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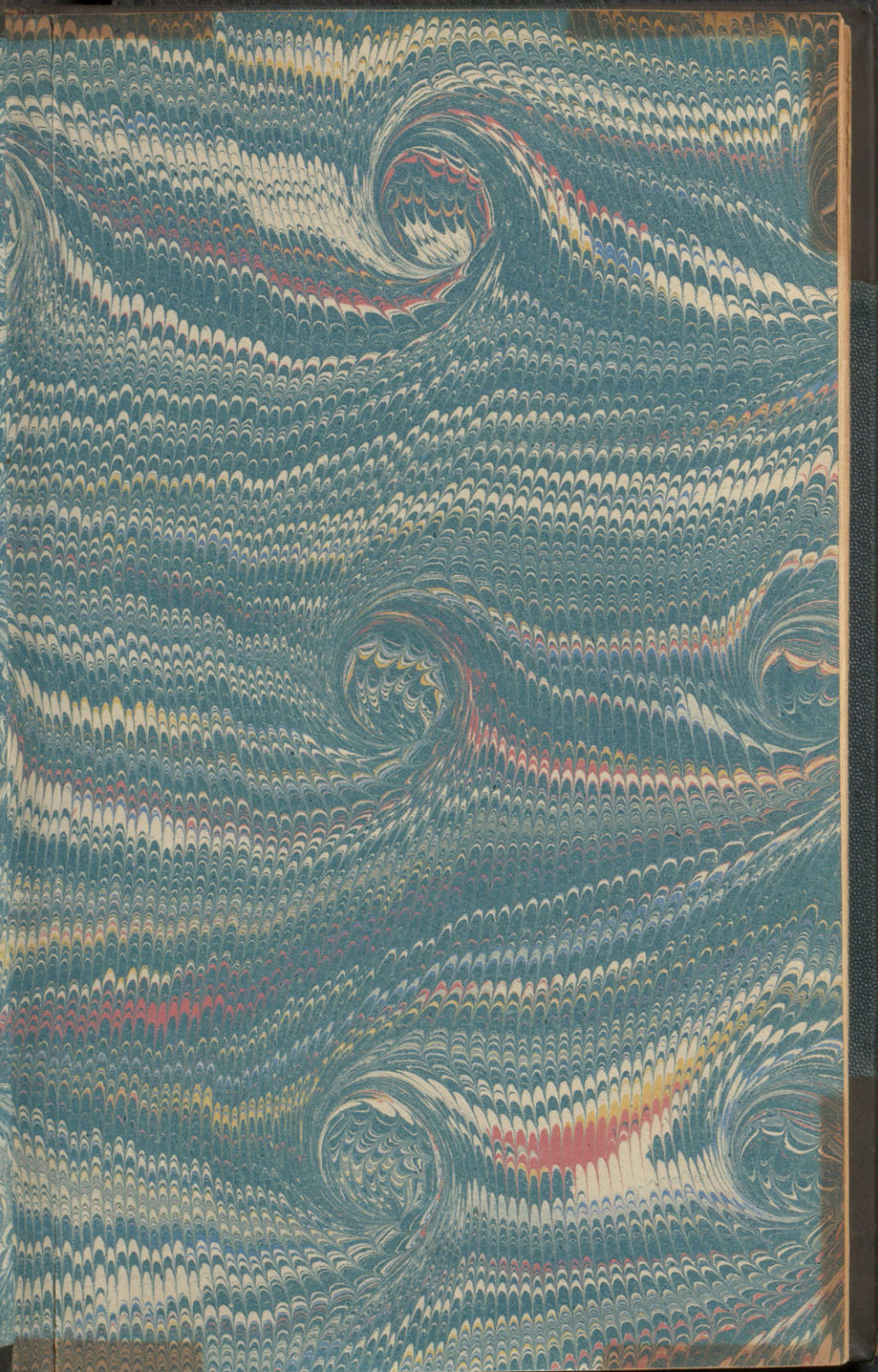


