. And this is the best Policy as well as the Sincerest Religion, since the Regal Authority has no other solid Basis to rest upon but the Church.*

*I hope therefore we shall hear no more of Heat and Intemperate Zeal. There is not any thing indeed so Satyrical and Biting as Plain Truth, or so provoking to Ill Men, tho' it be deliver'd in the calmest and civillest Language. He is too High a Church-Man who would place the Establish'd Church out of the reach of Faction and Sacrilegious hands! He Flies too High whose Wisdom and Honesty has rais'd him to such an Eminence as enables him to discover and countermine those Pioneers who work in the dark to undermine the Constitution! And he has no Moderation who is not Indifferent and Stupid enough to suffer Crafty Men to Circumvent him, or sufficiently Knavish to help on with the Designs!*



As for what you offer upon the Topicks of Persecution and Toleration, it is all besides the Purpose. For can it be call'd Persecution to keep ill Men out of Office? to hinder them from destroying the Constitution? Is it a constraint upon their Consciences? an Invasion of their Natural Rights to forbid them doing that which all sides allow to be a Scandalous Practise? But if Men were not at a mighty loss for Arguments; did they not depend more upon their Clamours than their Reasons, or had they any regard to Truth; and were it not a cast of their Office to give every thing a false Turn, they would be asham'd of naming such groundless and so often refuted Objections; and till they have answer'd what Sir Humphry Mackworth has so admirably well writ upon this Subject, they ought not in reason to teize us any more with these Impertinencies. But it is well said by a Writer of another Form that Men do as industriously contrive Fallacys to deceive themselves (when they have a mind to be deceived) as they study Frauds whereby to deceive others.

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Tom. Double  
Part I. p. 40Balance of Trade,  
p. 129.  
Pray consult it.

STYLES. But hark you, Sir, tho' there is no Infraction of their Toleration Act nor any Persecution intended them; it being very possible to make Affection in the Prince to the Establish'd Church and Liberty of Conscience consist together; yet Imaginary Fears often disturb Mens Minds, as much as a real Danger. And if your Neighbour has a strong Conceit, that by securing your own house against Thieves, you make it a Cittadel to attack him, why should you not only shun an essential Infraction of good Neighbourhood, but even what looks like it, and so leave open your doors, and take what follows, to keep a Jealous Person quiet?

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NOKES. A very notable Argument! but is it not double edg'd? For what if the Church-Men have their Jealousies and Fears, especially since we are told that Dissenters have a Fortref, and are so tender of their Rights that they will not endure any thing that has the least appearance of a Bridle? Must nothing be done to quiet the Church, and to secure it from the Dissenters Encroachments? Should not Things be mannag'd with such Caution and Candor towards those, who are confess'd to be the greatest and best part of the Nation, as that they may not have Reason to urge that they are obliquely Injur'd or hurt by a side-Wind? Tho' they can be under no apprehensions in this Reign, since her Majesty's Judgment as well as her Interest ties her to the Church; yet what can be the Reason of that violent Opposition that is made to the Security the Commons have set their hearts upon? by those who if they

P. 247.

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P. 358. pleas'd might carry it? What will they infer from hence but that respect is had to the Future Condition of things? That a Time is expected in which such a Security as this may be disagreeable? And therefore they who are so wise as not only to enjoy the Present but to lay up for the Future, defeat our Measures, and will not allow us what we take to be absolutely necessary. And may not such Fears as these be as troublesome as any the Dissenters can have? and as fit to be presented?

E. 235. Especially since we have the Constitution on our side; and have Reason and Justice and all the Right in the World to support our Fair and Equitable Demands, which are so far from passing the bounds of Reason, that they go no further than what we have been so often told is a Fundamental Right which we cannot lose, Self-Preservation. Such as join with us have a Support that may be depended on; but such as seek to disappoint us by Tricks and Artifices, do but ill consult their own Interest. For tho' they may keep us off for a while, yet Men who Act upon Principles are not easily disheartned; they will in the End be too hard for their Opposers, who will find when it is too late, that they have only drawn upon their own Heads a weight that will infallibly crush them.

Hall. of Trade, P. 8. E. 243. **STYLES.** Ay, but great Animosities may rise from small Punctilioes, a Man may refuse me his Hat, which is a thing perhaps in its own Nature Indifferent, this is improv'd by wicked Arts into a Quarrel, to Murder and so forth! So these Disputes between the Church and the Dissenters, may raise Heats, may bring the Acute humours to Float, it may do this, and it may do t'other, and what may be the Consequence? Besides, Indulgent Laws to Subjects, Resemble Treaties between Prince and Prince, and you know how nicely these ought to be observ'd.

E. 246. P. 246. **NOKES.** I never knew till now that the Dissenters and the Government were upon a Level, distinct States, and such as enter into Articles and Treaties of Peace! Much less could I have thought that if the Queen grants a Pardon to a Felon, she Covenants with him that no body shall take notice the next time he seems to attempt his Neighbour's house! But to what wretched shifts are Men driven, when they condescend to such stuff as this, which is scarce worth Laughing at, much less worth Answering, and what an Affront do they put upon their Neighbours Understandings! and I begin to think that their Strength is as contemptible as their reasons.

E. 243. P. 248. **STYLES.** I grant you, Sir, that to contemplate them in their proper Forms and Ranks, they are not very considerable.  
For

For they have in Communion with them none of the Nobility, and but few among the Gentry, and not many substantial Free-holders, and but a few of the Rich Merchants. However, they seem very far from being despicable as wanting Numbers. *For you are to know, that they have not a few of the Female Sex, more Sea-faring Men, likewise very many Tradesmen, or Retailers, Artificers, Manufacturers and Day-Labourers, and in these Multitudes their chief strength consists. Now you must consider that these Tradesmen are mostly employ'd by the Female Sex, and if the Ladies should put themselves in the Head of these Multitudes, what a formidable Insurrection would it make! What a shock would it give the Throne! and how Fatal might the Consequences prove! The very least would be the hindrance of the next Campaign, and we must be forc'd to send for our Army that ought to assist our Confederates, to suppress this Insurrection at home! Besides, there are among them some of the Men of Professions, such as Law and Physick, who no doubt, will Harrangue the Mobb, and work them up with their inflaming Oratory, Poetry, Essays, and what not, till Discord has brought it to such a Fray, as was not many years ago at the Dispensary! And should the Gally-pots, Law-Books, Recipe's, Chancery Bills, Attorneys and Apothecaries Items, and such like Instruments of Destruction, more fatal than Bullets and Gun-powder fly about our Ears, alas! what will become of us, we are an undone Nation! especially should some unlucky Amazon seize the Fleet, for as I said, they have a large Proportion among the Seamen! You know how hard it was for the Men to recover their Dominion from the famous Ulasta, or as some call her, Valasca of Bohemia, even when she had none but Female Troops. I'll tell you the Story because it is not common; Lybassa Queen of Bohemia, and Wife to Premislaus, having at her Death bequeath'd the Command of the Castle of Lybus and her Companions, to Ulasta who had been her Maid of Honour; this Lady who had a good deal of Spirit and Courage, form'd a design to seize on the Sovereignty. To which purpose she inspir'd her Women with a great Contempt for the Men, and a strong Resolution to throw off their Yoke. She exercis'd and inur'd them to Labour, and the Fatigues of War, as if they had been Educated in Plato's Common-wealth, and gain'd many considerable advantages during a Seven Years War. So that the State astonish'd at her Victories, had yielded to her if Premislaus had not laid a Snare for her, so she perish'd unhappily and all her Amazons.*

*Except the Ld. W. of P. and it may be another.*

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*Dubravici Hist. Boh. and Repub. des Let. Feb. 1688.*

Tacitus, A. 1. S. 63.

*Did not Agrippina the Wife of Germanicus oppose her Courage to the Cowardice of the Men, and in the time of a great Consternation among the Roman Troops discharge all the Duties of a General? Review the Legions, march amidst the Roman Ensigns, make Donatives to the Soldiers, having more Authority in the Army than all the Generals, for she appeas'd a Mutiny, where the Name of the Emperor had been of no Consideration? Thus Mary of Lalain, Princess of Epinoy, and the Lady De Balagny performed the Duty both of a Captain and of a Private Soldier. This last visited the Centinels night and day, observed the Batteries, wrought on the Fortifications, discharg'd the Canon, with Pike in hand brav'd the Spaniards, and would not hear of a Capitulation, and had sav'd the City of Cambray, but that her Husband's Tyranny over it had rendred him odious.*

See Dr. Geddes in his Misc. Tracts, p. 309, &c.

*What shall I say of Donna Maria Wife to Padilla, who when her Husband was beheaded, resolutely supported the Cause of the Commons, defended Toledo against all Threats and Promises, telling them that she did not care to Out-live the Liberties of her Country. And was not to be overcome till the Clergy buz'd into the Peoples Ears that she was a Witch; and when her House was assaulted she scorn'd to Capitulate; but escaping to Portugal, was too stout to make any Applications to the Emperor or his Ministers for Pardon.*

Hist. de Phil. de Velous.

Grants and Resump. p. 79.

*Margaret Countess of Monfort that Wise and Courageous Princess, by her own Heroic Vertue, rais'd her Husband's Party when it was almost ruin'd, and sustained it against a King of France. Mæsa conquer'd the Emperor Macrinus, and plac'd her Grandson on the Imperial Seat. And to name no more, for Instances are endless, our most Noble Boadicia begins her Speech to her Army with telling them, ' That this was not the first time the Britains had been Victorious under the Conduct of their Queens; and concludes, ' That they should resolve either to Conquer or Die in ' the Field, this was a Woman's Resolution; and the Men if ' they pleas'd might survive and live in Slavery.*

Tacit. A. 14. S. 31. &c.

Eff. p. 249.

*Well! Having thus rang'd our Dissenters in their several Degrees, let us consider them in their Persons, as their Persons may have Relation to their respective Circumstances. As in our Church, so in their Congregations, there are both Good and Bad. There's a Discovery for you! Who could have thought that there was among them both Good and Bad! it could never have entred into my Head, tho' all the World knows it is none of the Dullest, if the famous Essay upon Peace and War, had not only laid it down for a Maxim, but been at the pains to prove it! But will the Bill bring over the Good? Not at all, Sir; 'twill only help us*

p. 252.

to the Bad, and these we may have without it. 'Tis true, the Purest in any Sect may be well enough pleas'd with Power, for it is a most delicious Morfel. But will they prostitute their Consciences to attain it? No indeed, for Honest Men are always above Worldly Interest. Among the Bad there may be a Plentiful Harvest, and they will all of them by degrees be for creeping into the Bosom of the Church, (you remember the Fable of the Good Man and the Snake) so that they may be warm and well nourish'd in it. Such as have no true Sense of Religion, meer Hypocrites, whose Pretended Godliness is no more than Singularity and Pride will croud in a-pace, you'll have more Profelytes than you'll have Offices to bestow upon them. And since your Design is to keep these Men out, which you see cant be done, pray what's your Bill good for?

NOKES. I see, Brother Styles, You're resolv'd to gain your Cause, for what is wanting in Argument you make up in Words and Stories. But to answer you as well as I can. I confess I have always thought that the Ladies ought to be admonish'd that it was very ill done of them to Cabal against the Government especially in a Lady's Reign. What can be their Design in it? What do they Aim at? to get Preferments? to be admitted to the Board? and to Command in our Armies and Fleets? It was therefore most Politickly done in a famous Author to advise the Government not to be talk'd out of Places and Preferments by these noisy Women. And indeed if the Young and the Handsom, the Witty and the Gay, the Intriguing and Politick Ladies are all on the Factious Side; and only the Old and the Ugly, the Praying and the Women of Thought, are on the other, the former without Controversie will have much the stronger Party, and greatest number of Followers; And alas what shall the Government do? its Friends are not an equal Match!

But be it so that the Dissenters and the Ladies at the Head of them, if they do not scatter are a formidable Body. That they keep together to make a Figure (this is the Ladies Delight,) and whoever has a Mind to disturb the State will always Court them. We have however this Consolation, that when Women surmount Difficulties, or do any thing notable, it is with a Mind above their Sex, and none whether Men or Women, can for any considerable Time Act above themselves. Nor is it prudent in any Party to entertain such high Thoughts of their own Strength as to slight Moderation. Besides, the Ladies are inclin'd to pity, they are not of an unforgiving Temper, but will treat their Enemies well when they have subdued them. And if they keep to their Principles,

P. 1008

P. 1009

P. 1010

P. 1011

P. 1012

P. 245. *it should* Principles, they will probably come at last to an Opinion, those especially that practise Physick among their Country Neighbours, that Stronger Remedies may stir up, and yet not carry off bad Humours, which is dangerous in Politick, as it is in Natural Bodies, and that Time and Moderation are the best Physicians in this Case. And by the way, this is an admirable Argument against all Preventive Physick, so that if we can but spread it among the Doctors, it may go near to take them off from the Ladies Party.

P. 250.

12 Part p. 18.

See also Ball of  
Wade, p. 183.

And as for the Bad, of whom you say we shall have a plentiful Harvest, I was a little shy of them at first, till the worthy Mr. Double told me, that we should not like a Man a jot the worse for any of his former Actions, when he concurs with us heartily in what we are doing at that Instant. And that if Lucifer would but name himself of our Party, we should forgive his Apostacy and take him in with us. And it is easie to refer you to more and greater Authorities. But after all, I am afraid that the Bad, who in all Persuasions and Sects are the Majority, will slip from between our Fingers, for peradventure they will argue; and whoever weighs well in his Mind the Persons and their Circumstances [taking care to hold the Ballance even] will probably come at last to an Opinion, [observe how Cautiously these Men proceed] that the new Remedy propos'd will be apter to nourish than cure the Disease. And so their Interest will make them more obdurate in their Schism, and all our fine hopes of bringing them over are vanish'd! Unless this between Friends be the Meaning of those Double Arguments, You shall have them if that will hinder the Bill; or you shall not have them, if this is more like to do it.

EA p. 245. *it should*  
P. 255.

P. 264.

But whilst they were thus disputing, a Lady in the Company having obtained Audience, 'Whatever other Arts, says she, you Gentlemen may excel in, methinks you have not given your selves much trouble in studying the Art of Decorum and good Manners, since in a Lady's Reign, and even in Books that you Dedicate to Her Majesty, you take upon you to tell the World that in this Kingdom no more Skill, no more Policies are requisite, than what may be comprehended by a Woman. As if there were any Skill, any Policy that a Woman's Understanding could not reach! So again, if Women do any thing well, nay should a hundred thousand Women do the Greatest and most Glorious Actions, presently it must be with a Mind (forsooth) above their Sex! Now if Women be such despicable Creatures, pray what's the plain English of all your fine Speeches and Dedications to her Majesty, but Madam we mean to Flatter you?

P. 250.

you? But I would gladly be inform'd how many Men there are that Act above their Sex, or even equal to it?

They pretend to prescribe Measures to Her Majesty to tell Her what is Right and Safe, and what her Gracious Wisdom and Noble Compassion ought to do. As if she were not much better able to discern what is fit for Her to do, than these Wise Men are to inform Her? Nay which is more, they presume to talk of some who are waiting for the Royal Judgment in their Favour, which Side shall be the Constitution. Be the Constitution! Why all the World, and even we Women know very well, that England is not now to Chuse what shall Be the Constitution, but honestly and vigorously to Maintain that which is so. At least till these great Politicians have thought fit to inform us what is wanting to its Perfection, since tho' some time ago it was 'one of the best Constitutions that was ever set on foot for the well Governing a People, yet now they tell us it is far from being Perfect. And since the making New Laws is so offensive to them, and in their Opinion the Prescription of State Empericks, I hope they will also be pleas'd to let us know, by what New Ways and Means they design to make it Perfect.

Tho' you Gentlemen are the Historians, yet give a Woman leave to say, that neither your Trajans, your Constantines, your Theodosius's, &c. nor any of your Male-Princes, deserve loftier Panegyrics than her Majesty, or will make a Nobler Figure in History, if Men's Envy do but do her Justice. But her Royal Name is Profphan'd by such polluted Pens, as scatter their Incense indifferently upon every Altar. He that could say a Prince was fear'd for his Courage, admir'd for his Wisdom, and belov'd for the good he had done his People; \* That he was Willing and Able to correct the Abuses of the Age; † That there was no Good which might not be expected from his Wisdom and Resolution; That he did a world of fine things which they who care to know, may look for in a Noted Author; And that though we were safe under his Reign, yet in after Ages, Bad and Designing Ministers might do I know not what to destroy us. And yet as soon as the poor Prince was gone to his Place (for Dead Men do not bite) shall be as loud in his Complaints of Speeches against Vice and Immorality only to amuse the Vulgar, and faint Edicts forgotten as soon as Publish'd; Neglect of Trade, general Profusions, alienating Crown Lands, Spoils made upon the Publick, Contests to carry on bad Government, wast of Treasure, Mean Arts of Indulging Subjects in Follies; a continued Series of Mismanagement; and in a

Word,

Dedicat.

Ibid.

Bal. of Tr. p. 161

Eflay, p. 194.

P. 321.

D' Avenant upon Grants &amp; Reump. p. 25.

\* P. 17.

† P. 20.

Ib. p. 21.

Bal. of Trade, p. 128. &amp; p. 135.

Efl. p. 226.

Dedicat.

Balance of Trade,  
p. 147.

Debie.

Grants and Re-  
currp. p. 22, 23.

Balance of Trade,  
c. 144.  
See to the same  
purpose, lb. p. 175.

Ibid. p. 143.

Ib. 153.

Eff. p. 379.

Grants, &c. p. 25.

Eff. 385.

Grants &c. p. 25.

word, such a Conduct as will ever enflame the Minds of Men, and incite all true Lovers of their Country to exert their utmost Strength in its Rescue, and to make a stand to prevent Universal Ruin: *which when time was he could say, was not at all the Present Case of England. But whether he was then in the Right or now, is none of my Business to enquire; this is certain, that a Man who can blow Hot and Cold, accuse a Prince when dead, of Endeavours to keep up a great Land Force, in Times of Peace; and claw with him when Living, for having given such a Demonstration of his Goodness, as his so cheerfully Disbanding his Army at the Request of his Parliament; That could see nothing to depend upon but the Reputation, Merits and Vertue of the King, nothing else to hold and bind us together, so that when he must yield to Nature (which Misfortune he hop'd was very distant from us) in all humane Probability, nothing was to be expected but Confusion and Civil War; tho' every body that saw with English Eyes, or that had English Hearts, had quite a different View and Hope of Things: That could tell us we had upon the Throne a Prince fear'd and reverenc'd abroad, and Idoliz'd here, even the Redeemer of England; and what can be said more of any of his Successors? or does not the Cookery fail in the second dressing? This indeed is certain and very evident, that a Man of this Fashion, such an oily Parasite, has no regard to Truth but only to what is uppermost. And the Glories of a Vertuous Prince, that ought only to be trac'd by Unpolluted Pens, are sullied by his Pretending to celebrate them. Who can only be rank'd among that Mercenary and Unconstant Crew of the hunters after Preferment; who can see no faults in a Great Man while he preserves his Post Power and Favour, and will allow him no Vertues or Perfections when his Fortune Changes. Men whose Designs are always seen thro', who are despis'd as soon as known, and who only lead one another.*

*If therefore these Men would leave Her Majesty to Her own Superior Judgment, and the Integrity of Her own English Heart, would they let Her exert Her Self, according to Her own Good Sense, Right Principles, and Generous Inclinations, with that undaunted Courage and Royal Magnanimity, that has never been wanting to those Ladies that have adorn'd the English Throne, I make no question but we shall be a most Happy People, and the Envy of all our Neighbours. But if they will be Medling, Advising, Trimming, and Perplexing the Case, I know not what will come of us.*

Only



Only I comfort my self in this, that Her Majesty will give them full Demonstration, that there's nothing either Wise, or Good, or Great that is above Her Sex.

The Men began to stare upon each other, and having silenc'd the Lady with some difficulty, Mr. Styles went on: The Lady has some Reason on her Side, and I have often thought, (and there is nothing in the Common Law against it,) but being Ignorant in the Civil Law, I durst not venture to Propose, that the only way to make England Happy, is by Enacting an Anti-Salique Law, entailing the Crown, I mean, upon the Females. I intend to mention it to the great Dr. D'Avenant, and beseech him to produce his Reasons, Authorities and Examples in his Second Part. For I make no question but that this crude thought of mine improv'd by his Noble Genius, may be a lasting Blessing to these Nations. And it is certainly more necessary for him first to look at home, and more Service to the Publick, than to wast himself in Settling the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy. For before he has done this to purpose, King Charles III. will have left our Coast and be out of hearing.

P. 5.

P. 7.

Nor is it improbable but that such a Law as this may charm the Dissenters, who you know Love Novelties, and have had great Influence over the Female Sex, ever since St. Paul wrote to Timothy. At least 'tis a Subject unblown upon, and the Dr. will be sure to say what no body has said before him, a Privilege few Authors can boast of. 'Tis dubious whether ever we may have a good King hereafter, for among 26 that have sat upon the Throne since the Conquest, there are not many that our Learned Historians will allow to be Good Ones. Whereas 3 of our 4 Queens have been the Glory of the Nation, and the Delight of their People, so that we have three to one, nor was the fourth ill in her own Temper, but as she was influenc'd by her Popish Clergy.

NOKES. Good Mr. Styles let us leave these Fancies and come to a Conclusion of our Debate, for I dare say the Company are by this time very weary of it; how shall we make up this matter?

STYLES. O Sir, there's nothing like Compounding, especially for Men who are Modest and not over confident of their Cause. If the warm Gentlemen will but be content with fine words and Compliments, if they will listen to Terms of Moderation, that is, be quiet and tame, without making any Inquiry about the Assaults that are made upon the Constitution, why then they are honest Men and our very good Friends. But if they think they

P. 65.

P. 106. have not Conquer'd unless they Triumph; *if they drive things to Extremity, that is in plain English if they secure the Constitution in such a Manner as to cut off all hopes of our being able hereafter to Perfect it; we know what to say to them, it is but labouring hard to tug the Sovereign weight into the other Scale, and we carry our Point. And as for the Gentlemen who have formerly been in Posts, which has procur'd them many followers and Adherents, if they will be content to be obscurely safe, they shall have Impunity at Present, and at last be invited to consent with others in Measures for the Common Safety. And because it is at least Dubious, whether such a Restraint upon Dissenters as has been propos'd will do Good or Hurt, we will let them alone a while, to try what they would be at. For these poor Men never think of striking up Leagues, till the Severities of the Government, the putting them upon a new Foot, taking from them the Convenient Privilege they have to be of both Sides, has forc'd them to these New Councils. But if it shall hereafter become Apparent that the Dissenters affect Superiority over the Establish'd Church; why, this will bring the Devil-and-all upon them. Even we Moderate Men, will join with the Warm Ones to reduce them. But then you must take care, that this be very Apparent, you must not take Heats and Animosities, Caballing, Seditious Pamphlets and the like for Proof, but stay till you have as clear Demonstration of it as they gave you in 1648.*

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*Now whilst Nokes and Styles were discoursing thus gravely, up starts a Wag and crys, enough good Gentlemen, you have given us many exalt Descriptions of we know who. The Offenders are already so bold and so daring as to Contend for Dominion, for what else can they contend for when every thing else is allowed them? And therefore it is a plain Case, that the strongest Remedies are to be apply'd, and all Legal Methods taken that may conduce to our Preservation. The Government, GOD be thank'd, has crow on its side, whom Interest, Inclination, or their Duty, link together in its Defence; and if they who have the Power and hold the Reins, have but Courage to join with them and face the Danger, if they are not so disarm'd by their own Fears, that they are neither in a Posture to Oppose their Enemies, nor to Protect their Friends, it will not be Difficult to defeat their Designs who desire to disturb its Peace. Nature is still strong within us, able to exert it self and work its own Cure, if we do not foolishly throw up the Opportunity we have now in our hands. And since the Struggles*

of

of Faction are *always* for Power, not one way but the only way of putting an End to them, is, to order Affairs, that the Offices, Employments and Dignities of the State may be the Rewards of Merit, and not the Prize of this or that Party; and the taking away the matter Contended for will be found the most effectual means towards quieting Contention. But I hope nobody will have the face to deny, that those who have a steady Affection to the Constitution Merit most from it. No Man needs be ashamed to list himself under its Banner, for this is not being of a Party, and the more obsequiously he walks under it, so much the more does he recommend himself to the favour of that Prince who Resolves to Rule well, who cherishes his People and Loves his Native Country. And to shut all other Men out of the Administration, will be a certain Cure for Faction, and all the Disorders it occasions and the only effectual one. For—— But hold, says another, and pulls him by the Sleeve, there's a Perhaps, a Probability and a Peradventure to the contrary. Nay, then says the Spark very briskly, we shall never have done, but argue on to Eternity to shew our Talents, and so Adieu.

Upon this a Person of great Candor and Temper, took upon him to conclude the Business. Gentlemen, says he, you have harangu'd very famously, but if you will allow a plain Man who cannot talk Artificially, but who will make up in honesty what he wants in Learning, to advise in this matter, I would have you refer it to the extraordinary Dr. D'Avenant, and if he is not to be spoke with, pray take his late Essays, and in p. 237. you'll find an admirable Temper, such as Wise and Good Men take to be the only expedient, and the only way to obtain Peace at Home and Victory Abroad. It is the Example of Henry III. of France, who abated the Rigour of the Laws against his Dissenting Subjects, but gave them to understand, that as they were to fear no Hurt, so they were to expect no Favour from him. He shut them out from the Management of Affairs by a General Care in the Executive Power: He took none of that Persuasion into Familiarity, or the Service of his Household. He excluded them from all Offices of the Crown, the Revenue, Courts of Justice, Governments of Provinces and Places, and from all Employments in the Army. And had he gone on with this Method he had in a short time reduc'd his whole Kingdom to one Religion. And, says the Gentleman, tho' we are sure of the Executive Power in this Reign, and that for the Good of the People it would readily take this Method, yet since we can't be sure of this always,

*it may be Necessary for the Legislature to take it into Consideration.*

*The Company were extremely pleas'd with this Expedient and so they broke up, some promis'd to carry it to the Lords and others to the Commons; That if they in their Wisdoms should think fit to tender a Bill to her Majesty to Prevent Occasional Conformity, which is just the same thing as Henry III's Method, the Church might know what Obligations She had to Dr. D' Avenant for contributing so much to so good a Work.*

Bal. of Tr. p. 119. *To say all in a Word, if Faction is most ruinous to a Nation, and ought above all things to be suppress'd; If all that Wealth and Power which must defend this State upon any Emergencies or Invasions from abroad, depends upon our preserving inviolate the ancient Constitution of this Kingdom; and that so long as this is preserv'd, tho' bad Men may have a short Power to do Mischief, their Rage and Folly will be at last corrected, as you, Sir, and every body allows: Then, if we mean to have either Peace and good Government at Home, or good Success abroad, we ought to place the strongest Fences about the Constitution.*

ib. p. 136.

*And if the Prosperity of a Nation does so much depend upon the Executive Power, and an Honest and Vigorous Administration of the Laws; which no body doubts, and which you have taken so much pains to prove; If Laws can never be well Executed but by those who approve them, nor a Government well Administr'd but by those who like the Constitution, which is so plain that it needs no Proof; And if a Corrupt, Supine, or a puzzel'd, unsteady Management, may be introduc'd by the Negligence even of little Officers, and that the Publick can never have a firm Existence, unless all the different Ranks of Men co-operate to its Preservation, not faintly, but with the utmost Spirit and Vigour; as in one of your Discourses you undertake to prove: Then Care must be taken to keep all such one of the Administration in any of its Branches, who are Enemies to, or who do not heartily Love the Constitution.*

Disc. on the Rev. Part 1. p. 157.

ib. p. 171.

Bal. of Tr. p. 202. *Again, if it is the Duty of such as Represent the People carefully to watch Encroachments upon the Constitution, to make Provision against Future Evils, and to provide against Bad Reigns under a Good one; and that the Legislature can never be charg'd with assuming the Executive Power, when it only intermeddles with what is omitted, or what is too strong to be encountered by the Subordinate Parts of Government; If a People will certainly best Love and Defend that Prince by whom the most good Laws have been granted; If Ordinary Methods prevail but*

ib. p. 291.

p. 348.

Bal. of Tr. p. 130.

ib. p. 138.

little

little against Stubborn and inveterate Diseases; and therefore when our Affairs are in disorder, the Legislative Authority can bring the Effectual Help to set us Right; they are your own Words, and besides you are fully convinc'd that the Courage of an English Parliament is able to face any Danger, and that its Wisdom is sufficient to extricate the Government from any Difficulties; And since our Dangers and Difficulties are too plain to be deny'd, Faction is Flaming, and the Constitution is undermined; then a New Law cannot be Improper or Unreasonable, but Absolutely Necessary. The Bill propos'd, excludes none from Employments but those who would Innovate in Divine, and who in worldly matters meant to Govern Corruptly. And it is not Caleb Case-hardned, I suppose, Sir, that the Opposers of this Bill would prefer to an Office. Your Friend Caleb who has rais'd a Fermentation among the Dissenters, by riding Post through all the Kingdom, to fright those of the Separation out of their Wits, by telling them the Bill has a Design upon Liberty of Conscience. Whereas the poor Bill has no Meaning, but to employ Men who are agreeable both to Prince and People; for since neither of them have any thing to depend on but the Constitution, consequently the Friends of the Constitution, are the only Men that can be look'd upon and trusted by both.

Further, if nothing is so pernicious as Flattering Remedies, which may skin the sore over for the present, but leave it to rankle and fester within; If Men of a certain Stamp when they have got all they can, think to be forgiven by changing Sides; and that it will be time enough to become good Patriots when they are no longer suffer'd to hurt the Commonwealth; and that the Arms of the Publick have been but too open to embrace such Penitents; If the Legislature is to leave no Fault, Vice, or Crime unconquer'd when once assaulted; if it is false Cunning, and a Sign that Men have a Mind to overthrow the Laws, to encourage Parties underhand, and to keep them equally poiz'd, and that these fine spun Policies have undone some Princes; If Schisms in Religion help to heighten Faction; and each Sect retains its first Hopes which were to have the upperhand at last; (they are your own Words again,) and consequently nothing but what destroys this Hope can make them quiet; and that how strong soever they be, they are an unequal Match to cope with the Power of a Well Establish'd Government; So that we need not be afraid of any Opposition the Faction can make, because when a Great Prince joyns with the Good, (as you tell us he certainly will

Disc. on the Rev.  
Part I. p. 64.

EII. p. 222.

Tom. Double,  
Part 2d. p. 16.

EII. p. 374.

Disc. on the Rev  
Part I. p. 63.

Bal. of Tr. p. 193

EII, p. 349.

P. 324.

P. 364.

P. 228.

P. 221.

P. 154.

P. 172.

## A Prefatory Discourse

will at his first Accession to the Throne) the Bad become so weak a Side, that they are no longer able to disturb Affairs; does it not follow from hence that neither the Executive Power, nor the Legislature can possibly provide a better, or more effectual or more seasonable Remedy for all our Disorders, or a greater Support to the Constitution, nor consequently do any thing more conducive to the Interest both of Prince and People than by Enacting a Law to Prevent Occasional Conformity.

For Preferring Bad Men is that which renders forming of Parties unavoidable; and what Men can be worse or more dangerous in the Publick Posts, than those whose Practices are scandalous? so say the most Honourable the Lords, Persons of abandon'd Principles, to whom Religion is Indifferent, and whom Interest can carry to a Church, which they say is full of Errors? so says Dr. D'Avenant. And if the Dr's Law, his Knowledge of our Constitution, and Computations of our Strength will bear him out, he gives a very sufficient Reason why the Lords should Agree to that Bill which the Commons have already Past, with such Speed and Hearciness, which I had rather the Reader should turn to p. 45, 46. than I repeat. Only the short of it is, that the Commons have so much Strength, that they should not be compell'd, to exert themselves; and that it must be ever Prudent to avoid all Occasions of wrestling with them. But how right or how wrong the Dr. may be in this, I am not a competent Judge. There's a Reason indeed that every body can Judge of why my Lords the Bishops, should not oppose this Bill, nor give Tom. Double occasion to boast of a List of Twelve of them who help'd him and his Party mightily last Sessions, and without whom they had been thrown upon their Backs. For my Lords seem to have no great Reason to joyn with them who always have and ever shall hate their Hierarchy, against the very Persons that so long have fought their Battel: To Oppose those who labour to serve the Church, and to plead for such as hate and despise both them and their whole Order; and who pride themselves in having sufficiently, as they say, deluded some of the Sons of Aaron, and made them Act a strange part! but to say no more of this —

When I began my Address to You, Sir, I was encourag'd by that Impartiality which you esteem so necessary, and which I think I find in my own heart, and have likewise endeavour'd as much as I can to work in my Reader in the following Discourse. And if the being hitherto an unconcern'd Spectator in our Disputes, not thro' want of Zeal to the Publick, but because I had no hope of Success, gives me a

Right

P. 373, 3 4.

Proceedings of the  
Lords

Essay, p. 251.

Part. I. p. 62.

Part II. p. 17.

Ess. p. 1.

P. 2.

Right to handle these Points, *I may have some Pretence to it. And as I would not desert my Friends in their Disasters, much less my Country, but be ready to serve them at all Hazards, so I would do it with that bold Vertue which Truth, Justice, and a Disinterested Honesty always Inspire. This Consideration, and it may be my Natural Fierceness, for I am English, lead me to attack the Strongest, for so Fame had represented you; but Common Fame they say is a Liar, and so indeed I found her. For besides what is already produc'd, I have by me a List of what at present seems to me to be Contradictions, and false Principles, neither agreeable to good Morals, nor Consistent with Government, but its like, both you and the Reader may think I have said enough.*

P. 78.

P. 120.

P. 207.

*Only give me leave to Acknowledge, that one can't have a fairer Adversary, an Adversary that lies more Open, and is less upon his Guard. So Generous indeed as even to furnish his Antagonist with Arguments against himself. And if the World should happen to adjudge me the Victory (as sometimes the Knight is too hard for the Giant,) believe me, Sir, 'tis not through any Skill of mine, 'tis your own good Reasons that enable me to overcome. Not that I say this to lessen your Reputation, I have no such Design; since one gets but a pitiful Victory over a weak and contemptible Adversary. And when I have repeated in a few Words what some are pleas'd to say of your late Essays, 'twill be time to have done, For one of the greatest Arts of Writing is to know when we have said enough, and not to force our selves upon the World, when our Genius and Reputation fail us.*

*'Tis said then, that you have not read the Bible lately, which is the Reason why you make Homer the Fountain of all Knowledge, and a Bad Clergy the Occasion of Schisms. For St. Paul would have told you that Schism proceeds from Mens being Lovers of themselves, and from their supposing that Gain is Godliness; As also that there were Schisms in the Church of Corinth, and it is hop'd you'll at least allow that the Clergy was Good in the Apostles Days. And if the Best of Men are loath to be at the Pains of subduing Sects and Heresies by their own Piety, &c. Alas the Best of Men are come down to a very sorry Level!*

P. 110.

P. 128.

P. 134.

*Men begin to think that it is out of your tender Love to the Church, and lest she should any more avoid the happy Opportunity of having her Zeal Quickned and her Devotion raised by the Approach of Persecution, that you desire to have her left at the Dissenters Mercy. For how much soever she may be secur'd against Papists by the Limitation of the Crown, we find no Security against other Persecutors. They are of Opinion that Humane Wisdom may go yet one*

P. 110.

P. 129.

Step

step further for her Future Security, and since this is the Crisis, and the Means are in our hands, they make no doubt but that a Good Prince at the Head of a Loyal and Judicious Parliament will make Advantage of it.

F. 239.  
P. 243.

P. 261

Part II. P. 18.  
Ed. P. 246, Sec.

They wonder how you come to tell us that our Church seems to have quite laid aside the Spirit of Persecution, pray when was she possess'd with it? Her Enemies may lay such a Calumny upon her, but he must never profess his adherence either to her Interest or Doctrines, who can lick up their Spittle. Nor is it your Business Sir, but Mr. Double's to bring a Reflection upon the Church and Clergy, and to expose and render them Contemptible to the People.

P. 214

They say the World had been mightily oblig'd to you, if instead of abundance of Harangue, you had given us one Plain Mark whereby we might distinguish the Penitent from the Obstinate, for by all that we can discern, the Enemies of the Constitution shew no signs of Repentance. And as it is unjust to afflict the Good, and to punish the Penitent is unmerciful; so to let the Wicked go on with Impunity, begets a lasting Succession of Ill Government; and not to provide against the Arts of Seditious Men, will do them no real Good, and be our own Destruction.

Tom. Doub. Pt. 1.  
P. 41, 42.

Ed. P. 78.

They tell us that they have been taught that Whiggish Liberty and Property consists in a Right to Rob the Publick; and that they had in a manner Ten Years Prescription for it. So that if by your Frugality in managing the Publick Treasure you deprive them of this Right, it is not all your other Favours will content them. And that should good Men watch with Eyes ever open to find some lucky Moment when Parties may be willing to hear Reason, it might endanger their Brains so much, that when the Lucky Moment comes they would not be in a Capacity to use it.

P. 252.

They say the only good, and indeed among the many Pretences, the only True Reason for opposing the Bill, has unawares slipped from you, p. 194. For they who like the Constitution and are satisfy'd with it, are glad of a Bill which would secure it. But they who think the Constitution is far from being perfect, and therefore would be at Liberty to mend it, must needs in consequence of this Principle Oppose the Bill: What else can possess Men with such a Fury to defeat a Law against which they cannot offer one substantial Reason? to stick at no Arts however vile to defeat it? A Law that would be of such Advantage to the Nation both in its Immediate Conveniences, and in the Future Consequence of Things.

For



For Faction will in vain endeavour to clog the Wheels of Government, when they are entirely kept out of the Administration, and there will be no longer a fore Place for all the ill humours to run to. Nor will the Factions be able to Betray our Councils and hinder our Dispatches, they can at worst but fall off to the Enemy as you say they always will. Tho' by the way, are they not pretty Men, and worthy of Encouragement, who can be suppos'd to betray their Country, and fall off to its Enemies on any Account whatsoever! But be the Men what they may, there was a time when a certain Author told us, that the Legislative Strength can deal with the Ambition, Avarice, Corruption and Rapine of the Great Ones.

P. 2. 31

P. 105. &c  
P. 89.

Bal. of Tr. p. 163

They further tell us, that the abating from the Claims, Terms, and Pretensions of both Parties, may be a good Expedient to make Equals meet, and to compose their Differences. But they hope you don't pretend to set the Constitution and its Opposers upon a Level! And besides, to speak out plainly, and to get as much out of Cloud and Dust as we can, has not the Constitution made many Concessions, many Abatements of its Lawful Claims? To name no more, was not the Toleration a great one? but what Pretensions have the other side ever given up? Nay, do they not by fetches and taking advantage from the Mildness of the Government draw Inferences that were never meant, as that Dissenters are no Schismatics because they are Tolerated, &c.— If then the Concessions must be all from one side, will it not be that Treaty and no Treaty which King Charles I. tells us, the honest Presbyterians would have forc'd from him?

Essay p. 78

Bal. of Tr. p. 145.

They say, that a Man who could think that some Persons had been reasonably complaining of Male-Administration for 30 Years before the Revolution, and no longer, that is in plain Terms down from the Restoration; who speaks well of few Princes and intolerably of some of Her Majesty's Royal Ancestors; who can find so many Faults in a Monarchy as all his Books from first to last are full of: And to shew himself compleatly, in one of them plainly tells us, that the Hollanders perhaps in their hearts might wish to see Regal Power settled here [at the Restauration] as apprehending the Industry, Frugality, Vigor in Action, and Sagacity in Council (all fine things!) of the Rising Common-Wealth of England; If we may collect Peoples Meanings from what they take upon them to tell us in their Books: such a Man as this, is of a Complexion, and Politicks not very well suited to the Service of an English Monarch and our Present Constitution, whatever fits of Zeal he may sometimes put himself into for either.

Ball. of Power,  
p. 16.