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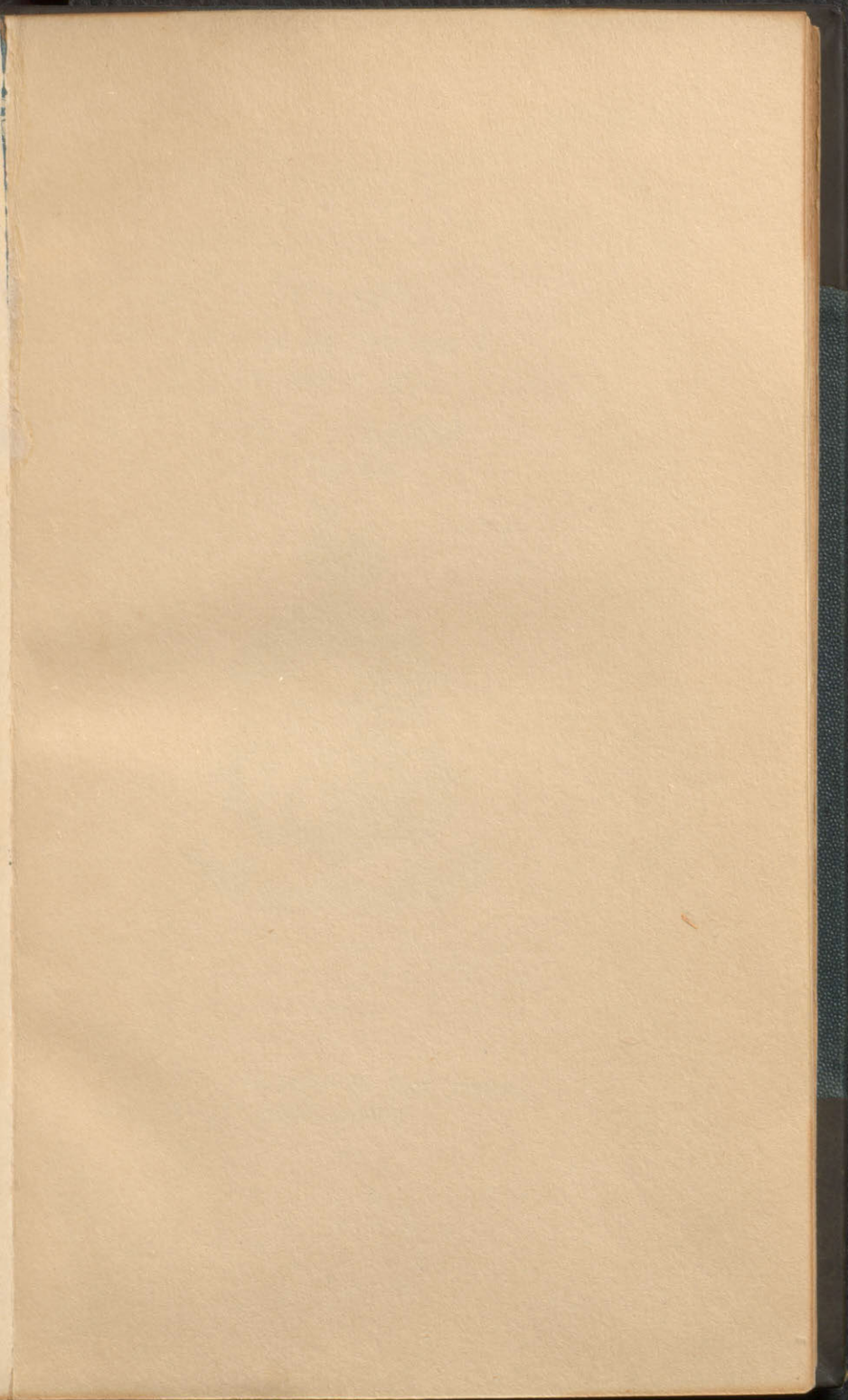
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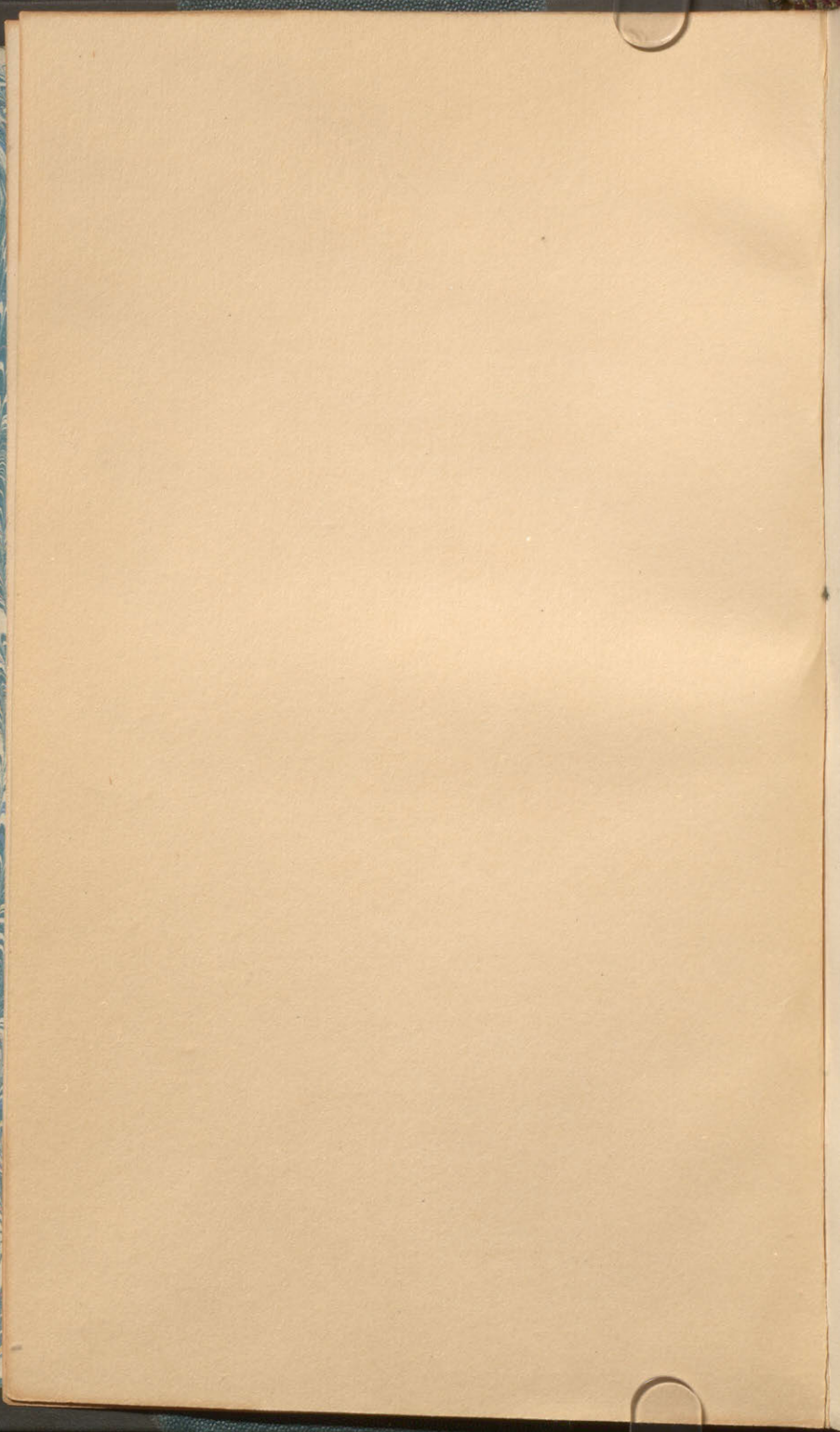
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Historical Tracts

1561-1800

COLLECTED AND ANNOTATED BY

STUART J. REID

Volume CCCLXXV.


1731 (4)



THE GIFT OF MRS PETER REDPATH TO THE REDPATH
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M C M I



THE basis of the present collection of Historical Tracts was a group of State pamphlets in forty volumes, gathered by Sir John Bramston, M.P. (1611-1700), Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons in the early years of Charles II.'s reign. The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston was printed by the Camden Society in 1845. The collection as it now stands is rich in Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts. It represents vividly the conflict of opinion at the Restoration and at the Revolution of 1688. The military conflicts, political intrigues, and theological controversies which marked the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne are thrown into relief by many rare and forgotten brochures. The civil and religious struggles for liberty and toleration which took place in the Georgian Era are reflected as in a mirror by many curious manifestoes. The whole collection illustrates the growth of opinion in matters religious, political, literary, and social, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the dawn of the nineteenth century.

S. J. R.

East Grinstead, Sussex.

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3. A Dialogue Between Two Englishmen at the Hague. [On England's relations with Holland, Spain &c.]

4. *Lex Regia* : or, The Royal Law of Denmark. Writ in the Danish language by order of Frederick III. Translated into English by a Lover of the British Constitution.

5. A Vindication of those who take the Oath of Allegiance . . . In a Letter to a Non-juror. By Thomas Hearne.

Thomas Hearne (1679-1735). At one time an Assistant-Librarian at Bodley, Oxford, a post which

he had to relinquish because of his Jacobite proclivities. Edited several ancient manuscripts, and as an antiquary possesses substantial claims. His most important book is his diary from July 4, 1705, to June 4, 1735. It was published with the title of 'Reliquæ Hernianæ' in 1857, and republished in an expanded form in 1869.

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R E M A R K S

UPON A

375-1

Scandalous BOOK lately publish'd,

C A L L E D

The HISTORY of the Royal
House of STUART.

Being a

VINDICATION

Of HIS MAJESTY'S

Royal Progenitors,

From the Aspersions therein contain'd.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms*,
in *Warwick-Lane*. M. DCC. XXXI.

(Price One Shilling.)

REMARKS

UPON

SCANDALOUS BOOKS lately published

IN

THE HISTORY of the Royal

Family of Stuart

BY

WILLIAM HASTINGS

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

ESQ; Royal Professor

of the History of the Church of England

—————

LONDON

Printed by J. Baskett near the Old Bailey
in Warwick Lane MDCCLXXII

(Price One Shilling)





REMARKS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Royal House of STUART.

SOME time since was published the *History of the Royal House of STUART*; written (as is generally supposed) by one Mr. *Oldmixon*, the same who is said to have been mentioned in the *Tatler*, by the Name of *Omicron* the unborn Poet; and who was also lately celebrated in the *Dunciad*: Tho' I would by no means refer to either of those Authors for his Character, since I take it to be drawn in more proper Colours

in his own History, than it can be by any other Hand. And, if he was not born a Poet, I doubt not but it will as plainly appear, he was never design'd for an Historian.

Our Author declares indeed in his Preface, that he is ready to undeceive them that treat him with Moderation and Decency : And, if he is deceived himself, will own it, and sincerely thank those that shall set him Right where he is Wrong.

This is handsomely said : And I declare on my part, that, if after reading the following Quotations, any unprejudiced Person shall be of opinion, that Mr. *Oldmixon* has treated others with Moderation and Decency, I will readily own my self in the wrong, and beg his pardon in the most publick Manner, if I have not treated him with more ; as I will also be obliged to do, if there are not at least as many Inconsistencies in his History, as in any other of the kind now extant.

After having in the beginning of his Preface affirmed, that he is no Party-man (which surely no Man of common Sense will believe) he proceeds to the Earl of *Clarendon* ; who he owns did write an History, and, he believes, a very good one : But at the same time he does not recollect, how inconsistent this Character is with what he gives of him, *pag. 227. viz.*
 “ That in that History all Likeness is lost in
 “ a barren Superfluity of Words, and the
 “ Workings of a prejudiced Imagination,
 “ even

“ (even where one may suppose the Drawing
 “ was his own.”) As also with what he says,
 pag. 215. viz. “ That History has not one
 “ good historical Quality in it.”

He afterwards gives an Account from Mr.
Edmund Smith of *Christ-Church, Oxon*, of
 his altering, by order of some Gentlemen of
 that College, several Passages of the Earl of
Clarendon's History. This Story Mr. *Smith*
 told the Gentleman * at whose House he
 died; who affirms in his Letter, that Mr. *Smith*
 assured him the Comparison between *Cinna*
 and Mr. *Hampden* was foisted in by those
 Reverends, viz. *Aldrich*, *Smalldridge*, and
Atterbury. But pag. 227. our Author says,
 “ Mr. *Smith* put it in himself; and when he
 “ read it to one of those Doctors, he clapp'd
 “ him on the Back, and said it would do.”

In the next place, he appeals to a certain
 Reverend Doctor now living, whether he did
 not see the *Oxford* Copy of *Clarendon's*
 History, by which the Book was printed, al-
 tered and interpolated?

R E M A R K.

If, by this Doctor, is meant Dr. *Terry*, it
 is certain he can tell whether the Alterations
 were

* N.B. He died at Mr. Ducket's.

were made in the manner *Oldmixon* mentions, or not. He calls upon the Doctor to prove it; and, if it be true, it can do him no prejudice to confess it. But, if the Doctor does not own it, it will be apt to pass for a Fiction, and must lie between our Author, Mr. *Ducket*, and Mr. *Smith*.

A Gentleman of an unblemished Reputation has assured me, Dr. Terry declared in his hearing, when the first folio Volume of the Lord Clarendon's History was published, that no Alterations had been made, but where there were mistakes in the Spelling; nor was there any thing added, unless where it was necessary to make out the Sense. And if no considerable Alterations were made in the first Volume, I cannot see any greater Cause of suspicion in the second or third. Dr. Aterbury happen'd not to be in Oxford when those Corrections were made; and is said to have taken it ill that he was not consulted. And, tho' Mr. Smith was a very ingenious Man, he is known to have been irregular in his way of living, and not to have been upon such a foot of Intimacy with the three Divines abovementioned, as to be employ'd by them in such an Affair, which must have required Secrecy and Sobriety. I would not willingly reflect upon Mr. Smith's Character, who had several good Qualities: But 'tis no improbable Supposition, that the dread of Poverty, and the desire of pleasing his Friend

Mr.

Mr. *Ducket*, might influence him on that Occasion, further than was agreeable to his natural Inclinations. And, when a Man finds himself so far reduced, that he must either starve, or, by saying something which he knows to be wrong, ingratiate himself with a Person able to support him, Self-preservation is apt to be preferr'd to all other Considerations.

He afterwards informs us, that the Noble Lord *Hollis*, that Patriot and Confessor for the Cause of Liberty in two of the following Reigns, did not think it presumptuous to charge King *Charles* the Second with the Subversion and Destruction of the Protestant Religion.

And yet, *pag.* 328. he affirms; " This noble Lord *Hollis*, this Patriot and Confessor, and his Party in the Parliament, were even worse than the Cavaliers." And surely, he has not represented them either as Patriots or Confessors.

Again, in the *Preface* :

" I have heard some Gentlemen express their Fears that there would be too much Warmth in this History. If, by Warmth, they mean Spirit, their Apprehension of it were enough to make one vain: But, since I am afraid, that by Warmth they mean Scurrility and Virulence, it will require some Explanation."

R E.

R E M A R K.

I doubt those Gentlemen did mean what he suspects; and, it seems, they knew him much better than he knew himself. They very justly imagined, that the Warmth of his Temper might carry him beyond the Bounds of Truth and Decency, and to treat crown'd Heads with uncommon Insolence. But, I dare say, none of them suspected that his Imagination should prove so much warmer than the Weather, as to produce Flowers sufficient to strew the Roads with in the latter end of *November*, to the eternal Honour of his good Friends *Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick*, pag. 158. And I would intreat him not to be too vain on the Notion of his History's having too much Spirit; since, I can assure him, most People of all Parties seem agreed in this Opinion, that never was a History wrote with less Wit, or more Ill-nature and Ill-manners.