Ess. p. 36, 37.

Disc. on the Rev.  
Part II. p. 299.

However they tell us, that he was much in the right when he pronounced that Never any private Man, or Collective Body of the People are Betray'd but by those in whom they put a Confidence. That Mischiefs commonly proceed from such Persons as first speak Well to gain a good Opinion, and then do Ill to get (or keep) good Places. And that as it can hardly be conceiv'd but by those who have seen it, what Reverence is paid even by his Enemies, to a Man of Steddy Principles: So every body knows what Contempt is due to him who has None.

Ball. of Trade,  
P. 168.

That Men of clear Understandings presently see through a Difficulty and detect a Fallacy, but weaker Judgments which are the greater number, are entangled and misled when an Author perplexes the Point, especially if his Style is plausible, and his name in Vogue. And doubtless he has his Reasons for his Sophistry, tho' what sort of Reasons they are is out of Question. And they think it may pass for a good Rule in Criticks, that we are to Judge of an Author by his ill Principles, and not by his Good. For the ill Principles are certainly his own, or he would never spread them; whereas the Good may be only made use of for Fashion-sake, and to recommend the Bad.

They add that you are as great a Niggard of your Reasons as you are Liberal of your Harangues. That your May be's, your Perhaps's and Peradventure's are endless, and all drawn up in Rank and File against each other. And since it may be that certain late Essays instead of Promoting Peace at Home, may raise Divisions, will it therefore follow, that the Mighty Author must for ever after suppress his Great Genius, and wield his Sodering Goose Quill no more?

Disc. on the Rev.  
Part I. p. 277.

In short, they tell us, that when Men leave Honesty, Wisdom forsakes them; when they quit the Paths of Vertue they are presently bewildred. When they make Sale of their Conscience they barter away their very Reason, at least the brightness and force of their Understandings. And that therefore there ought one Case to be added to the many you have put, (viz.) That when by plain Consequence and fair Deduction, a Man's Arguments support that Cause he endeavours to overthrow, and he is wounded with the Edge of his own Weapon: It is evident that either his Judgment is very Mean, and he knows not what he would be at: or else he plays booty, or lastly, and which is most likely, he has acted against his own Natural Lights, and exercised his Talents in a bad Design: And that Truth is strong and will prevail, notwithstanding all the little Arts and false Glosses of Men, whereby they endeavour to impose upon others and to silence the Conventions of their own Minds; that her Light penetrates their Souls at the same time that for Worldly Considerations they shut their Eyes against

Vol. 7. 389.

against her; and in spite of all their Attempts to Overthrow, Corrupt, or Disguise her, she drags them Captive at her Chariot Wheels.

And Oh! that it were as easie to persuade Men to receive the Truth, as it is for all honest and diligent Enquirers to find her! That one were able to Thunder like Demosthenes, and to rouse their Countrymen out of that wretched Stupidity which has so fatally possess'd them! That Truth plainly and forcibly deliver'd, and in her Native Beauty, might Triumph over that painted Syren, Popular Eloquence, and all those pernicious Arts with which Falshood and Cunning bewitch Mankind; That one could prevail with them to Remember what has been; to Observe how the same Methods are renewed, and to Consider what will be the Event! That they might break through the Snares in which Wicked and Artful Men entangle them, and be no longer the Dupes of a few who only serve themselves at their better Neighbours Cost; Nor be again and again deceiv'd with the so often detected Fallacies! But alas! what avails it to have the Will to serve ones Country, when one wants the Power to prevent its Ruin! Must all the Presages of Honest Hearts and Clear Heads have no other Fate than Callandra's Prophecies! However, if the Fatal Day is not to be avoided, yet let every true and Generous English Heart, exert it self to the utmost, and whilst we labour to support a Sinking Church and Nation, if we can't Succeed, let us at least be buried Nobly in their Ruins!

Thus Sir, I have freely told you the Censure that is past on your last Essays; asking your Pardon if there be any Expression of mine, that is not consistent with the Charity and Meekness of a Christian, or the Candor and Good-Breeding of a Gentleman. It has cost me more Time and Pains to Answer you in the Words of that Famous Author I have so often cited, than would have serv'd if I had us'd my own. But I do not repent of the Labour, for tho' my Sayings might have been disregarded, his must needs weigh with you and all the World. And I hope I have not merely pick'd somewhat out of your Book to Cavil at, but have advanc'd Propositions that seem'd to be Truer, Wiser, and better founded. And our Principal Aim being to hunt after Truth, consequently we wed no Opinion in all these Matters, that we are not willing to Change upon better Conviction. I thought I could not employ my hours of Leisure more to my Country's Service than by opening this new Scene. And a Gentleman so resolute as neither to Ask or Give Quarter in the Conflict he intends to maintain with the Corruptions of the Age, can't be offended, if that Zeal which seems to cool in one part of the Body Politick, grows warm in another, to expose those foul Practices which have been, and will always be, so destructive to England. A Person who has Truth and Justice on his Side needs not be afraid to Combat

Balance of Trade,  
P. 2.

Disc. on the Rev.  
Part I. p. 256.


Grants & Resump.  
P. ult.

on, tho' he should be left to stand alone; for such an one does not stay to balance, what's to be Got or Lost in this World, by an Honest and Generous Action. And considering how much Loose Principles, Evil Customs and Example have depraved Humane-Nature, one of this Temper, will find more Occasion to shew his Talent in Satyr, than in Panegyric. But you who are such an Advocate for Disinterested Friendship and Freedom towards Great Men, and have prov'd that the shewing them their Weak Side, is so necessary and so kind an Office, will I hope excuse the Want of the Usual Compliments and Formalities, and take in good part the Plainness and Sincerity of, Sir,

Your most Obedient,

TOM. SINGLE.

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 The Reader is desir'd to take notice that the Editions re'err'd to, are the 2d. of the Ball. of Trade; the 6th of the First Part of Tom. Double; and the 2d Edit. of the 2d Part, and the First Edit. of all the rest.

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#### ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH it be very truly said in the following Book, p. 65. that Mr Calamy's Index amounts but to 522. Yet the Author, who will never be ashamed to own a Truth, or to Retract what has the least Appearance of an Error, freely Acknowledges, that in the Body of his Book, there is a Confus'd Collection of Names, which possibly may amount to 2000. Tho' meeting with the same Names more than once, and without any distinguishing Character, 'tis like the same Persons may be multiply'd to make up the Number, especially since himself seems afraid of it, p. 484. But be the Number of his Elected Non-Conformists what they may, 'tis easie for such an Accountant as Mr. Calamy to make them as many as he pleases. 'Tis but taking in the School-masters, p. 485; the Ignorant Mechanics, not only those in Wales, (Pref.) but in other places, as Durant the Washball-maker of Newcastle, dragging in Men whom he owns liv'd in Ireland, p. 222, &c. 368. France p. 252. New England, p. 337. and from uncertain Places, p. 252, 305, and elsewhere. O casual Preachers having no settled place, p. 218, &c. Such as were not fix'd but were design'd for Livings, p. 363, 450. whom he tells us lost their Preferments, he should sav their Hopes, for in the next line he adds that the Act for Uniformity found them unpossess'd of any Benefice (Pref.) Such as were not, and yet were expell'd by it, p. 379. (let him reconcile the Contradiction) Such as were not Incumbent any where when the Uniformity took place, p. 434. and therefore can only be brought in to fill up the Number. And to do it effectually, Such as tho' not Benefic'd at that time, were yet worthy of any Living, p. 237.

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#### ERRATA in the Prefatory Discourse.

Page 12. Line 30. f. on r. in. p. 13. l. 33. r. Friend's and d., . pag. 25. l. 30. r. Nation, p. 42. l. 35. f. for r. of. p. 30. l. 27. r. error.



## E R R A T A.

**P**age 11. Line 28. for *The* read *Tho'*. p. 23. l. 33. f. *perfectly* r. *perfect*  
 p. 36. l. 6. aft. *tells* add *us*. p. 37. l. 10. f. *for* r. *of*. P. 44.  
 l. 24. f. *Irregularity* r. *Irreverence*. p. 48. l. 14. f. *for* r. *of*. lb. l. 27.  
 d. *of* p. 53. l. 29. d. \* and r. *not*. p. 61. l. 22. f. *nigh* r. *high*.  
 p. 64. l. 36. f. *his* r. *the Author's*. p. 67. l. 31. aft. *tells* add *us*.  
 p. 80. l. 35. f. *Propositions* r. *Propitious*. p. 81. l. 20. f. *brightest* r.  
*greatest*. p. 86. l. 28. f. *till* r. *that*. p. 90. l. 5. aft. *Tenderness*,  
 f. *of* r. *for*. p. 91. l. 4. f. *than* r. *that*. p. 99. l. 21. r. *Circumstances*.

*Moderation truly Stated :*

OR, A

REVIEW

OF A

Late PAMPHLET, ENTITUL'D,

Moderation a Vertue,

OR, THE

*Occasional Conformist Justify'd from the  
Imputation of HYPOCRICY.*

WHEREIN

This *Justification* is further Consider'd,  
and as far as it is capable, JUSTIFY'D.

---

*Women are strongest, but above all things Truth beareth away the  
Victory, 1 Efd. 3. 12.*

---

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. L. for Richard Wilkin, at the King's Head  
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCIV.





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---

**E**XCEPT the shewing Men's Ingenuity, the making a Figure in the World, and all the consequences of this, which will always be a Motive to most Peoples Actions, I know no other Reason for writing Pamphlets, but either to strengthen a Party, that is, in other words, to embroil the State, by working on the Fears and Jealousies of the Weak and Injudicious, and by soothing the Humours and Designs of the Vicious and Turbulent: Or, else by way of Antidote, to fortifie the honest and well-meaning, against the Poison of the common sort of Pamphleteers.

Now we Writers, especially for Moderation, would take it very ill, should you refuse to allow us a place amongst the last sort. Her Majesty 'tis true, who is without doubt the best Judge in the Case, seems to have no good Opinion

of any of us, by the dislike she was pleas'd to express to the great Licence of the Press. But since the Factious and Disobedient take no notice of Her Royal Pleasure, so long as they can with Impunity transgress, it is to be hop'd that Her Dutiful and Faithful Subjects who otherwise would be Silent, have Her Royal permission to counterwork their ill designs, and may be as zealous in keeping People in their Duty, as others are in seducing them out of it. And truly it were well if the Zeal of the one kept pace with the restless Industry of the other: For to our shame be it spoken, ill Men are always more active in doing mischief, than the Well-Affected are in doing good. Truth and Honesty have Charms enow of their own, as we think, to recommend them, wou'd Men but open their eyes to behold their Beauty. But the mischief is, every body pretends to Truth and Honesty, all Peoples mouths of what Faction soever, are full of Religion and Liberty, Moderation, the Publick Good, and what not, yet every one has not the good sense or good luck to be of the right Side. The most Readers are superficial, Men of short views, of great prejudices and passions, and therefore no wonder that they are best pleas'd with Writers of their own depth.

We indeed who plead for Temper and Moderation, know very well that such Professions are apt to work upon the Honestest Minds. Good Men do as they would be done by, they hate force and violence when offer'd to themselves, and therefore they can't endure to have it offer'd to their Neighbours. It is as natural for Generous Spirits to have compassion for the suffering side and to take its part, as it is for the vulgar sort of Men, the Ambitious and Designing, to cleave to what is uppermost, how much soever they despis'd and oppos'd it when under hatches: there is not therefore a better artifice than to complain loudly of sufferings, whether there is any occasion for it or no.

But were I worthy to advise my Reader, I would intreat him neither to believe Me or any other Writer on our bare word, to take nothing upon Trust, but to see with his *own* Eyes, and to judge according to his *own* Understanding; to be of no Party, no Opinion, because this Relation, or that great Man are of it; because it is popular or plausible, because it will serve a present Turn, or make  
a For-

Fortune, or even because one has been of this Opinion formerly. Since, whatever little Spirits may think, there is not a surer Sign of a Brave Mind, than the getting over Prejudice and Prepossession, the not scrupling to quit an Error so soon as one is honestly convinc'd of it.

Well then, though I know very well that a pert Jest or a fly Reflection, a probable Slander, or even a down right Calumny that has Impudence enough to back it, the Gingle of Sounds and a well turn'd Period, shall pass with very many Readers for Arguments and Demonstrations; Yet these apart, I'll endeavour as well as I can to settle the Point and to find out the true Meaning of *Moderation*, provided the Reader will all along take care that I don't impose on him: And after such fair Warning, if he will be mistaken, at his own peril be it.

And where shall we have the true Character and Measure of this and all other Duties but from the Holy Scripture? an Authority so Authentic, so consistent with it self, and which every one will appeal to! The *Moderation* then which it Commands, must not be inconsistent with those other Duties which it likewise enjoins us: But the same Apostle who bids us *Let our Moderation be known unto all men*, does also Phil. 4. 5. Command, that *all things be done Decently and in Order*; 1 Cor. 14. 40. and assures us that *it is good to be Zealously affected always in a good thing*. 'Tis certain then that *Moderation* must neither hinder Decency, nor disturb Order, nor slacken Zeal, any more than one or all of these ought to prejudice *Moderation*. So that if Indifferency to the Honour and Service of GOD, Irreverence and Indecency in His Worship, Disorder either in Church or State, don't happen to fall in with this Account, we can't help it; Christian *Moderation* contradicts no other Duty, whether or no such a *Moderation* as this will serve the turn of those who make the loudest Clamours for *Moderation*. Gal. 4. 18.

To be more particular, since every body almost is accus'd by one side or other, of Excess or Defect in this Duty; the best way to get a just Notion of it, is to examine the Nature of those other Duties by which it is limited and directed, and which are in a manner the Extent and Boundary of its Course.

And first for *Zeal*, it is an Emotion of the Mind arising from the highest Esteem and Warmest Love, whereby we are excited to pursue to the utmost the Interest and Service of what we thus Esteem and Love. And because GOD only can deserve this exalted Degree of Devotion, therefore *Zeal* is abus'd and misapply'd when it has any other Object. So that strictly speaking, we are not Zealous but Furious when we eagerly pursue any thing besides the Glory of GOD, and what he requires of us in order to His Honour and Service. For this is the only *Good thing*, in which we can as Christians, or even as Men, be *always* and without Exception *Zealously affected*. And if we desire our *Zeal* should be *according to Knowledge*, we must take care that every Act of it, be proportion'd to that rank which each particular Action holds in the Service of GOD.

As for *Order*, as it needs no external Arguments to enforce, no Rhetorical Persuasions to recommend it, so it stands in as little need of Art and Logic to define it. Like Beauty, Harmony, and Mathematical Proportions, which are nothing else but that Order the Mind observes in those several Objects about which it is employ'd, 'tis discern'd by its own Native Light, and shines by its own Brightness. Common Sense informing every one that Order is nothing else but that which is most proper, most becoming, and every way best in its Kind. And our Souls which were created by the GOD of Order do so naturally relish it, that he must have strangely vitiated his Taste who does not approve every thing that bears its Stamp. No man to be sure can have Forehead enough to plead for Disorder and Confusion, the most he can do is stoutly to deny that you pursue Order as you pretend.

And in the last place, that *Decency* which the Apostle enjoins, what is it but that part of Order whereby the Form and Manner of the Publick Worship of GOD is regulated? which is so much the more Decent by how much it is the more Orderly. What Place then for *Moderation*? Must we perform GOD's Service Decently to day and slovenly to morrow? Temper our Respect and Reverence towards Him, whereas the very utmost we can pay were not enough, were it possible to offer more? Shall we *Moderate* our Regard to Order, that is, give some few grains of Allowance to Irregularity

gularity and Disorder? What is this but the being *Moderately* and *Indifferently Good*, no very proper Character for a Christian, and least of all for those who pretend to the most excellent Reformation, and to be the most exact and perfect Christians? Nor has *Moderation* any thing to do in the Service of GOD, here it is quite out of doors, *Zeal according to Knowledge* being the true Mean and Temper. So that provided we mistake not the Way and Method, we can never be too warm and active in our Desires or Endeavours after our own or our Neighbours Salvation.

To be *Moderate* in Religion is the same thing as to be Luke-warm, which GOD so much abhors, that he has threatened to spew such out of his Mouth. To be *Moderately* Honest is to be Honest no longer than 'tis for our turn, or till we can hope to play the Knave securely. To be *Moderately* Sober, is to guard our Temperance so long as Inclination, Company and Example don't tempt us out of it. *Moderate* Courage is the bearing Evil when we are forced to do so; and *Moderate* Valour is the fighting when we can't help it, and have no Back-doors to run away by. A *Moderate* Friend is one that will do you no hurt, which as the World goes is a considerable Favour, but he will do you as little good, he will not step out of his Way, or incommode himself in the least to serve you, nor tell you of your Faults for fear of disobliging you; for he judges of others by himself, and is certainly disoblighed if you venture to meddle with his. A *Moderate* Christian indeed is a very fashionable and well-bred Person, he is not troublesome with his Religion, he keeps it to himself and will not suffer it to go out of his Closet, you may without any restraint from his Presence, or fear of any dislike that he should shew, either affront GOD, revile Religion, or Calumniate your Neighbour, as you are dispos'd. And the Truth is, they have a little to say for this sort of *Moderation*, for no wise or good Man would willingly pass for a Hypocrite, and there are a sort of People who have been so forward to reprove other Men's Faults, and so backward in mending their own, that a Man who has so much Modesty as to think his own Innocence and Piety not at all conspicuous, will not be over-ready to pull the Mote out of his Brothers Eye, lest he should meet with that just Reprimand  
of

of beginning with the Beam in his own. And as for *Moderation* in a Parent, what is it I pray but the letting a Child go on in his Faults without Correction? a very proper Way of expressing your Kindness! A *Moderate* Judge is one who may hit the Case sometimes and do Justice, and as often miss it. And a *Moderate* Magistrate is one who lets the Laws fall under Contempt by a remiss Execution of them.

What then is *Moderation* good for you'll say, and when is it to take place? for at this rate it is good for nothing. Why that *Moderation* which the Scripture enjoins, and the only way of rendering *Moderation* a Vertue, is the *proportioning our Esteem and Value of every thing to its Real Worth*. When we are warm and assiduous about such things as deserve our Solicitude, and indifferent to that which is not worth our Application and Care, we are then *Moderate*. As on the contrary the being remiss in Matters of the greatest Moment, and very eager and industrious about such as a Christian should despise, whatever it is, is not *Moderation* :

As is plain to any honest Enquirer, from the whole drift of that Epistle wherein St. *Paul* enjoys *Moderation*. He was at the time of Writing it, a Prisoner for the Cause of *Christ*, upon which Occasion, some out of *envy and strife*, and not *sincerely*, but in opposition to him, took upon them to Preach the Gospel, *supposing* as he tells us, *to add affliction to his Bonds*; Men who *sought their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's*. The Apostle therefore found it necessary to exhort his *Philippians* to *beware* of such false Teachers, to whom he affords no better Names than those of *Dogs, of evil workers*, (no very moderate Epithets, according to some Peoples Notion of *Moderation*,) of the *Concission*, that is, such as *tear and rend the Church, Enemies of the Cross of Christ*. Warning his Flock in the most earnest and affectionate manner to take heed of, and avoid them.

Now the Method these false Teachers took to ingratiate themselves with the People, was by making Divisions, seducing them from their Lawful and Regular Pastors, and by instructing them how to avoid *Persecution for the Cross of Christ*. Our Apostle therefore to secure them against this Seduction, to fortify them against all the Difficulties that the Profession of Christianity could bring upon them, and to raise them up to that Perfection, whether in Purity of Life,

Life, or in Heroic Sufferings, for which our Holy Religion is calculated, makes use of the following Method.

First, he exhorts them to Unity in the most passionate and pressing manner, *If, says he, there be any Consolation in Phil. 2. 1, 2, 3. Christ, if any Comfort of Love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any Bowels and Mercies, fulfil ye my Joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same Love, being of one accord, of one Mind. And, Let nothing be done through Strife or Vain-glory: But let us walk by the same Rule, let us mind the same thing, standing fast in One Spirit, with One Mind, striving together for the Faith of the Gospel.* One would think Occasional Conformity, which if it is not a sinful Compliance upon Occasion with what we judge Unlawful, must be a Non-conformity in the Main, and an Actual Separation for the most part, from what we allow to be a Lawful Church and Worship; One would think, I say, that this is not so indifferent a matter as some People would make it, otherwise St. Paul would never have been so pressing and pathetic in his Exhortations to Unity. But that Divine Spirit by which he wrote, knew very well that in the latter days grievous wolves would enter into the Church not sparing the Flock; Men would arise, Acts 20. 29, 30. speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them; and therefore did all that could be done for Rational and Free Agents, to secure them from Seduction, if either the Reason of the Thing, or Divine Authority could prevail with them.

The other Method our Apostle makes use of, is the raising his *Philippians* to a generous Resolution of standing fast in the Lord, even tho' they were call'd to suffer for his sake. And as he presses this by many Reasons and weighty Arguments, such as (a) the Excellency of this Noble Resolution; the (b) Advantages; (c) the furtherance and Confirmation it was to the Gospel; (d) the Honour it did our Lord; (e) the bright Example it gave; (f) the Assistance they had from GOD; the (g) Assurance it brought them of their Salvation; (h) and the encouraging Prospect of a glorious Reward hereafter: So also by his (i) own Example; and which is more than all, (k) by the Example of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. He does not represent Persecution for Righteousness sake with a melancholy and frightful air, and as a most deplorable Calamity. No, so different were our Apostles Views from

Phil. 2. 1, 2, 3.  
 —3. 16.  
 —1. 27.  
 Acts 20. 29, 30.  
 Phil. 4. 1.  
 (a) 1. 10.  
 3. 15.  
 (b) 3. 8, 9c.  
 2. 15. 17.  
 (c) 1. 7, 12.  
 (d) 1. 20.  
 (e) 2. 15.  
 (f) 1. 6.  
 (g) 2. 12, 13.  
 (h) 1. 23.  
 (i) 3. 20, 21.  
 (j) 1. 7, 9c.  
 & 3. 7, 9c.  
 & 1. 30.  
 (k) 2. 5, 9c.

(1) Ph. 1. 29. from those of Modern Christians, that he reckons it a (1) Gift  
 See Acts 5. 41. and Favour; as those first and best Disciples did, who *rejoyced*  
 that they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of JESUS,  
 according to our Lord's Command, enforc'd with a Beatitude,  
 S. Matt. 5. 11, 12. In like manner this real Hero S. Paul,  
 Phil. 2. 17, 18. exhorts his Flock to Joy and rejoyce with him in his sufferings,  
 pressing this duty emphatically upon them, *Rejoyce in the*  
 Lord always, the times of Affliction and Persecution not ex-  
 cepted, and again I say Rejoyce. And in order to this, *Let*  
 your Moderation be known unto all Men, the Lord is at hand.

As much as to say, if you have indeed profited by my  
 Instructions, you will know what value you ought to set up-  
 on Spiritual, and what upon Temporal Advantages. You  
 will have a very low opinion of the things of this World,  
 and a great indifferency to them, even to Life it self, and  
 all the sufferings it is capable of. You will not mind earthly  
 things, which would make you averse to suffer, when Christ  
 calls upon you to glorify his Name in this manner; But  
 whatsoever things are true, agreeable to the purport of the  
 Gospel and not to the false Glosses of Men; what soever things are  
 honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, if there be any vertue,  
 and if there be any praise, you will think on these things; Imitating  
 me your Apostle both in Doing and in Suffering, following  
 that which I have Practis'd as well as taught. Your Conversation  
 will be in Heaven, from whence you will expect your Deli-  
 verance. Not a Deliverance from present pressures, which  
 would not be to your advantage, for it would hinder the  
 trial of your Faith, which will one day be your Praise and  
 Honour and Glory: Your false Teachers indeed who mind  
 earthly things, who seek their Own, not the things which are  
 JESUS CHRIST's; these are Enemies to the Cross of Christ,  
 and will persuade you to do any thing to avoid it. But the  
 Salvation you are to expect, is that which will set you out  
 of the reach of the Malice of Men or Devils, and fully and ex-  
 perimentally convince you, that the sufferings of this present  
 Life, are not worthy to be compar'd with that Glory which will  
 be your Reward for your Constancy and Patience under  
 them. Only let your Conversation be as becometh the Gospel of  
 Christ. Live as Christians ought, with Charity, Purity, and  
 Heavenly Mindedness, and this Divine Temper will both  
 preserve you in Unity, and arm you with Fortitude to re-  
 ceive



ceive Heroickly whatever can befall you. *Be careful for nothing* therefore, learn of me *to be full and to be hungry, to abound and to suffer need, trust in GOD, casting all your care on Him who careth for you.* And tho' this may appear a *hard Doctrine, who can hear it!* yet be not discourag'd, for tho' you are to *work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling,* yet it is not in your own Strength, for it is *GOD that worketh in you both to Will and to Do of His good Pleasure.* And how weak soever we are in our selves, yet we can do all things through *Christ who strengthens us.* Indeed you will never do any thing to purpose and as good Christians ought, unless you are got above this World and can despise both its Terrors and Allurements; unless you remember that *the Lord is at hand,* that your Warfare is short and will soon be accomplish'd; that *the fashion of this world passeth away.* Let your Moderation therefore be known unto all Men; think of this World with all the Contempt it deserves, and pursue the Glories of the next, at any rate, according to their Merit, whatever your *Conflicts* be, whether it be by *Life or Death;* that all men may know that these are your Principles, and that you live according to them. Nor do we, your lawful Pastors, exhort you to undergo a burden which we our selves refuse to touch; No, *I have suffer'd the loss of all things, for the excellency of the Knowledge of Christ JESUS my Lord, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ.* Nay, our Lord himself, *became obedient unto Death, even the death of the Cross, therefore GOD hath highly exalted him;* and shall it be a hardship for you to imitate him! *Be ye therefore followers of me, as I am of Christ JESUS.*

Phil. 4. 6. 12.

(1 S. Pet. 5. 7.)

(S. John 6. 60.)

Phil. 2. 12, 13.

—4. 13.

Phil. 4. 5.

—1. 20, 30.

—3. 8.

—2. 8, 9.

—3. 17.

This is *St. Paul's Doctrine,* this is *his Moderation,* whether or no it will go down with us the Modern Advocates for *Moderation.* But were we as mortify'd to the World, and as earnest in our endeavours after Heaven, as the Holy Apostles and the Primitive and best Christians were, and as all Christians ought to be, I do not say we should take joyfully the spoiling of our Goods for Christ's sake, and be ready to lay down our Lives for the Truth, this perhaps was practis'd in the days of yore, but is now become antiquated Doctrine, fit only to be put in practice when we want power to take another course, and are not able to Resist or to defend our selves: But to be sure, we should not make a heavy

out-cry of Persecution, for no other reason but because the Government does not think fit to trust us with Places of Power and Profit, offering us no other Injury, but the putting it out of our power, first to undermine, and then to persecute our Neighbours.

This being the Case then, and the true Sense of *Scripture Moderation* as is pretty evident, methinks it is a little hard to find what *this Moderation* has to do in the present Dispute between the Church and the Dissenters. Unless you will say that the Dissenters ought to be re-minded to Practise *Moderation* in a true sense, which they notoriously neglect; and to forbear recommending it to their Neighbours in a *Burlesque*. The Dissenters I grant may tell us, "You Church-  
 " Men are not *Moderate* Christians in *Peter* and *Paul's* account, for they despis'd the World, but you engross all  
 " Preferments to your selves. Whereas our Appetites  
 " are every whit as good as yours can be, setting a-  
 " side our better Title as the Godly and Elect who are to  
 " inherit the Earth, which you Prophane, have no Right to.  
 " Besides, we understand *good-Living*, not in the Old, out-  
 " dated, but in the Modern Signification of the word, as  
 " well as you do, and consequently have as much occasion  
 " for Riches to support it. But then how true soever this  
 may be, it is not a seasonable discovery, nor agreeable to  
 their Professions, to their *Gifts*, and that *exacter Discipline*  
 in *Dissenting Congregations*, by which the power of *Practical Religion*  
 is more visibly kept up among them, as they pretend; it  
 would also give occasion to *scandals*, which they say, they  
 either prevent or *censure*. For Saints who forsake our *Pa-  
 rochial Assemblies* in quest of *purer Ministrations*, and to be  
 better edified; who judge themselves oblig'd to get the best help they  
 can for their Souls; who would have us believe they place  
 Religion in the great things of the Gospel, *Holiness*, &c. pro-  
 fessing simple *Christianity* without humane mixtures, and who  
 hate designing *Knaves* of any Party; such Saints as these are  
 to be more above the World than that comes to, at least  
 they ought to take care to gild their Real Designs with  
 more plausible Appearances.

So then if *St. Paul's* notion of *Moderation*, (*viz.*) a contempt of the World and the things thereof, is not allowed to take place, then Lukewarmness and Indifferency in our  
 Profession

*Moderation a  
 Vertue.* Page  
 11, 12.

P. 13.

Profession, is the only sense in which *Moderation* can be taken in the present contest; if with the *Great Mr. Locke*, it be our constant care to annex to the word a determinate Idea. And therefore to press *Moderation* either on Church-Men or Dissenters, is in effect, and were it put in plain English, to say to them, "Look ye, Gentlemen, you desire to be thought honest Men and good Christians, true to those Principles you profess, but no matter for this, let us advise you better; be very *Moderate*, or which is all one, *Indifferent* in your Religion hence-forward; stick to those measures only that will strengthen your Party, and procure you Profit and Power; which will make you considerable in your Country; or at least, keep you out of harms-way whatever side is uppermost, or whatever Changes and Revolutions happen. Popery is never to be admitted unless it would assure our Abby-Lands and promise us to carry no Money out of the Nation; but if you can keep your Estates, and enjoy, or hope for good Preferment, what matters it whether you go to Church or Conventicle? so the Ministry will but be your Friends, 'tis all one whether the Church-Men or the Dissenters be the Men in Fashion. And as for you *Mr. Church-Man*, if you are a High-Flyer, yet sure you will not say your Church is Infallible? this favours of Popery, and then beware of the Mob. And since she is Fallible, why may she not be new Model'd and Reform'd by us who are wiser than our Fore-Fathers? and perhaps there may be somewhat got by't. The Dissenters *were never* yet to be won by Compliances and Condescensions, tho' they are not yet agreed what will please them, tho' hitherto they have never been in Power, but that they made clean work with all who would not be of their minds: yet who can tell but this present Generation may be better Natur'd and more tractable Men than their Predecessors? Try however: what great hurt in that? your Church stands too firm to be ruin'd presently, her *Doctrine*, the *good Laws*, the *Queen's Protection*, and the *good affection of the Parliament* secure her; so that her ruin must creep on by degrees, and you'll have time and opportunity enough to prevent it. Or if she should receive a shock, it may not be irreparable, at least a *Phœnix* may arise out of her Ashes.

“ And you, Gentlemen, who affect to be call'd *Low Church-Men*,  
 “ you are already so Wise and Prudent, so truly *Moderate*,  
 “ that you need not our Harangue. If you will but leave us the  
 “ Management, and observe your Cue, to be sure your Inte-  
 “ rest shall be taken care of, we never forsake our Friends,  
 “ we never cajole or impose upon them. We always keep the  
 “ Balance even, that is, we will not allow the Prince a Pre-  
 “ rogative to Help, least some time or other it might give  
 “ him power to Hurt us. If either House of Parliament  
 “ are pleas'd to oppose what we think fit to call the Pub-  
 “ lick Good, we know how to Balance it with the other.  
 “ Or if the Reasons as well as the Resolutions and Votes of  
 “ that August Assembly press too hard upon us, we have  
 “ an old Art to heave them up with the Mob. If the  
 “ *Clergy* grows too toping, *Presbyterian-Cloak* shall be  
 “ thrown into the other Scale, and if this is not sufficient,  
 “ we can add *Independants*, *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, and what  
 “ not, to make a dead weight upon occasion. For were  
 “ there not a Balance how should Men of Parts become  
 “ Conspicuous? how should they make their Fortunes,  
 “ were it not by throwing themselves at Pleasure into ei-  
 “ ther Scale? Who will make their Court to you? who  
 “ will fill your Purse or feed your Vanity? if there is no  
 “ contesting, and nothing else to do, but to *Fear G O D*  
 “ and Honour the *Queen*, to live Peaceably under the Laws,  
 “ and to see them duly executed, without *medling with such as*  
 “ *are given to Change* unless to see them punish'd? And now  
 “ a word of advice to you honest Mr. *Dissenter*, give the  
 “ Church-Men good words at first, coakes them if you can,  
 “ or if this will not do, threaten them with your Numbers  
 “ now, and your Memory hereafter, till one way or o-  
 “ ther you prevail with them to lose the opportunity of  
 “ securing themselves and the Constitution. We do not  
 “ doubt but you remember that the Toleration was pleaded  
 “ for at first and agreed to as a meer Act of Grace and  
 “ Indulgence, in barely taking off the Penalty of the Laws,  
 “ without any approbation or encouragement of the Sepa-  
 “ ration. But you know very well that it is now become  
 “ a most essential part of the Constitution, if any body  
 “ does but dream that it is struck at, or if he has so good  
 “ a faculty as to smell out Designs against it and Confe-  
 “ quences

“ quences at the Distance of some Ages, and which no  
 “ body but himself or his Echo’s hear a Word of, whoop  
 “ the Government is almost shatter’d to pieces, and we’re  
 “ within a hair’s breadth of being once more in a State of  
 “ Nature! Who can tell then but that with a little good  
 “ Management, the Present Toleration may in time be im-  
 “ proved into the Establishment, and the *Church of England*  
 “ as much as she values her self upon her Privileges, dwindle  
 “ into a poor precarious thing, and become oblig’d to  
 “ the Dissenters for a Toleration? but this among Friends.

In sum, for a Church-man to desire a Dissenter to be *Moderate*, is to desire him to pay a partial Obedience, to halt between two Opinions, to be so far a False Friend as to get it in his Power to be more effectually an Enemy. And if Obedience, Order, and Uniformity, the Peace and Safety of the Church be such indifferent things, it were best to give them up all at once, and to make no more a-do about them.

On the other hand, that *Moderation* the Dissenter desires of the Church, is the slackning the Reins of Discipline, the Violation of Order and Breach of Laws. So that his *Moderate* Church-man must either be a good natur’d easy Fool, who will suffer Foundations to be sap’d under his Nose, whilst he is flamm’d with fair Words and specious Pretences, by every plausible Speaker and Factor for the Party: Or else he is a prophane Hypocrite, or a down-right Libertine, who ridicules Religion, or has no real Concern for it, but only sides with that which will best serve his Turn, considering it no further than it will be of use to his Temporal Advantage. Nor can the Dissenter, if he is an honest Man, allow himself to be *Moderate*, for that were according to him, the giving up what he takes to be the Cause of GOD, and a parting tamely with the Reformation and Purity of Religion.

It matters not then on which Side the Precedents lie, nor how many Instances of *Moderation* and *Occasional Conformity*, or of the contrary, the World may afford us: For it is a sad Truth that the *World lies in Wickedness*; and that there are abundantly more Instances of Evil than of Good. We cannot therefore argue from what Men Do, to what they Ought to Do. Indeed when Reason and Religion oblige us to any sort of Practice, there Example comes opportunely,

to encourage and to direct us in the Performance. But soft and fair — this, tho' generally true, is liable to some Exceptions; For there are certain *Precedents so sacred and incontestable* that they always carry their Warrant and Authority along with them, of which the Worthy Author of *Moderation a Vertue* has selected a few, and assures us by these Evidences, that *Occasional Conformity is no new thing, but warrant-ed by them in some Cases.*

*Moder. a Vertue, P. 7.*

And truly, since the Holy Scripture does not contradict it self whatever little Writers may; since the Doctrin and Example of our Lord and His Apostles was all of a Piece, their Practice and their Precepts did not interfere; for the Saying one thing and Doing another, was an Art unknown to Christians, till these later and politer Ages: I should be apt to think that if the *Precedents of Occasional Conformity* are truly collected, some Jugler or other has hitherto put a Deception of Sight upon us, our Eyes deceiv'd us when we thought we read in Scripture, such pressing Injunctions of Unity in GOD's Worship and Zeal in his Service, and the like, as we were apt to fancy the Scripture was full of! But if my *Reader* is morose, and won't allow this good Thought, if he continues positive that the Texts above recited are indeed in the Book of GOD, and that they bear the very same Importance and Meaning in which we have hitherto taken them: Then all I have to say is, that my Authors *Precedents* are not full and to the point; a blunt *Reader* it's like may add, they are nothing to the purpose; let us therefore examine the Merits of the Cause. And since no *Precedents* are universally Authentic, but those our Blessed Lord himself has set us, all other Men being subject both to Error and to Sin, and for this Reason to be follow'd no further than their Practice agrees with the Precepts of the Gospel: if therefore our Lord was an *Occasional Conformist*, it matters not much whether his Apostles were or no?

What then was His Practice? *We find him*, says our Author, *sometimes in the Temple and Synagogues; at other times Preaching in private Houses, on Mountains and in the Wilderness, &c. He Preach'd in separate Congregations, was a Dissenter from the impos'd Ceremonies and Traditions of the Elders, and Vindicated his Disciples in their Non-conformity to them, telling His Censorious Accusers, that they taught for Doctrin*

the

*the Commandments of Men.* Mark this I beseech you; for these Words of our Saviour, are what the Dissenters have thought fit to urge against the Church to very good purpose, and very often upon Occasion.

But then there are others who say, and they bring the four Evangelists for their Vouchers, that there can't be a more illustrious Example of Obedience both in Church and State, to Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Parents, as well as to His Heavenly Father, than the Blessed JESUS was; adding that it would be much for the Nation's Quiet, the Honour of Religion, the Support of the Protestant Interest and the Dissenters real Good, would they be persuaded to imitate His Divine Example in this Matter.

For as He was Subject to his Mother and reputed Father, where His Commission from His Heavenly Father did not pre-engage him; So we find him paying the most exact Obedience and Conformity to the *Jewish* Church, through the whole Course of His Life, so long as it was an Establish'd Church, and till He Himself had founded another upon better Promises. Witness his Circumcision; His Presentation in the Temple; His Discoursing with the Doctors there; which though it was not of Divine Command, yet as Authors tell us, 'twas a Custom introduc'd by the Elders, who examin'd the Youth of Twelve Years Old; His Observation of the Passover, and going up to *Jerusalem* to the Feasts at the appointed Times. And tho' his Immaculate Purity and Infinite Perfection set Him above all Legal Rules and Purifications, yet he humbly submits to them, because as He Himself is pleas'd to tell us, *it became Him to fulfill all Righteousness.* How well soever He was qualify'd for His Office, He does not enter on it till His Thirtieth Year, the Age appointed by the Law for the Priests to take upon them the Service of the Temple; and by the Custom of the *Jews*, for the Prophets to Publish their Mission. He would not do any thing, no not at his Mother's Request till *the hour was come.* Though never Man spake as He spake, or Did as He Did; though He had that Spirit without Measure, which a sort of Men on some Occasions pretend to, either Sillily or Blasphemously; yet we don't find Him exercising His *real Gifts*, with that Ostentation wherewith others lay out their *Pretended.* He does not use them to the Disturbance of the  
then

St. Luk. 2. 51.

St. Luk. 2. 45.

St. Mat. 3. 15.

St. John 2. 4.

then Established Church, tho' very near its Period, but Modestly, and as much as He could, with Faithfulness to his Great Commission, conceals them, strictly charging such as were heal'd by His Power and Goodness, to say nothing of Him, but to *go to the Priest*, and to observe the Rules of the Legal Establishment, so long as it was Establish'd, *for a Testimony unto them*: A Testimony both of the Truth of the Cure, and that its Divine Author was indeed sent from GOD, because of His intire Conformity to Law and Order, since there is not a surer Sign of a Man's being an Impostor, than his being guilty of the Breach of Order.