I have now done with the Preface, and shall proceed to the History.

At the beginning of King *James* the First's Reign, pag. 13, he begins his Reflections on the Royal Family.

“ Here, *viz.* at *Berwick*, his Majesty did
 “ the only Military Act he ever performed in
 “ his Life; for he gave fire to, and shot off a
 “ Piece

“ Piece of Ordinance. And, p. 14. he quotes
 “ an old Ballad ;”

*In Scotland he was born and bred ;
 And, tho' a Beggar, must be fed.*

R E M A R K.

This I take to be a great Encouragement to disaffected Persons, and particularly to Ballad-Makers ; who may think their Works wrote with so much Warmth or Spirit, as to persuade themselves they will be quoted by some bright Historian a hundred Years hence.

Page 19.

He falls upon the Character of Archbishop *Whitgift*, whose Memory is treated with Respect by other Historians, which will scarce be lessen'd by his Reflections in the following Words :

“ Indeed, I have observed, that ever since
 “ the Reformation, and long before in the days
 “ of Popery, such Prelates as *Whitgift* have
 “ succeeded better by Power than Argument,
 “ and better by Force than by Truth.”

Page 22.

“ King *James* the First in his Proclamation
 “ for summoning a Parliament, gave Orders
 “ what sort of Men, and how qualified, he
 “ would have chosen.”

R E M A R K.

If this be true, I agree with our Author that it was a very unwarrantable Proceeding, and utterly inconsistent with the Notion of a Free Parliament. I hope such Encroachments have never been attempted in any succeeding Reign, and am persuaded they never will be suffered by Posterity.

Page 23.

Inserting some silly Epitaphs upon Archbishop *Bancroft*, he seems as fond of them as if they were his own; and affirms 'tis not below the Dignity of History to insert them.

Page 28.

“ A noble Author, speaking of what *Buchanan* had said of King *James* the First, says, The *Scotch Solomon* had not one good Quality in him. This, says *Oldmixon*, was confirmed to me by a Person of that Dignity and Character, as leaves no room to doubt its Veracity; and I shall name him when I am put to it.”

R E M A R K.

I cannot tell whether he means that the Person of Dignity and Character is to prove that the noble Author said so, or whether this Person of Dignity is to prove, to his own Knowledge that King *James* the First had not one good Quality in him. That Prince has been so long

long dead, that I believe no Man living can affirm, upon his own Knowledge, what Qualities he had. And, as to the noble Author, if his Works were printed, and worth reading, I presume they must be still extant. He says, he will name this Person of Dignity and Character, if put to it. If he does not produce him, he must be taken for the Author of this insolent Assertion himself: I do now call upon him to name his Author; and surely he might as well have named him at first, without being put to it.

Page 30, and 31.

“ He falls upon King *James's* Ministers, *viz.* the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Northampton*, and *Suffolk*; the Vileness of whose Characters, he says, reflected upon their Master.”

R E M A R K.

I hope those Ministers were not so wicked as he represents them; but entirely agree with his Opinion, that the vile Behaviour of Ministers reflects upon the Prince that employs them. For which reason Princes should be extremely careful in their Enquiries into the Characters of the Persons they employ, and as ready to punish them when they deserve it, as any of their Subjects can be. Otherwise the Ministers will reap all the Advantage, and the Sovereign alone feel the ill Effects of their corrupt Administration.

Page 38, and 44.

“ He insinuates, that King *James* was
“ concerned in poisoning his own Son Prince
“ *Henry.*”

Page 40.

“ He is extremely offended at the obscene
“ Proceedings relating to the Countess of
“ *Effex*; as he is again in King *James* the
“ Second's Reign, at the immodest Depositions
“ concerning the Birth of the Pretender.” Both
were transacted according to the Forms which
are constantly observed on such Occasions: And
where there appears such a ridiculous Affectation
of Modesty, 'tis natural to suspect there is a
secret Inclination to Lewdness: As Dr. *Swift*
observes; *A nice Man is a Person of nasty*
Ideas.

Page 41, and in other Places.

“ He endeavours to persuade us, that all the
“ Misfortunes of the Civil War were entirely
“ owing to the King and Bishops, and in no
“ degree to be imputed to the Dissenters.”

Page 49.

To shew that he has an equal Regard to
every Branch of the Family, he gives this
Character of King *James* the First's Queen,
viz. “ That she was Amorous, Luxurious, and
“ a Bawd to her own Son. And in other places
“ he drops Hints, as if her Virtue had been
suf-

“ suspected, both in *England* and *Scot-*
“ *land.*”

R E M A R K.

Here let us sum up the Characters of King *James* the First, and *Anne* his Queen. The King had not one good Quality in him, and murdered his own Son. The Queen had bad Qualities enough, being amorous, luxurious, of suspected Virtue, and as much too kind to her Son, in pimping for him, as his Father was too cruel in poisoning him. After all this, let us recollect that the Queen of *Bohemia*, Grandmother to the Princess *Sophia* of *Hanover*, was the Daughter of that King and that Queen. And I very much question, whether the Compliments he has paid to her, will atone for the infamous Aspersions he has cast upon them.

Page 55.

“ During the Reigns of the House of *Stuart*,
“ no one great thing was done for the Pro-
“ testant Religion, or the Liberty of the Sub-
“ ject, but what came with an ill Will, and
“ did not last long.

R E M A R K.

Perhaps he means, that all Acts of Parliament for the Liberty of the Subject are passed by the Sovereign with an ill Will. But, I believe, no Reign can produce greater Instances of Condescension

descension to the Subject than that of King *Charles* the First, who divested himself of many of the most considerable Branches of his Prerogative for their sakes, in the many excellent Laws he passed, most of which continue to this day. Indeed, I believe, he consented to one bad one, *viz.* that for continuing the Parliament, with reluctance; because he was of Opinion it would be the Ruin of all the rest. And surely, he did One great Thing for the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of the Subject, when he laid down his Life purely on their account.

After having, *pag.* 15. begun his Reflections on King *Charles* the First, "Taxing him, from *Reybold*, an obscure Author, with great Obstinacy and Perverseness in his fancy; which Observation of *Reybold's*, he affirms is sufficiently confirmed by his Actions, as will be seen in the Sequel of our History."

He proceeds thus, *Page* 88.