- And as our Lord was Obedient and Orderly in the Church, so likewise in the State. He submitted to be tax'd by the Heathen Power, notwithstanding all the Inconveniences it brought on Him, by forcing him to be born in a Manger. He does not exert His Divine Power to secure himself gainst Bloody *Herod*, but flies from him. So again, when the *Baptist* was beheaded, and Himself in danger by another *Herod*, He does not Contend and Arm a Party, tho' they were very desirous to make him a King, but quietly withdraws both from His Persecutors and Admirers. He does not pretend to be a Judge in Temporals, though all His Decisions were Infallible, but leaves the Government of the World as He found it: only Commands us to take care *to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*. He pays Tribute meekly and peaceably, at the same time that He proves they had no right to require it. And to sum up all, acknowledges that *that* Power which unjustly oppres'd His Innocence, was *from Above*, Originally delegated from the King of Kings, and as such submits to it, however unjustly exercis'd. When His Zealous Disciple drew a Sword, not only in Self-Preservation, as it imports the Preservation of Life and Liberty, but which is more, in the Best Cause that ever was or ever can be, our Lord was so far from encouraging, that He sharply reprimands him, bidding him *put up his Sword into its place*; *for all they that take the Sword* against the Lawful Magistrate on what pretence soever, for sure the Rescue of the Son of GOD, the Defence of Spotless Innocence, and the most Beneficent Goodness, and not only of Religion, but even of its Author, were Justifiable Reasons if there can be any such; Yet this notwithstanding, *all they*



*that take the Sword, says our Lord, shall perish with the Sword, at least they deserve to do so: For he that has Legions of Angels at His Command, is not serv'd, but disparaged by such poor and Shameful Succours.*

But does the Blessed JESUS His Practice need to be Reconcil'd to it self? no surely. Are these Precedents then agreeable to those which our Author gives us? He is pleas'd to tell us "that he is not concern'd to prove the Case of our Dissenters to be Parallel with those he lays before us; and that it is sufficient to vindicate them from the Imputation of Hypocrisie and Atheism that they *think it so*". Had this been a Church-man's Method, one might have been told that it is a good way of imposing on the Many and taking with Superficial Readers. It being enough for the Most, who do not weigh Sense but Words, to have it put in their Mouths that *Christ* and his Apostles were *Occasional Conformists*. How will this confound a plain honest Church-man, who knows very well what a *Modern Occasional Conformist* is, but never heard or dreamt that there were any such Folks at the planting of Christianity! Since therefore our Author does not think fit to give himself the Trouble of drawing the Parallel, between the Precedents he offers, and our Dissenters, though the whole Force of his Argument rests upon it, so that unless it is prov'd, he does but banter both his Reader and his Precedents; For how *sacred and incontestable* soever they are, they can be no *Warrant* but in a Parallel Case: We will by our Author's good Leave take the Task upon us, and draw the Parallel as far as it will bear. This then was the Case of our Saviour, of the Baptist his Fore-runner, and the Apostles his Successors.

There was a sure Word of Prophecy, appeal'd to by the Preachers of the Gospel, which so evidently pointed to that period of Time in which our Lord vouchsafed to come into the World, that all Men were in great Expectation of its Accomplishment. These Prophecies fore-told that the Messiah the Son of GOD should come with Commission from His Father, to make a New Covenant and found a New Church, by Reforming what was amiss, and improving what was imperfect in the Old. *Moses* himself, the Jewish Lawgiver, had asur'd them from the Mouth of GOD in plain and exprefs Words, that their present Establishment was to give place to a better, strictly enjoyning Obedience to this New Lawgiver.

P. 9.

2 J. Pet. 1. 19.  
Dan. 9. 29, 30.

Jer. 31. 31, 32.

Heb. 8. 6, 13.

Heb. 10. 8, 9.

Deut. 18. 18, 19.

Now JESUS of *Nazareth* the Son of *David* was born in *Bethlehem*, in the Season foretold, all the Circumstances of His Person, his Birth, Life and Death, agreeing most exactly with the Characters of the *Messiah* predicted so many Years before by the Prophets. And as a further Confirmation of His being indeed *That Prophet* sent from God, or the true *Messiah*, both the Excellency of His Doctrine and those Many Great and Open Miracles which he wrought gave full and evident Proof of His Mission.

And therefore since the Jewish Church was to be superseded by the Christian, as is evident from the very Records of that Church, whoever was truly a Conformist to the Jewish National Church, must necessarily joyn with the *New Establishment*; so plainly predicted, and in all its Ceremonies shadowed and figured, so strictly commanded, and so strongly enforced, by the *Old*.

Indeed our Blessed Lord, according to the Candor and Bignity of His Nature and Institution, did not violently and all of a sudden break off from the Ancient, and before His Commission of Reformation, the only Lawful Way of Worship: But retain'd in His New Institution as much of the Old as was proper, or could any way be accommodated to it. *He came not* (as he tells the Jews) *to destroy the Law* but to fulfil it. But being the Supreme Head of the Church, His Decisions Infallible and His Authority unlimited, it is not strange that He took such Methods as He thought fit in the Execution of His Commission. Teaching His Doctrine either Publickly or Privately, in the Temple or out of it, as His Divine Wisdom found Opportunity to do good to the Souls of Men.

In like manner the Apostles in Obedience to our Lord and in Imitation of Him, did not absolutely break off from the Jewish Church, till their continuing to Communicate with it was interpreted as a Virtual Renunciation of Christianity. Because if the Jewish Law were in full Force, and as Obligatory after the Death of Christ as it was before, (as the Judaizing Christians would have it) it could be so on no other Account but this, that the Messiah was not yet come. As is evident both from the History of the Acts of the Apostles, and from their Epistles, particularly that to the *Galatians*.

St. Paul for Instance, whose Conduct was Uniform and throughout agreeable to his Doctrine, *Circumcises Timothy* and *Purifies himself in the Temple*, neither with Multitude nor with Tumult.

*Tumult.* And that not Occasionally for some little Temporal Advantage, this was none of his Custom, who *sought not Theirs,* but *Them*; but that he might convince the *Jews* that he did not set up a new Religion in opposition to *Moses's* whose Authority was Divine, but that *he himself walk'd orderly and kept the* Acts 21. 22.  
*Law.* So that by what nick-name soever they might call St. *Paul's* Religion, it was in Truth no other than the Regular —v. 24.  
*Worship of the G O D of his Fathers, according to what is written* Acts 24. 15.  
*in the Law and the Prophets.*

But when false Brethren who unawares crept in, took occasion, Gal. 2. 4.  
 (with an ingenuity that others have learn'd to imitate) from the Mildness and Charitable Condescensions of St. *Paul,* to ob- See Gal. 2.  
 trude their Scruples, and to strive to have their Weaknesses pass into Laws and Rules: It was then high time for the Apostle to assert his Just Authority, and to let them know, that it belongs to the Governours of the Church, who derive their Power from Christ the Head, and not to every little body to determine what or how far Compliances are expedient, and when they are hurtful. That it was not convenient to comply any longer with these pretended weak Brethren, if they took his Charitable Condescensions for a giving up the Cause, or pretended to make a matter of Conscience of that which in its own Nature, and till it was commanded or forbid by Lawful Authority, was only a matter of Indifference, and therefore he would not humour them, by Circumcising *Titus.*

Now this being the plain truth of the matter, as every body must allow who reads the Holy Scripture with Reverence and Attention, with an honest Mind, and not with a design to Burlesque it, by putting such a sense upon it, as they themselves can't but know is not the sense of Scripture, and by making it say any thing to serve a present turn; the Parallel methinks is drawn to our hand, an indifferent Reader may easily discern what agreement there is in the Circumstances and Conduct of our present Dissenters, and those whom our Author is pleas'd to note down as Occasional Conformists.

For pray don't our Modern Dissenters sufficiently prove their mission for the work of Reformation by the Miracles they daily perform? Can you desire a greater than the prevailing on a reasonable Creature to credit them point blank to Reason and Good-Sense? Are not they the only Gifted Men, fore-told by Prophecys? You need search for them no further

than 1 *Cor.* 11. 19. and 2 *Tim.* 3. So that if they please to introduce a new Institution, refining on that of our Saviour's, are we not bound to obey them! no matter for what St. *Paul* left on Record in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, Chap. 1. 8. And therefore in the plenitude of their power they may Communicate *Occasionally* or *Statedly*, where and as they please, with a *Non-obstante* to all those Apostolical Injunctions that command Unity and Order. Every thing being Lawful to them that can any way contribute to the Accomplishment of their Grand Designs, and further the *Good Old Cause!*

But because our Author is modest, and least his Precedents should not be sufficient, we will add a few more apposite ones out of Holy Scripture. And in the first place what think you of honest *Naaman the Syrian*? he was resolv'd neither to offer *burnt-offering nor Sacrifice unto other Gods, but unto the Lord.* 2 Kings 5. 17. Only when the Duty of his place carried him into the house of *Rimmon*, and he bow'd himself there, the good Man had the Conscience to ask God's Pardon for this little harmless Compliance, which he would not pretend to justify. He was convinc'd it seems that the Religious Worship of the *Israelites* was the only true Worship, but he was loath to quit a profitable convenient Place; who can blame him? and therefore he hop'd that a little *Occasional Conformity* might be dispens'd with.

There were a great many Occasional Conformists in King *Ahab's* time, which made the Prophet *Elijah* ask the *Israelites*, how long they would halt between two Opinions? The Prophet it seems was not so well instructed as to judge *Occasional Communion* in some Cases Lawful, where constant Communion would be a sin; or to let pass as an innocent Practice the Communicating indifferently in any Congregation. No, he was for clearing the point, if the Lord be GOD, says he, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him. 1 Kings 18. 21. Page 9.

*Korah* and his Company too, were for Separate Assemblies and purer Worship. They thought it unreasonable in *Moses* and *Aaron* to restrain the Brethren's Gifts, and to take too much upon them, seeing all the Congregation were holy. Nor was *Korah's* Party despicable; they appear too numerous to be suppress'd, and too great to be disoblig'd. For he had in his Company no less than 250 Princes of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, Men of Renown. And if this was not enough, either so just was his Cause, (*viz.*) the Liberty of the People and

and the free Exercise of their Gifts, the delivering them from his Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, who set up himself above the Congregation of the Lord, and made himself a Prince over them; and so apparent too were these Grievances and that Ambitious Man *Moses's* breach of Promise, that to deny it was to deny common Sense, to put out the eyes of these Men, those worthy Patriots, who without any extraordinary quickness were convinc'd of it: Or else so Artificial and Allur'd were *Corah's* Harangues, that he gather'd all the Congregation against *Moses* and *Aaron* the King and the Priest!

Further; even in the good Reigns of (a) *Afa*, (b) *Jehoshaphat*, (c.) *Jehoash*, and (d) his Three immediate Successors, the High-Places were not remov'd, the People Sacrific'd and burnt Incense still in the High-Places; that is, in the Dialect of some High-Flown Church-Men, upon Schismatical Altars. For to use the Language of these Church-Men, the Schismatics it seems were too strong, or the Kings too weak to bring about a thorow Reformation. Only *Hezekiah*, (and after him *Josiah*) was in a certain Author's Phrase a narrow-Spirited Zealot, making fierce Opposition to Occasional Conformity. For he remov'd the High-Places, suppress'd all Separate Congregations, even where Incense was offer'd to the Lord, as well as where it was offer'd to Idols. Yet for all this he happen'd to Prosper, and the reason the text assigns, is, because he did it with all his heart, sincerely and resolutely, trusting in the Lord G O D of Israel, so that after him was none like him, among all the Kings of Judah, nor any that went before him.

What influence this Example might have upon *Zerubbabel*, and the rest of the Fathers of Israel whom *Cyrus* sent to Jerusalem to restore the Jewish Worship, and after this on *Nehemiah*, whom the Persian King employ'd in the same Work, I know not. But this we find, that according to our Author's sense of the matter, they so little understood their true Interest, that they scrupled not to shew such an unheard-of Bigottry, of dangerous Consequence, and inconsistent with the Temper of all their Ancestors, as to refuse to admit the People of the Land, even the new Inhabitants of the Land of Israel, either to share in their Civil Government, or Religious Worship. Tho' these Moderate and Harmless Dissenters the Samaritans, offer'd their assistance to strengthen the Establish'd Church in a time of common Danger. Let us build with you, say they, and they give

Numb. 15. 3.  
13.

—v. 14.

—v. 19.

(a) 1 Kings.  
15. 14.

(b) —22. 43.

(c) 2 Kings

12. 3.

(d) —14. 4.

15. 4, 35.

Page 10.

2 Kings 18. 4,  
&c.

2 Chron. 31.

21.

2 Kings 18. 5.

Ezra 1. 1, 2.  
&c.

Page 10.

Nehem. 13.

Page 34

Ezr. 4. 2.

a good

a good reason why they ought to be permitted, for we seek your God as ye do, ever since such a time.

Nehem. 3. 1.

Page 10.

2. 25, 27.

Neh. 13. 4, 7.

P. 10.

Neh. 6. 17,

12, 19.

There was indeed an High-Priest in those days, who it seems understood the true Interest of the Jewish Church too well, to suppose that the Moderate Dissenter, or Occasional Conformist's being in Power could any way hurt the Church; but rather strengthen her every way, so far would it be from doing her any real Prejudice. He therefore allies himself to Tobiah the good Dissenting Samaritan, and prepares him a Chamber even in the Courts of the House of GOD. There was also a strict correspondence between the Nobles and more thinking part, and Dissenting Tobiah; nay they intrigu'd and entred into a Confederacy, so that there were many in Judah sworn unto him. They also reported his good Deeds before the Governour, and made no scruple to utter the Governours words or Affairs to him.

Neh. 13. 8.

P. 5.

P. 14.

But what was the Event? Why Nehemiah is irreclaimably a stiff and narrow-Spirited Zealot. Such an one as some would call a Man of Prudence and Metal, neither to be wheedled nor frightened out of his Measures. He will do nothing that he thinks misbecomes him, or that smells of a Cowardly Spirit, nothing beneath his Character and that Authority which GOD and the King had given him. So he throws out the harmless Dissenter, won't suffer him to Nest in the House of GOD. For Nehemiah had Jealousies forsooth, notwithstanding Tobiah's Charitable Sentiments of the Jewish Church, and Friendly approaches to it; and was of so unaccountable a humour, as to suspect that the Dissenters Compliances were only an Invention of crafty-Men to get into Places. And that all their fair words were nothing else but Artifices which the Iniquity of these Men had found out to elude the good design'd the Jews by the Kings of Persia. And therefore notwithstanding their Professions of Friendship and all that — Nehemiah stands upon his Guard, and continues firmly resolv'd not to Trust them.

See Ezra 4.

1, &c.

Ezr. 4. 4, 5.

P. 30.

And now let us see the dangerous Consequences of this diffidence and narrow Spirit; first in Zerubbabel and Jesuah, and then in Nehemiah. He who consults the Sacred History will find, that when these honest well-meaning Dissenters saw that all their Overtures to accommodate Matters were rejected, they weakned the hands of the People, — troubled them, — hir'd Councillors against them to frustrate their purpose: but pray who can blame them? For it was the new hardships Nehemiah put upon

upon them, which tempted them to *espouse severer Principles of Non-Conformity*. At last comes the wish'd for Time that blessed them with a King for their purpose, and by his Authority the Work was laid aside, and the Building was left unfinished. Ezra 4. 23, 24.

'Tis true, some of those Dissenters Successors, for you must know that Dissenters retain the same Quiet and Charitable Spirit, the same ardent Love to Peace and Unity, throughout all Generations; their Successors I say, upon renewing their Complaint, found the King they then address'd to, a Morose sort of Man, he would not take their Word, but made a full and impartial Enquiry into the Matter himself. The Result of which was a new Decree for the Service of the Jewish Church; and Oh; how ready are those good Men the Dissenters to further it! Their Industry and Application never fails them, they are as busy as ever in search of *Ways and Means for an Accommodation*. Some ill Men perhaps, who as our Author has it, are always well stock'd with *ill-natur'd and false Representations*, to Calumniate innocent Men and make them odious, may be apt to call their Prudence Craft, and their Officiousness Treachery, and to tell us that *Tobiah* and his Company, stuck at no Methods to promote their own Ends, and hinder the Jews Establishment, at the same time they pretended to be their dearest Friends: For they rais'd false Rumours and bold Aspersions, which they confidently vouch'd, hiring little Scribes and News-mongers to spread them. And both by Cajoling and Threatnings, by Under-hand Attempts and Open Practices endeavour'd to gain their Point. See Ezra 4. and Neh. the 6.

*But what a noble Plot was crost!*

*And what a brave Design was lost!*

*Nehemiah* would not be baffled, he was endowed, as some will tell you, with Temper and Courage, Prudence and Constancy, and a Firmness that was not to be shaken, and all this Crown'd with irreproachable Justice and perfectly Disinterestedness, Qualities which ennoble a Man and make him shine, in spite of all the Malice, and Envy, and Opposition of his Enemies; and which will carry the Cause whatever it be, tho' Constancy and Firmness are not Vertues, but a pernicious Obstinacy, in an evil and unjust Affair. Indeed the former Qualities when single, or when Justice and Honesty does not direct them, do more hurt than good. For Temper without Courage is a poor sneaking faint-heartedness, that every body will trample upon: And Courage without Temper, or rather Prudence, which gives

gives it the Right Temper, is but a brutal Fierceness. Nor will Prudence stand a Man in stead, if he is not Resolv'd and Firm in his Resolutions, knowing how to act Courageously as well as to deliberate Wisely. *Nehemiah* seems to be possess'd of them all, the Result of which was a Generous Steadiness and Bravery of Mind that carried him thro' all Difficulties, which were so far from depressing his Spirits, and taking him off, that they only serv'd to excite and enervate: So that by the Blessing of GOD upon his noble Endeavours, he obtain'd the Honour and Satisfaction of being the Restorer of the Jewish Church and Nation.

Turn we over the Sacred Pages of the New Testament, and there we shall find more Precedents of Dissenters. Such were the *Samaritans*, the Posterity of *Nehemiah's* good Friends, who had very plausible Pretences for their Way of Worship, even the same with our Author's, *Precedents and Antiquity*, their very Women being taught to alledge them; though I think we'd as good let this Instance drop, since our Saviour's Reply to the Woman's Question, makes not much for the Credit of these Dissenters. For he tells her *they Worship'd they knew not what*, and that *Salvation was of the Jews*, the Church that GOD himself had Established.

The Christian Church indeed in those Primitive and Purest Days was possess'd of no Temporal Advantages to allure Men to *Occasional Conformity*: But she labour'd under Difficulties and Persecutions enow, to prevail with them to Deny her by complying with her Adversaries! Thus we find the *Gnosticks* consulting Self-Preservation, that Fundamental Law of Nature, as some are pleas'd to call it; and they are in the right if they are either Philosophers or Christians enough to take the *Soul for Self*. But both Reason and Scripture assure us they are much in the wrong, if by *Self* they understand the Body, this Present Life, or any of its Dependencies.

These *Gnosticks*, lest they should suffer Persecution for the *Cross of Christ*, thought there was no hurt in participating in the Heathen Sacrifices. Bringing themselves off with this Learned *Distinction*, that *an Idol is nothing*, and therefore there was no manner of hurt in Sacrificing to it. The Church of the *Laodiceans* too was *neither Hot nor Cold*, that is, according to Modern Dialect, they were *Moderate Men*. Nor was *Thyatira* a Persecuting Church, but one that *Moderately* suffer'd those who call'd themselves Prophetesses to Teach in her District. And to make



an End : there were *Contentions* in the Church of *Corinth*, one was for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, a third for *Cephas*, by whom they fancy'd *themselves better edify'd*, and some were for *Christ*. Nay, *St. Paul* himself assures us that *there must be Heresies*, or Sects in the Church of GOD, therefore those who divide from their Brethren and Governors, do only fulfil a Prophecy. *St. Paul*, 'tis true, did not encourage them, for they were not for his turn, nor for the Service of the Church of Christ. Those Seducers indeed who *creep into Houses and lead aside* unstable Souls, *ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*; Or in Modern Language, ever hunting after Lectures, forsaking their Lawful Parish Churches, to adhere to their own *Dissenting Ministers and Congregations*, where they find themselves better edify'd and the Ordinances of the Gospel more purely administered as they conceive; those Seducers I say, who bring them to this, know very well how to find their own Account in't. Tho' the poor deluded Souls are never like to obtain the Edification they profess to seek, because of the want of a good Foundation, that is, of that tractable, Orderly, Gospel Temper, which is the peculiar Disposition that prepares one for the Grace of Christ. In fine, The Great Apostle *St. Peter* himself withdraws from the Gentile Church, or *Separates upon Occasion*, an Instance more to our Author's purpose than any of those he thinks fit to mention. He tells us indeed that the *Apostles made no Law for Uniformity in lesser matters*, nor was their own Practice Uniform. What their Practice was we have already seen: And if you will not allow that *Canon of St. Paul's*, *Let all things be done decently and in Order*; and those others, *Be of one Mind; Live in Peace; Keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; Be of one accord, of One Mind*; and in a word, that General Canon which may serve instead of many, and which makes full Provision for the Decent and Regular Administration of Publick Worship, *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit your selves*: If these will not pass with our Dissenters for Apostolical Canons, ! confess I am at a loss at present where to find any. And if any one will think fit to argue that because the Jewish Church offer'd Sacrifice, which was her way of Intercession, for those Heathen Princes to whom she ow'd Subjection, therefore she admitted them to *Occasional Conformity* and allow'd it, I should be apt to question the Ingenuity of such an Arguer, and tell him he might as well have said that because *St. Paul* exhorts *Bishop Timothy* to

1 Cor. 1. 11.  
12.  
P. 12.  
1 Cor. 11. 19.

2 Tim. 3.  
P. 29.

Gal. 2. 11, 20.

P. 9.

1 Cor. 14. 40.  
2 Cor. 13. 11.  
Eph. 4. 3.  
Phil. 2. 2.

Heb. 13. 17.

P. 10.

pray for Kings and all that are in Authority, who in those days were Heathen Idolaters; that therefore the Apostle thinks it a Matter of Indifferency whether we serve GOD in the Christian Congregation, or in the Idol Temples upon Occasion.

P. 6. Having thus considered the present Controversy, as it is a Matter of Religion, and all that is Material in our Author's two first Heads, we leave the Reader to determine *How far Occasional Conformity is warranted by sacred and uncontestable Precedents*; and whether the Principles of the Occasional Conformists are truly Christian and Catholick or no. By the way, giving the Dissenters Joy of their new Claim to *Catholick Spirit and Catholick Communion*, Words which being prophan'd by the Church of Rome, one durst not formerly make use of tho' in ever so good a Sense, without running the hazard of being charg'd with Superstition and Love to Popery. But the Imputation of Popery, that most odious Name, which is sufficient to destroy any Dog one has a mind to hang, and to hound the Mob upon him, cannot at present be thrown with a good Grace on the Church of England, who had an opportunity and took it, not many years ago, to signalize her eminent Zeal in defending the Protestant Religion, and to approve her self a great Bulwark against Popery, even by the Dissenters own Confession; and at a time when they shew'd themselves so Loyal and so mannerly as not to open a Mouth against it, because it was the King's Religion. And therefore the Case is alter'd, the Church that cannot bear the blame of Popery, must now be charg'd with narrow Spirit-ed Zeal and Uncatholick Principles!

P. 12.  
P. 16.  
P. 11.

We come next to consider the Question in Debate, as it is a Matter of Policy, and to enquire whether Prudence, Reason of State, the Interest of the Nation and Government, make it requisite to allow of *Occasional Conformity*, and this will take in all the rest of our Author's Heads that are considerable.

As to Policy in general, we can't think the Maxims and Practice of a States-man and true Politician, so opposite to the Principles of Religion as some have taught, and others by their Actions would make us believe. For Government is necessary, it is from GOD, and therefore there can be no Necessity of doing an Immoral thing to Conduct and maintain it; unless we will charge GOD foolishly, and make Him the Author of our own Wickedness. Reason of State is never contrary to Moral Honesty, when a Wise Man Manages it. 'Tis want of Genius, or want of Integrity in the States-man, which

is indeed the greatest Argument of want of Sense, that makes it at any time necessary to do an Unjust or Dishonourable Action. He who has only the wisdom of this World, which is properly Cunning and not Wisdom; he who has little, petty, private Ends to serve, and Passions to gratify which he is ashamed to own, he will I grant be often forc'd into crooked Paths; But, let him not charge his Calling with it, as if being a Statesman made it necessary for him to be a Knave, but let him blame himself where the blame only is due.

For a Wise and Good Man is always better able to carry his point, than a meer Crafty Knave is; but that the former many times refuses to carry it, as scorning to succeed by indirect and dishonourable Methods. Yet the Man of Honour, of Christian Honour I mean, who pursues worthy Ends by worthy Means, cannot be unfortunate, he gains what he propos'd or somewhat better. His Prosperity is most assured, or if the Iniquity of the time deprives him of it, his Exit however will be Glorious, and his Memory shine to all Generations, besides what remains upon account in the World to come. Such indeed as sneak and cringe, who become the Instrument of Great Mens vices and the flatterers of their Follies, doing any dirty thing to get into Preferment, these use it in the same unhandisom manner that they got it. They confer their Favours on such only as will purchase them as dear as themselves have done, and therefore have no firm supports; real Merit they hate and depress, because it is above them. They balk no opportunity to heap up Riches right or wrong, and oppose every one that will not comply with their Interests, and ruin all Measures how just and necessary soever that can't be brought to serve it. Tho' this Manner of procedure be ever so opposite to their Prince's Honour, and Country's true Interest, by whom they were rais'd and whom they pretend to serve. They strive to remove all those Steps by which they mounted, least another should tread upon their heels. At one time they are for the Country zealous Patriots, at another for the Court Loyal Subjects, and then about again, for any thing indeed, to serve themselves. No wonder then that their hold is so slippery, that they are forc'd upon more ill Actions to keep their ground, than at first they design'd. That indirect and dishonourable Methods, mean Tricks, and base Artifices are requisite, not to maintain the Government, but to keep them in their Posts; and that they sacrifice their Masters to secure them-

themselves; 'tho they are frequently out in their measures, all their cunning will not do, but at last they are taken in their own Craftiness. They are pull'd down, laid aside or worfe, their End is as pitiful and ignoble as their Rise was undeserv'd. Whatever therefore may be Reason of State with a cunning Man, who is but the Wise Man's Ape, Cunning being a defect of Wisdom, yet a Man of a true Genius and noble Spirit, may if he pleases be both a Great Statesman, and yet an honest Man and a good Christian, otherwise Preferment were a very ill bargain, and it would be a hard Case, if a Man could not serve his Country without damning his Soul.

True Policy then requires nothing of us that is unreasonable or unjust, or contrary to Religion and its Interests. For right Reason is Uniform, all of a piece, and if it is our Guide in Politicks, it won't lead us into measures inconsistent with its Dictates in other Cases. So that if Occasional Conformity is an Immoral Action, or prejudicial to Religion, consequently it is impolitick to allow it. And whether or no it is inconsistent with the Integrity of an honest Man, and that Disinterestedness and Zeal for GOD'S Service which ought to appear in all the Actions of a Christian, the Reader I make no Question, is able to judge by what hath been already said.

The Supreme Magistrate tho' he resembles GOD, in that he Acts by Divine Authority, yet his Government at best is but a very faint Image and imperfect Draught of the Providence of the King of Kings, who being infinite in Knowledge and Power, at once sees All-things, and provides for them by the meer efficacy of His own Will, and neither stands in need of Information to make his Laws and direct his Orders, nor of Instruments to execute them. In which respect all Human Government must needs fall infinitely short of the Divine. But happy would it be for the World did *that* come up to *this*, so far as it might and ought, would Rulers I mean, so far as they can, endeavour to Imitate the Justice and Holiness of GOD'S Dispensations, were this always their Design and Endeavour, it would render them Godlike in the most eminent Degree that Man can resemble his Maker, and would make compensation for those unvoidable mistakes which the limitation of their Knowledge, the want or falseness of Information, and the miscarriages of their Instruments will necessarily lead them into. Be a Prince ever so well dispos'd to do his People Good, or ever so wise in making choice of the best Methods, 'tis impossible for him to look into all their Injuries

ries, all their wants, and all that may be of advantage to them, which yet he must do if he would find what good Laws are to be made; or discern what Laws are by the change of circumstances, or for some other reasons, become prejudicial; or which of the Inferiour Magistrates that dispence his power, are wanting in their Duty and in a due Execution of his Laws. So that he is oblig'd to see with other Men's eyes, to receive Information and Advice from them which he makes the best use of, but does not depend upon or trust to any Man's Judgment or Integrity but his own. Because, supposing that their Understandings might be somewhat better, or their Experience more than his, yet he can't be so well assur'd of their Integrity as he is of his own. They *may* (and commonly) *have* Private Interests which warps their Councils, whereas he has no other aim or Interest but the good of his People. And besides, since GOD has call'd him to Govern, and made it his business, he may reasonably expect a peculiar Assistance and Direction from that GOD for whom he Acts, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, and who has told us that he turns them which way soever he pleaseth, and who doubtless does endow the Royal Mind, if Princes are not wanting to themselves, with larger views and more Magnanimous Resolutions, than any private Person can pretend to.

By what has been said, it appears that the Welfare of a Nation depends in great measure on the choice of those hands to whom the Prince commits the Administration. And to confirm it by Example, the Felicity of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign is generally ascrib'd to the goodness of her Ministry, and her excellent choice of all the hands that she employ'd. Not that it is any derogation to that Prince, as if the praise of her good Government was rather due to her Counsellors than to herself. For tho' it has been observ'd that \* Nations, and ours in particular, Flourish more under a Feminine than under a Masculine Regiment: yet, it is not for that silly reason which envious Men assign, to wit, that under a Queen the Men really Govern, and the Women in the Reign of a King, each Sex being apt to adhere to the advice of the other. *Machiavel*, who must be allow'd to be no mean Politician, nor was he over complaisant to the Ladies, tells us, that tho' "there are those that believe,

\* Thus the Foundation of the Spanish Monarchy was laid by Queen Isabel of Castile. Margaret of Denmark was the greatest Prince of the North; And not to be tedious, Zenobia Queen of Palmyra, was the greatest Prince of her Age, or perhaps, that the World has ever produc'd.

In his Prince  
Chap. 23

“ that

“ that a Prince who creates an Opinion of his Prudence  
 “ in the People, does it not by any excellence in his own  
 “ Nature, but by the Counsels of those who are about him,  
 “ yet without doubt they are deceiv’d; for this is a general  
 “ and infallible Rule, *That that Prince who has no Wisdom of  
 “ his own, can never be well advis’d.* And he gives his Rea-  
 sons which being too much to Transcribe, the Reader may  
 please to consult him, concluding *That good Counsels (from  
 whomsoever they come) proceed rather from the Wisdom of the  
 Prince, than the Prince’s Wisdom from the goodness of his Coun-  
 sels.*

A Wise Prince then is seldom mistaken in his choice, if he be, there is indeed a necessity of changing his hands, but this ought not to be done but in the greatest necessity, because it is generally hurtful both to Prince and People. Business is at a stop, new Men will have new Measures, if it be but in pique to their Predecessors; the Nation will ever be disquieted and rent in pieces with the Brigues and Factions of designing Men, in hopes to throw the old Ministry out, and to mount themselves into the Saddle; the Kingdom’s Treasure will be exposed to new and therefore more hungry Leeches, whereas those that are full would have suck’d no longer. And in a word, nothing renders a Government more weak or more despicable, both at home and abroad, than a frequent change. For it must be either great Weakness or ill Designs that makes Princes ever shifting hands, and going the round from Party to Party for a Ministry. If good Men can’t go into all Measures, it is their Vertue not their Fault; and a Wise Prince, not to say a Virtuous one, will not like a Servant the worse for following the Dictates of his Conscience rather than the Humour of his Sovereign. Such indeed as are full of Schemes, and have the Art to drop Artificially that which will not take, and to propose another that will, may recommend themselves to their Masters Humour and so to his good Graces; but have not much to say for their Honour and Integrity: And though he may Use them, yet if he be a Man of Sense he can’t value them. If he has Intrigues contrary to, or besides the Interest of his People, then indeed they are necessary to him; but they are in reality the Pests of a Nation, and will ever be so esteem’d under a Just and Lawful Prince. So that when Death or any other sufficient Reason makes a Succession absolutely necessary, care at least should be taken to fill up the Vacancy with Men of the same Principles,

ciples, who will pursue the same Measures. Steadiness in our Maxims, and Constancy and Firmness in our pursuit, being that which will compass an ill Design and much more a Good one.

And pray what sort of Men are most likely to Maintain a Government, and to pursue the Methods it prescribes, vigorously and faithfully, but those who are entirely satisfy'd with it? Those who like it but by halves, will serve it so; they will be ever foisting in their new Models tho' not near so good as the old. They will contrive Miscarriages on purpose, which shall seem to result from the old Form, that so they may recommend their New-fangled way. The Prince and the Government will draw one way, and such an Unnatural Ministry another, so that there will be a perpetual Struggle, and the very best Event will be another shameful change of hands, of which we have formerly had Experience. And as the Passions of those who are laid aside, will be more exasperated for this Reason, than if they had never been employ'd; so by having been let into Councils they will be more capable of doing mischief, and the Majesty and Authority of Government will be rendred Contemptible, 'twill lose its Reverence in the Peoples hearts, which is a main handle to move them by, and is the Reason why most Governments are more happy and more applauded in their Beginnings than in their Progress. The Felicity of a Reign declining, in proportion as the Reverence and Opinion the People have of their Governor lessens.

Now tho' some would insinuate, that those may be *well affected* and True to the Government, (for unless they are *true*, they are not capable of Serving it, which is what they contend for) who are but *Occasional Conformists*: *Well affected* to the Civil Government, I suppose they mean, since 'tis evident they are not so to the *Ecclesiastical*. For tho' they can for certain Reasons comply with it *Occasionally*, yet they *Statedly* shew their Dislike of it, or at least their avow'd Preference of something else. Yet even this good Affection is *gratis Dicitum*, and sooner said than prov'd: for supposing them true to the Civil Part of the *English* Constitution, yet this is not, can't by any Logic be call'd a being true to the Government; for all honest *English-men* are convinced that the Ecclesiastical Constitution is as much a part of the Government as the Civil, it is so in *this* Reign at least. They are well assur'd of Her Majesty's irrevocable Honour and Integrity, they know that her judg-

P. 17.  
P. 35.  
P. 25, 27.

ment

ment and Affections tye her immoveably to the Church of *England*, they have had it out of her own Royal Mouth, and perhaps some may reckon this her only Fault, as others may count it not the meanest of her Princely Vertues. They know she has sworn to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Church, at the same time and with the same Solemnity that she confirm'd *Magna Charta*, and therefore they are sure of both. Let those therefore who are better at Syllogism than I am, infer if they can, that those who are not true to the Church can be true to the Government, let them clear their Proposition of Contradiction and Impossibility, whilst we pass on to consider,

2. 24. Our Author's Reasons why *the employing of Moderate Dissenters or Occasional Conformists, in Publick Trusts, is so far from being Prejudicial to the Church, that it really strengthens it.* And these are, Because in the first place he supposes them to be generally *Men of Piety and Moderation*, and the Church-man, such at least as are most *zealous* for Uniformity, to be *vicious and prophane*.

2. 25. That the State is best Serv'd by Men of Piety, of Morals and Conscience which is true Honour, no body that pretends to any of these will deny, nay even such as make Shipwreck of them all will be ready enough to own, when it is not a bar to their own Preferment. But that the *Dissenters* and *Occasional Conformists*, are these Men of Piety and Vertue, who in point of Good Morals out-top all their Neighbours, I doubt won't be so readily allow'd. For it has not yet appear'd that the great Sticklers for *Occasional Conformity* are more Just in their Dealings between Man and Man, more pure and peaceable in their Conversation; that they practise more faithfully that *pure and undefil'd Religion* which as the Apostle tells us, consists in *Ministring to our poor and afflicted Brethren*, and in keeping *our selves unspotted from the World*; alas! the World is tenacious, there's a certain Bird-lime in it that sticks to all our Fingers. And as for the other part of Purity, tho' the Dissenting Brethren may act with greater Caution and Secrecy, yet as many People affirm, they are not less Lewd upon *Occasion* than their Neighbours.

St. Jam. 1. 27. Hypocrisie to be sure is as great an Immorality as any can be, 'tis a Complication of Vice and Impiety, a Sin which the Mouth of our Lord has blasted with the sharpest Reprimands, who always shews the highest Detestation of any thing that is in the least tainted with it, or makes any sort of Approach  
to



Approach towards it. And this Sin we know has been always laid at the Dissenters door, and is more especially objected to *Occasional Conformists*. Our Author tells us indeed, that *their Accusers have not attempted to make good their Charge, nor is it capable of a colourable Proof*; let us then for a while take Cognizance of this Matter. P. 6

As all kinds of Imposing upon our Neighbour either by Word or Deed, of seeming to be other than what we are, is either a Lye or a Cheat, or some sort of Dissimulation: So Dissembling in Matters of Religion, a Profession of that Piety which we do not find at heart, and which does not influence all our Actions, but which we only put on in Appearance, upon Occasion, and to serve a turn; a seeming to act upon Religious Motives when we are only, or chiefly mov'd by Secular, is *Hypocrisy*. And this is the great Aggravation of its guilt, that at the same time it makes a mighty Profession of Religion, and shews wonderful Zeal for it, it gives Religion the deepest Wounds. And because the Church-men conclude that this is evidently the Practice of the Dissenters, therefore they accuse them of Hypocrisy, for which they think they have the following Reasons.

The only End of Religious Assemblies they tell us, is in the *Psalmist's* Phrase, to *worship the Lord with holy Worship*, but the Dissenters do not come to our Churches upon this Account. For if they approve our Worship, why do they at any time Separate from it? Especially since they themselves acknowledge that a *Conjunction with the Church at this time is so very necessary to obviate the pernicious and complicated Designs of France and Rome*; and that we have so much Reason to dread the *fatal Consequences of our Enemies Union and of our own Divisions*. And yet more especially, since the Gospel so often and so pathetically injoyns Unity of Affection and Unity of Worship, making *Schism*, which every body allows to be a *Causeless Division, a work of the Flesh*, and ranking it among the most enormous Sins; which one would think should weigh very much with Christians, Protestants, such as profess the greatest Purity and Perfection, and are for Conforming only to express Words of Scripture!

And if dividing from a Church with which we may lawfully Communicate by our own Confession, and do think fit to Communicate upon Occasion, be not a *Causeless Separation*, I pray what is? For as for Pleas of Purer Ordinances and

P. 34.

P. ult.

Phil. 2. 1, &amp;c.

Rom. 15. 5, 6.

— 16. 17, 18.

1 Cor. 3. 4.

Gal. 5. 20.

greater Edification (which will be consider'd more fully hereafter,) unless we know what they mean and where they will fix, they destroy all Order and Unity, hindring that Edification they pretend to seek, and which without question is much better found in a strict Observance of what GOD's Word so frequently and so pressingly Commands, than in following our own Fancies.

So that if the Dissenter can Conform sometimes, either he thinks Conformity is not absolutely Unlawful, and then what can justify his Separation, so opposite to many plain Precepts, and so contrary to the very Design of the Gospel? Or if he judges Conformity to be absolutely Unlawful then his Conscience can allow him *sometimes*, in that which he owns to be Unlawful; and what must every honest Man think of such a Conscience? So that upon the whole matter, it can't be Conscience, whatever else it is, that keeps him from the National Church, and if not Conscience as He pretends, (because nothing but Conscience can excuse his Separation) consequently he dissembles in Matters of Religion; his *Occasional Conformity* is not founded on a Religious, but on a Secular Motive, and therefore he is an Hypocrite.

The Reader is Judge of the Force of this Argument: those to be sure who never come to Church but for a Place, have no way to avoid it. For as the Lords in their Debate upon the Bill very forcibly argue, *the Dissenters have determined the Point against themselves by this Practice, for if they can Conform for a Place, much more ought they to do so in Compliance with the Law and for the sake of Unity.* We have then a very great Authority that the *Laws* as well as the Gospel expects *Conformity, notwithstanding the Toleration.* And consequently tho' *Non-Conformity* is not Penal since the Toleration Act, yet it is not *allow'd*, it is not a *Compliance with the Law.* And that it is a *Scandal to Religion that Persons should conform only for a Place,* is a Brand of Infamy that the Lords have set upon that Practice, so far is that most Honourable House from Countenancing *Non-Conformity* as our Author would seem to insinuate in some of his *Remarques.*

Indeed our Author himself *does not go about to justify any that Conform merely for a Place.* This is as he allows, so *scandalous a Practice, such a Reproach to Religion, so offensive to good Christians,* that the most Zealous Advocates for *Occasional Conformity* must needs disallow it in Theory, how much Service fo-

ever

*Proceedings of the Lords, Oct. P. 31.*

*ib. P. 27.*

*Moderation a Virtue, P. 7.*

ever the practise does them. But he would insinuate that no Dissenters are guilty of it, by his doubt; *if there be any such.* The Two Houses of Parliament it seems thought there was no doubt of it last Winter, and therefore they were for restraining so gross a Practise, and it is no hard Question, whether they or our Author are the better Judges. As for those who *have always declar'd against a Total Separation* as he tells us, and *Practis'd Occasional Conformity without any Prospects of Temporal Advantage*, if there be any such, whatever defence they may make against the charge of Hypocrisy, yet how they will rid their hands of the Schism, which is as bad, of the Scandal they give, by laying such a stumbling Block in their Neighbour's way, as may tempt them to Total Separation, and of fomenting Divisions and weakening the Protestant Interest, is another Question.

P. 13.

But further, Men who pretend to *exacter Discipline, better Gifts, greater Purity and Perfection*, must Act consistently with these Professions, or else they are Hypocrites. Now tho' Christianity does not restrain us from following our Lawful Secular Employments in a *Moderate* way, yet it very much takes off the heart from such sort of Employment, where-ever it has its full power and efficacy, proposing a better Interest and nobler Business to employ the Mind. So that a real Christian, especially one of the upper Form, tho' he does not altogether neglect the Affairs of this Life, yet he pursues them but coldly, the things of a Better take up his Care and excite his most vigorous endeavours. He will not therefore think himself injur'd, but oblig'd, by being disengag'd from this World, and left at full Liberty to pursue the great Concerns of the next. For that the Business of a Christian, of one who is so in Deed as well as in Name, is *to seek the Kingdom of GOD and his Righteousness*, without Solicitude for other things, is so plainly the import of the Gospel, that none who are in any measure acquainted with those sacred Oracles can question it. This then will be the Dissenters Practise, if he really studies *greater Edification*, and seeks for *Purer Ordinances*: But if instead of this, he Intrigues and makes a bustle for secular Ends: if he would have the World believe he is Persecuted, that Conscience and all is at Stake, when no other Injury is done him but the freeing him from the *Trouble* of some secular Employment, or if you will from the *Profits* and *Power*, things that do not use to be sought by the more perfect Christians;

See Page 11, 12, 25.

2 Tim. 2. 4.  
Mat. 6. 24. &c.

Page 12. 'tis pretty Evident that he is upon a level with his Neighbours, that *the Power of Practical Religion is not at all more visibly kept up by him than by other Men*; and therefore if he pretends it is, he is no better than a Hypocrite.

P. 14 If indeed he pleads his Birthright as an *English-Man*, and tells that he is *as much born to serve his Queen and Country as other Man, and as well affected*: this is of different consideration, and the Government is to judge how far it thinks fit to accept his Service; a very considerable part of the Legislature assuring us, that "they look on the fixing of Qualifications for Places of Trust, to be a thing so entirely Lodg'd with the Legislature, that without giving any reason for it, upon any apprehension of Danger, how remote soever, every Government may put such Rules, Restraints, or Conditions on all who serve in any Place of Trust, as they shall see cause for. But then if our Dissenter offers that Plea, he he quits his pretence to the other of being a better Christian, and sinks down into the Lower Form of the poor *undisciplin'd, unedify'd Church-Men*, who with all their faults, can do no worse than scramble with him for Preferment. In fine, if only Men of Honour, that is, Men of Conscience and Religion, are to be Prefer'd, for ought that yet appears, they are not to be pick'd out from among Occasional Conformists. But we shall have occasion to enquire more fully hereafter, whether Religion or Secular Interest be that which influences the Dissenters, as also to give some pregnant Proofs how *faithfully* they have *serv'd the Government*, and consequently how true our Author's Inference is, that therefore their *being in Power can no way hurt the Church*.

Proceedings of the Lords Octavo, p. 31.

P. 26.

P. 36. We are also told of Princes *who understood their own Interest better than to exclude Persons from publick Places, for their being Dissenters from the Religion of the State*; And that there is danger too in excluding Dissenters. For if the *Occasional Conformist's Moderation towards the National Church should be interpreted a Crime in 'em, and prove the occasion of new hardships to them, it may tempt them to espouse severer Principles of Non-Conformity than yet they have done, and to strengthen themselves by a Total Separation from the Church*. As much as to say, that, Conscience apart, if they can't compass their ends one way, they must try to do it another. Now is it not kindly done to tell the Church her danger, and what she may expect? if she will needs draw it upon her own head, the *harmless, Conscientious Dissenter* has discharg'd himself by this seasonable warning,

P. 29, 30.

so let her look to't. Or if this is only Thunder without a Bolt, 'tis however a piece of Friendship, to open their Reserves, to let us a little into the Mystery, and to tell us what may be done in a convenient season, and when it shall be most for their Interest!

But says our Author, *the late Bill against Occasional Conformity would have been highly Prejudicial to the Church of England.* It would be too much Presumption for a private Hand either to Justify or Condemn it, after the Two Houses of Parliament have declared their sense for the matter. And therefore, not to enter upon the Merits of the Bill, we shall only observe to our Author, what pity it was that so many of the Churches most Faithful Sons as promoted that Bill, did not consult him before they propos'd and Voted for it! Now these worthy Gentlemen, and others of their Principles are apt to tell us, that tho' the *Church of England* has given evident Proof that no Provocations can tempt her to shut her Arms against such as sincerely desire to be comprehended in her Communion; or lessen her Charity and forbearance towards those whose Consciences are truly tender, to whom she shews all that Indulgence which a Prudent and Affectionate Mother can express towards her froward Children: Yet GOD be thanked she has Discernment enough to distinguish between her Real and Pretended Friends. She knows too well that False Friends who wear her Livery that they may more effectually betray her, are abundantly more dangerous than open and declared Enemies, according to what the Great Poet made his *Aeneas* observe many Ages ago, and indeed it may pass for a Maxim,

*What Diomed, nor Thetis greater Son,  
A thousand Ships, nor ten Years Siege had done,  
False Tears and Fawning Words the City won.* }

Now there is but one sure Defence against Treachery that I know of, and that is *Not to Trust*; and as the World goes, one of the kindest things we can do to our selves or our Neighbours, is not to give them the Temptation, nor put it into their power to hurt us. People are grown too Crafty, I should say too Wise, now a-days, to be Generous, and to think to gain them by Candor and noble Usage, is only to expose your self to Injuries and to aggravate their Crimes. Condescensions are taken for weaknesses, they do not serve to conciliate Differences, but to strengthen the opposite Party and encrease their Demands. They who find you so Good-Natur'd or so Chari-

Charitable as to grant them *some* things, take occasion from thence to conclude you so soft as to comply with them in *all*. At least they believe themselves so strong as to be able to wrest from you what they please. But tho' Private Persons may satisfy themselves in the Grandure of their own Minds, and the Beauty of their Actions, without considering what ill use People of little Spirits may make of them; tho' a Brave Mind may sacrifice its own particular Interests to Virtue and Honour as oft as it finds it has the Generosity to do it; the Publick is to be conducted by other measures, we are not to expose it to danger, or suffer it to run a risque on any pretence whatsoever. but must defend it to the utmost by all such ways as become worthy Patriots, and bring no disparagement on the Cause we espouse, such I mean as are Lawful and Honourable.

Hence it is that our Legislators who began very gently with all sorts of Recufants according to the mildness of our Government, have found it necessary to encrease their caution, and discern by experience that the only way to be safe against the Papists, and by Analogy against all other Dissenters, who are more or less Enemies to the Government, by reason they Dissent from it, is to follow the Politick and Prudent Method of our Allies the *Dutch*, who exclude them totally from all share in the Administration: But how and by what Methods this is to be perform'd, is their Business, and belongs not to private Persons. All the Objections that have hitherto been rais'd against this, are Sophisms and not Arguments, and mean no more than that the Dissenters are very loth to be shut out of the Administration, which they know would lessen their Party, and leave them no hopes of mounting into the Saddle, which is indeed a very substantial Reason with them, but none with the Government, or with any that are truly its Friends.

For pray, are not the common Objections, (*viz.*) *that the excluding Dissenters from the Government, strikes at the Act of Toleration; that it will be a Discouragement to Trade; Create Divisions at home, and give Umbrage to our Allies of the Reformed Religion abroad*, what are they but meer Sophisms? For he who can think at all, can't but discern at first View, the great Difference there is between Tolerating Scrupulous Consciences, and the letting cunning and designing Men into the Government, or indeed any sort of Men who do not heartily approve it.

it. For unless they are Men of Parts they are not capable of doing Service; and if they have good Sense, to be sure they will not employ it as they ought; nor use it in the Service of that which their Judgments don't throughly agree to. Our Allies the *Dutch* are so wise as to be aware of this, and therefore tho' they grant the Dissenters a Toleration, yet they exclude them from the Government. Nor do we find this any Hindrance to their Trade, or that it gives any Apprehensions or Uneasiness either to their own Subjects or to any Strangers that Settle among them. On the contrary it encourages Industry and advances Trade, by quieting the Minds of the People, and securing their Property: For so long as there are contending Parties, considerable enough to make the Government change hands as each of them get ground, instead of attend the Publick Good, Men are only busy in strengthening their Party, neglecting or depressing every one, tho' ever so usefless to the Publick, who will not be serviceable to them. The Commonwealth is never free from those Intestine Struggles which are the Convulsions of a State, and certain Fore-runners of its Ruin, or at least its Decay, which is the greatest Discouragement to Industry and Trade; for who will care to venture much in such a Bottom, where the Common Safety is neglected, and that Protection and Encouragement is not afforded which every good Subjects expects and ought to receive?

And as for Divisions, honest and undesigning Men will be where they were, they will not further Divide from us; and if the Crafty and Designing are Distinguish'd and Separated, this will make for our Advantage and Strengthen us. They who are *not for us* in this Case *are against us*, they weaken and undermine us; but when they see there is nothing to be got by Divisions, they will let them drop. So that instead of *widening our Breaches at a very unseasonable Juncture*, it will be the way to close them. Our Governors to be sure know best how to repair our Breaches, and to prevent their being daub'd with untemper'd Mortar.

Nor will our Allies and the Reformed Churches abroad take Umbrage; they are too wise and too just to take notice how we act with our own Subjects; or to be concern'd what Measures we take for our Domestick Security, any more than we concern our selves with theirs. And they must have a very extraordinary knack at drawing Inferences, who can infer that because the Establish'd Church endeavours to restrain her own  
Members

P. 34. Members from dividing from her into Separate Assemblies, therefore she *divides from other Reform'd Churches*. Or that because she can't acquit her own Members of Schism who causelessly Separate from her, that therefore She imputes it to Foreign and Sister Churches, over whom She has no Jurisdiction, with whom her Members who happen to be in their Districts, make no scruple to Communicate, any more than their Members do to Communicate with her when they are in *England!* And besides 'tis notoriously known, that the Reform'd Churches abroad have always disallow'd the Separation our Dissenters make, they have ever lamented it, and such of them as had not the Civil Government on their Side in their own Countries, would have thought themselves happy had they been allow'd to Communicate with the National Church, on such easie terms as our Dissenters may with the *Church of England*.

P. 29. Having done with our Author's Reasons against the Bill about *Occasional Conformity*, let us now consider what he offers for the Separation. And as far as he will afford us any light the Reasons are, "The Purity of Divine Ordinances; the Exercise of Spiritual Discipline; the Testimony which their Ministers bear against Sinful Impositions; and their own Edification". These they think "are no Indifferent things; and these determine many Consciencious Christians for *Non-conformity*, who yet dare not totally Separate from the *Church of England*". The *Church uses a Liturgy*, the Dissenters use none, for a Liturgy, would restrain their Gifts; they differ also in their *Ordinations* and in a few *Ceremonies*; and I think I have done my Author no Injury in summing up his Evidence.

P. 16. P. 11, 17. P. 18. But may not one reasonably conclude, that these Pleas would as well keep them from Uniting with any Church in the Christian World as with the *Church of England*? Would they not make them Separate from *Paul* or *Apollos*, or even from Christ himself? This *has* been the Case, and the same Reasons have been offer'd, and therefore what has been may be. Our *Publick Worship*, our *Prayers*, *Praises*, *Sacraments* and *Preaching*, are by their own Confession, for *Substance the same*. Does Sitting at the Sacrament then, which is not so humble a Posture as Kneeling, render that Ordinance more Pure with them than it is with us when Receiv'd in a Devouter Posture? Or are the Publick Prayers hallow'd by a Cloak and Prophan'd by a Surplice? The Imposition is the same on each Side, for they make



make the wearing *no Surplice*, &c. as much a *Condition of Ministry and enjoining Ordinances* in their Congregations as the wearing *one* is in the Episcopal Church. And since *some Habit and some Gesture* must of Necessity be *Us'd*, and some *Injoyn'd* if we mean to obey *St. Paul's Canon* for Order and Decency; are not *Sitting at the Lord's Supper*, and *Administring Divine Ordinances* in a Cloak, neither more nor less *Ceremonies and Humane Mixtures*, than *Kneeling and a Surplice*? Especially since our Church does not make them *Symbolical Signs*, as our Author would insinuate in one place, but since they are used in the *Church of England not as any parts of Worship, but as things Indifferent in their own Nature, and Decent in their Use*, as forgetting himself he owns, and more truly affirms in another. So that *this Difference is of no Consequence*, (what Pity then that the Church should be divided about it!) because neither the *Use of them*, nor the *Omission, makes the Worship of GOD better, or more acceptable to GOD, or derogates from the Perfection of Gospel Ordinances.*

And if it is not the *Use* of these *Accidentals* that taints the Ordinance, it is not, it cannot be the *Injoyning* of them that renders it less Pure: For certainly Christians who have such frequent Lectures read them by *Christ and his Apostles*, of *Obedience to Superiors*, won't offer this for a Reason! An indifferent thing may become Necessary in *Obedience to the Command of a Lawful Superior*; but such a Command can never make that become Sinful, which was in its own Nature Indifferent. For *Obedience to them who have the Rule over us* whether in Church or State, is no Indifferent Duty.

What then is this *Testimony which their Ministers bear against Sinful Impositions*? If our *Worship* or any thing it enjoyns is *Sinful*, 'tis Evil in it self, and therefore a *Conscientious Dissenter* can at no time and upon no Occasion joyn in it, and so there's an End of *Occasional Conformity*. But if our *Worship* is *Lawful* when there's something to be got by't, and *Unlawful and Sinful* when a *Dissenter* is to keep up the *Separation* and his own *Maintenance*, this is a Reason with a *Witness* and I have no more to say to't.

But says our Author, the *Dissenters find themselves better edified in a Separate Congregation* than in the *Legal Churches*; *The Preaching of Dissenting Ministers is generally more close, Methodical and Lively.* Well! there is an old Saying that *Taste is not to be Disputed*, so that if they will say they are more

P. 12

1 Cor. 14 40

P. 19.

P. 12.

P. 19.

P. 19.

Heb. 13. 17.

Tit. 3. 1.

1 St. Pet. 2.

13, &amp;c.

P. 29.

P. 29.

P. 12.

Edify'd, meaning more *Pleas'd*, we can't contradict them. But Christian Edification is another thing, it does not consist in the Gratification of the Fancy, but in the Improvement of Christian Graces, such as Humility, Meekness, Peace, Charity, Unity and Obedience to Lawful Superiors; And when the Dissenters come to be thus Edify'd, we shall have the Satisfaction of seeing a happy End of the Separation.

Indeed Pretences to greater Edification are endless, one knows not what they mean, or what they would be at, they may carry us from an Apostle, nay even from *Christ* himself, as they did the *Corinthians*. They destroy all Order and Discipline, they leave a Man at liberty to be of *Any* Congregation and consequently of *None*: And are so far from rendring such Pretenders Spiritual and Perfect Christians, that in the Apostles Account they prove them *Carnal*; People led by Partiality, Curiosity, or some other Passion, and not by a Sincere Desire to Learn and to Obey the Will of GOD.

What is it but Obedience that renders our Worship acceptable to the Almighty? and therefore tho' it be never so Pure and so extraordinary, as we may think, unless it is perform'd according to his Directions it is of no Value. And that *Christ* expects His Church should be *One*, in the strictest Sense it is capable, is evident, as from several Places of Holy Writ, so particularly from our Lord's Divine Prayer the Night before he was Betray'd, in which he makes it his Request to his Father, that Believers thro' all succeeding Ages *may be One, as thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us*; and to engage them to it the most effectually, he adds this Reason, *That the World may believe that Thou hast Sent Me*. Such then as make Divisions in the Church of *Christ*, do all that in them lies to have our Dearest Lord pass for an Impostor.

He therefore who is a True Christian, and of a Truly *Catholick Spirit*, and who *Practises a Catholick Communion of Saint*, must keep *Constant* Communion with the National and Particular Church, where the Providence of GOD has plac'd him, if so be he can at all or Occasionally Communicate with it, without violating his Conscience; otherwise neither the Holy Scriptures nor the Primitive Writers will allow him to be of a *Catholick Spirit*, or to *belong to the Mystical Body of Christ*. We must have but *One Heart and One Mouth* if we desire to *Glorify GOD* in a Manner acceptable to him. Upon which

Words

1 Cor. v. 12,  
13. & 3. 3.

St. John 17.  
11, 21, &c.

—V. 27.

P. 12.

P. 12.

Rom 15. 6.

Words of the Apostle, Judicious *Calvin*, a Man whose Authority our *Occasional Conformists* I suppose won't question, has this Reflection. " Let no Man boast in himself that he will  
 " Glorify GOD after his own Manner, for GOD has such  
 " Regard to Consent in His Service, that He will not have  
 " His Glory set forth by the Mouths of those that Separate  
 " and Disagree.

We are also told by *A Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry*, Printed 1649. a Time when they were Uppermost, and spake their Sentiments without Reserve \*, That  
*that Doctrine which crieth up Purity to the Ruin of Unity, is contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel. And that that Religion which carries in the Front of it a Toleration of Different Religions, and is not sufficient to keep the Body of Christ in Unity and Purity, is not the Government of Christ.*

P. 124

Another Reason our Author gives for the Separation, is because the Church obliges her Ministers to pray by an impos'd Liturgy, which allows little room for the exercise of the Gift of Prayer; and here lies the Mystery of Edification! Tho' if you will believe *John Goodwin* a great Dissenter, the Church of England is not the only Imposer. For as he tells us, " The Way Sir-  
 " named *Presbyterian*, conjures all Mens Gifts, Parts and In-  
 " dustry, into a Synodical Circle, and suffers them only to  
 " Dance there.—The *Presbyterian* is a Bloody, Unpeaceable  
 " and Persecuting Way, a way much damping and deading  
 " the Flourishing Improvements of the Gifts and Graces of the  
 " Saints". And as another Independant tells us, " When  
 " they [the Presbyterians] prevail'd for a Bill to damn Epi-  
 " scopacy Root and Branch, that Presbytery might succeed  
 " it,—nothing was abated which concern'd either Wealth or  
 " Jurisdiction, only an Episcopal Tyranny exchange'd for a  
 " Presbyterian Slavery. Such an Oracle of Infallibility, says  
 " another, and such a Supremacy, as no *True-bred-English-  
 " Christian*, can interpret for other than Antichristian Ty-  
 " ranny, and all under the Name of a Christian Presbyterian  
 " Church Government". For as the same Person says in his De-  
 " dication, " The Presbyterians Ordinary Counsels drive at two  
 " main things (yet both reduc'd to one head, to wit Tyranny.)  
 " The one Tyranny over our Bodies, Estates, Free-holds,  
 " Liberties, Laws, and Birth-rights of all English Free-born  
 " Subjects: The other, Tyranny over our Souls and Con-  
 " sciences". But letting this pass as the Clamor of a few

\* P. 11.

In his Theo-  
machia, p. 33Answer to  
Prny's 12  
Queries, p. 19.Burton's Con-  
formity, De-  
formity, p. 21.  
1645.

Independants when the Presbyterians had got the whip-hand of them.

The Establish'd Worship, says our Author, would not permit Dissenting Ministers to make the best advantage of their Talents; and is it not better, say I, and more for Edification, that the Church of G O D should be rent in pieces, than that the feeble Men should not shew their Gifts!

But would not this be an Objection against any Liturgy, tho' compos'd by an Apostle, by an Angel, or even by G O D Himself, as well as against the Liturgy of the Church of *England*? a great part of which is the very word of G O D, to wit, the Psalms, the Lessons, and most of the Hymns, the Lord's-Prayer, and the Commandments, and all the rest, either Scripture Expressions, Rationally and Gravely put together, or else what is Analogous thereto, and conformable in all respects to the Sense of Holy Scripture. Will any one say then, that all Ministers can Pray so well as the Liturgy? if he does, let Experience convince him. Our Author does not pretend it, for he tells us, " That the Dissenters don't scruple all use of Forms of Prayer, but they like not the imposing of them to be us'd constantly, without variation by such Ministers as can pray without them. Do they then think it better to venture that Tautology our Lord forbids, that Indecency and Irregularity, to say no worse, to which *ex tempore* effusions are liable, in those at least, who are *not able* to pray, and who, no doubt will be as forward to shew their Gift as the best, since they are left to be Judges of their own Abilities, than to stifle the Gifts of those *that are*?"

If this is their Opinion, I would desire them to consider a Passage, which it may be worth their while to give a full and clear Answer to. A certain Divine of the Church of *England*, whose Preaching (to give every one their due,) is not less *close, methodical, and lively* than the best one has heard of among the Dissenters; and would they vouchsafe to hear him and many others of his Brethren, 'tis like they might not be less Edify'd than in their own Congregations: This Divine in one of his Sermons, warns us of the " mischief of Pride in reference to the Offices of Prayer, making that which ought to be the bond of Union the badge of Dissention. And because I can't Give you his Sense in better words, you shall have it

Page 16.

1. Math. 6.

it in his own. “ Few of us (says he) can be ignorant of the expedience of Publick Liturgies, or of the constant use of them in all Ages of the Church, or of the particular excellency of ours of the Church of *England*, than which, what Prayers can be more Piously conceiv'd, or more sensibly exprest, or more wisely accommodated to all humane exigencies? And yet, this notwithstanding, we see it come to pass that the joining in these Prayers, is not only neglected by multitudes of People, but it is counted a sort of Abomination, and made a matter of Schism: And now whence comes all this mischief, but only from the Pride of those Men, who were resolv'd to draw all respect from the Publick Prayers, that they might transfer it upon their own Gifts? Those who imagin'd that there were more Charms in their own Conceptions than in the Publick, and that the use of such a borrowed Form, would bring a Scandal upon their own Affluence; as *Naaman* the Leper thought that his washing in *Jordan* would be an Affront to *Abana* and *Pharpar*, all which is no other than a meer Phrenzy of Pride.

Mr. Young's  
Sermons Vol.  
I. P. 139. 140.

But what is it they mean by this *Gift of Prayer*, which the Liturgy won't allow them room to exercise? is it Infus'd or Acquir'd? tho' *Acquir'd* is a very improper Epithet for a Gift, but those who force one upon Non-sense, ought to bear the reproach of it. They will not say it is Infus'd, or an Immediate Inspiration from the Holy Spirit; for besides the Blasphemy of ascribing all the Speakers weaknesses, to say no worse, to the Spirit of GOD, this would be to set up so many New Evangelists and New Canons of Scripture, and such too as would not agree among themselves, and their Authority being equal, we should not know which we were to follow.

These Gifts then must be Acquir'd, meer natural Qualifications, and so we know they are; for fluency of Expression is a meer Humane Art, which a Man may have in great Perfection, who is notwithstanding, Destitute of Divine Grace. Indeed so far is the Volubility of Tongue from being any Evidence of the Devotion of the Heart, that on the contrary, when the Desires are truly Fervent and Pathetic, they are too big for Words, and to use a Scripture Phrase, are express'd in *Groans that can't be utter'd*. The only way then to know whether a Man Prays with his Heart as well as with his Lips, is, to observe whether he puts his Petitions in Practice and Lives according to his Prayers. If this is his Case we may safely

Rom. 8. 26.

safely conclude he is Devout; that he heartily Desires the Graces he asks and that GOD has granted his Request, by enabling him to shew forth the Grace of GOD in an *Holy and Christian Conversation*. Otherwise let his Gift of Prayer be what it may, the Man is Carnal; and to break the Peace and Unity of the Church, rather than want an Opportunity of displaying his Gift, is nothing else in plain English but a vain Ostentation, no very good End for an humble and Conscientious Christian to Contend about.

Page 17. But Humility and Reverence to Superiors, even to GOD Himself are it seems left out of some People's Catalogue of Graces; or else we should not have had it made a Question. *If Ministers are fit to deliver a Message from GOD to the People by Preaching, why not as fit to deliver the People's Message to GOD by Praying?* As if there were no difference between GOD and the People! but as much Reverence were due to the one as to the other! Nay one would think that the Greater Veneration is paid to the People; for we are told that *Preaching requires greater Abilities than Praying*, and therefore *there is more reason why Men should be allow'd to make their own Prayers*, than to compose their own Sermons!

P. 17.

There are some folks we know who not only set the People on a Level with GOD's Vicegerent, but even give them the Upper-hand, and then how easy is the transition to an Equality with GOD Himself! GOD says, *By me Kings Reign*; No, say some Men, they Reign by the People. GOD has told us that *he is the Judge*, and that it is he who *putteth down one and sets up another*. That is say they, the Voice of the People is the Voice of GOD; and how can GOD Act in this Case but by the People? One would think by this, that those Popish Authors who set up other Gods besides the Majesty that Reigns in Heaven, did not err in derogating from the Honour due to GOD only, but in mis-naming their Demy-God, They should not have said *our Lord God the Pope*, but, *our Lord God the People*, and then it had been Orthodox Protestant Doctrine!

Pro. 8. 15.

Psal. 75. 7.

Another Difference between the Church and the Dissenters, according to our Author, is in *their Ordinations*; but this he tells us is *not very considerable*. For the *Dissenter allows the Validity of Episcopal Ordination, tho he can't submit to Re-ordination; and it is agreed on both sides that Ordination by Presbyters is Lawful in Cases of Necessity; and the Dissenter says, This is his Case, because*

Page 18.

because he can't come up to the Terms of Episcopal Ordinations: So he says, but I very much question whether it will be allow'd to be his Case.

Indeed were mere *Saying* sufficient to prove one in the Right, no body would be in the wrong; for every one has something or other to say for himself, how little soever it agrees with Reason and Truth. Thus the Dissenter tells us what is his Case; to which the Church-man replies, Is not our Church by your own Confession supply'd with *True Ministers*, and many of them Men of great Learning and Piety? where then lies the Necessity that the Dissenter who can't comply with that *Outward Call* the Church requires, should take upon himself the Ministry? If he pleads his *Inward Call*, since the Divine Dispensations are always Consistent, and never in opposition to one another, this Call is but ill express'd and worse prov'd, by disturbing Peace and Unity, by opposing Order and the Governours of the Church, and doing that which our Author allows is an *Irregularity*; Would not his Call, if he has one, more truly appear, and his Zeal be indeed very commendable, did it lead him to the *Indies*, put him upon Preaching the Gospel to Infidels and Converting Unbelievers? No body would then deny that his Vocation was from GOD. But unless he gives better Proofs of it than hitherto appear, he must excuse us from allowing he has any just Pretences to the Ministry, or can without Sacrilege take it upon him. For neither Abilities, the having a good stock of Sense and not a little Assurance, and the being able to express ones self handsomly; no nor what is better than all other Qualifications, Holiness of Life, founded upon True and Sound Principles, are sufficient to make People Ministers, Many Persons no doubt may have these good Qualities, who have for all that, no other Call but to Study to be Quiet and to do their own Business.

As for *Discipline*, the Churches lamenting the Want of it with Pious Grief, ought not to be made an insidious Objection against Her. But whom may she blame for this Want, but the Causeless Separation of those who by setting up Altar against Altar, make the Exercise of Discipline impracticable? For can any one think that those loose Men who break the Laws of GOD, will value the Centures of the Church, when they find no Shame or Temporal Punishments attending them? and can be received with open Arms in a Separate Congregation, when she has excluded them from her Communion? Nor does  
the

P. 11.

P. 18.

I Theff. 4. 13.

P. 11. the Church allow a promiscuous Admittance of all Persons to the Lord's Table; as any one may see who will be pleas'd to consult her *Rubrick* before *the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper*; her *Warning for the Celebration of it* the Sunday before, and her *Exhortation* at the Lord's Table.

P. 12. As for *Family Worship*, with the want of which the Church-  
 1 S. Pct. 4. 15. men are reproach'd; they who are *Busie-bodies in other Mens Matters*, may, its like, pretend to give an Account of the Practice of Private Families. I own it is out of my Province. But so far as they can judge who see their Neighbours Actions and not their Hearts, allowing for the difference in Number, there are fewer ill Livers among the Church-men than the Dissenters. This indeed one may observe, that the most part of those who are the greatest Fautors for *Occasional Conformity*, are either profess'd *Deists* or *Socinians*, or else of such Licentious Lives, that it matters not much what their Professions are, so far is *the Power of Practical Religion from being more visibly kept up among them* than among their Neighbours.

P. 12.

I have now gone over all our Author alledges for a Separation, and I desire the impartial Reader to judge whether they are sufficient Reasons; and what sort of Conscience that is which keeps up the Separate Congregations of Dissenters upon these Pretences? For what I pray is Conscience? or how comes it that the Consciences of our Dissenters are so different from the Consciences of all other good Protestants of the Reform'd Churches abroad, who if they understand our Language think themselves under no Necessity of Dissenting of from us, when the Providence of GOD has brought them into our Nation?

What those who talk so much of Conscience mean by't, I am not able to say, but those who have *some Meaning*, understand by Conscience that Judgment which determines a Man in the Practice of Religion. Now we know there are different sorts of Judgments, for Instance, a *Sound* Judgment or *well inform'd* Conscience, when a Man Governs himself according to the true Importance of the Precepts of the Gospel; an *Erroneous* Judgment or an *erring* Conscience when he swerves from them, how confident and obstinate soever he be in his Error; a *weak and scrupulous* Judgment or Conscience, whatever his Conclusions are, whether right or wrong, if he Doubts and Hesitates, and is not well assur'd whether he should Approve or Condemn, Act or Forbear.

Now



Now sure it is no hard Matter to conclude by which of these Judgments one ought to Act. The Sound Judgment, or the Good Conscience that Governs it self by the Measures of the Gospel, without doubt ought to prescribe. Not that I would have the weak and scrupulous be concluded by it without any Consideration, but since they are so uncapable of Judging and so unresolv'd themselves, they ought to pay a mighty Deference to the well-inform'd Judgment of their Superiors, which in this case, if it may not Conclude for them, yet at least, should go very far towards the Determining their Doubts and Scruples. To be sure, these weak and unresolv'd People, ought by no means to Censure, to Prescribe to, or Profelyte others. All they can pretend to is the being Tolerated and bore with in their weakness, pity'd and set right, as soon as their Infirmity will allow.

As for the Erroneous, since Truth, every necessary and important Truth at least, has a Native Brightness, an Infallible Character, whereby it may be distinguish'd by all who truly Love and Honour it, which no Man must pretend, who will not sincerely lay aside his Prejudices, Passions, and every little pitiful Worldly Interest, and attentively and diligently search it out. Consequently it must be a Man's own wilful Fault, supposing he has Capacity and Opportunity to enquire, if he remains in Error, to be sure, if he is Confident and Obstinate in it. Confidence and Obstinacy therefore when joyned to Errour in Matters of Religion, make the true Definition of Heresy. And in this Case even *St. Paul*, tho' he became all things to all Men, that he might gain some, finds it necessary to enjoyn *Titus*, to whose Episcopal Care he committed the Church of *Crete*, to reject a Heretick after the first and second Admonition: *Tit. 3. 10, 11*, Knowing that he that is such is subverted and sinneth being condemned of himself. The Meaning of which is, that whatever Pretences such a Man makes to Conscience, he does indeed Sin against the Light; his Judgment, would he but honestly declare it, determines against him, but there are other private Ends so powerful with him as to over-rule his Judgment, and to make him shut his Eyes against the brightest Truth.

If then the Dissenters are really so Conscientious as they pretend, for GOD's sake, for the Common Cause of the Reform'd Religion, for the sake of their Country, and even for their *Own* sakes, since they who Causelessly rent the Church of *Christ*, will in the End be the greatest Losers by it; let them

- P. 34. contribute what they can towards closing our Divisions. Divisions which as themselves allow are at all times so fatal, which first weaken and then destroy the *Body Politick*, and which as they tell us are of the very worst consequence at this time.
- Our Author's  
3<sup>d</sup> Head p. 15. *The Difference between the Church and Moderate Dissenters is by their own Confession, very little and inconsiderable. They agree in all the Essentials of Christianity and differ only in a few Accidentals. They agree in all the Articles of the Church, except two or three, which they call private Articles; in their Publick Worship, which is for Substance the same, and even in their Deference to the Bishops, whom they say they highly Honour for their eminent Zeal in defending the Protestant Religion and English Liberties.*
- P. 16. *Nor do they scruple a Moderate Episcopacy. They agree in a hearty opposition to Popery, in a firm Adherence to her Majesty and the Succession; they have taken the same Oaths and are resolv'd to keep them. Now if all this is true, if it be more than Words, Why should not the great things wherein they agree be more powerful to unite them than the lesser things wherein they differ, are to divide them?*
- P. 15. *Nor do they scruple a Moderate Episcopacy. They agree in a hearty opposition to Popery, in a firm Adherence to her Majesty and the Succession; they have taken the same Oaths and are resolv'd to keep them. Now if all this is true, if it be more than Words, Why should not the great things wherein they agree be more powerful to unite them than the lesser things wherein they differ, are to divide them?*

In such a Case as this, wherein the Honour and Interest of Religion in General, and of the Reformation in Particular are so much concern'd, Christians, one would think, should not stand upon point of Ceremony, who shall make the first Step towards a Union! Or if a first Step must be made, sure both in Decency, in Reason, and which is above all, in Obedience to the Divine Commands, so plainly laid down in Holy Scripture, it becomes those who have stood off from Lawful Authority, to lay aside their Stiffness, and humbly and modestly, two very Christian Qualifications, to make their Advances towards their Superiors. Especially since they are sure of being receiv'd as the Father receiv'd his returning Prodigal, with open Arms. For *God's* sake where lies the hindrance? It can't be that Christians, Reform'd, Protestant Christians, are ashamed to acknowledge a Fault and own an Error, since Christianity as to Practice, is founded on Humility and Repentance? The Church of *Rome*, indeed, tho' convinc'd of her Errors, as appears by the History or the Council of *Trent*, would not quit them lest she should give up her Infallibility; but *GOD* forbid that Protestants of any Denomination should be of this Temper!

By all the Condescensions the Church has made, by all the endeavours of the best and greatest Church-Men, 'tis sufficiently evident that she would do her utmost to reconcile them, but

but alas what can do it? Let them agree, and tell us what will Unite them to the Church, or even to one another, in any thing but in endeavouring her Ruin, and they shall see how ready we will be to comprehend them. Are they not as opposite to one another as they are to us? only they can unite among themselves to oppose the Church. Every Party as it gets into Power is for Imposing its sentiments on its Fellows; and they who pleaded most for Liberty of Conscience, when they themselves were not at the Helm, are the most violent opposers of it when it happens to be in their power to grant it. They who exclaim'd the most against Persecution, become themselves the most violent Persecutors.

Indeed unless they will lay aside their Prejudices and Animosities, it is not possible to content them, even the Destruction of Episcopacy and the Establish'd Church would not do it. For the Independants are as far from agreeing with the Presbyterians, or these with the other, as either of them are with the Church.

“ There was never a more Hypocritical, False, Dissembling Generation in *England*, than many of the Grandees of our Sectaries. They encourage, Protect, and cry up for Saints, Sons of *Belial* and the vilest of Men, says one Presbyterian. “ Independents (says another) are most *obstinate Rebels*, both in *Opinion* and *Practice* and Perfidious Violaters of such a main and principal Foundation, as will inevitably ruin all other Fundamentals of True Religion, if allow'd unto them. As for the Reform'd Churches in *France* they had no better opinion of them.

“ For the Assembly of *Charenton*, judging the Sect of *Independents* to be not only prejudicial to the Church of GOD, in so far that it endeavours to bring in Confusion, opening a Gate to all kinds of singularities, and Extravagancies, and taking away all means of any Remedy to the Evil, but also most dangerous to the State; where (if it had place) there might be as many Religions set up, as there be Parishes, or particular Congregations; doth enjoin to all the Provinces, and particularly to the Maritimes, to take heed that the evil take no foot in the Churches of this Kingdom, to the end that *Peace* and *Uniformity*, as well in Religion as in *Discipline*, may be *inviolably Preserv'd*.

On the other side the *Independents* tell us, “ That Presbytery is *Babylon*, *Egypt*, a Limb of *Antichrist*, a Tyrannical Lordly Government, a worse Bondage than that under the *Bishops*. The Seed of GOD (say they) in this Nation has had two Capital Enemies, the *Romish Papacy* and the

Edward's  
Gangrana,  
Pt. 2. p. 240.  
1546.

Coleman's  
Conclave  
Preface.  
1648.

See an  
Extract  
of the  
Dec. 25. 1644.

Martin Echo.

Sterry's  
England's  
Deliverance,  
p. 7.

“ *Scottish*

Saltmarsh's  
Answer to Ley.  
P. 7. 1645.

Some Modest  
and humble  
Queries, p. 7.  
1645.

Edwards's  
Gangræna,  
P. 87.

Eastwick's  
Postscript to  
Burton.

See also Picture of  
Independency,  
Paper's Hieroglyphy,  
Edw's Gangræna,  
And his Enricher  
Discovery. Also  
Lord Albright's  
Seasonable Exhorta-  
tion. 1660.  
Liburn's England's  
Birth-right. See  
• My Lord Claren-  
den's Hist. p.  
158, &c.

“ *Scottish Presbytery*. Is Presbytery become *Parochial, Classical,*  
“ *Provincial,* less *Tyrannical* than *Episcopacy*, because many  
“ Rule in that and in this, but one? Or rather not more  
“ *Tyrannical*, because one Tyrant is not so much as many  
“ together? *Evil* in a *Community* is stronger, and more dif-  
“ fusive than in *Unity*. Was there ever any thing done in  
“ the *Bishops* time, or any thing attempted to be done by  
“ this *Generation* of Men, in the day of their greatest Inte-  
“ rest and Power in the *Kingdom*, of that *Bloudy Consequence*  
“ to those *Godly Persons, Ministers* or others, whom they  
“ most hated, and sought to crush, as this Ord'nance, (to  
“ *Prevent the Growth and Spreading of Heresy, &c.*) if once  
“ *Establiſh'd*, is like to be to far greater Numbers of truly  
“ *Pious* and *Conscientious Men*.

And as for *Persecution*, “ Our *Sectaries* (says a *Presby-*  
“ *terian*) in their *Sermons, Prayers, Pamphlets, Discourses,*  
“ *Petitions*, all cry out of *Persecution*; and accuse the *Ortho-*  
“ *dox Presbyterians* of *Persecution*; yea, when for their *Sedi-*  
“ *tious, Tumultuous, Libellous, Scoffing, Wicked, Lying,*  
“ *Scandalous Reports, Books and Practices,* they have been  
“ *Question'd*, there is nothing in their *Mouths* but *Persecu-*  
“ *tion*, and of *Unheard-of Prosecution* of the *Godly*. I am of  
“ the *Mind* if any of them should come to be *Imprison'd* and  
“ *Hang'd* for *Stealing, Killing* a *Godly Presbyterian, Plotting*  
“ *against* the *Parliament* and *City*, in *seizing* upon their *Forts,*  
“ or some *Parliament Men*, One or other of them wou'd cry  
“ out of *Persecution*.