"*Lilly* the Astrologer tells us, the old *Scottish* Lady his Nurse was used to affirm, he was of a very evil Nature from his Infancy. And the Lady, who afterwards took charge of him, cannot deny but that he was beyond measure Willful and Unthankful: which, as well as some other Particulars, I should not have quoted after the Astrologer, for whose Science I have a hearty Contempt, did they not agree with the Facts in other Histories.

R E M A R K.

To quote an Author that deserves Contempt, is the ready way for an Historian to be contemn'd himself: But indeed, *Oldmixon* is always ready to repeat any scandalous Story, without ever considering the Author's Reputation; tho' surely *Lilly* ought no more to be quoted as an Historian in that Reign, than *Partridge* in King *William's*, or Queen *Anne's*; both which worthy Authors were, I suppose, equally to be rely'd upon for their Veracity in relating Things past, and foretelling those to come.

Page 101.

“ He takes notice, Lord *Clarendon* observes, King *Charles* admitted very few into any degree of Trust whom he believed to have been the Duke of *Buckingham's* Enemies; which indeed, says *Oldmixon*, is not true: For he admitted Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, one of the Duke's greatest Enemies into the greatest Degree of Trust.”

R E M A R K.

This is a most notable Reason for taxing the Lord *Clarendon* with a Falsity, who says, the King admitted very few of the Duke's Enemies into any degree of Trust: And Sir *Thomas Wentworth* happen'd to be one of those Few.

Page

Page 98.

“ Sir *John Strangeways*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Dorset*, urged in the House of Commons, that the Commons should perfect their great Remonstrance: For, says he, King *James* was wont to say, he knew that by Parliaments, which otherwise he should never have known. To which Mr. *Oldmixon* adds, The Reader will observe in many places of this History, how the Posterity of certain Names deviated from the Honour of their Ancestors.”

R E M A R K.

Possibly our Author may here design a Reflection upon the late worthy Mr. *Strangeways*: But if ever that Gentleman had seen such Times, when an absolute Minister, either thro' Ambition or Ignorance, had engaged his Royal Master in unseasonable Differences, sometimes with one Nation, and sometimes with another, to the detriment of Trade, or had oppressed the People by weak Projects or exorbitant Taxes; I dare engage for him, he would as vigorously have opposed such a Minister, as ever his Ancestor did the Duke of *Buckingham*. But I doubt Sir *John Strangeways* did not go those Lengths that *Oldmixon* might have wished: For when his Party went into Measures which he saw must end in the Ruin of the Constitution, he thought himself in duty to his Prince and Country obliged to forsake it.

Page

Page 105.

Quoting Lord *Clarendon's* Character of the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, viz. " His Education had been very good among Books and Men. " After some years Study in the *Temple*, he travell'd into foreign Parts, and at an Age fit to make Observations and Reflections, out of which that which is commonly called Experience is constituted."

Here our Author exclaims ; A very elaborate Description of the Constitution of Experience ! Reflections and Observations upon Facts in ancient and modern History, wisely made, are more useful than what a Man can see or hear in his Travels, which surely can never be called Experience.

R E M A R K.

He that sets up for a Critic, ought first to understand what he reads, and to write Sense himself before he finds fault with that of others. A Man may improve from Reflections and Observations upon Authors, but Experience is properly the Result of what he has been engaged in himself : He may reap Instruction from Books, but Experience is only acquir'd by seeing the World, and conversing with Men. And I may venture to affirm, our Author is the first that ever was of a contrary Opinion.

Page 153.

Speaking of *Echard's* Observation, that the *Scotch* Commissioners Lodgings were visited as

C

Re-

Repositories of Divine Truths, and they were looked upon as Angels of Light: he says,

“ Tho’ this tasteless, insipid [*Tautology*]
 ‘ Railery is too good to be the Author’s own,
 ‘ and is stolen from *Heylyn, Warwick*, or some
 ‘ such witty Historian; yet it has too much
 ‘ Buffoonery in it to become the Gravity of
 ‘ History.”

R E M A R K.

I desire to refer it to any unprejudiced Reader, whether there is a greater Collection of Ribaldry and Buffoonery to be met with, in any History now extant, than in his own. And surely, what he says of Sir *Philip Warwick*, p. 124. may with justice be apply’d to himself. His Matter, his Manner, his Style and Integrity are all of a piece; and so mean, that ’tis ridiculous to be serious with him.

Page 158.

“ About the latter end of *November, Prynne,*
 “ *Bastwick* and *Burton* returned from their fe-
 “ veral remote Prisons by Order of Parliament,
 “ &c. All three as they travelled the Country
 “ were received with the Acclamations of the
 “ People, &c. All places where they pass’d
 “ were strewed with Flowers, &c.”

R E M A R K.

Having already, in the Preface, animadverted upon this Legend of the Ways being strew’d with Flowers in *November*, when the Saints, *Prynne,*
 I
Burton,

Burton and *Bastwick* travelled to *London*; I shall only observe here, that the Passage is not marked in his History, which is constantly done where he takes it from any other Author: So, as the Blunder is entirely his own, 'tis fit that he should have all the Credit of it.

Page 164.

“ After having, p. 156. called the Lord *Digby* “ one of the worst of *Occasional Conformists*, “ who went to the establish'd Church to make “ her a Sacrifice to *Rome*, he declares here he “ was every whit as good a Protestant as the “ Lord *Clarendon*.”

R E M A R K.

The Lord *Digby* afterwards openly profess'd himself a Papist; but surely nobody that has read the Lord *Clarendon's* Letter to his Daughter the Dutchess of *York*, or who was in the least acquainted with his Character, ever doubted his being a sincere Member of the Church of *England*. What the *Occasional Conformists* were in those days, I know not; but, if we may judge by the present, they were the worst of Men. For tho' they dissent in Opinion from our Church, they can approach her sacred Altars at set times to preserve their Places; and not only absent from her, but turn her to ridicule all the rest of the Year. I cannot tell what Religion our Author is of, but by his History I guess him to be an *Independent*. And, if he would for the future, endeavour to wean himself from the extraordinary Faculty he has got of romancing, avoid trifling

trifling with the most sacred Duties of our Religion, and resign that Post which indeed he does not deserve to keep, he may possibly in time be thought an honest Man in his way.

Page 166.

Giving an Account of the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal, he has these Words: " Through all the
 " Branches of his Ministry he behaved imperi-
 " ally and tyrannically, as well in the Court of
 " the *North*, as in *Ireland*; which however did
 " not amount to Treason, and no Accumulation
 " could make it so, if there had not been some-
 " thing behind which was in the highest degree
 " treasonable." And yet in the very same Page
 he tells us, " When all the Crimes were heaped
 " together, it was the Opinion of the most learn-
 " ed Lawyers, that they amounted to accumu-
 " lative Treason," without the twenty-third
 Article, which is what he before mentions as the
 something behind.