But when the tyde was turn'd, and the *Independents* were  
uppermost, then the *Presbyterians* tell us, that “ the *Inde-*  
“ *pendents* have now the *Sword* in their *Hands*, and they  
“ think their *Party* strong enough to encounter any adverse  
“ and opposite *Party*; and they profess they care not how soon  
“ they come to cutting of *Throats*; and speak of nothing but  
“ the *Slaughtering* and *Butchering* of the *Presbyterians*. These  
“ *Godly Parties* treat each other with the utmost *Scurrility* and  
“ *Indignation*, as those who have a mind may see, by *Consult-*  
“ *ing Bastwick* on one Side, in his *Independency not GOD's Or-*  
“ *dinance*, and in his *Postscript*: And *Burton* on the other, in  
“ his *Brief Answer* and in his *Conformity's Deformity*. And it is  
“ very observable that this same *Burton* and *Bastwick* \* who were  
“ *Hofannah'd* into the *City* in contempt of *Royal Authority*,  
“ at the beginning of the long *Parliament*, after they had suffer'd

Two Years Imprisonment for a *Pestilent and Seditious Libel*, against the Government in Church and State, which they with *Pryn* had *combin'd* to make; these very Men, when the Church was destroy'd and the Power in their own hands, could not agree about dividing it.

What is it then that will please those People? or to which of them must we make our Court? since it is impossible to please them all. Or what good Reason can be given why one is to be prefer'd before the other? The Pleas of *this* Party, are neither better nor worse than the Plea of *that*; so that the only way to close the Breaches of this Divided Nation, is for the Dissenters to come into the Establishment, for this is Fixt, one knows what it requires, but one knows not where to have those who Dissent from it; Error being Multiform tho' Truth is but One. And sure all Understanding Dissenters, if they have but an equal share of Conscience and Honesty, can no longer Divide from us. In so plain a Case, Charity it self, tho' it *believes all things and hopes all things*, knows not how to reconcile their Practice to their Professions. The best and wisest Men therefore are of opinion, that Conscience has the least part in the Separation, for which reason they think it highly necessary to secure the Dykes against this Inundation of Error and *Schism*, as they suppose, and consequently of faction and Sedition.

I shall not enter upon the Question, *whether Occasional Conformity is evil in it self?* only thus far; *if the Points upon which the Dissenters continue their Separation* are not to be Justify'd, by consequence neither is the Separation, and therefore if it is \* to be call'd a *Schism*, one is at a loss by what Name to term it. Neither shall I insist upon the Nature and Evil of *Schism*, after what has been writ upon this Subject by much better Pens; Whose Reasons I desire the Reader would be pleas'd to weigh, but not be determin'd by any *bare* Authority. If any Authority be good in this Case, methinks that of the Dissenters is most Authentick, and Reason, tho' good in any Man's mouth, yet upon this Subject is most convincing in theirs. Hear then what was the Presbyterians Opinion of *Schism* when they had got themselves Establish'd. " *Schism* of it self, says one of them, even with *Sound Doctrine* in every point, is a most *Grievous* Wickedness, which exceeds all other Wickedness. I might, out of the Fathers, enlarge and shew the great Evil of *Schism*, both in it self, and the Effects of it; How it is a greater

See Bp Stillin.  
Charge of Separation: And,  
The Charge of  
Schism & r-  
tinn'd.

Edwards's Ex-  
ther Discover,  
P. 157.

" Evil

“ Evil to rend the Church, than to worship Idols; Yea, that  
 “ Martyrdom it self cannot profit a Schismatick; That it is fo  
 “ Great an Evil, that the Bloud of Martyrdom cannot blot it  
 “ out. (So *Cyprian* and *Chrystom.*) And that GOD hath  
 “ more severely punish’d it than Murder, and other great  
 “ Crimes. *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for their Schism were  
 “ punish’d more severely, with the Earth opening and swal-  
 “ lowing them up Quick, than *Cain*, and than those who made  
 “ an Idol. And again, The Punishment of Schism and Sepa-  
 “ ration from the Church, is separation from GOD; Here-  
 “ sy, Blasphemy, Atheism, Uncleanness, Unrighteousness, &c.  
 “ Now this Mr. *Edwards* who gives us such a frightful account  
 “ of Schism, was none of those *Church Ministers*, who surfeit  
 “ their Hearers with fulsome and repeated Declamations against  
 “ Schism. He himself tells us, “ I am one who out of choice  
 “ and Judgment have embarqu’d my Self, my Wife, Children,  
 “ Estate, and all that is dear to me, in the same Ship with you,  
 “ to sink and perish, or to come safe to Land in the same Ship,  
 “ and that in the most doubtful and difficult times — Plead-  
 “ ing your Cause, Justifying your Wars, satisfying many that  
 “ scrupled — Preaching, Praying, *Stirring up the People* to  
 “ stand for ye, by going out in Person, Lending of Money, &c.  
 “ By which it is very evident that he was one of those *Dissenting*  
 “ *Ministers* whom our Author tells us are generally *Men of such*  
 “ *real Piety, good Learning, and so Zealously active to save immor-*  
 “ *tal Souls*, that the Occasional Conformist thinks himself oblig’d  
 “ to hold Communion with ’em. And as for his love to the Church  
 “ of *England* it appears in the same place, for he tells the Lords  
 “ and Commons to whom he Dedicates his Book, “ You have,  
 “ most noble Senators, done worthily against Papists, Pre-  
 “ lates and Scandalous Ministers, in casting down Images,  
 “ Altars, Crucifixes; throwing out Ceremonies, &c. And  
 “ he gives us a sad account, too long to repeat, of the Growth  
 “ of Libertines, &c. “ which have been growing upon us, says  
 “ he, ever since the first Year of your Setting, and have eve-  
 “ ry Year increas’d more and more. Could any one have  
 “ imagin’d that *Immorality* and *Prophaneness* should grow to  
 “ such a height in those Blessed Times when the whole Na-  
 “ tion, (at least those Zealous Men who call’d themselves  
 “ its Representatives) was but one great Society for the Re-  
 “ formation of Manners; one could not have suppos’d it, but  
 “ that it is testified under the Hand of a *Dissenting Minister*.

Page 167.

Moderation a  
Vertue, p. 27.In his Ep. De-  
dic. to the Lords  
and Commons  
before his  
Gangrana.Moderation a  
Vertue, p. 11.

P. 25.

The

The Worthy Mr. Pryn, that Zealous Writer against the Legal Government in Church and State, he also tells us, that  
 "if the Parliament and Synod shall by Publick Consent *Estab-*  
*lish a Presbyterian Church Government*, as most consonant to  
 "GOD's Word—Independents and all others are *bound in*  
 "Conscience to submit unto it, under the pain of Obstinacy,  
 "Singularity, &c. in case they can't really, by *Direct* Texts  
 "and Precepts prove it diametrically contrary to the Scri-  
 "pture". One would think that the same Sauce ought to  
 be given to the Goose that is to the Gander, and that all Men  
 are as much oblig'd in Conscience to submit to the *Present*  
*Establishment*, those at least, who are so far from proving it  
 contrary to Scripture, that they do not so much as offer at  
 such a proof; so far from it, that they can *Occasionally* ap-  
 prove and joyn with the Establishment.

*In his Full Answer to J. Goodwin, p. 13.*

Consonantly to these Principles, *the Congregational Men*  
*swore to endeavour Uniformity*. And *Watson* Preaching to the  
 Commons \* exhorts them to "Look upon the *Covenant* to  
 "which we have lifted up our hands. I tremble when I read  
 it, says he, "We Covenanted not only against *Prelacy*, but  
 "Popery; not only *Hierarchy* but *Heresy*; not only *Sin* but  
 "Schism". And again, "they renew their solemn League  
 "and Covenant against all Error, Heresy and *Schism*, — and  
 for "the carrying on the Work of *Uniformity*."

Rutherford's *free Disputation*, p. 255. 1649.  
 \* Dec. 27. 1649.

As for "Conscience, if it be warrant enough for Practices  
 "and Opinions, says *Vines* to the Commons, and *Liberty of*  
 "Conscience be a sufficient Licence to Vent or Act them, I  
 "cannot see but the Judicatories either of Church or State  
 "may shut up Shop, be resolv'd into the Judicatory of Every  
 "Mans Private Conscience", And therefore "if Prophane,  
 "or *Erroneous* Persons shall Excommunicate themselves from  
 "the Publick Ordinances of *Christ*, either by Negligence or  
 "going a whoring after any *Sett* or *Schisms*, and say, their Con-  
 "science must be free to do so, then the Magistrate by his  
 "Positive Laws must fetch them in and Command Obedience  
 "to Publick Ordinances in the Church, as the Kings of *Judah*  
 "did, 2 *Chron.* 17, &c. So they tell us in *the Ordinances of*  
*Excommunication Stated*, p. ult. Which Book was Licens'd and  
 Publish'd 1645.

*Naphtali En- gagements to Duties.*

Mar. 10. 1645.  
 P. 27.

Indeed to do the Presbyterians Justice, we must allow that  
 when they were in Power, they did as much as might be, to  
 put a Stop to the Mischiefs of *Schism*, they Preach and Write  
 against

against it, pressing Uniformity, as much as the most Zealous Church-man can press it. " Are for keeping the People to

\* *Amidete against* " their *Parish Churches* \*, nor can any be more zealous against  
*the Court. Air of* " *New Lights*, and such as *heap to themselves Teachers having*  
*Independency, p. 12.* " *itching Ears* †. For they tell us, (a) " a *Toleration* has all  
 † See *Pillars of* " *Errors* in it, and *all Evils*. That it (b) is against the Na-  
*Independency.* " *ture* of Reformation and diametrically opposite to it.  
 (a) *Edward's Gan-* " *That this pretended Liberty of Conscience* is against the  
*zana, p. 6. also* " *Judgment* of the greatest Lights in the Church, both An-  
 (b) *His Antapologia,* " *tient* and Modern. (c) Is against the Magistrates Duty laid  
 p. 241, 242. " *down* in Scripture. Is a shrewd Temptation to make many  
 (c) *His Full An-* " *fall* and a means of Confirmation in the way of Error. That  
*swer, p. 237.* " *it* has ever been from first to last a Fountain of Evil, and a  
 p. 224. " *Root* of Bitterness; of many Divisions and Separations.  
 p. 248. " *That* it will be to this Kingdom very mischievous, Pernici-  
 v. 247. " *ous* and Destructive. (d) That we ought to take heed how  
 (d) *Hodges to the* " *we* *Tolerate Schism*; for in a little time without great care  
*Commons, Mar. 10.* " *it* will open the Door to *Heresy*. That (e) Divisions whether  
 1656. p. 55. " *they* be Ecclesiastical or Political, — are infallible Causes  
 (e) *Calamy to the* " *of* Ruin. And which is worst of all, the Precious Mr. *Bax-*  
*Commons, Dec. 25.* " *ter* assures us; (f) That Liberty in all matters of Worship and  
 1644. p. 4. " *Faith*, is the only and apparent way to *set up Popery* in the  
 (f) *Non-Conf. Ples,* " *Land*. No wonder then that he *Expostulates* with those who  
*Prof.* " *were* then in Power, (g) Will Merciful Rulers set up a Trade  
 (g) *Self-denial, E-* " *for* Butchering of Souls, and allow Men to set up a Shop of  
*pist. Ministry.* " *Poison*, for all Men to buy and Take, that will: Yea to  
 " *Proclaim* this Poison for Souls in Streets and Church As-  
 " *femblies, &c.*

May 26. 1647.  
P. 33.

" Doth it belong to you only to look to the Civil Peace,  
 says *Cafe* Preaching to the Commons, " and to let Religion  
 " and Truth, and the Worship of GOD stand or fall, to  
 " their own Master? *Fight GOD, Fight Devil, Fight Christ,*  
 " *Fight Antichrist; Catch that catch can;* You have nothing  
 " to do but to stand by and look on; Say so then; Speak out,  
 " Publish it in your Declarations to the World, and let the  
 " People of *England* know, that it is the *Right and Liberty* to  
 " *which the Subjects of England are born:* that every Man hold  
 " what he pleases, and Publish and Preach what he holds:  
 " That it is the *Birth-Right* (as some would have it) of the  
 " *Free-born People of England,* every Man to Worship GOD  
 " according to his own Conscience; and to be of what Religion  
 " his own Conscience shall Dictate: Do so, and see (Fathers  
 and



“ and Brethren) how long your Civil Peace will secure you,  
 “ when Religion is destroy'd, how long it will be e're your  
 “ Civil Peace will be turn'd into Civil War! For no doubt if  
 “ this be once granted them, but they may in good time come  
 “ to know also, (there be them that are instructing them even  
 “ in these Principles too) that it is their *Birth-right* to be free  
 “ from the *Power of Parliaments*, and from the *Power of Kings*;  
 “ and to take up Arms against both, when they shall not Vote and Act  
 “ according to their *Humours*, Liberty of Conscience fallily so  
 “ call'd, may in good time improve it self into Liberty of  
 “ Estates, and Liberty of Houses, and Liberty of Wives; and in  
 “ a Word, Liberty of Perdition; of Souls and Bodies.

And to give you their concurrent Testimonies, “ A *Toleration* would be the putting a Sword in a Mad-man's Hand,  
 “ &c. Neither would it be to provide for *Tender Consciences*,  
 “ but to take away all Conscience; says the *Harmonious Consent of*  
 “ the *Lancaashire Ministers with their Brethren in London*. Subscribed  
 “ by Eighty four of them 1648. And the *Presbyterian Ministers*  
 “ Letter from *Sion College*, to the *Assembly of Divines*, Dec. 18.  
 “ 1645. Says, “ We are bold to hint unto you these ensuing  
 “ Reasons against the *Toleration of Independency* in the Church.

Lb. P. 19.

“ First, No such *Toleration* hath hitherto been Establish'd  
 “ (so far as we know) in any Christian State by the Civil Magistrate.

“ Secondly, Because some of them have solemnly profess'd  
 “ that they can't suffer *Presbytery*. And answerable hereunto is  
 “ their *Practise* in those Places where *Independency* prevails.

“ Thirdly, To grant it to them and not to other Sects,  
 “ who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good  
 “ Service as they to the Publick, (as they use to Plead) will be  
 “ counted Injustice and great Partiality: But to grant it unto  
 “ All, will scarce be clear'd from great Impiety.

“ Fourthly, *Independency* is a *Schism*, &c. Now we Judge  
 “ that no *Schism* is to be *Tolerated* in the Church, 1 Cor. 1. 10.  
 “ 1 Cor. 10. 25. Rom. 6. 17. with 1 Cor. 3. 3. Gal. 5. 20.—  
 “ They further add, that many Mischiefs will inevitably fol-  
 “ low upon this *Toleration*, and that both to *Church* and *Com-  
 “ monwealth*.

“ First, To the *Church*: As 1. Causeless and Unjust Revolts  
 “ from our Ministry and Congregation? 2. Our Peoples Minds  
 “ will be troubled and in danger to be subverted as *Acts* 15. 24.  
 “ 3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren will be fomented and

“perpetuated to Posterity. 4. The Godly, Painful, Orthodox Ministers will be discouraged and despised. 5. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten out by frivolous Disputes and vain Janglings. 6. The whole Course of Religion in private Families will be interrupted and Undermined. 7. Reciprocal Duties between Persons of nearest and dearest Relation will be extremely violated. 8. All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdom, will be encourag’d to endeavour the like *Toleration*, and shelter themselves under the Wings of Independency. 9. And the whole \* Church of England, in short time will be swallow’d up with Destruction and Confusion.

\* You must remember that at this time they call’d themselves the Church of England.

“Secondly, To the Common-wealth; for it is much to be doubted, lest the Power of the Magistrate should not only be weaken’d, but even utterly overthrown, considering the Principles and Practices of Independants, together with their Compliance with *Other Sects* sufficiently known to be *Anti-Magistratical*”. One needs not desire the Reader to turn the Tables, for this is full and to the Point, and does not need a Comment.

In his Gangrana, Part I, p. 84.

“O let the Ministers therefore, says *Edwards*, oppose *Toleration*, (as being that by which the Devil would at once lay a Foundation of his Kingdom to all Generations,) witness against it in all Places; Possess the Magistrate of the Evil of it; yea, and the People too; shew them how if a *Toleration* were granted, they should never have Peace in their Families more; or ever after have Command of Wives, Children, Servants, &c. Let’s therefore fill all Presses, cause all Pulpits to ring, and so possess Parliament, City, and the whole Kingdom against the Sects, and the Evil of *Schism* and *Toleration*; that we may no more hear of a *Toleration*, nor of *Separated Churches*, being hateful Names in the Church of GOD, Amen.

I should not have troubled my Reader with such tedious Quotations, but that I was willing to give him the Dissenters Sense of this Matter fully, and besides it may serve for a Sample of the Flowers of their Oratory, and give him a Taste of their *close, Methodical, and Lively Preaching*, as our Author terms it. It must be confess’d that these Dissenters have the Misfortune to declare very vehemently against a *Toleration*, but you ought to consider this was only in the heat of Blood, when they were flush’d with Success, and got into Power.

P. 12.

Time

Time has since cool'd them, and at present they are as Orthodox in the Point as your heart can wish.

As for the evil effects of "Toleration, which has done much more, says one of them upon experience toward the Root-  
 "ing of Religion out of the Hearts of Men in Seven Years,  
 "than the enforcing of Uniformity did in Seventy Years: You  
 "may have a good account of them in *Edward's Gangrena*; in  
 "his *Antipologia*; in his *Catalogue of Errors*, and *Further Discovery*;  
 "and in many other *Presbyterian* Writers, in those times.  
 "Cranford Licencing *Edward's Gangrena* with this Expression,  
 "Reader, that thou mayst discern the Mischiefs of *Ecclesiasti-*  
 "cal Anarchy, the monstrousness of the much affected *Tole-*  
 "ration, and be warn'd to be Wise to Sobriety, and Fear  
 "and Suspect the pretended *New Lights*, I approve that  
 "this Treatise, discovering the *Gangrene* of so many strange  
 "Opinions should be Imprinted. In short, "The Errors and  
 "Innovations under which we so much groan'd of latter Years,  
 "[says one of them meaning the Episcopal Church] were but  
 "Tolerables Ineptia, Tolerable Trifles, Childrens play, com-  
 "par'd with those damnable Doctrines of Devils, as the Apo-  
 "stles call them. *Polygamy, Arbitrary Divorce, Mortality of the*  
 "Soul, *No Ministry, No Church, No Ordinances, No Scripture.*  
 "Yea, the very *Divinity of Christ*, and of the *Holy Ghost* que-  
 "stion'd by some, Denied by others; and the very foundation  
 "of all these laid in such a *Schism of Boundless Liberty of Con-*  
 "science, &c. Thus it was in former times; but do we,  
 happy we, discover any of these Errors, Heresies and Blas-  
 phemies at present among us? Are not our Presses Chast, and  
 our Conversations without any favour of Irreligion or Prophane-  
 ness? Nay, should we be remis in our Zeal for Religion, our  
*Province Ireland* has set us an Example how they ought to be  
 treated, who deny *Christianity to be Mysteious*, and who set  
 a-broach strange Non-sensical Mysteries of their own.

In a word, Order is a Sacred thing, 'tis that Law which  
 GOD prescribes Himself, and inviolably observes. Subordi-  
 nation is a necessary consequence of Order, for in a State of  
 Ignorance and Pravity such as ours is, there is not any thing  
 that tends more to Confusion than Equality. It dos not there-  
 fore become the grofs of Mankind to set up for that which is  
 best in their own conceit; but humbly to observe where GOD  
 has Delegated his Power, and submit to it, *as unto the Lord*  
*and not to Man*. Man, who because he is Man, will be lia-

Cawdry's In-  
 dependency a  
 Great Schism  
 p. 57. 1657.

Sermon before  
 the Commons,  
 Aug. 22. 1645.  
 Page 29.

ble to some Mistakes in the Administration of the Divine Authority. And should one change the hands, the mistakes, its like would not be lessened, but only chang'd for others, it may be for greater. Nor can any Alterations be made but by the same Authority that confirms the Establishment.

If therefore *Schism* is so great a Sin, of such Fatal Consequences in this World as well as in the next; if we are bound in Conscience to submit to that Church, which commands us nothing contrary to express Texts of Scripture, as is evident from the Dissenters own Arguments; if there is nothing in our Church but what they can comply with upon *Occasion*, as is plain by their own Confession and present Practice, consequently they can never answer it to GOD, to their Country, or to their own Souls, if they still keep up the Separation. For that "*Occasional Communion* in some Cases may be *Lawful*, "*where Constant Communion* would be a *Sin*, is a Doctrine "*not heard of among Christians in our Author's Sense*, till he was pleas'd to utter it, and much better becomes the *Jesuits Morals* than the Pen of a Protestant Writer.

Page 9.

Page 16.

Our Author is indeed aware, that *if there be so great an Agreement between the Dissenters and the Church*, it may well be ask'd, *how came they to separate from it?* and therefore he makes this an *Objection*. But he slurs it off by telling us, *It's none of his Business, to enquire into the reason of their Separation*, and refers us to other hands. Tho' one would think that the best way to obtain that *Moderation* he pleads for, were to offer some good Reasons for the Separation, if it can be justify'd; or else it ought to be given up, that the Union may be compleated. But there may be *Causes* of a Separation which are not *Reasons*, and which it is not proper to own at *all* times, or even at *any* time.

But if Reason and Conscience don't oblige Dissenters to Separate from the Church, and these venerable names are only made use of to colour some other Aims, which are the true Springs and Motives of the Separation, then the charge of Hypocrisy lies full against them. For what can be greater Hypocrisy than to make Religion a Stale to other Ends? and to pretend Conscience for that which is nothing else but a secular Design? Not but that there may be many poor deluded Souls who follow the Leading Man in the *simplicity of their Hearts*, as some of the *Israelites* did *Rebellious Absalom*; But our Divisions would cease of course, were these the only Dissenters;

These

These are not to be let into the design, they are not Men to maintain it. The shrewd Men, the heads of the Faction have something else besides Religion and Liberty at heart, which they are too Politick to discover to the Ignorant Multitude. 'Tis Power and Preferment, their own Passions and Establishment which they pursue. And if they will honestly speak out and own it, we will readily acquit them of the Hypocrisy; and argue with them on another foot; otherwise they must excuse us if it lie at their door. And since they will not be so Ingenuous as to own their Designs, let us try if we can discover them, especially since the Breach of Order which is Schism in the Church, is Sedition in the State; and as a Dissenter well observ'd to the Parliament in 1644. " In a little time either a Schism in the State begets a Schism in the Church, or a Schism in the Church begets a Schism in the State.

Newcomen's  
Serm. to the  
Parliament,  
Sept. 12.

For according to Mr. Baxter, who were the Cause of those deplorable Miseries the Nation so long groan'd under, but those, " who have been most addicted to Church-Divisions, and Separations, and Sidings, and Parties, and have refus'd all Terms of Concord and Unity. Who tho' many of them weak and raw, were yet prone to be puff'd up with high thoughts of themselves, and to over-value their little degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which set them not above the pity of Understanding Men. They have been set upon those Courses which tend to advance them above the common People, in the Observation of the World, and to set them at a further distance from others than GOD alloweth and all this under the Pretence of the Purity of the Church— And again, All this began but in unwarrantable Separations, and too much aggravating the faults of the Churches, and Common People, and Common-Prayer-Book, and Ministry.— They would not Communicate with that Church where Ignorant Persons or Swearers were Tolerated, but without any Scruple they would Communicate with them that had broken their Vow and Covenant with GOD and Man, and rebelled against all kind of Government.— A few Dissenting Members of the Westminster Synod began all this and carried it far on.— One would have thought that if their Opinions had been Certainly True, and their Church Order good; yet the Interest of Christ, and the Souls of Men, and of greater Truths, should have been so regarded by the Dividers in England, as that the safety of all these should

Calamy's Abr.  
c. 6. p. 95, 96.

Ibid p. 98.

“ have

“ have been Preferri'd, and not all ruin'd, rather than their  
 “ way should want its Carnal Aim and Liberty: and that they  
 “ should not tear the Garment of Christ all to pieces,  
 “ rather than it should want their Lacc. What can be more  
 appositely or better said, or more to their own Confusion;  
 and would not one think that a Judicial Blindness has seiz'd  
 them, since they argue so well even against their own Pra-  
 ctices?

S. Matth. 7.  
 15, 6.

P. 11.

We pretend not to know Mens hearts or to judge of their Intentions any further than our Saviour's Rule will carry us, *Ye shall know them by their Fruits.* And since the *Wolf* does oft appear in *Sheeps cloathing* none ought to pass till they have been examin'd. Besides, the bringing to light the hidden springs of Action, as it will put a stop to the Intrigues of evil Men, who will not be able to compass their Designs, if we take off their Disguise, and destroy that Covert under which they made their Approaches: So it will render the Vertues of the Honest more conspicuous. Whether then the *Occasional Conformer* Acts from a *Mercenary Spirit and sinister Intention towards the Establish'd Church,* or from a *Religious regard to GOD,* will best appear by his Actions. If these are for the service of the Church 'tis well. But if they visibly tend to its Ruin, he must excuse us if we have no belief of his good Intentions.

Let us therefore enquire, First, *In Fact,* whether the Dissenters have either been Friends to the *Church of England,* or good Subjects to their Prince, when it was in their Power to be otherwise? which will furnish us with Precedents a little more to the purpose than our Author's: And, Secondly, Whether by their Principles they can be so? *Ist.* As for Matter of Fact, to avoid being Tedious in a Subject that is but too fruitful, if my Reader's Memory or his Fathers don't furnish him with Instances enow, I refer him for a Specimen of the Dissenters great Love to the Church, to a Treatise, Entituled *The Churches Eleventh Persecution.* Being a *Brief of the Fanatick Persecution of the Protestant Clergy of the Church of England, more particularly within the City of London, Begun in Parliament, A. D. 1641.* And Printed in 1648. which little Book does fully make good its Title, and was Reprinted 1681, one of which last Editions I have at his Service.

You have in it a List of 115 Learned and Pious Divines, who were turn'd out of their Livings by *Sequestration and otherwise, in the City and within the Bills of Mortality.* Most of them

them Plunder'd of their Goods, and their Wives and Children turn'd out of Doors, 20 Imprison'd, 25 Fled to avoid Imprisonment, 22 Dead in remote Parts, and in Prison, and with Grief; and about 40 Churches void, having no constant Minister in them: By which you may guess how it was with the Clergy in other parts of the Nation. Would you have a Sample of their kindness to their Country; their Plunderings, Defacing of Churches, their Barbarous usage of the Messengers of Peace, even when sent to them upon that Errand? you need but consult *Mercurius Rusticus*, which was first Printed in those Times, and Reprinted 1685. and which does very well deserve another Impression; *Querela Cantabrigiensi* which is added to that *Mercury*, will in some Measure inform you of their Good-will to that University. And it is not to be suppos'd that her Malignant Sister *Oxford*, towards which the Dissenters do always express a very particular regard, should come off upon better Terms. But if you would have at once a view of their Love and Duty to their Sovereign, and all his good Subjects, as well as to the Clergy, you may satisfy your self in *Foulis's History of our Pretended Saints*. A Man who had his Education among Dissenters and consequently knew them the better for that reason, and who is so far from having any good-will to Popery, that he has Writ one of the smartest Books against it. You will not indeed have so many Examples of the Treasons and Usurpations of our Pretended Saints as you have of those of the *Church of Rome*, but considering the Time that these Histories take in, you will find that the Dissenters have made pretty good use of their Time and Opportunities, and are not so much behind-hand with the Papists, in Peaceableness and Loyalty, and other good Qualities.

See his History of the Treasons and Usurpations of the Church of Rome.

Indeed they took care “ to give publick Warning to all  
 “ *Neuters*, to rest no longer upon their Neutrality, but that  
 “ they address themselves speedily to take the *Covenant*, and  
 “ joyn with all their Power in defence of this Cause against  
 “ the \* *Common Enemy*, &c. Otherwise (say they) we do  
 “ declare them to be Publick Enemies to their Religion and  
 “ Country; and that they are to be Sentenc'd and punish'd as  
 “ profess'd Adversaries and Malignants. In *Scotland* † he who  
 “ should not take, or who deferr'd taking the *Covenant*, was to  
 “ have all his Rents and Profits confiscated, was not to enjoy  
 “ any Office or Benefit, and to be cited before the next Parlia-

*Declaration of England and Scotland. Jan. 23. 1643.*

\* *The Term by which they were pleased to denote their Sovereign King Charles 1<sup>st</sup>.*

† *See Sir Henry Vane's Speech at a Common Hall, Oct. 27. 1643.*

ment,

(2) June 2-  
1645.

ment, &c. Nor were the Commons in *England* much more moderate, for they resolv'd upon the Question (a), that all Persons that have or shall reside in the Parliaments Quarters, shall take the *National League and Covenant* and the *Negative Oath*, notwithstanding any Articles that have been or shall be made by the Soldiery. And by an Article of War, he who having taken the *Covenant* should go into the Enemy's [that is their Sovereign's] Quarters, without Drum, Trumpet, or Pass, was to Die without Mercy. They who Us'd or Caus'd to be Us'd the *Common Prayer* either in *Publick*, or in any *Private Place or Family*, within the *Kingdom of England*, &c. were for the first Offence to pay 5 *l.* for the second 10 *l.* and for the third, to suffer one whole Years Imprisonment, without Bail or Main prize, by the Ordinance of Parliament, *Aug. 23. 1645. for putting the Directory in Execution.* By *Oliver's Declaration, Nov. 24. 1655.* None of the Ejected or Sequestred Ministers or Fellows of Colleges were to be Chaplains to any Person, or to teach School either in Publick or Private, or to Preach, Baptize, &c. or to use any of the Forms in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, upon pain of being proceeded against.— And an *humble Petition and Advice* presented to *Oliver, May 25. 1657.* ranks *Prelacy* with *Poperly*, and desires that Liberty might not be extended to them. Are not these admirable Testimonies of their Affection to the Church of *England!*

Indeed one can't but wonder at the—— what shall I say? I would fain use a softer Word than the *Affurance* of some Men, who tho' they were the Aggressors, and the most bitter and violent Persecutors of the *English* Clergy, can yet complain of the hard Usage that they suffer'd from the Church at *King Charles II's* Restauration, Printing New and Clamorous Accounts of it, which they presume to Dedicate to a Noble Lord, pretending he will there find some *Men and Things fairly and impartially represented.* Now not to take notice of those many Mistakes and Errors that Book abounds with, to say nothing at present of his daring to lay the *Irish* Massacre upon *King Charles I.* of the groundlessnes of which Accusation they who are not yet satisfied, may in a little time receive full Conviction: I shall at present only take notice, that tho' he is so displeas'd at that Catalogue which was Printed 1663. for pretending to be exact, and yet reckoning up but 5, or 600, yet his own List amounts not to many more. He tells us " he had

My Lord Har-  
tington.  
Calamy's A-  
bridgment of  
Baxter's Life,  
1702.

P. 44.

See his Preface.

Preface.

" had



“ had not the Curiosity to make a Calculation of the Sum-  
 “ tal of the List he publish’d, (one may guess the Reason,) but  
 I assure him I have *numbred* his *People*, and if I can tell to  
 Twenty, the Index at the End of his Book amounts but  
 to 522. To which if you add the 174 that were ejected  
 by the *Bartholomew* Act and afterwards Conform’d, the whole  
 Number that were ejected arise but to 696, of which a fourth  
 part, and consequently not so inconsiderable a Number as he  
 pretends, did afterwards come in. And yet even to make up  
 this 522, he is forc’d to take in *Ash*, who he says was buried  
 on *St. Bartholomew’s* Eve, and therefore can’t be said to be e-  
 jected; To fetch *Veal* and *Winter* from their Colleges in *Dublin*,  
*Lukin* from *France*, to make them ejected Ministers in *England*  
 and *Jeanes* out of his Grave, who, he says, died in *Aug.*  
 near *St. Bartholomew’s* Day, &c. And since he tells us that  
 “ Quickly after the King’s Return *many* Hundred Worthy  
 “ Ministers were displac’d, and cast out of their Charges,  
 “ because they were in *Sequestrations* where others had been cast  
 “ out by the Parliament”; as sure they ought to be, having  
 possess’d themselves of other Mens Free-holds; if *many* hun-  
 dred were ejected on this Account, there will not remain many  
 more out of 522 to be ejected for other Reasons. So that  
 if Mr. *Calamy* after all his Diligence, and the Assistance he had  
 from his four Written Catalogues, “ one of which was col-  
 “ lected with great Industry and Application by Mr. *Taylor*,  
 “ whilst Chaplain to the late Lord *Wharton*, which *Taylor* had  
 “ then a Correspondence in most Parts of *England*, in pursuit of  
 “ that Design. If after all this, he can raise his Number no  
 higher than 522, and yet we find him and his *Dissenting Brethren*  
*asserting with so much Assurance that they were 2000*, surely he con-  
 firms us in our *hard thoughts of them*, as falsifying in their own Fa-  
 vour, and blackens their *Memory* by this Attempt to clear them.

It is at the Reader’s Discretion whether he will believe all  
 this, or condemn it by wholesale, as the peevish Remarks of  
 Hot and Angry Men. For tho’ some People say that one can’t  
 believe what they please, but must have grounds of Credibili-  
 ty to gain their Assent: Yet to set this right, there are a sort  
 of wiser Men will let you know, that the only way to be be-  
 liev’d is to be on their Side, if you have not this Voucher, a-  
 way with you; they are not at leisure to consider your Proofs:  
 They know what you have to say, and they Resolve not to  
 Hear it!

P. 184.  
 P. 223.  
 P. 353.  
 P. 252.  
 P. 318.  
 P. 145.

See his Preface.

See My Lord  
Clarendon's  
History.

But whatever Objections may be made to the Authors I have already mentioned, My Lord *Clarendon's* History is so Authentick, so Impartial, even by their own Confession, that they can make no Objections against the Truth of his Account. And whoever reads that excellent History will find undeniable Proof, that when the Dissenters, and those who either *weakly* or *wickedly* assisted their Designs, had by all the sinister, disingenuous, and unrighteous Arts that the Wit of Men could invent, or their Malice and Industry pursue, obtain'd the *Power*, they gave a fatal Demonstration that they wanted not the *Will* to *destroy the Church and State*. And that the greatest danger that either of them was ever expos'd to, the greatest Hurt they ever receiv'd, has been from those hands. For what could even the Papists, the most avowed Enemies of our Constitution do worse, than to over-throw it entirely?

GOD was pleas'd indeed to Restore it in a Wonderful Manner, by a Revolution that was truly His own Work, that was as just in its Foundation, as it was extraordinary in its Progress, which could be justify'd by Principles as well as excus'd by Necessity. For when the Royal Party were at the lowest, and all their Loyal Attempts had been baffled, GOD was pleas'd to turn the Hearts of the People towards *David* their King, and to convince them by the Oppressions they had suffer'd under their Fellow-Subjects, that the *Little Finger* of an Usurp'd Power, is heavier than the *Loins* of a Lawful Prince.

And upon this Happy Revolution, the Government which was then Restor'd with the King, might in all probability, and Humanely speaking, have been secur'd beyond the Fear of Danger, had not either the Good-Nature of King *Charles II.* or some false Maxim which obtained, prevail'd with him, not only to pardon His and the Nation's Enemies, (this every good Christian and good English-man sincerely desir'd,) but even to treat them as Friends to Promote and Trust them. Whereby he not only gave his Enemies Opportunity to revive the Old-Game, but which was worse, left the Crown destitute of Friends. For tho' the Loyal Party had many Vertues and had given noble Testimony of their Fidelity, yet they were but Men, and thought themselves no longer Oblig'd to hazard all that was dear to them for a Crown, that had so little Consideration of their Services; and made no Distinction but to their Disadvantage, between their Merit and the Crimes of the Disloyal.

So true is that Observation of the Wise Kings, that he *who* would have *Friends*, must shew himself *Friendly*; he who would be well serv'd, must support and encourage his Faithful Servants: And that of another Wise Man, *Never trust thy Enemy*, See Ecclus. 12. 10, &c. for like as *Iron rusteth*, so is his *Wickedness*. Tho' he humble himself and go *crouching*, yet take good heed, and beware of him; Set him not by thee, lest when he hath overthrown thee, he stand up in thy place, neither let him sit at thy right hand lest he seek to take thy Seat. Which tho' it may not always hold in Enmities between Man and Man, a Generous Enemy being often won by handsome Usage, yet is certainly true of the Domestick Enmities of a State, who by their Disaffection to a Government become incapable of Serving it, and so exclude themselves from having any share in the Ministration.

Nor has the Dissenters Conduct since the Restoration been any Exception to this Rule; the Favours shew'd them by the Government, did not restrain them from disturbing it, so soon as they had recover'd Breath and Spirit, after that Consternation which their own Guilt and Fears, more than the just Resentments of the Loyal Party, had put them into. 'Tis not necessary to repeat the Transactions of those times which most of us may remember, nor the Uneasiness they gave that Prince who had shewn himself so gracious to them. If we want to have our Memories refresh'd, My Lord Bishop of *Rochester's History of the Conspiracy against King Charles II.* together with the *Trials of the Conspirators*, &c. will do it. Nor can any one pretend that it was a Sham-Plot, since *Rouffe* and the rest that were executed for it, did not at their Deaths deny the *Fact*, how little Repentance soever they might shew for the Guilt.

Our Author indeed tells that "The Lords observe, that in the greatest Extremity of the Church, under King *James*, they joyn'd with her". If their Lordships do really observe it, and he does not mistake their Meaning, we must Believe it, in deference to so great an Authority. But in return to our Author, who is the only Person I am concern'd with; it is, I confess, an Observation one has not met with before. Most Readers of the Controversies that past in those days, were of Opinion, that it was the Church of *England* only, which gave Popery such a Fall, that very Soldiers and Footmen grew too hard, even with their Pen, for its greatest Champions: Whilst the good natur'd Dissenters would not

P. 24

Triumph over a baffled Cause. They thought it sufficient to shew their Zeal against Popery under a Protestant King; becoming *Passively* and as far as it was put upon them, *Actively* Obedient under a Popish, the Errors of whose Religion they had too much Good-manners to expose either by the Press or from the Pulpit. But this perhaps might be only a Deception of our Senses! and those Addresses so full of hard Reflections upon the Church, Magnificent Panegyrics to say no more, of Duty and Assurances of their Loyalty and Obedience to the King's Desires, in taking off the Penal Laws and Test, might, like many other Arbitrary Steps in that Reign, be only a Contrivance to render these *true* and *best* Protestants odious, and by that means to weaken the Protestant Interest!

It must be confess'd that when those worthy Patriots, whom future Histories shall Celebrate as they deserve, for their Moral and Christian Vertues, which naturally produce a great Zeal for Religion, and a hearty Defence of that Doctrine, Men shew they have so much at heart, by the Influence it has on their Lives and Conversations; but whose Character one dares not attempt, since he who treads too close on the heels of Truth, may suffer as a Flatterer or a Detractor: When these Worthy Patriots, I say, had brought about the late Revolution, the Dissenters came in to it very readily and sincerely, for they had their Reasons, I do not pretend to judge how well these Reasons squar'd with the Interest of the *Church of England*.

Yet for all this one can't help dreaming sometimes, of People, who within these Eighteen Years caref'd the Roman Catholics, were forward to offer themselves for that vile Employment of being made Scaffolds to pull down the *Church of England* and the Constitution, which might have been preserved with a less Expence of Blood and Treasure, and with so much *Real Honour*, as that there would have been no need of *Retrieving* any, had we been United and true to our Principles, and had not the Dissenters thrown themselves into the Scale with the *Papists*, in opposition to that Church they had so often Calumniated as Popishly affected, and which now shew'd it self to be the *greatest*, nay the only *Bulwark against Popery*; and had we preserv'd the Honesty, Courage and Firmness of Good Christians, and *True-born-Englishmen*.

We need not trace the Dissenters Behaviour any further, only there wants a good Reason, why they made such a Bustle upon

upon her Majesties most Happy and *seasonable* Accession to the Throne? and swarm with so many Pamphlets about our Ears? There was a Mr. *Calamy* who in his Apology against *Burton* 1646. tells us “ that his house was a receptacle for Godly Ministers in the worst of times: Here were the Remonstrances fram’d against the Prelates, here were all Meetings, &c. “ And in a Sermon, he says, that it is commendable to fight for Peace and Reformation, Against the King’s Command. *Calamy’s Sermon, Dec. 25. 1544. p. 29.* “ The Cause you manage, says he, in another to the Peers, \* is the Cause of GOD, the Glory of GOD is embark’d \* — June 15. “ in the same Ship in which this Cause is — He that dies 1643. p. 52. “ fighting the Lord’s Battle, dies a Martyr. And in his P. 57. “ Speech at *Guild-hall*, I may truly say as the Martyr did, O. 6. 1643: “ that if I had as many Lives as Hairs on my Head, I would “ be willing to Sacrifice all those Lives in this Cause. Nor was there any great Change in him upon the Restauration, for Complaining of the danger of the Ark of GOD, he tells us, “ It is not your *wicked Ministers* [so they think fit to call the Episcopal Clergy,] “ that can settle the Ark of GOD, it is not your Prophane Drunken Ministers; No, it must be your Godly, Sober, Pious and Religious Ministers: That is themselves no doubt! And we have lately had *An Abridgment of Baxter’s Life*, by *Calamy* the Grandson, who Glories so much in his Descent from such Ancestors, that he assumes it as a Title of Honour. *Dec. 28. 1667. p. 10, 17, 18.*

And what I pray is the Design of this Abridgment, but to justify the Separation, and to lay all the load they can upon the Church of *England*, and to make Parade of her Persecuting (forsooth!) of their Godly Ministers. Tho’ when one Remembers how many of the Orthodox Clergy had been turn’d out of their Livings in the times of Confusion, the *Bartholomew Act* won’t appear so much a silencing of their Preachers, as the Restitution of the Regular Clergy to their own Churches, which those Dissenters had illegally Usurp’d.

Observe also at what juncture this Abridgment appears; it was Publish’d in the beginning of her Majesties Reign, before an Act against Occasional Conformity was so much as mention’d, when there were neither *Real* nor *Imaginary hardships on Dissenters*, and before any step was made that could give the most clamorous Dissenter any *Cause of Jealousy or Fear*; unless the Throne’s being fill’d with a Truly Religious Prince, whose Judgment and Inclinations as well as her Interest tye her to  
the

the *Church of England*, and who will never Betray it, be that which Allarms them, or unless they had a mind to raise a-new that *heat* and *fermentation* which the Lords tell us was *almost entirely laid*.

Secondly, we come now to examine the Dissenters Principles, that we may learn whether these will allow them to be Friends to the Constitution. For Interest, Revenge, Opportunity, or any strong Temptation, may draw Men from their avowed Tenets sometimes, and encline them to Act otherwise than was expected, who yet may come to themselves when the Temptation is over. And if they are found at heart, of Honest Principles I mean, they may like *St. Peter* rise again, recovering greater Strength by their Fall; by reason they have learn'd more Humility, and to put greater Confidence in GOD and less in themselves.

To pass over that mannerly Language with which they us'd to treat the Bishops and the Clergy, even from the beginning of the Separation in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, to our own, such as *false, bastardly Governours of the Church, Incarnate Devils, Cogging, Cousning Knaves, Impudent, Shameless Dolts, Hogs, Wolves, a Troop of bloody Soul Murderers, Idle Shepherds, Dumb Dogs, Greedy Dogs, Vile Wretches*, and what not. Language one could not have expected to hear from Christians, and such as call themselves Ministers of the Gospel, who are to *speake evil of no Man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all Men*. And therefore one is apt to think they belong to another Fraternity, when one hears them in this manner *Despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, foaming out their own shame*.

See Bancroft's  
Dang. Positions  
l. 2. c. 12, 13  
Cale's Sermon  
Sept. 30. 1543.  
p. 45. &c.

Tit. 3. 2.

St. Jude 3, 13.

See Bancroft's  
Dang. Positions  
l. 2. c. 4.

Thanksg. Sermon.  
Oct. 24. 1651.  
p. 5.

Coleman, Sept. 1.  
25. 1643. p. 37.

They tell us, that "The Government now us'd by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. is both Anti-Christian and Devilish, — That Antichrist Reigneth among us, That the Establish'd Government of the Church is Traitorous against the Majesty of Jesus Christ. That they must needs be, not only Traitors to GOD and His Word, but also Enemies unto her Majesty [*Queen Elizabeth*] and the Land, that defend the Establish'd Government of the Church to be Lawful. What is the Prelacy, says Dr. *Owen*, a meer Antichristian encroachment upon the Inheritance of Christ. And another putting a Case upon entering into the Covenant, at *St. Margaret's Westminster*, (*viz.*) "If the Parliament should hereafter see a Conveniency in *Prelacy* for this Kingdom, were not this Oath then Prejudicial either to the Parliament's Liberty

" Liberty, or the Kingdom's Felicity? This Objection (says he)  
 " supposes, that the most wicked Antichristian Government,  
 " may be a Lawful Government in point of Conscience. Nay  
 " even godly Mr. *Baxter*, who was one of those *Moderate Dis-*  
 " *senters*, that as our Author says, *sometimes receiv'd the Lord's*  
 " *Supper in the Communion of the Church of England*; he tell us that  
 " Bishops are Thorns and Thistles, and the Military Instru-  
 " ments of the Devil. — (a) Prelacy is a Government  
 " which gratifieth the Devil and wicked Men — That it is a-  
 " gainst the will of GOD, and the Welfare of the Churches,  
 " — (b) Contrary to the Word of GOD and Apostolical  
 " Institution. (c) Is the Product of proud Ambition and Arro-  
 " gancy, and contrary to the express command of Christ.  
 " (d) The *Common-Prayer-Book* and *Episcopacy* are call'd the  
 " *Two great Plague-Sores of the Land*, by *Love* at the *Oxford*  
 " *Treaty*. Nor does the *Communion Office* fare better, tho'  
 " we have a great Authority, that it is *certainly One of the Bright-*  
 " *est and best compos'd of any that ever was in the Church of GOD*.  
 " So that he who is not *satisfied with every other part of Confor-*  
 " *mity*, may yet be suppos'd to be *satisfied with this*: For if we  
 " will believe the Dissenters, " this very *Communion Book*, is an  
 " Imperfect Book, cull'd and pick'd out of the Popish Dun-  
 " hil the *Portuyse* and *Mafs* Book. The Sacraments are wick-  
 " edly mangled and prophan'd. They eat not the Lord's  
 " Supper, but play a Pageant of their own to blind the People.  
 " And therefore down with *Baal's* Altars, down with *Baal's*  
 " Priests, &c. says one of them, Preaching to the Commons.  
 " Throw away the Rubbish (says \* another) out with the  
 " Lord's Enemies and the Lands; Vex the *Midianites*, abo-  
 " lish the *Amalekites*, else they will vex you with their wiles  
 " as they have done heretofore. Let Popery find no favour  
 " because it is Treasonable; *Prelacy* as little because it is Ty-  
 " rannical. The Hierarchy is become a fretting *Gangreen* and  
 " spreading Leprosy, and Insupportable Tyranny? Up with  
 " it, Up with it to the Bottom, Root and Branch, Hip and  
 " Thigh, Destroy these *Amalekites*, and let their place be  
 " found no more. I profess, says *Ash* to the Commons, that  
 " I cannot expect a compleat Deliverance from these and o-  
 " ther like Oppressions, but by the Extirpation of the Frame  
 " [of Prelatical Government] *Israel* will not be cured without  
 " a full and total extirpation of all the accursed things and Per-  
 " sons also, says *Faircloth*. And an Answer to the *London-Petition*

Page 13.

*Baxter's Con-*  
*cord.* p. 122.  
 (a) *Five Dis-*  
*sent.* p. 35.  
 and *Preface*  
 p. 18.

(b) — p. 51.  
 (c) *Five Dis-*  
*sent.* p. 45.  
 (d) *In a Sermon*  
*there, Jan 30.*  
 1644. p. 29.

*Dang. Postm.*  
 1. 2. c. 9.

*Salway to the*  
*Commons Oct.*  
 25. 1643. p. 19.  
 \* *Coleman to*  
*the Commons.*  
 Aug. 30. 1643  
 p. 64.

*Ibid* p. 39.

*March 30th.*  
 1642. p. 61.

*On Josh 7.*  
 25. p. 25.

tells

Folio 33

See Moderation a  
Letter, p. 163

tells you, " Episcopacy must not be *Moderated* nor Reserv'd ;  
 " but presently and wholly taken away. (This Writer it seems  
 " was none of our Author's Acquaintance.) " The Bishops must  
 " be utterly extirpated, no less than the *Romans* rooted out  
 " the very name of *Tarquins* for the Tyranny they had exer-  
 " cis'd. A Wind to fan or cleanse will not serve their turn ;  
 " but it must be a full mighty Wind to root up, and carry a-  
 " way the very foundation of their being, *So says Sions Plea ;*  
 " and *Christ on his Throne*. No matter whether or no they have  
 the Sovereign's Authority, for *Lex Rex* will tell you ( p. 175. )  
 that it will not *excuse the States* to say, " we could not judge  
 " the Cause of the Poor, nor crush the Priests of *Baal*, and  
 " the Idolatrous *Mas's Prelates*, because the King forbid us.

Bond. Affem. Div.  
to the Commos.  
Mar. 27. 1644.  
B. 49.

Thus one of them Blesses GOD that the Commons had put  
 into the Scales of Justice the Archeest Prelate of the Land.  
 " Happy shall he be, say they, that taketh the Cursed Malignant  
 " and Prelatical Brood, and dasheth them against the Stones.  
 Considering all this, it was no hard matter to guess from  
 what Quarter *the Shortest Way with the Dissenters* came, not-  
 withstanding the Disguise it appear'd in. For it is natural e-  
 nough to suppose that other Men will deal with us as we would  
 have dealt with them.

Jerubaal Redivivus  
1663. p. 22.

Nor do they change their Style after the Restauration, for  
 who cannot Witness, *says one*, the Superstitious abuse of  
 " *England's* Liturgy ? Superstitious say I ? Nay Idolatrous,  
 " what is by the *Sme'tymnian Episcopo Mastix* alledg'd of the  
 " Liturgy 20 Years ago, I doubt is verif'y'd of it still. The  
 " Ministry of the Church of *England*, says another, is false,  
 " superstitious and idolatrous ; therefore it is *Unlawful* for the  
 " People of GOD to join in it. — The Persons perform-  
 " ing the Publick Worship of the Church of *England*, are no  
 " Officers appointed by Christ, but an *Anti-christian Ministry*,  
 " *such as design'd the ruin of Godliness*, and Idolaters. The Church  
 " of *England* evidently declare themselves Limbs of Anti-  
 " christ, therefore there is no Communion to be kept with  
 " such in their Publick Worship. The Church Ministry and  
 " Worship in *England* are all Antichristian, from which all  
 " GOD's People are in Duty and Conscience bound to sepa-  
 " rate themselves: So say *the Eight Propositions* : And there-  
 " fore, say they, The Plastering or Palliating these Rotten  
 " Members [the Bishops] will be a greater dishonour to  
 " the Nation and Church, than their cutting off ; and the  
 Per-

Vindiciæ Cultus  
Evangelici. 1669.  
p. 42.

ibid 39

Sme'tym. Rediv.  
1660. p. 58.



“ Personal Acts of these Sons of *Belial*, being conniv'd at, become National Sins. But these People were, it seems, mistaken, they had not found the Benefit of *Occasional Conformity*.

Time indeed has shewn that their Fears that *Bishops and their Smiths* Adherents “ will rather consent to the bringing in of Popery, for the upholding of their Dignities, than part with their Dignities for the upholding of Religion”, are altogether Groundless, so that they are now ashamed of them, being pleas'd to allow the Church of *England* to be a great *Bulwark* Moderns after part against Popery. And the Names of *Petty-Popes*, *petty Anti-christ*, *Popish Priest* and the like, are quite out of Fashion, in *England* at least. For some People tell us that there is a Nation in which Presbytery prevails, shewing it self in its true Colours, who will not allow Liberty of Conscience to the Episcopal Clergy, no not at their Sovereign's Desire; and no doubt this Severity towards them is because of their being Popishly affected, among other the like good Reasons!

Indeed he very well understood the Spirit of Dissenters, (for he was a Presbyterian) who puts this pertinent Question, Confessions of the  
1670 the First  
May 17. B. 1  
1745 p. 101 “ Would these Men that so highly defend Toleration, Grant that Toleration (if they had Power in their hands) to others, which they desire for themselves? I doubt it. The *Arrians* did sometimes seem as earnest Enemies to Persecution, as these Men; yet when they had Authority on their Side, they rais'd a Persecution against the *Orthodox*, more terrible than the Heathen Emperors against the *Christians*.

So much for their Favours to the Church; let us now see how far the State is obliged to them. “ Princes must remember say they, to Subject themselves to the Church, [that is to themselves,] and to submit their Scepters, to throw down their Crowns before the Church, and to lick the Dust of the Feet of the Church. Tho. Cartwright  
p. 645.

Is not one apt to take this for a Speech of Pope *Alexander III.* to the Emperor *Barbassia*, and not for the Sentence of Dissenting *Tho. Cartwright*? “ The Holy Discipline, (says the famous Mr. *Knox* in his *Exhortation to England*,) ought to be set up, and all Princes to submit themselves under the Yoke of it; What Prince, King, or Emperor, shall Disannul the same, he is to be reputed GOD's Enemy, and to be held unworthy to Reign above his People. Nay, if the King be a Murderer, Adulterer or an Idolater [and we know what they us'd to call Idolatry] Kn X  
P. 392

" he shall suffer according to GOD's Law, not as a King, but  
 " as an Offender. For Kings no less than the rest, must Obey  
 " and Yield to the Just Authority of the Ecclesiastical Magi-  
 " strates. Those mine Enemies which would not that I should  
 " Reign over them, says another, bring hither and slay them  
 " before me. Let me see them Executed, Kings, Rulers, Peo-  
 " ple conspiring Rebellion against the Lord and against His  
 " Christ. Let us be active says \* *Fcaak* against the Kings and  
 " Princes of the Earth, those Claws of the Cruel Beast. The  
 " Subjects (say others) did kill the Queen's Highness *Athaliah*;  
 " *Jehu* kill'd the Queen's Majesty *Jezabel*; *Elias* being no  
 " Magistrate, kill'd the Queen's Majesty's Chaplains, *Baal's*  
 " *Priests*. These Examples are left for our Instruction. Where  
 " this Justice is not executed the State is most Corrupt. Was not  
 " this fair Warning to Queen *Elizabeth*? in whose happy Reign  
 " they broach'd this Precious Doctrine! And again, " It is  
 " Lawful for any who have the Power, to call to Account a  
 " Tyrant or Wicked King, and after due Conviction to De-  
 " pose and put him to Death, if the Ordinary Magistrate hath  
 " neglected or denyed to do it. We know what *Portraiture*  
 " they drew of the Kings of England, 1650. and if I remember  
 " right, there was such a sort of Portraiture Printed not many  
 " Years ago. In the former they say, " Shall the Parliament of  
 " England be now blamed for cutting off that Race of Usurpers  
 " and Tyrants, reducing Affairs to their first Natural and  
 " Right Principle? Or will the People of England, after all  
 " their Experiences, center their Liberties and Freedoms in  
 " a Customary Usurpation of Succession? The Parliament hav-  
 " ing wisely chang'd the Government to a Commonwealth,  
 " and cut off that *Hereditary Usurpation of Monarchy*, which  
 " was never either justly begun or continued. (a) As for the  
 " Title of this Prince [King *Charles II.*] who would fain be  
 " accounted the Right Heir, let us but remember from  
 " whence he had it, and how it is now tainted: Were it  
 " never so just, the Treasons of the Father have cut off  
 " the Son.

Thus they not only Murder'd King *Charles I.* but justify'd that  
 Murder even to the last. " As it is unquestionably Lawful, say  
 " they, on serious and real grounds to Depose and to do Justice on  
 " Kings and Princes, as other Magistrates, so never was there  
 " a greater and more Universal Concurrence of all Reasons  
 " and Circumstances, and a greater Harmony of the Laws of  
 " Nature,

\* Eccles. Discip.  
 P. 142.

Maynard to the  
 Commons, Oct. 25.  
 1646. p. 15.

\* Mr Black-Friars,  
 Sept. 11. 1643.  
 See Dang. Pos.  
 L. 2. Ch. 1.

The Tenure of Kings  
 and Magistrates.  
 1649

Page 35.

The false Brother,  
 p. 34. 1651.

(a) True Portrai-  
 ture, p. 39.

England's Transla-  
 tion of the Scots  
 Declaration, 1650.  
 P. 18

“ Nature, Reason, Prudence and Necessity, to warrant any  
 “ Act than was found and may be discern'd in that Act of  
 “ Justice upon the late King. I bless GOD's Name, says *Nine Mens Speeches*  
 “ *Scott*, at his Execution, he has engag'd me in a Cause *not to*  
 “ *be Repented of*. In all that has past, says *Barkstead*, I could *Three Mens Speeches*  
 “ never yet suffer so much as a Wish to pass through my  
 “ Thoughts, *Oh that I had not been engag'd in this thing!* Or,  
 “ *that I had before* 48 *deserted this Cause!* And *Okey* at the  
 “ same time, speaks to the same Effect. As does \* *Corbet* at *Three Reg. Speeches*  
 “ his Execution. — And so *Harrison*, as to the *Blood of the King*, *Nine Mens Speeches*  
 “ I have not in the least any Guilt lying upon me — Blessed *P. 2. See 46.*  
 “ be GOD that I have a Life to lose upon so Glorious and *P. 6. 10.*  
 “ so Honourable an Account. And *Cooke*, I cannot confess *P. 14.*  
 “ my Guilt. — I look upon it as the most noble and high *P. 11.*  
 “ Act of Justice that our Story can Parallel. And says *Ci-*  
 “ *rem*, I die, not *in* the Lord only, but *for* the Lord, and  
 “ think not that this *Blessed Cause* shall be lost; for it shall reach  
 “ to the End of the Earth. Blood shall come down shortly  
 “ upon *Babylon*. The *Cause*, says *Barkstead*, lies in the Bo-  
 “ som of Christ, and as sure as Christ arose, the *Cause* shall rise *Speeches of the Pe-*  
 “ again. And thus they also justify their Covenant, (which *gicides. P. 16.*  
 “ was that indeed which brought the King to the Block) to *See their Speeches.*  
 the last.

Nor is this only the Conscience of these hardned Villains  
 who were immediately concern'd in the Blood of their Sove-  
 reign, even their Preachers are of the same Mind, tho' indeed  
 it is hard to say which is worse, the Actors of that Villainy,  
 or those Trumpeters of Rebellion who infus'd that Fury into  
 them. “ For my part, says *Love*, I have oppos'd the Ty-  
 “ ranny of the King. — And were he alive again, and should *In his Speeches,*  
 “ I live longer, the (Cause being as then it was) I should *Sept. 20.*  
 “ pose him longer. And again, \* I die cleaving to all those *England's Dilem-*  
 “ Oaths, Vows and Protestations that were impos'd by the *per, Sept. 14.*  
 “ Two Houses of Parliament, as owning them, and dying *Love's Trial,*  
 “ with my Judgment for them. “ Remember says Mr. *Baxter*, *Holy Com. Pref. to*  
 (that *Moderate Dissenter* and *Occasional Conformist*;) how far *the Army.*  
 “ have gone with you in the War: And shall I be afraid of my old  
 “ most intimate Friends? “ If I had known, continues he, that the *1652.*  
 “ Parliament had been the Beginners, and in most Fault, yet *1652. P. 28*  
 “ the Ruin of our Trustees and Representatives, so of all the  
 “ Security of the Nation is a Punishment greater than any  
 “ Fault of theirs against the King can from him deserve; and  
 their

“ their Faults can't disoblige me from defending the Common-wealth — If I had taken up Arms against the Parli-  
 “ ment in the War, my Conscience tells me I had been a  
 “ Traitor, and guilty of Resisting the Highest Powers. —

ibid. P. 476. “ And I cannot see that I was mistaken in the Main Cause,  
 “ nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same if it were to do again,

In his Append. to “ [Mark this] in the same State of Things. In sum, *Bastwick*  
 Independ. Soc. P. shall give you an Account of all the Faithful Presbyterian Mini-  
 523. sters in general, “ Many of which ventur'd their Lives in Battel,  
 besides the Benefit of their Prayers. — “ Neither is that all,

“ but by their Wisdom, Vigilancy, and *Powerful and Persua-  
 sive Preaching*, \* they were the principal Means under GOD  
 “ of keeping the People here and every where in Obedience  
 “ to the Parliament. By resolving their Doubts, satisfying  
 “ their Scruples, and going before the People to their Abili-  
 “ ties, yea (many of them, to my knowledge out of Zeal to  
 “ the Cause) beyond their Abilities in all Contributions, ani-  
 “ mating and encouraging others to bring in their Plate and  
 “ Moneys, and whatsoever was of Price and Esteem with  
 “ them; exhorting them now if ever, to stand for their Reli-  
 “ gion, Lives, Liberties, and the Liberty of the Subject.

So Ley, “ It is not observ'd by the Wise, that the Ministers  
 “ have been very Serviceable to the Civil State, and to the  
 “ Military too : Not only (1.) by their Supplications to GOD.  
 “ — But (2.) by their *Informations* and (3.) *Solicitations* of the  
 “ People to engage both their Estates and Persons in the  
 “ Cause of GOD and their Country. Here is an Extraor-  
 “ dinary Appearance of so many Ministers, says *Calamy* (in  
 “ his Speech at *Guild-Hall*) “ to encourage you in this Cause,  
 “ that you may see how real the *Godly Ministry* in *England* is  
 “ unto this Cause”. And indeed *Axtel* at his Execution as-  
 “ cribes both his engaging in that Cause and persisting in it,  
 “ to the *Work* of that *Ministry*, his keeping Days of Fasting and  
 “ Prayer with *Love, Woodcock, Ash, &c.* There may be good  
 “ Reason we see why the *Occasional Conformist* is better pleased  
 “ with the *close and lively Preaching* of the Dissenting Ministers,  
 “ than with that of the Orthodox Clergy; these poor Men have  
 “ been reproach'd for their *Passive Doctrines*, and know not  
 “ how to come up to the Vigor and Activity of the other.

Nor do the Dissenters shew greater Respect to Parliaments  
 “ than they do to Kings, “ The Privileges and Lawful Prero-  
 “ gatives of the Sovereign, says one, must veil in Cases of  
 Necessity

rom. P. 433.

ibid. P. 476.

In his Append. to  
 Independ. Soc. P.  
 523.

\* Thus Marshal  
 1641. “ *It is said*  
 72. “ *lock on me as*  
 “ *me that comes a-*  
 “ *mong you this*  
 “ *day, to beat a*  
 “ *Drum in your*  
 “ *Ears, to see who*  
 “ *will come out and*  
 “ *follow the Lamb.*

Exam. of the new  
 Socy, 1646. E.  
 73. Dedic.

Col. 6. 1643

In his Speech.

Abol. a Ver. P. 12.

See More Tackel.

P. 63.

Lex Rex, p. 112.

“ Necessity, unto this high and Supreme Law, *The Safety of the*  
 “ *People*, Then no less must the Privileges of a Parliament  
 “ yield to this. Parliaments are the Peoples Servants will  
 “ *Mene Tekel* tell you. — \*What Authority had the Parlia-  
 “ ment to give away our Birth-Rights? to enslave the *Corpo-*  
 “ *rations* and *Countries* that sent them up to assert their Free-  
 “ doms, and to expose us to the Lusts of Wicked Oppressors ;  
 “ to give away the *Militia* of the Land to the King? — The  
 “ Parliaments giving away our Birth-Rights to the King, is  
 “ just of as much Force as if the Convocation of Prelates or  
 “ Council of Bishops should give our Souls to the Devil: they  
 “ have as much power to do the latter, as the Parliament  
 “ have to do the former. And says another, who calls his  
 “ Book the *English-man*, “ Our Fundamentals were not made  
 “ by our Representatives, but by the People themselves; and  
 “ our Representatives themselves Limited by them; which it  
 “ were good the *Parliament* as well as People would Observe,  
 “ and be faithful to. For no *Derivative Power* can Null what  
 “ their *Primitive Power* has Establish’d. Would not one think  
 that *Legion* had consulted this Writer? or a later Author  
 (viz.) *A Discourse upon the Union of Scotland and England*, Print-  
 ed A. D. 1702. who P. 163, 164. tells us, “ Neither have our  
 “ [the *Scottish*] Representatives in Parliament an absolute and  
 “ Unlimited Power, but are obliged to Act according to the  
 “ Instructions of those who send them, and in all Changes  
 “ propos’d relating to our Fundamental Constitution, they  
 “ ought to consult their Electors before they come to any Fi-  
 “ nal Determination. — They cannot evert and alter Fun-  
 “ damentals — it ought not to be done by Representatives,  
 “ unless they have special Authority to that purpose. But  
 I shall take no more notice of this Book at present, which  
 seems fitter for the Animadversion of the Government, than  
 for the Correction of a Private Hand.

Neither shall I bring any further Evidences of the Dissenters  
 Principles concerning the Civil Government, Maxims of State  
 have their Revolutions as well as Empires, and therefore I  
 shall refer the Reader to the Authors themselves, to *Knox* and  
*Buchanan*, *Lex Rex*, *Mene Tekel*, *Napthali*, *Apologetical Rela-*  
*tion*, *History of Indulgence*, *Valley of Achor*, *Tenure of Kings and*  
*Magistrates*, *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, *Jus Populi*, *Little Ben-*  
*jamin*, *Junius Brutus*, *Political Catechism*, *Raviliac Redivivus*,  
*Baxter’s Holy Common-wealth*, as also to *Bancroft’s Dangerous*  
*Positions*,

Page 41.  
P. 10, 51.

P. 11, 12, 13.

*Positions*, from all which the Reader may make his own Collections, as also from those *Remonstrances* which he will find either in *the Works of K. Charles the 1<sup>st</sup>*. or in other Collections.

But to say all in a word, it is not this or that Prince that these People have a pique to, be his Religion or Administration what it may, 'tis the *Constitution* they fall foul on, all their endeavours are to break *this*, and to place it on a new foot. Either out of Vanity to shew their Politicks, and the reach of their Genius, and to put their fine Models in Practice; or else to fill their Pockets and raise themselves to Posts of Honour; or it may be to satiate their Revenge against such as they think have offended them, or their Envy at others who over-top them. It matters not therefore what the Prince is, if he have faults, or be any way obnoxious, so much the better, their work is shorter. But if he be ever so Good and so Just, they will either find Faults or make them: They will either be Uppermost themselves, or give no quiet to those that are; till having exasperated them to the utmost, and he must be somewhat more than a Man that can always keep his Temper under great and unjust Provocations; they will take occasion from the Just Severities they have drawn on themselves, to complain of the Hardships, the *Persecutions* and what not, which they suffer from the Government.

Thus in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth* of most Renowned Memory, whose Government will always be Exemplary to her Successors, and who was no Persecuting Prince, nor can any *Blemish* of that kind be justly cast on her *Auspicious Reign*, the Dissenters make horrible Out-crys of Persecution. “ The Land is sore troubled, say they, there’s no place, nor being for a faithful Minister of the Word. Our Bloud crys for Vengeance against the Bishops. — If this *Persecution* be not provided for, ’tis the Case of many thousand in *England*; great Troubles will come of it. But would you know the true meaning of this Persecution; why they tell the Queen, “ That as long as she maintains these cursed Acts of 1584. the Tyranny of Bishops, &c. She is a Persecutor, and the Servants of GOD are Persecuted under her.” Yet notwithstanding all their Clamours, this Wise Prince we know did not think fit to alter her Measures; but held the Reins of Government steddily, and gave no Encouragement to Dissenters. Nor was this a *Popish Management*,

*Dangerous Positions*  
L. 2. Ch. 10.

ib. l. 1. c. 5.

nagement, but the Method that was us'd by the Glorious Estab-  
 lisher of the Reformation. The *Popish Management* as we found  
 not many Years ago, was to weaken the Church by granting  
 Liberty of Conscience to Dissenters, strengthening these to play  
 them against the Church; and the Dissenters giving in to this De-  
 sign, was that indeed which reduc'd us to *Extremities*. The truth  
 is, they themselves were for a *short way with the Church*,  
 "Cut down the Malignants with the Sword of Justice, (says Jan. 29. 1644  
 "Walker) root them out and consume them as with Fire, that  
 "no Root may spring again. "Curfed be he who withholdeth On Dan. 11. 32  
 "his Sword from Blood, *says Case to the Commons*, and so P. 24.  
 "Strickland. And (a) *Marshal* who tells both Houses, (b) 'tis N. 5. 1644. p. 26.  
 "better to behold a People lie mallowing in their Blood, than to (a) Feb. 23. 1644.  
 "see them embracing [what he calls] Idolatry and Super- (b) Jan. 15. 1643.  
 "stition. Neither let your eye spare, *says another*, tho' there p. 18.  
 "are *Great ones* that are Guilty. The *Highest Court* may Heyrick to the  
 "reach the *Highest Persons*." They are for bleeding *England* Commons, May 27.  
*in the Malignant Vein*. (c) One could not be a *Moderate* 1646. p. 23.  
 Man in those days, for *Marshal* (d) threatens like *Doom and* (c) Stanton to see  
*Execution* upon *Politique Neuters* from the hand of Christ, as Lords, Oct. 30. 1644. p. 26.  
 the Men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* had from *Gideon*. "Shew not (d) To the Commons  
 "the least Countenance (says *Heyrick*) to the Detestable *Neu-* Feb. 23. 1644. p. 23.  
 "trality that is practis'd by many, GOD writes in His To the Commons  
 "Book, write you in yours, all *Neuters, Enemies*." *Baxter* May 27. 1646. p. 26.  
 was once so honest as to own "I have been weak in the Heat of See his Letters in  
 "my Zeal; so forward to Changes and ways of Blood, that Hypocritical words.  
 "I fear GOD will not let me have a hand in the Peaceable 1662. p. 11.  
 "Building of his Church. Indeed it was a Maxim with them,  
 "That the Sword, not Disputes nor Treaties, must end the Love at Uxbridge  
 "Controversies; therefore, says *Love*, turn your Ploughshares Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7.  
 "into Swords, and your Pruning-Hooks into Spears, to Fight  
 "the Lord's Battles, to avenge the Blood of Saints, which hath  
 "been spilt. It must be aveng'd either by us, or upon us.  
 And *Leech* sings the same Song, in the very same Words; In his Sermons 1644  
 Nay, rather than not pull down *Babylon*, they are resolv'd Band, 1644. p. 20.  
 to die with her.

Instances are endless, but the Reader no doubt is weary  
 by this time, and so am I, let this therefore suffice for a Spec-  
 imen of the *harmless* and *Moderate Dissenter*, or *Occasional Con-* Moderate & Peaceable  
*formist*, his *Charitable Sentiments* of, and *Friendly Approaches* to p. 14.  
*the Church*; his little *Peculiarities*, which should not be a bar to p. 26.  
*his serving the Government*! And if he complains any more of p. 5.  
*Hardships* p. 24.  
p. 30. 34.

*Handshaps*, I can only pity him and leave his Brother Dissenter to tell him: (1) “ You Complain of your Misery and Bondage, Sorrows and Oppressions, and Troubles of the Church. “ What ails you? What Troubles you? Who Oppresses you? “ Where is the least shew of Oppression, or Cause of Complaint Ministred to you? except it be because you are *not* “ *suffer’d to Oppress your Brethren*? Can you feed upon nothing but Blood, yea, the Blood of your Brethren, yet tho’ you “ have nothing else, you so complain of Sorrow and Oppression? “ Is this your Sorrow and Oppression that you cannot Oppress?

In fine, whatever other use the Reader may make of this Collection, it will at least serve to shew, that Popular Arguments such as are us’d for *Dissenters* and *Occasional Conformists* in opposition to that security the Honourable House of Commons design’d the Church, will serve any Cause and any Party; they are mere flourishes and besides the Question, either plain Contradictions to matter of Fact, or such stretcht Consequences, and false Deductions, that they answer themselves. But as a Dissenter tells us, “ Satan and his Ministers transform themselves into Angels of Light, false Teachers usually “ come to seduce Men in Sheeps cloathing, there is no Heretick, Schismatick or Sectary whatsoever, so Pernicious, “ so Gross and Detestable, but pretends his Way, Doctrine “ Practis’d, to be the Way and Truth of Christ.” Thus because *there is no Power but of GOD*, *Saunders* at *Exeter* to the Judges concludes, that King *Charles I.* with his Heirs and Successors are Depos’d by GOD: A very Logical and Orthodox Inference! and *Jenkins* will have it, “ That GOD’s Pro- “ vidences (that is, His Permission of Events and Successes) are antecedent *Declarations* of His *Good-will* and *Appro- “ bation*.” And *Milton* (who was a better Poet than Divine or Politician) “ To have brought the King to Condign Punishment, hath not broke the Covenant, but it would have “ broke the Covenant to have sav’d him. — GOD hath testify’d by all Propositions and evident Signs, whereby in “ these latter times he is wont to testify what pleases him, “ that such a solemn and for many Ages unexampled Act of “ due Punishment, was no mockery of Justice, but a most grateful and well-pleasing Sacrifice. — Might not one have argued at this rate for *Albometism*, before the late successes of the Emperour? And if a Thief meets me on the High-way and goes off with my Purse, therefore he has a Right to it, and GOD Approves the Action! ———

I meant

See the  
Appendix to the  
Dissertations on the  
Popes Incendary,  
p. 11. 1648.  
He who reads the  
former Informants  
their Apologies,  
may consult Dissent-  
er’s Sayings, 1683.

Tryn cited by  
Goodwin, *Le-  
sons and Truths*,  
p. 33.

Mar 23, 1650.  
p. 24.

Mr. Jenkins’s *Par-  
son*, Oct. 1654.

Conclusion:  
p. 237.



I meant not to exasperate any, by the review of what is past, but to set matters in a just light, and therefore I hope the Dissenters and their Patrons will pardon me, who am of the humour of the *French Satyrift*.

*Je suis rustique et fier, et j'ai l'ame grossiere.  
Je ne puis rien nommer, si ce n'est pas son Nom;  
J'appelle un Chat un Chat, et Rolet un Eripon.*

The Murder of King *Charles I.* is the gentlest expression by which one can mention that execrable Action. To say it was done with the Formality of Justice, and at his own Palace door, is only an aggravation of the Crime. If the Picture of a Hypocrite, a Schismatick, a Factious Person, &c. offends some sort of People, let them not reproach the Painter, but themselves, for the Resemblance. Those who Love Truth as every honest Person does, must speak it, wherever the Censure may fall. And it is a wrong method to be angry at the Glass that shews our spot, we ought rather to wash it off by an effectual Reformation.

No Christian would be so barbarous as to rip up the Wounds of a Penitent, but it is the brightest Act of Charity to lance and scarify the Callous Sinner. One would not remember past ills, did they not see the same methods renew'd with a little variation to suit them to the humours of the Times, that they may pass the better. Why are so many Attacques given, if those who are faithful to the Constitution must not Defend it? Why are we pester'd with such a swarm of Pamphlets if there must be no reply? Why is so malicious a Collection of the Pretended Differences among the Members of the Church, so industriously rak'd up, not at all to the purpose, by such as would seem to have *charitable Sentiments of, to make Friendly Approaches, and to have no sinister Intentions towards the Establish'd Church?*

Tho' methinks our Author in his Collection, might have past by those *Ministers* who do not follow the *Rubrick*, but read more or less of the Prayers, as *Occasion requires*, for these no doubt are special Friends to the Occasional Conformist. However, it may afford us this remarque, That a *Complier*, or what they call a *Moderate Man*, who is not firm to his Principles, and does not Act up to them, tho' he may be wheedled and caress'd for a while, is at the same time secretly dispos'd; and when those Ends are serv'd which made his Compliance

more useful, than an intire going over to them, unless he become throwly their Profelyte, he shall fare no better than his Brethren, whom he abandons, or which is worse, Betrays. Nay, he shall not come off so well: for the Steddy, honest Man, tho' he is most struck at, because most opposite to ill Designs, yet he is secretly Honour'd and Valued, how much soever he may be traduc'd and Calumniated to serve a turn.

Allowing that the Dissenters are at present in ever *so good a Temper*, that *Liberty of Conscience* has *diminish'd the number of Dissenters* and that they *are coming into the Church*, unless *Severity* keeps them out, which yet is sooner said than prov'd, the contrary being too *visible*; yet it is no good Inference, that therefore the Church is so safe, that no new measures need be taken for her Security. Destruction falling more surely, as well as more heavily, upon the Publick as well as upon private Persons, when they are lull'd a-sleep with an Opinion of their own safety, and think themselves most Secure.

It is not to be denied, 'tis so plain and so notorious a Truth, besides, we have the Lords Authority for it. "That the  
 "Dissenters have formerly been Seditious, and have appear'd  
 "in open Rebellion, declaring both against Church and State.  
 But it does not appear that this was the *Effect of Persecution*; Their Sedition indeed has often drawn the Civil Power upon them in its just defence, but in all the Accounts we meet with in History, we do not find that the Government has begun with them? Queen *Elizabeth* had enough to do, to Establish the Reformation and to guard her self and that Establishment from the Designs of the Papists who were at that time a strong and numerous Party: So that it had been very Impolitick in her to raise more Enemies, by being strict upon the Dissenters; if it had not been much more Impolitick to Prostitute the Majesty of Government to the Intrigues of Turbulent Men, and to let Sedition escape with Impunity. We find her therefore Constant in her Maxims of State, and firm in executing her Resolutions. And to this in a great measure may the Felicity of her Reign be ascrib'd; as the Misfortune of King *Charles I.* did chiefly proceed from his being betray'd into Unsteddiness of \* Conduct; and his want of that necessary piece of King-craft, the being always upon his Guard against those who made him.

In their Proceedings  
 Oct. p. 27, 28.

\* Thus my Lord Clarendon, vol. I. B. II. p. 96. tells us, that the King might have settled the Church in Scotland, and all things else according to his Pleasure, if he had but sat still, and been Content to his own Interest, and Positive in Denying their Insolent Demands.

him the greatest Professions of Fidelity; for a Wise Prince ought to put himself in no bodys hands, nor should he put it in any Man's Power to Ruin him. Whereas in all probability had he been Firm in any Method, and undauntedly pursued it, depending more upon his own Judgment and less upon other Mens Advice; those Confusions which were so fatal to Prince and People might have been prevented, unless our Sins had made us so ripe for Ruin that nothing could prevent it.

We do not find that the Dissenters suffer'd any Hardships under King *Charles I.* merely upon Account of their Separation from the Church, for what a few of them suffer'd for Seditious Libelling is another matter. An Author of their own, who lets no spiteful Observation escape him, tho' he tells us that Queen *Elizabeth* discountenanc'd them continually; and as good a Queen as she was put some of them to Death, (which certainly was not for (a) Conscience sake, but for Treason and Sedition.) And that King *James I.* hunted them quite out of the Nation; yet he does not pretend that they were molested under King *Charles I.* and yet he owns that these Loyal and harmless Dissenters fell in Unanimously with the Parliament. Nor did those little Prosecutions, which some Men who had more Warmth than Wisdom, rais'd against them under King *Charles II.* bear any manner of Proportion to those real and bitter Persecutions, if Sequestrations, Imprisonments and loss of Life may be call'd Persecution, wherewith they pursued the Members of the Church of *England*, when themselves had the Power in their Hands.