R E M A R K.

I know not which of these Paragraphs to believe; for either the learned Mr. *Oldmixon* must be mistaken in the first Assertion, or the learned Lawyers in the latter. And as to the something behind, surely no Jury of common Honesty would find any Man guilty upon such Evidence, even with all our Author's aggravating Circumstances. The whole Affair plainly appears to be a Farce carried on between Sir *Harry Vane* and his Son, the Lord *Strafford's* inveterate
 Enemies,

Enemies, to trick him out of his Life; and 'tis plain the Parliament itself did not believe the Evidence legal, otherwise there would have been no necessity of having recourse to extraordinary Proceedings, in the Bill of Attainder: Nor would the Sentence have been afterwards reversed, by Act of Parliament, as unjust and illegal.

Page 171.

“ The Reflections the Reverend Historian *Echard* makes on the Act for continuing the Parliament, have the usual Solidity. It was a new Constitution: Tho’ they had not one Privilege more granted them by it, except that single one of sitting.”

R E M A R K.

And was not that effectually a new Constitution? surely the Consequences sufficiently proved it. The House of Commons dissolved the two other Estates, and, as was then apprehended, secured itself from being dissolved at all; tho’ at length their Friend *Cromwell* unexpectedly put an end to their sitting.

Page 173.

“ The Petition of the Soldiers was soon quash’d, says the Reverend Historian *Echard*; but he owns the King had first signed it: and there could not be a greater Breach of Parliamentary Privilege, than to excite an armed Power to oppose the Sense of the Nation declared by their Representatives concerning Bishops.”

R E-

R E M A R K.

There happens not to be one word in the Petition concerning Bishops; but our Author's fixed Prejudice to Episcopacy obliges him to bring it in right or wrong. The King was guilty of no Breach of Parliamentary Privilege, the Petition being worded with all due Respect to the Parliament; and the King at the Request of those who brought it, sign'd his Name only, as an Approbation of the Draught. All Subjects of *England* have a Right of Petitioning the Parliament; and sure the Soldiers had as good a Right as the *London* Apprentices. It would have been well for the Parliament, if their own Soldiers had only proceeded by way of Petition: But they proved there could be a greater Breach of Privilege than what our Author mentions, when they turned the Members out by the Head and Shoulders.

Page 174.

“ He blames *Echard* for saying, that the
 “ Lords made use of what he is pleased to call
 “ by way of Sneer a most convincing Argument:
 “ If they bring up this Bill one day to take
 “ away the Bishops, they may bring another the
 “ next day to take away the Dukes.”

R E M A R K.

This proved afterwards a most convincing Argument, when they laid aside the whole Order of Peerage at once.

In

In the same Page ;

“ Mr. *Edward Hyde* was Chairman of the
“ Bill concerning Bishops; and, according to
“ his own impartial History, he behaved so
“ dexterously, that he puzzled all their Ene-
“ mies. The Reverend Historian vouches for
“ the Truth of it; but there is not the least
“ Appearance of it in *Whitlock* or *Rushworth*,
“ or indeed, in Fact or Probability.

R E M A R K.

I cannot but think Lord *Clarendon's* Account extremely probable, and shall continue of that Opinion, till I can hear a more probable Reason for dropping that Bill at that time.

Page 175, and in other places.

“ He is much offended with Archbishop *Laud*
“ for not mentioning the Queen of *Bohemia* and
“ her Children, in the Church-Prayers.”

R E M A R K.

The Reason is obvious: there was a Royal Issue yearly increasing, and only the immediate Heirs to the Crown are usually mentioned in those Prayers; nor was there any greater occasion of inserting the Queen of *Bohemia* then, than the Queen of *Prussia* now. But were the Queen of *Bohemia* now living, I am apt to think she would waive all his Prayers, on condition he would treat her Father and Mother with common Decency.

Page

Page 180.

“ He tells a Story of Sir *William St. Leger's*
 “ being shewn a Commission from the King to
 “ the Lord *Muskerry*, to command the Troops
 “ in *Ireland* at the time of the Infurrection
 “ there. And, tho' afterwards he owns, the
 “ Lord *Brogbil* his Author said, he found it to
 “ be a Cheat; yet *Oldmixon* says, he does not
 “ tell us how, and flurs it over in such a manner,
 “ as makes but a weak Impression on our Minds,
 “ after the Author's History so circumstantiated
 “ had made so strong a one.”

R E M A R K.

This is as much as to say, 'tis too considerable a piece of Scandal to be sunk, tho' the Author he takes it from, owns 'twas absolutely false. Here *Oldmixon* plainly proves, how well he is qualified to discharge the Duty of an Historian: if an Author vindicates the King, he is not to be rely'd on; if he throws Dirt upon him, that is a sufficient Proof of his Veracity: But if he afterwards confesses he has been misinformed, we must not believe a word of that, but only give credit to the ill-natur'd side. So that tho' in the Eye of the Law the King can do no Wrong; yet, in our Author's, it seems, he can do no Right.

Page 183.

“ The Lord *Clarendon* does not lose a Word
 “ of the King's Declarations, Messages, or An-
 “ swers, tho' they are long to excess, &c. The
 “ Par-

“ Parliament’s Petitions and Remonstrances are
 “ written with more Spirit and Regard to
 “ Truth than his tedious Declarations.”

R E M A R K.

The only way to judge right is to hear both sides ; and the Lord *Clarendon* has given us a full View of the Remonstrances from both Parties. I am in some measure of our Author’s Opinion, that the King’s are too long ; and the chief Reason why I think so, is, because many People will read a short Remonstrance, that will not read a long one : and the longer it is, the more difficult it is to keep up the Spirit ; yet the Spirit is well supported throughout the whole, which is an Evidence of those Papers being drawn by a masterly Hand. I cannot help observing, that, in this Page, the Messages, Declarations, &c. are said to be drawn by the Lord *Clarendon* ; but p. 346, they were drawn by the King himself. Here they are said to be long ; there they are said to be short : so that he can contract or stretch them to any Size that may best fit his present purpose. But, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, I can by no means allow *Oldmixon* to be a Judge of the Truth or Spirit of other Men’s Writings, unless there was more of Both to be found in his own.

Page 206.

“ From *Beverly* the King removed to *Leicester*, where he courted the Inhabitants, but
 D “ pro-

“ proclaimed the Earl of *Stamford* Traytor.
“ He might as well have proclaimed him an
“ Hermaphrodite.”

R E M A R K.

This quaint Expression is, I suppose, to be applauded as a piece of the most sublime Wit ; tho' *Echard's* of the *Scotch* Commissioners Lodgings being visited as the Repositories of Divine Truths, &c. was unworthy of the Gravity of History.

Again, *Page* 201, more of the Dignity of History.

“ After the Standard was set up at *Nottingham*, with a most thin Appearance, and Omens
“ more ominous than all Mr. Archdeacon's impossible Visions in the Air, as its being blown
“ down again, and the gloomy Looks of the
“ People, as if the Standard was going to be
“ hanged instead of being erected, &c.”

This seems designed to introduce what follows in the same Page :

“ If I knew the Names of those, who recommended him, *viz. Echard*, to his late
“ Majesty King *George* the First, they should
“ live as long as this Work with the Scandal of
“ it.”

R E M A R K.

I doubt their Names would not survive long, since in all probability, *Oldmixon's* History will
meet

meet with the same fate that he says Sir *Will. Dugdale's* did, 'twill be reduced to waste Paper. For, as he observes in the same Page, he has picked up a fine Cause, and the Cause has picked up a fine Historian; and which has the better of it, the Historian or the Cause, I cannot say. And, as he says in relation to *Echard*, so I wish I knew who put him to work; not so much to preserve their Names, as that his present Majesty might know to whom he is principally obliged for the Characters of those Princes from whom he is lineally descended.

Again in the same Page, after mentioning King *Charles* the First:

“ He quotes his worthy Friend *Lilly* the Astrologer, to prove, as he says, that the Author of *Eikon Basilike* is no fairer than other Authors.”

R E M A R K.

Here he thinks himself happy in having an Opportunity of glancing at the King, in order to set him and *Lilly* upon a level; tho' p. 346, he denies the King to be Author of *Eikon Basilike*.

P. 215, speaking of *Clarendon's* History.

“ It is amazing, that such a voluminous History, without one good Historical Quality, should have imposed upon the World above

“ twenty Years : But that Imposition is wearing
“ off, to make room for Sincerity and Truth.”

R E M A R K.

It is amazing, that the Persons who (as our Author affirms) altered that History, which in his Preface he doubts not was a very good one, should do it to that degree, as not to leave one good Historical Quality behind. But if any body has a sufficient Stock of Patience, let him compare any one Page from each Author, and he will soon discover which contains most Truth and best Historical Qualities.

Page 232.

Speaking of the Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Victory obtained by the King's Forces over those of the Parliament in the North, he is much offended at these Expressions.

O Lord, tho' our Sins cry aloud, yet hear them not, but look to the Righteousness of our Cause: See the seamless Coat of thy Son rent, the Throne of thine Anointed trampled upon, thy Church invaded by Sacrilege, and thy People miserably deceived with Lyes.

Here our Author exclaims ; “ It is not to be
“ repeated, Paganism has nothing so profane.”

R E M A R K.

'Tis so far from being profane, that, I believe most will be of Opinion there is a noble
Spirit

Spirit in it; tho' I suppose he designs it as a Hint, that the whole Nation is guilty of Profaneness, in his Sense, every thirtieth of *January*. But, if he wants something more profane than Paganism ever produced, Fanaticism will furnish him with it. I desire the foregoing Prayer may be compared with the following Extracts from Sir *William Dugdale's History of the Troubles of England*, who, notwithstanding our Author's scurrilous treatment of him, was in all respects his Superiour, and some of whose Works were lately reprinted at a hundred Years distance; whereas I may safely venture to affirm, that *Oldmixon's* will never bear a second Impression. The Extracts from Sir *William Dugdale* are as follow :

Mr. *Strickland*, 9th *June* 1643, on a Fast-Day at *Northampton*, had these Expressions in his Prayer ;

O Lord, thine Honour is now at Stake, for now, O Lord, Antichrist has drawn his Sword against thy Christ, and if our Enemies prevail, Thou wilt lose thine Honour.

Mr. *Cross*, a zealous Lecturer, told his Auditory, *July* 6, in the Pulpit at *St. Mildred's* in the *Poultry*; *That if God did not finish the good Work which he had begun in the Reformation of the Church, he would shew himself to be a God of Confusion, and such a one as by cunning Stratagems had contrived the Destruction of his Children.*

Mr.

Mr. *Robinson*, the 25th of *August*, on a Fast-Day, had this Expression in his Prayer; *O God, many are the Hands lift up against us; but there is one God: It is Thou thy self, O Father, who dost us more harm than they all.*

Mr. *Vines*, Colonel *Purefoy's* Chaplain, at *St. Clement's* without *Temple-Bar* :

O Lord, thou hast given us never a Victory this long time for all our Fasting: What dost thou mean, O Lord, to sling us in the Ditch and there leave us?

Mr. *Bond*, at the *Savoy*, in his Sermon :

I say, this is God's Cause; and if God has any Cause, this is it: And if this be not God's Cause, then God is no God for me, but the Devil is got up into Heaven.

This is so shocking, that I ought to beg the Reader's pardon for quoting it. But it sufficiently proves, that they did not use the Powers that are ordained of God worse than God himself; and here we may with truth affirm, Paganism has nothing so profane.

Page 269.

He gives us the Names of the Commissioners appointed for executing Martial Law, of whom he expresses himself thus: " A Court as little
 " likely to do any thing cruel and unjust, as
 " could be hoped for from the Birth, Educa-
 " tion, Principles and Professions of so many
 " noble Lords and Gentlemen, there being very
 " few

“ few of them who were Gentlemen by their
 “ Offices only, as *Ven* and *Brown*. The lat-
 “ ter indeed did sit in a bloody Court after-
 “ wards, and attoned by his injustice there, for
 “ the justice he did in this.”

R E M A R K.

Here he falls upon *Brown* for sitting af-
 terwards in the Court at the Tryal of the
 Regicides, which he calls doing injustice; but
 the rest of the Commissioners, it seems, were
 not likely to do any thing cruel or unjust.
 What they were likely to do, I will not pre-
 tend to determine; what some of them did
 afterwards, is too well known. *Puresfoy*,
Ven, *Tichburne*, *Fleetwood*, *Bradshaw*, and
Steel, six of these Commissioners, sat in Court
 at the King's Tryal, and murdered him by a
 pretended High-Court of Justice, contrary to
 all Rules of Law and Humanity. So that the
 Scope of *Oldmixon's* Argument is this: The
 Persons who tried and condemned their King
 were not capable of an unjust or cruel Action;
 but whoever was concerned in the Conviction
 of those Regicides, was guilty of the highest
 injustice. This is the most barefaced Vindica-
 tion of the King's Murder that was ever pub-
 lished in *England* since the Restoration. I
 cannot think any of our present Sett of Mi-
 nisters would give this Man encouragement
 in venting these Notions; since his Majesty's
 Life

Life could not be safe in the Hands of Persons of such Principles. They that approve of those Proceedings must of course be Enemies to Regal Power; and it would seem an extraordinary Paradox to affirm, that the Advocates for the Murder of one good Prince, are the fittest to be employ'd as Protectors of the Person of another.