And by the way, one does not well understand, how any that profess themselves Members of that Church, much less, such as have the nearest Relation and highest Obligation to her, can accuse her of Persecution, and make the Sedition of the Dissenters an Effect of it. For tho' the being Persecuted may be a Mark of the True Church, certainly the being a Persecutor is none. One would think therefore that Conscience should carry them from a Church of so ill a Fame, were it not that there are certain Prudential Reasons sometimes, which lay a Restraint upon Conscience. But it was not an Open Enemy that has done me this Dishonour, says *David*, who was a Type of *Christ*, and in this of His Spouse the Church, he that eat of my Bread, has lift up his heel against me.

It is very observable that there were only the Lords *Say* and *Brooke* in the House of Peers, taken notice of as Positive Enemies

*New Test of the Church of England & Loyalty, 1702. p. 10.*

(a) See Sir F. Walsingham's Letter to Messrs. Critoy Cambala, p. 372, Ed. 1.

*Lord Clarendon's Hist. Vol. 1, B. III, p. 184.*

mies to the whole Fabrick of the Church; and among the Commons, only Nathanael Fiennes, Young Sir Harry Vane and Mr. Hambden, in that Parliament which shortly after would not be content without Root and Branch. For even Pym and Hollis and the rest, who drove on most furiously with them, were not then of that Mind, but were pleas'd with the Government it self of the Church. The Earl of Essex being always a most Conformable Man, The Earl of Bedford liv'd well even with the Archbishop Land; and had no desire that there should be any Alteration in the Government of the Church, tho' 'tis true, he did not discountenance notoriously, those of the Clergy, who were unconfordable.

ib. p. 183.

“ But the Truth is, (as the Noble Historian remarks) They  
 “ who had made in their Hearts the most destructive Vows  
 “ against the Church, never durst Communicate their Bloody  
 “ Wisnes to their best Friends, whose Authority gave them  
 “ their greatest Credit. Nor was it to be wonder'd at, that  
 “ they daily gain'd Profelytes, for they pretended all Publick  
 “ Thoughts, and only the Reformation of disapprov'd and  
 “ Odious Enormities, and dissembled all Purposes of remo-  
 “ ving Foundations, which, tho' it was in the Hearts of some,  
 “ they had not the Courage and Confidence to Communicate it.

ib. p. 150.

'Tis too much to repeat all that that Noble Person says to this Purpose, 'tis worth the Reader's while to consult him, *Vol. I. P. 146, 147.* And when he considers the *Artifices* and Managements that were us'd by the *Leading Men*, to bring over both Houses; the *Major Part* of which had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, but would, if they were not over-reach'd, have adhered to the King and the Establish'd Government; the *Inventions* that were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them by *Suggestions of Dangers*, of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*; how the *Ambition* and *Malice* of some, and the *Hopes* and *Fears*

ib. p. 150.

of others were wrought on; so that many “ who did not sus-  
 “ pect any Wickedness in Design, became involv'd by de-  
 “ grees in the Worst, by observing and pursuing the Dictates  
 “ and Directions of the other: And then thinking they had  
 “ gone too far to sit still or Retire. All this consider'd, 'tis  
 like the Reader may ask himself, if the Part that they then Play'd has not been Acted more than once?

ib. p. 179.

Indeed the Government can never be too much upon its Guard against the Game that this sort of Men have always play'd, when one remembers from what inconsiderable Beginnings that terrible Rebellion arose, which at last over-turn'd  
 both

both Church and State. For tho' there were some Taxes and Impositions which the (a) Necessity of the Kings Affairs had put him upon, and which rather (b) *anger'd* than *griev'd* or burden'd the People: Yet these were more than repair'd by the Quiet, Peace and Prosperity they enjoy'd. And even after the Dissolution of the Third Parliament which Men were so much offend'd at, there quickly follow'd "so excellent a Composure throughout the Whole Kingdom that the like Peace and Plenty and Universal Tranquility for ten Years, was never enjoy'd by any Nation.—" The Church was not repin'd at, nor the least Inclination to alter the Government, or Discipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine, appear'd.

And tho' no greater Cause of Offence was given than that Zeal which Archbishop *Laud* express'd, in Prosecuting his Pious and Just Designs, for the Service of the King, the Church and his Country, (1.) by Discourteasing and Punishing Vice, even in the greatest Offenders, by which he truly pursu'd that Reformation of Manners, which some Men talk of so much, and which all Good Christians so passionately desire. (2.) By rescuing GOD's House and Service from that *Prophane Liberty and Uncleanliness*, which the Remissness of his Predecessor had introduc'd. And (3.) by being so intirely devoted to his Masters Service, and thereby in Truth to the Service of his Country; as to oppose the Profit of Particular Persons how Great soever, when it lessen'd the Publick Revenue. Tho' he propos'd no End in all his Actions and Designs, but what was Pious and Just, as sure no Man had ever a Heart more entirely devoted to the King, the Church, or his Country, or was more plentifully replenish'd with a worthy Intention, as my Lord *Clarendon* assures us. "Yet (1.) being too secure in a good Conscience, and this most sincere worthy Intention, which he suppos'd would carry him through, without the little *Stratagems* and Arts of the Court"; and (2.) prosecuting his very laudable Designs with a Zeal more commendable in it self than proper to the Times he liv'd in"; (3.) Some Natural Infirmities in his Temper, rendring him less fit for the Work he undertook. (1.) His Noble Designs were disregarded, and the small Infirmities that attended them were so much improv'd by the Malice and Artifice of Buse Men, who had greater Infirmities of their own, and not near so good Designs and Intentions, but had withall more Address and Industry in pursuing them. (2.) The Peoples Minds were awaken'd to a Jealousy,

See my Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. I. B. 1. (a) p. 52, 53. (b) 71.

Ib. p. 52.

See also B. 2. p. 92.

L. 42, &c.

Ib. p. 71. also

p. 13.

Ib. p. 72.

Ib. p. 73.

Ib. p. 76.

Ib. p. 72.

Ib. p. 52.

p. 74.

Ib. p. 72.

p. 77.

Ib. p. 71.

as if more was Intended, by what they thought fit to call *Innovations*, than was hitherto propos'd. (3.) And they *Insinuated* that the Governours of the Church aim'd at greater *Alterations*, " for which they knew the People would quickly find a Name, tho' none but themselves aim'd at any.

The Clergy indeed had continued to sit in form of a Synod after the Parliament was dissolv'd, making Canons, which they Legally might, in the Opinion of all the Judges, and enjoying Oaths and giving Subsidies, which according to my Lord *Clarendon* they might not. But if Necessity may be pleaded, Necessity which is often urg'd not only to excuse but to Justify what the Letter of the Law has not provided for, the giving of their own Money was no unwarrantable Action. His Majesty being at that time under Pressing Wants, which the Parliament had no way provided for, and a foreign Army ready to Invade the Kingdom And though the Clergy of those Times were " most of them of confess'd Eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of Vertuous and *Unblemish'd Lives*; yet such was the Indefatigable Industry of the Party, (1.) In venting and spreading groundless Slanders, (2.) In taking all possible Licence in Preaching and Printing against the Church; (3.) So great was their Disingenuity and (4.) Address, (5.) their Improvement of every Occasion, letting no Advantage slip. (6.) Proceeding to Greater Things, when they had compass'd the Less by the Treachery of some, or the Weakness and Carelessness of others, who because they imagin'd such Concessions would content them, permitted them to carry what they desir'd, till at last they ended in the total Subversion of the Church, and then, as of Consequence, to that of the State also.

Not that these Men exceeded the Friends of the Constitution either in Parts, Quality, Riches, or Numbers; but they exceeded them very much in their Arts and Application. It was then as the Lords tell us it is now, the Strength they had was among themselves, *which we are sure can no way be Compar'd to the Strength of the Establish'd Church*. So that the Danger to be apprehended from them arose from their Great Cunning and unwearied Industry, their dextrous Address to all Tempers, their sticking at no Devices, and making use of all Methods, and pursuing their Measures with an unshaken Firmness and Sedulity. How refractory soever they were to Lawful Authority, they paid an intire Deference and Submission to the Heads of the Party. The least Breach of Law in their Govern-

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Ib. p. 75

Lord Clarendon.  
B. 2. p. 116. &  
S. 3. p. 162.

See B. 2. p. 167.  
Ib.

Ib. p. 60.

Ib. B. 2. p. 158.

See Ib. 151.  
Ib. 157.

Ib. p. 154, 185.

See also B. 3. p.  
154 & p. 170, 171.

Proceedings O.C.  
p. 41.

Lord Clarendon,  
B. 2. p. 130

nors was maliciously aggravated, whilst their own Notorious Violations of the Laws, and even of the Privileges of Parliament which they made such a noise about, pass'd for Necessary or Meritorious Actions. And when they had corrupted the Peoples Minds, by their Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets, with which no Age abounded more, unless the Present; weakening the Authority of the Government by Wounding the Reputation of their Governors; when they had Establish'd their Fraternities or Political Clubs, preventing such as might serve their Designs from "entering into any Familiarity or Conversation with any who were not fast to their Party: When they had removed the Kings most Faithful Servants, and Councillors, frighten'd the rest, and indeed "bereav'd him of all Publick Assistance and Advice in a Time when he needed it most; by a Promiscuous Admittance of the Enemies of the Government into the Privy Council, which according to my Lord *Clarendon* was either "Mediately or Immediately, the "Root and Spring of most of the Calamities that ensued. The sinking Condition of Monarchy in this Kingdom being never to be buoy'd up, but by a Prudent and Steady Council attending upon the Virtue and Vivacity of the King. And, which was the most important Point, when by their Arts and Industry they had got Parliaments of Prudence and Temper dissolv'd, such as had too much Loyalty and Wisdom to do their Business, and therefore these Mighty Patriots rejoic'd at that Dissolution which troubled all good Men; When by Factions in Elections, by Corruption and Undue Returns, by garbling the House and the like Practices, and by out-sitting and wearying out better Men, they were able to Manage the *House of Commons*; and had terrified or Wheedled both Houses to come into, or at least not to oppose their Measures; we had then a sufficient and never to be forgotten Demonstration of their good Affections to the Constitution, which he who would see at large may inform himself by consulting that Useful and every way excellent History, with which the Late Earl of *Clarendon* has oblig'd his Country.

And as in those Days the narrow Fortunes of some, whose Hearts were above their Estates, and their Expectations beyond their Merit; and indeed the Luxury of too many, who made no better use of the Peace and Plenty with which GOD's Providence and his Vice-gerents Care had enrich'd the Nation, than to squander it upon their Vices whereby they reduc'd themselves

ib. p. 183.  
 lb. B. 2, p. 113.  
 B. 3, p. 157, 163.

ib. 146.  
 ib. 152.

ib. 142.  
 lb. p. 157

See *ib.* 113.

P. 155, 156.

See *ib.* B, p. 109,  
 110.

ib. p. 117, 140.

E. 212.

themselves to uneasy Circumstances, had made the Revenues of the Church a much desir'd Morfel; and the change of Measures and Ministries necessary, because as they had manag'd, they could not live without it: So to our Shame be it spoken, we do not make a better Use of the Blessings we at present enjoy; we have as much Ambition, not of being truly Great, which is only by being truly Vertuous, but of making a Great Appearance; we give as uncontroll'd a Licence to our Lusts, we have as much Vanity, as much Covetousness, as much Envy and Revenge as any of our Fore-fathers, and consequently, unless the Goodness of GOD, and the Wisdom of our Governors prevent it, the accursed Seeds of Faction and Sedition, will take as deep a root, and produce as plentiful a Harvest in this as in any Age.

And as it is neither *Hard* nor *Untrue* to affirm, that *Dissenters never want the Will when they have Power to destroy the Church and State*, since they have given us too sad and too full a Demonstration of it: So neither is it a groundless Surmise, nor an Uncharitable Conjecture, to say, that whatever good words some of them may give us, they have not quitted this Design. For a noted Author among them, and who would have us believe him a *fair Representer of Men and Things*, very lately, even since our Gracious Sovereign's most reasonable Accession to Her Throne, has told us, "That they were sadly pester'd with the *Corporation Act*, the *Vestry Act*, the *Oxford Act*, the *Militia Act* (which were all fram'd by the Ruling Clergy and their Patrons) whereby an Oath was impos'd upon them *not to endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church*, to bind them to *rest contented*, with what they could not but esteem Corrupt. So that when the *Oxford Act* 1665. requir'd this Oath, I *A. B.* do Swear, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor the Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him, in pursuance of such Commission: *And that I will not at any time endeavour any Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State*: They were at a loss to find out a sense wherein to take it, till my Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* promis'd to declare on the Bench, that by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church-Government, was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which *Dr. Bates* and other Non-conformists to the Number of 20, took

*Calamy in his Abridgment of Baxter's Life*, p. 552.

P. 585.



took it at the Sessions. And if their Practice may be allow'd to explain what they mean by *Unlawful Endeavour*, it is in their Dialect no more than such an Endeavour as will in all probability be *Unsuccessful*. He further tells us, that " tho' many of the Ministers who were ejected had not taken the *Covenant*, and more of them were against imposing it, yet they could not yield to a Renunciation. For " every Mans endeavouring in his Proper place and Sphere to *alter Church-Government*, as far as he was convinc'd of its being faulty, appear'd to them a *Matter of Duty*. And whether to shew his Respect to Crown'd Heads, or to remind those Men of their Duty, who took the *Covenant*, if there be any of them now alive, he goes on to tell us, " That they durst not run the hazard of tempting the King himself, and thousands of his Subjects in the three Kingdoms, to incur the Guilt of *Perjury*; or of hardning them under that Guilt, by declaring they were no way oblig'd by *Covenanting*, what could not be made appear to be *Unlawful*. As for the *Laity*, says he, some of them being Convinc'd of the Justice of the Cause they were engag'd in, *viz. The pressing a further Reformation in Ecclesiastical Matters, as necessary in order to the more general reaching of the great Ends of Religion*: They thought it their Duty in their Place to espouse the same Cause, and adhere to the same Principle, in Opposition to those who reckon'd the Church so Perfect as to need no Amendments." And least this should be thought to be only the Opinion of such as believ'd themselves Obliged by the *Covenant*, Mr. *Calamy* takes care to tell us, " That the Present Nonconformists rise up in the room of those, who in so noble a manner adher'd to that old *Puritanical Principle*, of the *Necessity of a further Reformation in the Church, in order to the more General and Effectual reaching of the great Ends of Christianity*. Nay even the Occasional Conformists, with all their *harmless and Friendly approaches to the Church*, keep their *Stated Communion with Dissenters* to shew (if we will believe Mr. *Calamy*) " their firm adherence to their Fundamental Principles, — of pursuing in their respective Places and Spheres a further Reformation, than has as yet been reach'd among us in order to a happy Settlement, &c. All which is so plain that it needs no Comment, every Reader, tho' he be but an indifferent Scholar; being able if he pleases to spell out their meaning.

Ib. p. 538.

Ib. p. 539.

Ib. p. 545.

Ib. p. 496.

Ib. p. 515.

To wind up all: I think it is pretty evident from the Premises, that if Conscience only were concern'd, the Controversy would soon be at an end, between the Church and the Dissenters. But Conscience, whether a pretence to the Tenderness of our own, or a Tenderness of our Neighbours, is too frequently nothing else but a Stale to our secular Purposes. And those good Laws and Customs, or Generous Aims which Honest and Understanding Men give up, either because they seem at present of no great Consequence, or at least, of less consequence than that Peace and good Agreement, or other necessary matters which they think to purchase by these Concessions, to Men of Artifice and Management, of more Firmness but less Integrity, and who therefore usually carry their Point. These Concessions I say, are of worse Consequence than is easily imagin'd; for that is lost by a fatal Easiness, which could never have been wrested from us, by an open opposition, and we are trickt out of that which we would never have parted with directly and plainly. Alterations indeed could never be compass'd, did Men declare themselves at first; for besides that Innovations are seldom for the better, wise and good Men had rather bear some known Inconveniencies, than run the hazard of Greater by a Change, which usually brings such as no humane Prudence could foresee or provide against.

The way then for cunning Men to bring about a Change, is, not by appearing open Enemies, but by being false Friends to an Establishment. They profess to have the same ends with its most zealous Champions, only they make use of different Means; they do not openly and directly Oppose the Measures of the other, only they take care to render them Ineffectual; they do not discover their aim till the business is ripe and they are sure of it, they only hinder your placing such Fences about what they mean to overthrow, as might prevent their purposes; and they weaken the Establishment by Fetches peculiar to themselves. For when upon certain views and plausible pretences they have introduc'd a Novelty, they know how to improve it to their advantage, and when time shall come to give it new Views and to draw from it Inferences that were never intended; too many Instances of which you have in that excellent History so often mention'd.

To give a fresher Instance, It is not to be suppos'd, that when the *Toleration Act* was pass'd, any true Member of the Church of *England* intended by that to acquit the Dissenters of the Guilt

of

See my *Lord Clarendon's Hist.* V. 1. B. 3. p. 184, &c.  
also *Ibid* p. 20.  
& p. 219. & p. 222.

See *L. Clarendon*  
Vol. 1. p. 164.  
*Ib.* p. 198, 199.  
& 211.

of Schism. For Schism as such, being an Offence against the Doctrine and Church of Christ, does not come under the Cognizance of Lay-Men, but of Ecclesiasticks. And one may as well affirm than Theft were no Sin if the Law of the Land allow'd it, as that, Separation from the Church is not Schism, because it is Tolerated.

If then so ill a use is made of the *Church of Englands* Charity towards Dissenters in granting them a Toleration so freely and so kindly, as either to infer from thence, that she *holds them not guilty of Schism*; or else to improve this Act of Grace into a *heavy Charge upon her*, as *Tolerating Schism by Law*, 'tis high time that she should look about her. Another such stretch might name the Toleration the Establishment, and render her own Establishment precarious. Especially since others as well as Occasional Conformists are pleas'd to make the going to a Church or to a Meeting a matter of Indifferency. For a Man *may go to a Meeting without breach of any Law of the Land, whilst the Act of Toleration continues*; and according to them, without any offence against the Laws of GOD, since they cannot think the *Dissenters can properly be call'd Schismaticks*, because "tho' connivance has been us'd to Schismaticks, yet Publick allowance was never given to such.

But with submission, tho' this Practice is Tolerated by Law, yet it is not such a harmless and indifferent thing to go to a Meeting, as some would represent it. For if the Separation be evil in it self, it remains an Evil notwithstanding the Toleration: all that this can do, being no more than the taking off that Penalty which the Penal Laws did inflict. And that the Separation is *Evil in it self* is but a natural and necessary Consequence from what the Lords were pleas'd to say when they told us, "That they do not go about to Justify Men, who can come so far towards Uniting with the Church, and yet will stop there, any more than they do to Justify any other of the Points upon which the Dissenters continue their Separation. For if the Separation be not *Evil in it self*, if it is no offence against the Laws of GOD, or the Laws of the Land, if it is neither Schism in the Church, nor Sedition in the State; it might very well be Justify'd, since an Action becomes unjustifiable only by being *an Evil*. And tho' 'tis allowed that no Government truly Christian will Prosecute any Man, meerly for Conscience sake, for this were properly Persecution; and that Christian Governours, especially those of the Church

See their Proceed  
p. 39.

of *England*, have all that Charity and Tenderneſs for the Ignorant and miſlead that our holy Religion requires; yet on the other hand, they are far from Eſtabliſhing Error or Iniquity by Law, or from giving them Publick Allowance.

A Toleration then, when paſt into a Law, means no more than a *Legal Commivance* or Indulgence. For the moſt honourable the Lords make a great and juſt diſtinction between Legal allow'd Aſſemblies, and ſuch as are *only Tolerated*, or as their Lordſhips expreſs it, *have an impunity by Law*. As is plain from the very Title of the Act, which is, *An Act for Exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects Diſſenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*. So that all the Difference the Toleration Act makes is no more than this, the *Commivance* or *Impunity* was only *Voluntary* before, now it is *Necceſſary*, formerly it was *Contrary to* or at leaſt *Befides* the Law, now it is *By Law*. A Law that takes off the Penalty, but does not in any manner allow the Error or the Schiſm, For ſuch an Allowance no honeſt Man can grant, and the taking off the Penalty, no Church of *England-Man* will oppoſe.

Let Diſſenters then enjoy their Toleration, as fully and freely as their hearts can wiſh, but for their ſakes as well as for our own, let us not give them Power and Opportunity to deſtroy the Eſtabliſhment? All Diſſenters of what kind ſoever, come under one of theſe Two Denominations; (1.) Such as Diſſent purely for Conſcience ſake, and theſe are the Weak, the Ignorant, and the miſled. Every Church-Man at leaſt muſt grant, that they Diſſent out of Weakneſs and Ignorance, otherwiſe he ought to go over to them. (2.) The other ſort are ſuch as have little or no Conſcience, tho' they make mighty pretences to it, but liſt themſelves with a Party as is moſt agreeable to their Humours, their Paſſions, or ſecular Deſigns. And theſe are the Managers, the Leading-Men, who keep up the Separation, and lead the other as they think fit.

Now tho' one has a true Compaſſion for the Former, and would allow them all the eaſe that can be given, yet certainly the Latter deſerve no Indulgence, much leſs Encouragement; ſince their own Private Ends and the Diſturbance of their honeſt Neighbour, is all their Conſcience and all their Buſineſs. Theſe are the Men who *enſlave* Peoples Minds, and *ſet an Edge on their Spirits*, with Fears and Jealouſies, Feuds and Animofities; who hinder Piety, and deſtroy Charity, diverting that Zeal which ought to be employed in the Reformation of

of our Lives, to the Support of that Party which we happen to be engag'd in, so that one can't but have a just Indignation against them.

And for what End and Purpose is all this ado? for what do they Rent the Church of Christ, and tear the Bowels of their Country by intestine Broils? for what but to advance themselves, to gratify their Passions and their Vices! The People never get by Divisions and Revolutions, they lose their Peace and Quiet, their Money is exhausted in Taxes, and their Blood in War, only to raise a few *New Men*, and that the cunning Folks who manage all, may make their Markets. So that all their goodly Pretences of Redress of Grievances, and their bustle about Liberty and Property, have no other meaning, no other Conclusion, but their Own Advancement.

Hence it comes to be too Just an Observation, that when Men have talk'd themselves into Preferment, or into Hopes of it, their Zeal cools, and they are no longer those watchful Patriots they were before. They begin to discern that it is not *seasonable* to push those Matters which were once so *Necessary*. And tho' you may be sure they have still the same sincere desire of the Publick Good, who can doubt it! yet very prudently they think it convenient to reserve their Vigour for a fitter Opportunity. For Self-Interest like Hunger is always pungent, we can't be at rest till it is satisfy'd, and then we can easily compose our selves to Sleep or Quietness. For who that has made a Plentiful Meal, and hopes for a good Digestion, would rouse himself out of a pleasing Slumber with a Dose of *Carduus*?

The truth is, as he can be no Friend to a Prince, who fills his Head with Projects of Arbitrary Power, and carries him beyond those bounds the Laws have set him; for whether or no the People *ought* to Resist in such a Case, yet to be sure they *will*: So on the other side, he is no true Patriot who would invest the People with a Power they know not how to manage, teaching them to Mate their Superiors, and by withdrawing their necessary Subjection from their Lawful Prince, certainly tho' sily, and under the specious name of Liberty, enslaves them to a few Seditious Demagogues, and Popular Haranguers.

Nor is this Distinction between *Dissenters in Conscience*, and *Dissenters in Faction* a New Fancy or of my Invention, 'tis as old as Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Faithful Secretary Sr. *Francis Walsing-*

*Walsingham*, justifying the Proceedings of his Mistress in Ecclesiastical Affairs, tells us, " That as she dealt tenderly with Conscience and did not attempt to force it; so when Conscience exceeds its bounds, and grows to be Faction, it loses its Nature; and Sovereign Princes ought to Punish such Practices, tho' colour'd with Pretence of Conscience and Religion. Tenderness and Gentle Measures I own are the best ways of treating Conscience, but when these are ineffectual, 'tis a plain case to me that Conscience has little or nothing to do, in the Controversy. This was that wise and good Prince Queen *Elizabeth's* Conclusion, as we learn from the above mention'd Letter, this "compell'd her to hold somewhat a harder hand upon them than before. For as another great Man in her Successor's Reign observes, "a little Countenance or Connivency sets the Generation of *Scissars* on Fire.

Thus King *Charles I.* was so far from winning upon them, or obtaining any of his aims, tho' ever so just and generous, by Condescensions to that Party, or by putting them into Places of Power and Trust, that notwithstanding the Removes he made in their Favour, they kept no Promises with him, no not so much as in saving the Earl of *Strafford's* Life, tho' for the Ease and Quiet of his Majesty's Conscience. So that instead of appeasing and gaining them by Gentleness and Compliance, and by admitting them to Preferment, he only weakned his own hands, confirm'd their Power, (a) dispirited his Friends, (b) lost the benefit of his Council, (c) the disposal of his Revenue, (d) and indeed his very Subsistence, the Principal Jewels of his Crown, then his Kingdom, and at last his Life. Nor had his Condescensions towards the *Scots* any better effect than with the *English*, for they only rais'd their Insolence, as the Noble Historian tells us, "all his Offers were rejected, his Proclamations of Pardon slighted and contemn'd; "till at last (when it was indeed too late, unless it had been "more vigorously pursu'd) the King thought it time to resort to other Counsels, and to provide Force to Chastise "them, who had so much despis'd all his gentler Remedies. For tho' Generous Natures may be won with good usage, yet base ones, and such are all Rebellious and Seditious Spirits, are only enabled to do greater Mischief. It is with them, as it was with the Earl of *Argyle*, who having every day new Obligations heap'd on him by being made a Privy-Councillor, and

In a Letter to Monf.  
Croy the French  
Secretary, which is  
worth the reading.  
It is in the Cabala,  
p. 372 Edit. 3.

2. Verulam.  
Letter to Sir Geo.  
Willars.  
Cabala, p. 39.

X. Clarend. p. 155.

ib. p. 167.

ib. p. 156, 157.

(a) Id. Clarend.  
Hist. V. 1. B. 1.  
p. 166.  
(b) Ib. p. 157.  
(c) Ib. p. 167.  
(d) Ib. p. 165.

Ib. p. 90.

Ib. p. 90. l. 43. &c.

Ib. p. 162.

put into other Offices, had *thereby Power given him to do Hurt*, instead of being *Restrain'd from doing it*.

Indeed so far is the *gradual and obliging* way from being the best, that it has always been found by Experience to be the least *safe* and the least to be *depended on*. For as my Lord *Clarendon* observes, it only gives "the Discontented Party" more Heart, and more Time for their Seditious Negotiations: enables them to enter into a closer Correspondence among themselves, gains them Credit and Power over the People at Home and Interest with Foreigners.

Ib. p. 87.

Ib. p. 101.

Far be it from me to plead for harsh and violent Methods, I would not have us do to them as they have done to us, the Church of *England*, GOD he thanked, knows what Spirit she is of, and is far from that Vindictive Temper. But since they have ways which we cannot, dare not use; for as one of them tells the Men who were then in Power "You cannot Preach, or Pray them [the Church of *England*] down directly and immediately. — Well! That which the *Word* cannot do the *Sword* shall; tho' we doubt not but that the *Church* is well secur'd by her *Doctrines*, the good *Laws of the Realm*, the *Protection of a Pious Queen*, and the favour of a *Well-affected Parliament*; Yet it would be a Weakness not to be forgiven, did we neglect to improve this Happy Opportunity, to secure the Establishment, not only from open Enemies, but from secret Underminers. We do not mean to hurt them, but it is highly necessary, to put it out of their Power to hurt us, both for their sakes and our Own; if we are still so easy and supine, as to neglect the necessary Measures for our own Security, our Ruin will be owing to our selves, and we shall not only be the Objects of their Hatred, but of their Contempt and Scorn.

Reyner to the Commons, Aug. 28.  
1644. p. 12.

Were *Non-Conformity* only a Matter of Conscience, and were there not something else at the Bottom under the Specious Appearance of Conscience, I agree with our Author, that "*Occasional Conformity* would be an Advantage to the Church" and Weaken the Dissenters. For the People would discern by coming to our Worship, that there are none of those Bugbears in it with which they us'd to be frighted from it. The Solidity and Piety, the Grave and Affecting Expressions of our Liturgy; the Rational, Useful, and Moving Eloquence of our Preachers; would soon prevail over the incoherent, irreverent Rapsodies of their *Ex tempore* Effusions, the Mean,  
Childish

Illustration of the  
Ib. p. 27.

Childish and ill-consider'd Harangues, for which they have been, and are still, so famous. But alas! Secular Interest and Party being the great Wheel that puts the Separation in Motion, *Occasional Conformity* serves only to make some People indifferent to, and careless in all Religions; and is made use of by others to Act the Part of an Enemy under the Disguise of a Friend. And all the Real Advantages the Church enjoys, do not so much contribute to her Security, as those *little Accidents* and *small Circumstances* which some would persuade us to neglect, do to her Ruin, when manag'd by *the Art and Industry of these Men*, who knew how to make *the Greatest Matters towards the Confusions we formerly labour'd under, flow from these small Beginnings*, and who seem but too much inclin'd to give us new Trials of their Skill.

My Lord Clarendon's  
v. 1. B. 3. p. 192.

I do not pretend that all who contribute to the Designs of a Party, are of that Party, or intend in any Measure to promote those Mischiefs, which are indeed the Consequences of their Actions and Compliances. 'Tis very evident from my Lord Clarendon's History, that very few, not above half a dozen, were at first let into that Mystery of Iniquity, which gave the most fatal Blow to the Nation that ever it felt. For Humane Infirmity too often draws the Greatest, the Wisest, and the Best of Mankind, from the strict Rules of Right Reason. Few Men, especially in Prosperity and Power, who find other Entertainments, examine their Actions, with the direct and necessary Consequences of them so exactly, as the weight of the Matter requires. Some are Young, some have too great an Opinion of other Mens Sufficiency, and others are too full of their Own. Many are prepossess'd with Prejudices so artfully insinuated, that to get clear of them requires not only a great Distrust of such as they have formerly had in admiration, but even of themselves, which Mankind is not prone to. Most Men have Passions which they too much Indulge, and hereby some weak side or other whereby they may be won. And so in the Integrity of their Hearts, be led into such Measures by Artful and Designing Men, as necessarily produce what they themselves never intended, what it may be they abhor, and will be the first that shall Repent of.

Lord Clarendon, p. 146.  
ib. p. 148.

Had any Man gone to any of those Noble Lords, who were so unhappily engag'd in that great Rebellion against King Charles I. at the Beginning of the Long Parliament, and told them with all possible Respect, " My Lord, though your wor-  
" thy



thy Zeal for the Publick Good, Your Antient Rights and Privileges and the Liberties of *English-men*, be highly Commendable, yet pardon me if I presume to re-mind you, that it may transport too far; and unless the known Boundaries be strictly kept, you may overthrow what you intend to preserve, struggles for Power between any Parts of the Constitution, seldom end but in the Destruction of the whole. You do not so much as Suspect, because Your own Noble Heart is not capable of those vile Designs, which the Cunning Men, the Managers, keep to themselves and varnish over with the most specious Pretences. You have no Aims but what are truly Honourable, but those who gain ground by your Countenance and Authority mean nothing less. If you continue them, they will e're long be able to support themselves without you, and grow too big for the Power that rais'd them. The Mask will then fall off, and you will too late discover those Mischiefs to which you have undesignedly contributed, and which you will not then be able to prevent or remedy. Your Honour and Integrity will never permit you to go intirely into their Measures, but if you then draw back, they will have as little Consideration of your Personal Merit and former Favours, as they have of any of their present Opposers; Nay, they will hate you more, for having as they think deserted them. You will at best, be laid aside as of no further Use, and all those Glorious Ends you propos'd to your self will be laid in the Dust; and which will be the most grievous Reflection, by your own Means, you your self will have had the greatest hand in their Destruction. For GOD's sake then, consider this frank Advice of a Plain, but honest Remembrancer. Rouse your *Own* Noble Spirit, exercise your *Own* Good Sense, and be not Influenc'd by the Plausible Harangues, nor wrought upon by the Artifices and secret Whispers of the Men in Fashion. Maintain the Constitution Inviolatè, obstruct no Measures that are taken for its Security, Guard it against the remotest Dangers, for in its Security, and in this only, you will find your own.

Should any Man, I say, have made such a Discourse as this to my Lord *Effex*, and the other Men of Quality who went into his Measures, how would they have receiv'd it? 'Tis like as that Lord did the then Mr. *Hide's* Discourse, and put it off to another time. Or had they been plainly told that the Methods

*Thus they w'd my Lord Digby, see my Lord Clarend. History Vol. 1, B. 3. p. 152.*

*ib. p. 157.*

thods they took would certainly produce the Destruction both of Church and State, and the Murder of their Sovereign, would they not do you think have answered with the utmost  
 Kings 8. 13. Indignation as *Hazael* did to the Prophet, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this great thing?* tho' tis very remarkable that this same *Hazael* did those very things, of which he seem'd to have such an Abhorrence. So little Reason have Men to be confident of their best Intentions, or to give way to the Beginnings of Faction and Sedition, to the very Approaches towards them, or to the very Appearances of Evil, lest they be Insensibly led on to the greatest Crimes.

See their Preced-  
 ings, p. 31. 8<sup>o</sup>.

Since therefore the most Honourable the Lords have been pleased to let us know, that they " look on the fixing of  
 " Qualifications for Places of Trust, to be a thing so entirely  
 " lodg'd with the Legislature, that without giving any Reason  
 " for it, upon any Apprehension of Danger, how remote so-  
 " ever, every Government may put such Rules, Restraints,  
 " or Conditions, on all who Serve in Places of Trust, as they  
 " shall see Cause. That where the Security of the Govern-  
 " ment does appear to be Manifestly concern'd, their Lord-  
 " ships can satisfie themselves to Dispense with Private Con-  
 " siderations. That they not only allow the Necessity of an  
 " Establish'd Religion, and a National Church, but being  
 " likewise of that National Church, they can never be want-  
 " ing to those Measures they think proper to secure it".  
 And since we are also told by the Honourable the Commons, that, " the only effectual way to preserve this National Church,  
 " is by keeping the Civil Power in the hands of those whose  
 " Practices and Principles are Conformable to it. That how  
 " unhappy soever his Condition may be who is made incapable  
 " of Serving his Prince and Country; our Prince and Country  
 " would be in a more unhappy Condition to be Serv'd by  
 " such, whose Principles are inconsistent with the Good and  
 " Welfare of our Establishment. And that therefore the Bill  
 " against *Occasional Conformity* appears to them absolutely ne-  
 " cessary for the preventing those Mischiefs which must prove  
 " destructive to the Church and the Monarchy: We promise  
 our selves that without any Disputes about the Means, both  
 Houses will unanimously agree in obtaining so good and so ne-  
 cessary an End; an *End which is design'd by both.*

ib. p. 29.

Moderation a Ver-  
 sine, p. 24, 30.

Our Author therefore deceives himself if he thinks his Po-  
 sitions are any way supported by so great an Authority as he  
 sometimes

sometimes thinks fit to cite. And that Incapacity which would keep them from hurting the Government under pretence of serving it, and which is the thing that Allarms them most, can't properly be call'd a hardship on Dissenters, but a necessary Security to the Government. It inflicts nothing new, it only declares, that Men whose Principles are inconsistent with the Government, and whose Practices have ever been destructive of it (as I hope has been sufficiently prov'd) have hereby put themselves under an utter incapacity of Serving it. So that all the Incapacity that Bill would have brought upon them, was only a Publick and Legal Declaration of that Secret, and therefore very dangerous Incapacity they had brought upon themselves, so opposite to the welfare of the People, which they themselves have so often told us is the Supreme Law, and consequently all private Considerations ought to give it place. But besides this, tho' it is of such weight that no other Consideration can raise the Scale against it; the hardship on Particulars if there be any, is very inconsiderable. For as the Lords observe, it can " never be thought that those of the better sort Proceedings, p. 27. " will be guilty of the Offence," as better sort may respect either Principles or Circumstance; and for the rest they are not to be nam'd with the least appearance of Publick good.

But how kind soever we may be to them in all other Respects, the keeping them out of Place will be reckon'd an intolerable Persecution; as is plain from their Discourses upon the matter. Thus we may observe that as one considerable part of our Author's Book is taken up in an invidious Reflection upon Church-Men; so the greatest part of it is spent in giving us Examples of *Dissenters from the Establish'd Religion that have been employ'd in most Nations and Governments.* And when he has accounted for the Examples we have brought him, it will then be time enough to examine his.

Only by the way, there's a very good reason why the Jewish and Christian Churches, whom our Author calls Dissenters from Pagan Establishments, might with very great safety be employ'd by those Governments, and which I doubt will not hold as to Modern Dissenters. The Doctrine and Practice of both these Churches was strictly Loyal and Obedient, to the utmost rigour, nay even to a fault, in their opinions at least, who oppose the of late so much decry'd and ridicul'd Doctrine of Passive Obedience. I shall say nothing of the Opinion or Practice of the Christian Church in this Case, he may please

to consult that Apology of *Tertullian* which he himself cites for it.

I shall only take notice of so eminent an Instance of Non-Resistance, recorded in Sacred Story, that we need not search in other Histories for Examples and Precedents, and it is that of the Jewish Church under *Ahasuerus*: For when their utter destruction was contriv'd, and that only by the private pique and malice of a Subject, who most notoriously abus'd the Royal Authority, making it a cover to destroy the King's most faithful and useful Subjects; What do these *Jews* do? how do they defend themselves? alas! poor Men, only by Fasting and Prayer, and Prudential endeavours to get this unjust Decree revers'd. Not that they wanted either Hearts or Hands to Defend themselves, as evidently appears from the Vigorous defence they made as soon as they had Lawful Authority on their side, to the utter destruction of their Enemies.

Yet *Haman's* Order was an unjust Decree, and surreptitiously obtain'd; it had the Colour of Law, but was as much against the End and Design of the Law, as any thing can be. And no Argument that can be alledg'd for Resistance, but is as good in this as in any other Case whatever. The *Jews* had as much Power and as much Reason, as any People who have not the Supreme Authority on their Side can pretend to. But *Mordecai* it seems was an obedient Slave, he was not for Plots and Combinations of any sort, but as he had discover'd those of the King's Door-keepers, who sought to seize their Master, so he did not care for entring upon any Rebellion himself, lest he should not appear an Enemy to Treason in General and for Conscience sake, but only to some particular Treasons that were not to his own Advantage. But this only *en passant*, and since it was so many hundred Years ago, no doubt Men have learn'd more wit by this time, and so the Precedent is not like to do much mischief.

As for the *Non-jurors*, those terrible Men, especially if they stand to their Principles, and stick close to Non-Resistance, as formidable as our Author would represent them, they can do us no Mischief, unless by assisting the Dissenters, to whom they are become very serviceable!

For such is the Felicity of our Constitution that we can't be hurt if we are true to our selves. There is no security indeed without a Miracle, which we have no reason to expect, against the Pusillanimity and Treachery of weak and false

Bre-

Esther 3. 6. &c.

& 7. 4.

Esth. 4. 3. &c.

— 8. 11, 13.  
8c 9. 5.

Esth. 2. 22. &c.

Brethren. Our Enemies can't wrest our Religion and Liberties from us, but they may wheedle and trick us out of them, if we will be so foolish and supine as to suffer them to play the Old, and one would think, by this time so often detected, Game once more.

The cry was formerly down-right Popery, and this being the most plausible Topick with the Mob, even with *the Great Vulgar* as well as *the Small*, must not be quite laid aside. But it is a little out of Countenance since that noble Defence of the Truth against Popery, that was made by the Church of *England*, at a time when the Dissenters comply'd with, and serv'd the Papists, which sure they can't think our Memories are so short as to forget. A time when they accepted Offices and Preferments from a Popish Ministry, even without those *Legal Qualifications for Publick Offices*, which they now make no scruple to Conform to upon Occasion; and by no better Authority, than the Dispensing Power. And therefore the Charge of Popery must be a little qualify'd and disguis'd, and the People are now amus'd with the *Non-Jurants*, who are said to be "the most dangerous Enemies of the *English Nation*, and the only People that *can effectually ruin the Church*;" Men who have been always despis'd as an inconsiderable handful, and whom they would not think worth their Notice, were it not to make a Bug-bear of them.

For as it was the usual Maxim and Practice of those *harmless Dissenters* and *Occasional Conformists*, who brought their Sovereign to the Block, and with him destroy'd both Church and State, so is it of all their Successors; *to call every Man they do not Love, Papist, and under this senseless appellation to create them Troubles and Vexations.* And to go on with my Lord *Clarendon's* words, "according to the Ingenuity they always Practise, to advance any of their Pretences, they are very solicitous to have the People believe, that they who don't come into all their Opinions, intend to introduce Popery."

Tho' at that very time that the *Scots* carried all before them by their pretended Fears of Popery, Cardinal *Richieu* kept his Agent among them to *cherish and foment their unpeacable Inclinations.* And those true Protestant and Faithful Patriots, who falsely accus'd their Sovereign and his Ministers of intending to bring in a Foreign Power, writ a Letter to the *French King*, directed *au Roy*, as if he had been their Natural King, desiring

*Mod. a Vert. p. 14.*

*Ib. p. 22.*

*My Lord Clarendon's V. 1. B. 1. p. 70*

*Ib. p. 72.*

*Ib. p. 100.*

*Ib. p. 101.*

.b. p. 229.

desiring his *Protection and Assistance*. Even *Pryn* himself that great Enemy to Popery, (if you will believe him) was well enough content to receive 5000 *l.* from the *French Minister*, for the good Service he perform'd to the Dishonour of his King, and the Disservice of his Country. Nor did he and his Brethren make any Scruple to receive with great kindness those *Irish Papists* who came to prosecute the Earl of *Strafford*, and who after the Death of that Great Person, who restrain'd their Bloody Designs, became Principal Actors in the *Irish Rebellion*. So that in Effect, those Pious Dissenters who brought my Lord *Strafford* to the Block, with their Clamours against Popery, and who encourag'd his Enemies, were in reality the Occasion of that Barbarous Massacre, which they had afterwards the Impudence to charge upon the King. And which Mr. *Calamy* in his late Book would insinuate, even at this time of day, that that Prince had a hand in.

Abridgment of  
Baxter's Life.  
P. 44.

But what are those *Non-Jurors* they now think to fright us with? Their Number was very inconsiderable at first, and in Fifteen Years, many, if not the most of them no doubt are Dead; or have satisfied themselves, and imitated their Neighbours. Nor has there been any Encouragements or Hopes of Temporal Advantages, which is that which takes with the Bulk of Mankind, to encrease their Party. And sure you will not say they are strengthened by such as were prevail'd on by Necessity, Fear, Example, or any the like Weakness to comply with the late Government and to take Oaths to it, contrary to, or at least without the Approbation of their Consciences, and whose Repentance for this Sin has brought them over to the *Non-Jurors* Party?

Were this the Case, 'twould be a better Argument against the Oaths than against the Men; and a good Reason why we ought to beware how we burden the Consciences of a Nation by multiplying Oaths which can have no other Effect but the keeping out the Honestest and most Conscientious Men, the laying a Snare in the way of the Weak and Less Religious, and the making that Solemn Act of Religious Worship, and most necessary Bond of Civil Government, Contemptible. For the Bad to be sure will swallow any thing, the only way to be secure of them is to keep them out of Office; for no Oaths nor Obligations can defend us from their evil Designs, when by getting into Power they have found an Opportunity to do Mischief. And as the Lords very piously observe,  
" this

“ this Nation has been Groaning long under *False Swearing* See their Proceedings, p. 35. &c.  
 “ that has been in every Corner, *all Sides* have had their  
 “ Share of it, till GOD pours out another Spirit upon us.

But whatever the Number of the *Non-Jurors* may be, 'tis plain the Dissenters would have them continue *Non-Jurors*, so little do they desire the Unity and Loyalty of her Majesty's Subjects: Because as they would have it, the Government standing on the same Foundation that it did the last Fifteen Years, he who could not approve of King *William's* Government can't be a good Subject to her present Majesty.

Now in return to this some are pleas'd to tell them, that this Arguing proves nothing but their Disaffection to her Majesty; since those Conscientious Gentlemen who thought themselves oblig'd to keep the Oath they had taken to their once Lawful Sovereign, may very Reasonably, and according to their own Principles, upon his Decease, continue their Allegiance to that Heir of his whom they find Legally and Peaceably possess'd of Her Father's Throne. Nor are they by their Principles under any Obligation to start Difficulties and to set up Titles, which to make the utmost Concession, and supposing them ever so good, can be of no force unless they were Legally Claim'd and Prov'd. Nor can the most scrupulous Assertor of the Hereditary Line, start any Difficulties in our present Case, which would not have been greater in Queen *Mary's* and Queen *Elizabeth's*. For if one of these Queens was the Lineal Successor, to be sure the other was not, and yet we do not find that in either of their Reigns, there was any Dispute by Men of the strictest Principles about this Matter.

The Truth is, Dissenters and their Friends do all that they can to keep honest Conscientious Men out of her Majesty's Service, for they know very well that those who have a Reverence for Oaths, taking none but what they mean to keep, and a due Sense of Allegiance, believing themselves bound to preserve it at any hazards, will be stedfast Friends to Her Royal Person and Government, and Active in their Defence; for *Conscience sake*, as well as because they are well assur'd, She will require no more of them than the Laws enjoyn.

Those indeed *who break the Law praise the Wicked*, as the Wise Man tells us, whereas such as *keep the Law, contend with them*, and therefore ill Men hate the Good, whose Vertues reproach their Vices. But Generous Spirits have always had a great Regard to Fidelity even in their Enemies, and by noble Usage

La Use de Cassidore  
 de par St. Marthe,  
 L. I. C. 2. S. 4:

\* See p. 118.

Usage have won their Friendship. Thus *Theodoric* a Great and Wise Prince, not only accepts but invites and importunes the Service of those who had shewn the greatest Constancy and Faithfulness to *Odoacer* whom he conquer'd, and gives very good Reasons for it, as you may see in *Cassidore*; \* For he knew very well that such as have shewn the greatest Loyalty towards their *Old Masters*, are the fittest to be trusted by the *New*: Whereas Men of Unsteady Principles and Perfidious Practices, are true to no body any further than it serves their own turn. And tho' they may be U'd upon Occasion, they can never be Valued or Relied on, no not by those ill Men who corrupted them.

The Expressions that *Theodoric* makes use of on that Occasion, are so handsom and so becoming a Generous Prince, that I can't but transcribe them. " You remember (says he in his Epistle to the Senate when he made *Liberius* Prefect *Prætorium*) " the Patrician *Liberius*, who has recommended himself to us by opposing us. His Fidelity, his inviolable Tye " to the Service of *Odoacer* makes us judge him most worthy " of our Friendship, after he has done so many things against " us as our Enemy. We have not seen him reduc'd to the " vile Condition of a Deserter, throwing himself into our " Party. He feign'd no Discontent against his first Master " to procure him the Favour of a second. Firm and Constant " in his Duty, he waited the Decisive Judgment of GOD, " and never consented to acknowledge a New Prince till he " had lost the first.

" This is it which makes us think him worthy of this Re- " compence. The greatness of his Soul shone when his King " gave way and was discourag'd, no Terrors could abate, or " bend, or shake him. He saw and sustain'd without Emo- " tion the Fall of his Prince. A new Reign which made the " fiercest Nations tremble, was not capable of troubling him, " he expos'd himself to all Accidents. — " These are the " Proofs of the Fidelity of this Great Man, who became the " Subject of our Empire with much Regret, and his Party " being reduc'd, he chang'd indeed his Sentiments towards, " us, but without being vanquished.

And as for Persecution, which Dissenters seem so much afraid of; Persecution which tho' it might be Courted in the Nonage of the Church, Christians are not so fond of, now they are come to Years of Discretion, and have been new

Model'd



Model'd by the *exacter Discipline of Dissenting Congregations*. There are a sort of unlucky People who have started a Query, whether the forcing Men either to quit their Livelihoods and send their Families a starving, which most People now a-days believe to be the Case, when they have nothing but GOD's Providence to Trust to, and He has not thought fit to put a few Effects in their hands for their Security. Whether, as I said, the forcing them to this, or else to swallow Oaths that were notoriously known to be contrary to their avow'd Principles, were not a Grievous Persecution, a Snare to ruin Souls, and a destroying that awful Veneration that is due to Oaths? Not that one pretends to excuse that Man, who will upon any Account whatsoever, even Loss of Livelihood or Life it self, Violate his Conscience. But sure they are not free from Guilt who lay the Stumbling Block in his way, and violently Tempt him to it. *Offences we know must needs come, but Woe to that Man by whom the Offence cometh!*

But letting this pass, — What have *Non-Jurors* to do with the Bill about Conformity? Such as remain *Non-Jurors* have no Power to hurt our tender Dissenter, nor do they stand in his way Preferment. And those who have taken the Oaths to her Majesty, ought no longer to be blasted with that Name. To be sure, since they were so conscientious as to suffer rather than take an Oath, they judg'd Unlawful, now that they have sworn to Her Majesty they will never break their Oaths. But some hard Word must be invented and thrown upon some-body, and this of *Non-Juror* is fittest to raise the Mobb.

The *Innuendo* (if one may be so bold as to unveil it) is, that Men in Office and Power, are of the same Principles of the Present *Non-Jurors*, if there are any such, and minister to some Design, which we are pleas'd to fantasie for them; tho' the poor Men have neither Power to accomplish, nor if we will believe them, the Will to contrive any. But that *Innuendo* is a Calumny as ridiculous and unreasonable, as it is groundless and without any manner of Proof, scarce any Colour, but that which the good Fore-heads of the Inventors give it. Because whatever the Pretended Reasons of Revolutions may be, the true Reason is always the Change of hands; that Party which was neglected endeavouring to get into the Saddle. An Alteration therefore is never like to be attempted by Men who are possess'd of those Advantages which all contend for. No, 'tis the People out of Office, and who labour

bour with all their Industry to be in, alarming all the Nation, when they are in danger of being made *Incapable of serving their Queen and Country*, (themselves they mean) these are the Men from whom a Change is to be fear'd.

*Moderation a Virtue. P. 4.*

These are they who make Commotions and Revolutions under the specious Name of Publick Good; but indeed for nothing else but Private Interest. So we gather from their Actions; for as for their *affections to Her Majesty's Government*, we have nothing to say to them, we pretend not to know their hearts; only we heartily pray that she may never have Occasion to try their Affections, or stand in need of them.

Could I see one of these busy Patriots spend himself and his Fortune in the Service of his Country, without seeking a Present Reward: Or if you will, in the more modish Dialect, *accepting* it when offer'd, or to raise the Scene when *forc'd* on him; that is, after all his Intriguing and Caballing to conjure up this *force*, I should then pay him the Reverence due to a Real Patriot and Hero. The Thankful World I know is pleas'd to say, why should a Brave Man be a Loser by a Nation? Why should they be so Ungrateful as not to Acknowledge his Services? But in my poor Opinion, Great Actions sufficiently proclaim themselves, and shine the more, the less they are attended with fulsom Panegyricks. And when a Man's own Private Ends and Advantages, are the visible and undeniable Consequences of his Actions, what Beauty and Glory can they Pretend? The Man has his Reward, such as it is, tis what he sought, why should he pretend to more? and the Hero dwindles into a little Mercenary! The *Romans* who were Men of as much bravery, and as hearty Lovers of their Country as any the World ever produc'd, esteem'd a Good and Great Action its own Reward. And having little Prospect of a Future Remembrance, were abundantly satisfied in the Glory of well-doing; and when our mighty Patriots are arriv'd at this meer Heathen Perfection, I shall then believe them truly in the Interest of their Country, till then they must excuse me.

But what can be more ridiculous than to see Men setting up for the *Roman Love of Liberty* without any thing of the *Roman Virtue*! To see a bloated luxurious *Epicure* whose business is to gather Wealth rapaciously, that he may spend it on his Vices, indulging himself in all the Softness and Debaucheries of a Licentious Age. Who thinks there is no Felicity but in Riches, and no Honour but in making a Figure, as they call

call it, in having a great Equipage and Buffle about him! To see these set up for Patriots who have nothing of the Temper of the Truly Noble Patriots to pretend to! none of those great Qualities and that Publick Spiritedness which was founded on Simplicity of Manners, a Love and Veneration of Honest and Magnanimous Poverty, and a Generous Contempt of Riches, and all that they can purchase, is a Contradiction! They may be such Patriots indeed, as *Cataline* was, and for the same Reason, they may desire to put all in a Flame, that they may catch something to support their Luxuries.

To see a Man who pays no body, but feeds upon the sweat and tears of his poor Creditors, declare for Property! A Man who would have every one conform to his Magisterial Dictates, cabal for Liberty! He who violates the dearest Interests of his Neighbour, exclaim against Arbitrary Power! He who wrongs another's Honour, and robs him of what he values most, pretend to stickle for the Birthright and Privileges of his Country-Men! A Rake who transgresses all the Laws, become a Zealous Advocate in their Defence! A Knight of the Toast, a Champion for the Reformation against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*! To hear a *Socinian* argue for Articles of Faith, and a *Deist* for the Protestant Religion! Certainly *Demetrius* never met with so Comical a Scene as this! It would indeed be extremely Diverting, were the Jest receiv'd as it ought to be, and did not the Credit that is given to this Pageant, by too many, render it of dangerous Consequence to their Country.

If we consider the *Roman* Publick Spiritedness, and from whence they deriv'd the Fame and Grandure of their Empire, we shall find their Principles and Practices to be very different from those of our Modern Patriots. They were Famous for their Impartial Justice, their good Faith, their Candor, their Gentleman-like Usage, even of their very Enemies. Their Generous Contempt of Death and Dangers, and of what is more grievous to a Brave Mind, all the Calamities of this wretched Life. Their Vertue was so awful that ill Men durst not offer to Bribe it, and if any thing could provoke them beyond their Temper, it was the supposing them capable of such a meanness.

With us the highest Prudence is to know how to make a Fortune, among them the greatest Wisdom and Bravery consisted in despising one. They Gloried in spending their Money

and even their Lives bountifully, not in preserving these poorly and obtaining the other sordidly, according to Modern Practice. Nothing made a Man Reputable in their opinion, but Good Sense, Courage and Conduct, Just and Vertuous Actions; We mind not what a Man *is*, but what he *has*; *the poor upright Man is laugh'd to scorn, whilst the Rich tho' ever so foolish is had in admiration.* We acknowledge no Merit but a Good Estate, and all the Respect is given to Money and its Appendages! Indeed so prodigious is this Vile Idolatry that is paid to Wealth, that Mens Reasons are reckon'd good or bad in proportion to their Estates; and the Creatures themselves believe they are Wiser than their Neighbours, because they are Richer. A Vertuous Poverty, and that Temperance and Modesty which attends it, was accounted Honourable by the High-Spirited *Romans*, not *nasty* as a certain Modern Patriot terms it. Nothing was more valuable among them, or had in greater Veneration, than a noble bearing up against the Insults of Adversity, and that true Greatness of Mind, which keeps a Man from sustaining it Poorly, or getting rid of it Dishonourably. But with our worthy Patriots this is Ignorance of the World, 'tis Pride, 'tis Insolence, and what not. All their endeavours are to depress the Generous Mind, and they have their Reasons; for he who is stanch in his Integrity, who Despises Money as much as they Adore it, will never submit to be their Understrapper, nor come in to their Vile Designs.

An Emulation, but no Envy of worthy Actions, an Esteem of Vertuous Poverty and a Contempt of Wealth, were the Foundation of the *Roman* Greatness, and are so of all Moral Vertues. For he who has many wants, is liable to many Temptations, he who seeks his Pleasures out of himself, is not his own Master. He who is a Slave to his Appetites, must never pretend to stand up for his own and his Fellow Citizens Liberties. He is no longer just than whilst he finds no opportunity or Temptations to be unjust, and what claim has he to Prudence who is not wise for himself in his Greatest Interests?

But when a Man can leave his Plough, which is his All, to defend his Country, and after a Glorious Victory, without pretending to any advantages, quietly go home again to boil his Turneps; when he disdains a Royal Bribe, nay even a Victory, when obtain'd by unhandsome ways; when he Sacrifices his Life, and what is dearer to him, his Reputation for the  
Com-

Common Welfare, when he freely gives himself up to torture rather than break his Faith, or advise his Country to its prejudice; as *Cincinnatus*, *Curius Dentatus*, *Fabricius*, *Decius*, *Fabius*, *Regulus*, and other *Roman* Heroes did, he gives undeniable Demonstration of his Love to the Publick. But for our little Pretenders, who do, or seem to do, some *little* matter for the Publick, but who take all imaginable care to do *very much* for themselves, no matter how much to their Country's Prejudice, for these to set up for Patriots, is Ridiculous beyond expression!

The Noble *Roman* Families acquir'd their Authority and Distinction by their own and their Ancestors Vertues, not by the Wealth they left them. When this became a Distinction and the Object of their pursuits, the Common-wealth declin'd, the Empire fell among Tyrants, being sold by the greedy Soldiers to him who would Bid most. And having lost their Vertue, their very Name was at last extinguish'd by the Barbarous Nations, who so long as they kept themselves Poor and *Moderate*, either through Choice or Necessity, were Masters of the World, but lost their Empire with their *Moderation*, or their Contempt of Wealth and all its purchases.

And if we make a Step into *Greece*, what resemblance shall we find between the Modern Patriots and the *Phocians*, the *Aristides*, the *Themistocles*, and *Pericles* of that Country? The Poverty of the Two first was as remarkable as it is Glorious, and their opposition to the Popular Demagogues. Notwithstanding all their Great Employments they left no overgrown Estates to their Children, nor so much as enough to Bury them. The Kings Bribe could not fasten on him who was found with his homely Spouse dressing his own Dinner. Neither could a concern for his Children and Family corrupt him, if they had Vertue he knew it was an ample Patrimony; if they had none, he lov'd his Country too well to leave ill Men a Power to hurt it. *Themistocles* tho' he had his Faults, had yet a noble Disdain of Wealth, leaving Money to those who were not *Themistocles*. 'Tis like you'll say that *Pericles*'s Fingers were not quite so clean, but this is only one Instance among many, and it must be allow'd that

*In every Clime there's muddy Air,  
And Men who to their Mammon dare  
Sacrifice Conscience, when they Interfere.*

He must be an *Aristides* indeed, or one whom I shall not presume to name, but leave it to Posterity to do him Justice, who can pass thro' a Treasury without a Spot.

I do not affirm that the Dissenters and their Patrons are the only Men who want the Vertues of a Patriot; or that all the Friends of the Church are Saints and Heroes, would to GOD they were! No, it has always been a Jest to me, to see Men who allow themselves in the breach of some of GOD's Commands, make a scruple of breaking any: to see Men of Loose and Atheistical Principles or Unchristian Lives, set up for great Patrons of Religion, whether in Church or Conventicle. However there's good Reason why such as these shew a Zeal for the Establishment; for tho' it be not out of a Religious Principle it may be out of a Political. Establishments are a Defence against Innovations and Confusions, which not only deprive Men of the outward Profession and Form of Religion, but which sticks more with the most, entrench on Civil Rights and Properties. So that on this account a Man of Estate may be against Change and Scambling. Whereas the Necessitous are always for Changes and Revolutions, because they have nothing to lose, and may probably get by't, according as they can set forth their Officiousness, and dress up their Zeal to the best Advantage.

It is therefore a mischievous weakness and fatal mistake in Men of Estates, to be drawn into Parties against the Establishment. The Laws are their best securities, whilst these are Reverenc'd and Supported, those are safe. But no body can answer for the Event when Constitutions are destroy'd; to be sure Men of the largest Fortunes are like to be the Greatest Sufferers.

To come to a Conclusion: Would the Dissenters have us forget the Great Rebellion and all the dismal Consequences of it, many of which affect us to this very day? let them abjure those Principles from whence it proceeded, acknowledge a Conviction of their Falsehood, their pernicious Nature and Evil Effects. Would they have us forget that unprecedented Murder of Her Majesty's Royal Grand-Father, King *Charles I.* Whose Name will always be Dear to *English-Men*, and his Memory truly Glorious in spite of all that little Libellers can say to the contrary; whose arrows, even their bitter words, will only fall on their own Heads? Would they wipe away this reproach to the *English* Nation? Let them joy'n

in a true humiliation, for that great Calamity, and those Sins which brought it on us, instead of wiping their Mouths and saying they have done no Wickedness, or as some have the Confidence to give out, a Meritorious Action. Let them no longer keep up their detestable Calves-head Clubs, where as much as they can, they repeat that Traiterous and Inhumane Action of their Fore-fathers, and wash their hands a-new in Royal Blood. If they are desirous of Peace and unity, let them remember how very many authentick Records there are against themselves, and spare their little spiteful Reflections against the Church; and instead of making use of all their Wit and Malice to oppose her, express their Real Sorrow that they can't entirely agree with her, and make it appear that it is Conscience only that keeps them at a distance. Conscience which never shews it self in railing and reviling, but in Meekness and Charity towards all Men, more especially towards Superiors and Governours. Would they have us acquit them of ill Designs, and allow them to be *harmless Conscientious Dissenters*? let 'em lay aside their Cabals and Parties, and Brags of their Numbers, which can have no other meaning but to Bully the Government; their Scandalous Stories, their Groundless Surmises, their aggravations and improvements of every little mistake of those they do not like; and out-facing such matters of Fact as they have been guilty of, tho' bright as the Sun. Would they have us give credit to their professions of being well affected to the Queen's Majesty and the Establish'd Church? Let their words and Actions be all of a piece; or rather, let us have fewer good Words and more good Deeds. For we can't but remember that it has been their Custom to Harrangue their Princes with all the Terms of Duty and Respect, at the same time that their Actions insulted Majesty; Praising their Vertues whilst they were Plotting to destroy their Authority; " enlarging as *Pym* did, in some specious commendations of " the Nature and Goodness of the King, that he might wound " him with less suspicion. And if our Author has not such an " *Innuendo* as this, p. 25. I know not what to make of it.

And when they have given us the above mention'd Proofs of their Principles, Temper, Loyalty and good Affections, and are content that Her Majesty shall dispose of her Offices and Preferments as she thinks fit, which is her undoubted Right; then, if their *Queen and Country* think them as fit for their service as other Men, in GOD's Name let them have the Employment they so much desire.

Tho'

Lond. Clarendon's  
Hist. Vol. 1.

lib. B. 3 p. 137.

Mod. a Ver. p. 25.

Tho' it may be observ'd, that such Men as are most forward in thrusting themselves into Office, are commonly the most unfit to bear any. They give a shrewd suspicion that they mean to serve themselves more than the Publick. Offices, when they are discharg'd as they ought, being rather Encumbrances than Advantages, such as a Man who loves his Ease and Quiet, or who is duly sensible of Humane Infirmities, would not contend for; and such as a good Man accepts when fairly call'd to them, for no other reason but that he may have more opportunities of doing Good.

In one sense indeed, and at the rate which one of them makes use of Scripture Examples, *they* are the ablest Men, and make the most of Preferment. "When *Esther* was advanc'd, says *Greenhil*, She would not lose her opportunity; She went in to the King altho' *contrary* to Law. She will have the Liberty of the People; and *Haman's head off*, and venture her Life to accomplish it. *If I perish, I perish.* *Josiah*, *Hekiah* took their opportunities, and made a *through Reformation* in *Judah*. You know what great things *Elijah* did, *Inspiciente, & Reluctante Rege.*

The Church of *England* Men it seems are the only easie Folks who let Opportunities slip them. Who are sanguine enough to depend upon the excellency of their *Doctrine* and the Providence of *G O D*, without taking Legal Advantages, or providing the fairest, the most Lawful and necessary Securities! They do not care it seems to push their Fortune, when it is a Question whether they shall carry it. It is but late that their Eyes are open'd, to see their *danger* and *necessity*; and when they begin to look about them, the not seeing their danger before, is a very good reason why they are mistaken in supposing any danger now, or making Provision against it!

It must be confess'd that if Dissenters and Men of their Faction, have an entire Confidence and Interest in each other; Acting always in Conceit, and making their Cause the Centre to which all their Motions tend, and where all their Endeavours meet: If they have so much Command of themselves as that their very Passions, their Humour and Manners, their Vertues and their Vices contribute towards it: If their Friendships and their Favours, their Private Addresses as well as their Publick Endeavours only look this way; If no time is lost, no opportunity slipt, but every Common Discourse, every Visit, or Visiting-day, serves to pump out some Intelligence from their unde-



undefigning and less wary Neighbour : If Religion and Honor, and all the Rights of Civil Society, must strike Sail to this Supreme End ; and those who would not do an evil or unhandfome thing on any other Account, stick at nothing to promote the Cause ; having or at least seeming to have, their Very Understandings so perverted, as to esteem nothing Insincere, nothing Amifs, that can further this Blessed End ; If they are so industrious and indefatigable, that whenever there appears in the World a Young Person of Quality, or any Meaner Body, whose Rank, Estate, Ingenuity, or other Talents are like to make him Considerable, or any way serviceable tho' in the lowest Degree, they immediately seize him, accommodating themselves to his Temper, or making themselves necessary to his Designs, omitting no Cringings, no Fawning, to get an Interest in some ; Flattering their Vanity, and even Serving, or at best Conniving at, their Vices ; reducing others to Straits to create a Dependance, managing both their Good and Ill Offices to the best Advantage to make a Tool ; Assigning every Man as they find him fit for their Turn, his proper Station ; placing even the most inconsiderable Tatler, and Spreader of News and false Reports, in his Post, which he faithfully pursues ; every Infamous Libeller and Lamponer having his appointed Task : If they have Ways and Artifices to make even those who abhor their End, contribute towards it ; and are furnish'd with effectual Methods to discourage and break the neck of any honest and generous Attempt, that suits not with their Designs ; loading it with *secret Purposes*, of I know not what, or such as never entred into any Man's Thoughts but their own ; drawing Inferences which none but themselves can make ; and seeing *Consequences and Effects* which they only can Discern, or rather pretend to Discern ; and by a Disingenuity peculiar to themselves, or of which they are at least, the great Originals, using Arguments they know to be of no Force, and offering Colours and Reasons they themselves give no Credit to, but which are plausible and pass in a Crowd, serving to amuse and impose upon the Superficial, who are the greatest Number, how should they fail of Profelytes ?

Not but that they may meet with *some* so *Inflexibly* and *Un-fashionably* Honest, as not to be wrought upon by their Address and Cajolery : So that when they thrust themselves into such a Man's Affairs, endeavouring to draw all his Actions under their Direction and Government, and are as Importune with

their Pretended Kindness, as they are with their continual Disputes and Solicitations: When Unask'd, and even against his Will, they obtrude their seeming Favours, to the end they may have a hank upon him; taking care to have their Emissaries proclaim their Goodness every where, with Shews of great Affection and Concern, (tho' it may be 'tis attended with real Circumstances of Contempt) so that if he will not fall into their Measures, tho' ever so much against his Judgment, and contrary to his Integrity, much more if he Presumes to Oppose them, tho' with the clearest Conscience and best Design, they may reproach him loudly with Ingratitude: Yet notwithstanding all this, he is not to be Brib'd by their Good Offices, nor frighted by their Bad, but steadily and Courageously Does what he Ought to Do. And since the supposing a Man capable of Corruption, when he never gave them any ground for so foul a Thought, but much to the contrary, is the most Outragious Affront, and the highest Provocation that can be offer'd to a Generous Mind; they even force him to exert himself in Vindication of his Honour, and to give them full Conviction, that he neither *is*, nor *can be*, the Villain they would suppose, or make him. 'Tis true, there are not many such Men as this, so that their Methods take with the Generality. Few of those whom they think can be any way serviceable to their Ends, but are some way or other gain'd by them. No wonder then, if with all this Union, all this Cunning, all this Pains, these Arts of *all sorts*, they are a very formidable Party, whatever their Numbers may be; and being Constant and Pertinacious in their Resolutions, when Reason will not gain their Point, they carry it by Firmness.

Especially, if on the other Side, the Friends of the Church will be at no pains, run no Hazards; if they depend upon the Truth of her *Doctrine*, and the Justness and Fairness of their own Aims, imagining Men will be so Wise and so Good as to discern their True Interest from their Apparent, and to Pursue it: If they suppose, that the *Protection* and Countenance of a truly *Pious* Queen, will secure the Establishment in the Days of her Successors as well as in her own, although they neglect to take the Opportunity and to make the necessary Provisions; That there will not be found in all Ages a *Set of Men*, crafty enough to evade *the Good Laws*, and sometimes strong enough to break thro' them; And that *Parliaments* however well *Affected* to *Church and State*, have their Periods and Revolutions as well

well as other things, so that unless their Good Affections, produce some Good Fruits, all their Thoughts may perish; If every Man has his peculiar Scheme and Method; If all are Leaders and none are Followers; If Undertakings are enter'd upon at all Adventures, when no previous Steps have been made, nor Measures Concerted; e're the Business has been digested and ripen'd, or Advice taken to Polish or Support it; If Personal Piques and Respects, Transport and Byass them, and, as in the former days, " each Man is more *intent* on the Ruin of " his Adversary, and satisfying his private Malice, than on " advancing *the Service of the Publick*, and by the narrowness " of his Understanding, and Extent of his Passions, contract- " ing all his other Affections, either to his *Ambition, his Love* " *of Money* or his Revenge; If they are forwarder in shewing their own Talents, and in obtaining their Own Private Ends, than in pursuing the Common Good and supporting the Establishment; every Man taking his own Particular Way; not according to Reason, (for then they would be Unanimous,) but according to his own Humor, and Design; If instead of making the best Use of every Mans Parts and Industry, they Envy and Suppress a true Genius, when they ought to support and employ him; Chusing rather to make Use of such little Tools, mere Machines that move only by their Breath, or such superficial Spirits as they can manage, and who will not eclipse the Managers Glory: In a Word, if they lose all Opportunities either by Negligence or Over-doing; if thro' want of Temper they raise Objections, and by Neglect of Measures are over-reach'd by those who know how to take and pursue them; if by making too much hast they run themselves out of Breath; losing the Friendship and Assistance of such as heartily joyn in their *End*, but can't approve their Manner: If they make no Application, and are so afraid of the very Appearance of the Servile Compliance they observe in other Men, that they can hardly be persuaded to shew even a Common Civility, to Men of Interest and Power, whilst the other Party make all the Courtship and Cringings imaginable, Promising and Undertaking any thing to gain their Favour; Are not the Great Men in a manner forc'd into an Interest, which its like they may be as little fond of, as Good Men are willing they should espouse it? But Business must be done, Great Men will seek a Support where they may easily have it; and it is not to be suppos'd that they will condescend to Court others when they themselves

See my Lord Cia  
rend. V. I. B. II  
P. 112.

themselves are in Power, and when it may be the Approaches they make are not receiv'd as they ought to be; If this is the way of the Friends of Truth and Justice, if a Just and Honourable Cause is no better serv'd than this comes to, without being a Prophet one may predict the Event; tho' we Pray and Hope, and Endeavour as far as our Power will reach, that we may be mistaken. For it must be confess'd that tho' the Dissenters, like *the Children of this World*, are not so wise as the Church-Men, who we hope are *the Children of Light*, in the choice of their End, yet they are much *miser in their Generation*, that is, in the choice of those Means and Methods they take to obtain it, and in the vigorous pursuit of them.

And since Factions and Divisions in a State can never be for the Publick Good, but only serve the Interest of a few, and those the worst of Men, as making an ill use of their Endowments, Since Private Animosities and Interests must be buried in the Grave, whither we are all hastning, but the mischiefs they occasion will out-live us: since if Men can't be pleas'd with such Establishments as, to say nothing of the Wisdom of their Authors, have been meliorated with Time, and had the approbation of Ages; 'tis not like they should be pleas'd with the Novel Inventions of Innovators; Let all such as really Love their Country and seek its Peace, Unanimously and Vigorously join in securing the Establishment. And if they are sincere and Earnest in this good Design, they will immediately apply themselves to such Methods as may compass it, and neither be frighted nor trick'd into such ways as have always been found ineffectual.

It is sufficiently evident, one would think beyond dispute, that it is Faction, not Conscience that keeps up our Divisions, and therefore all our Condescensions, all our Compliances will never bring Dissenters over to the Established Church, all that they mean by closing the Breaches, being only a persuading us to fall into such Measures as may give them opportunity to force us to submit to *them*. The preventing this, is the hardship they complain of, and whatever Grace and Favours were allow'd them, unless this were one, they would still complain of being Persecuted; for this, we find has always been their Practice, and continues to be so from Queen *Elizabeth* to Queen *Anne*.

Nor will the joining them with the Friends of the Constitution in the Administration, appease *them* or secure *that*. Such *Violations*, as my Lord *Clarendon* most judiciously observes, *producing often the greatest Confusions*. "For when more and greater Men  
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“ are call'd together than can be United in Affections and Interests, thro' the necessary Differences which arise from thence, they quickly come to know each other so well, as they rather break into several Divisions, than Join in any one Publick Interest, and from thence have always risen the most dangerous Factions, which have threatned and ruin'd the Peace of Nations.

And since by the continual Struggle of contending Parties, the Government is render'd uneasy and precarious, the Prince whose true Grandeur consists in the Prosperity and Dutiful Affections of his People, by being made uneasy on his Throne, finds himself unable to attend the Publick Good as a Wise and Vertuous Prince desires, and is forc'd to apply himself only to provide for his own Security. The People are alarm'd and harass'd, the Benefit of Society is in a great measure lost, it being better to Live alone, than to be always in fear, always in Arms and upon the Guard; and much more easy to have only wild Beasts to contend with, than to be ever at variance with those of the same Nature, nay it may be with our nearest Relations. For whatever some may pretend, as if the Liberties of the *English* Nation were kept up by these Contentions, a Position as false in Practice as it is Ridiculous in Theory, none being gainers by Divisions and Parties, but a few busie Men who love to fish in troubled Waters; unless there be a mutual Confidence between Prince and People, and an Harmony among all the Members of the Constitution, so that the one need not be put upon Acts of Power to defend Prerogative, nor the other upon Sedition to contend for Liberty, or Artifices to struggle for Privileges, all will in a little time become a prey to Factious and Ambitious Men.

What remains then, but that according to the Practice of all Nations Ancient and Modern, and particularly of our good Neighbours and Allies the *Dutch*, who are too good Protestants to be Persecutors, and too Zealous Assertors of Liberty to entrench on the Birth-rights of the People, we secure the Government in the hands of such as Constantly and in their Judgments, and not *Occasionally* and for private Interest, Comply with and approve it? Fear and a ticklish tenure, such as Usurpation stands upon, and which GOD be thank'd is not at *present* our Case, may incline a Ministry to admit another Party to share the Government, that so they may oblige them. But for those to part with their advantages who have a Lawful and Vertuous Prince,

Prince, the Constitution, the greatest number, as well as the most powerful and wealthy on their side; who have both all the Right and all the opportunities they can wish, to secure to themselves and their Posterity an excellent Establishment, for these to divide their advantages, and admit their known Enemies into places of Credit and Trust, is a piece of self-denial and Generosity that Histories don't furnish us with! And since we must not Question the Prudence and Fore-sight of our Superiours, we may pray however, if this be the Case, that they may not suffer for their Generosity and Good-nature.

Especially since they admit a Party, who when they get uppermost, either by their own Craft or the negligence of their Neighbours, never fail to take all the Precautions that Cunning can Invent, and Industry pursue, to keep the other out. Who have been found by experience, always ready to improve those advantages, to the destruction of the Constitution, which we now neglect to use for its Preservation. And since the Church-Men are the Body of the Nation, all other Divisions being but Parties, and inconsiderable ones too, however they may Muster and boast of their Strength upon *Occasion*, to fright their Governours when they want Reason to Convince, or Power to compel them; since it is so much for Her Majesty's Service and Honour, that all Contentions should cease, and that as the Reformation was completed in the Reign of Her Glorious Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, so Unity both in Church and State may be the Blessing that Posterity shall derive from the more Glorious Reign of Queen *Anne*.

Since we cannot express our due Sense of Her Majesty's truly Maternal Affection and Care of Her People, and unwearied application to do them good; but by being as unwearied and earnest in our Returns of Duty and Zeal for her Interest, which is indeed our own; this being the only Laudable Contention between Prince and People. Nor can we better shew this Zeal than by putting a final Period, if possible, to this hitherto endless struggle of Faction and Party; Which, by all that appears, can only be done by extinguishing all their Hopes of Frighting or Cajoling the Government to admit them into the Administration,

As for the honest and well-meaning Dissenters, for I will suppose there are such as have no evil Intentions, that separate in the simplicity of their hearts, let us entreat them and conjure them,

them, as they will answer it to GOD and their Country, and even to their own Souls, to be no longer the Tools of Crafty and Factious Men, whose Business is only themselves, whatever they may pretend for Religion and Liberty. Let them remember how much they have formerly been impos'd upon by that Imputation of Popery, with which the Church of *England* was so Confidently, and yet as experience has shewn, so groundlessly charg'd. And let them reflect that all the other Objections against Her may be as weak as that. And for the heads of the Party, the busie and leading Men, we do not expect to convince, much less Convert them. Only they may please to take notice, that they have not put out our eyes, we see thro' their pretences, and are able to detect their Fallacies, how closely and cunningly soever they carry them.

Thus have I done with my Author, and I hope, with all the Arguments have been offer'd for his Cause; for it was not my design to examine him only, perhaps that had not been worth ones while. How I have succeeded, the Reader must Judge; but I am sensible this Discourse will please no Party, it was not indeed calculated for any: My design was to speak Truth impartially, and I hope I have done it, and this is all I aim'd at. For those who have a good Cause, too often spoil it by mingling their private Passions with the Interest of Truth and Justice, endeavouring to Justify Right or Wrong all the Measures and Actions of those who are of their Side.

'Tis allow'd that Men always propose themselves, and will not Act, at least not vigorously, but where they think to find their own Account. Nor ought it be otherwise, for he is the best Man who most resolutely and constantly pursues his own *true Interest*. But then, that I may be rightly Understood, a Petty Temporal Advantage, and all Temporal Advantages are but *Petty*; a Place, a Title, an Estate, or Power to Act his Passions, are not a Man's *true Interest*. Nor does he understand it who proposes to himself any other Aim, than the Conscience of doing Nobly at Present, and the Reward of it Hereafter.

And therefore the Man of Conscience and Probity is the Best States-man, the truest Patriot. He dares not betray his Country be the Bribe ever so Great, because he should *lose by it*. He dares not abuse his Sovereigns Power, nor oppress his Fellow-Subjects, because this were not for his *own Advantage*. He is vigorous in suppressing Vice, and in encouraging true Religion and Vertue, because in this he finds his *own Account*.

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He has *no need* of ill Men to carry on ill Designs, for he has no such Designs, and therefore he does not Countenance them.

It may be he is not so skilful in the Arts of Insinuation, in the making and managing a Party, as other Men are; nor know I whether to term this his Vice or his Vertue. For he thinks Reasonable Creatures ought to discern their own Real Good and pursue it; to Love Truth and Justice for their own sake, and not need to be wheedled and trick'd into their Duty; or won by Arts that are too Mean for a Man of Honor and Spirit to condescend to. He may therefore for want of this versatile Quality, lose his Point sometimes, but however he *ought* to carry it. And in spite of those weak and injudicious Censurers, who judge of Actions by Events, and reckon a Man Wise for no better Reason than because he happens to be Successful; Our Christian States-man is truly Great and Happy, in the Honorableness of his Good and Generous Designs, in the Wisdom of his Methods, and the Fidelity and Integrity of his Administration, whatever the Success may be.

F I N I S.

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