Page 291, when Colonel *Birch* surprized *Hereford*:

“ In *Hereford* were taken, according to
 “ *Ludlow*, forty Lords and Gentlemen of Worth,
 “ most of them Papists: If 'twas the Cause of
 “ the Protestant Religion the King fought, how
 “ came there to be so many Papists taken
 “ Prisoners among his Troops?”

R E M A R K.

I doubt not but he frequently casts these Reflections on Persons in all parts of the Kingdom, without the least Grounds; and how far this Account in particular is to be rely'd on, may be guess'd by that which he gives when *Hereford* was taken by Sir *William Waller*, in the Year 1643, p. 220. where he mentions some of the principal Gentlemen of that County to be taken in it; as the Lord *Scudamore* and his Son, Colonel *Herbert Prise*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Coningsby*, Mr. *Coningsby*, Sir *Walter Pye*, Sir *William*

William Crofts, *Sir Samuel Aubrey*; among whom there was not one Papist, and but one that had ever been suspected of being so. The Account which he gives of the Surprize of *Hereford* by Colonel *Birch* is true but in part, it being well known that 'twas principally owing to the Treachery of some within the Gates. And, as there now are, so I am well informed there then were fewer Papists of Note in that County, than in any of the same extent throughout *England*.

Our Author here reflects upon the King for employing Papists in his Army, but says nothing of any of that Persuasion having been admitted into that of the Parliament, tho' it has been generally reported that General *Lambert* was a Papist. And Bishop *Kennet*, whom no body will believe to be prejudiced in favour of the House of *Stuart*, quotes a Letter of *Sir Philip Monckton* in his Register, which mentions, that *Lambert* was under Popish Influence, and that great part of his Soldiers were Papists.

Page 301.

“The last thing which Guilt submits to, is
“Despair.”

R E M A R K.

He is continually finding fault with the Reflections made by the Lord *Clarendon* and other Historians; but where will he find any
E one

one so ridiculous and contrary to all Sense and Experience as this of his own? Is not Despair the constant Attendant upon Guilt? How many wicked Men, from a deep Sense of their Villany have desperately put an end to their own Lives, or at least surrender'd them up to offended Justice by a voluntary Confession of their Crimes? No, 'tis only the Man of Honour who, armed with Innocence, can defy Despair; since, as *Horace* (an Author with whom *Oldmixon* has little Acquaintance, as appears no less by this Reflection than by his Poetical Performances) very justly observes,

*Si fractus illabatur Orbis
Impavidum ferient Ruinae.*

I would therefore beg leave to propose one Emendation to this accurate History; instead of Guilt, let it be, *The last thing which Innocence submits to, is Despair*: Innocence, upon which Foundation the Royal Cause was laid, and which supported his Majesty under all his Misfortunes, and in his last Moments.

Page 328.

“ They, *viz.* *Hollis's* Party, push'd their
 “ Resentments so far, that some of them, as
 “ *Massej, Brown, Annesley,* turned rank Ca-
 “ valiers: And their Bigottry and Ambition
 “ did certainly deprive the Nation of that
 “ good Settlement which must have been
 “ the

“ the Consequence of their Union with the
“ Army.”

R E M A R K.

I am apt to think they themselves could scarce tell what Settlement they intended, and consequently *Oldmixon* cannot. But, in all probability, their good Settlement would have laid aside Regal Power, and consequently prevented our present happy Establishment; under which our Author enjoys Favours, of which he ought to express a more grateful Acknowledgment.

Page 336.

“ He blames the Lord *Clarendon* for reflecting on *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and thinks it hard that the Lord *Pembroke's* great Quality cannot secure him from Libel.”

R E M A R K.

The Earl of *Pembroke's* Character surely lay as open to Censure as most Men's ever did. *Osborne* (from whom our Author has taken every thing that makes for his purpose) tells us, he was so passive as to take a Beating from *Ramsay*, the *Scotchman*, at *Croyden*. His Ingratitude to the Royal Family was most notorious: and nothing can shew more meanness of Spirit, than his condescending to sit in the House

of Commons, when the Lords were voted useless. But how can *Oldmixon* have the least pretence of blaming any body for Reflections upon the Great, when his whole History is one entire Libel upon our Princes and Nobility? Nay, he frequently goes out of his way to reflect upon the Memory of great Persons, and particularly on that of the late Earl of *Oxford*, who had so great a Share in establishing the Protestant Succession, and who under three of the most dangerous publick Attacks that ever were made upon the Life of any one Man, (as well as in some private which I could mention) was as remarkable for Courage, as *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* was for the want of it.

Page 331.

Speaking of the Members of the University of *Cambridge* refusing the Covenant, he says
 “ The Contest was left to the Decision of the
 “ Sword between King and Parliament: His
 “ Majesty in the beginning of the War bid very
 “ fair for the Success of it; and the Academics
 “ were afraid, that their taking the
 “ Covenant would hinder their Church Preferments,
 “ which are the Inducements to their
 “ very hard Studies.”

R E M A R K.

In this he (according to Custom) contradicts what he has said before. For he is so far from allowing

allowing that his Majesty bid fair for Success in the beginning of the War, that he takes a great deal of pains to prove those Historians in the wrong, who give him the Superiority in the Battle of *Edgehill*, and other of the earliest Engagements. And tho' he owns, that several Members of that University were afterwards turned out for not complying, yet here he will not admit that any of them refused the Covenant out of Conscience, but entirely for the sake of Interest; which shews his Christian Charity, and naturally makes us conclude, that our Author measures the Consciences of others by his own.

After having, *p.* 325. in the Year 1647, when the eleven Members were impeached, affirmed, that Mr. *Hollis* went to *France*, and returned not till after the Restoration, he tells us in the Year 1648;

Page 346.

“ The last Commotions had given Spirit
 “ to the *Hollis* Party in the House of Com-
 “ mons. The Officers and Soldiers were busy
 “ in subduing their Enemies; and in their
 “ Absence, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Clot-*
 “ *worthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Walter Long*,
 “ impeached Members, retook their Seats in
 “ the House of Commons, but were soon forced
 “ to quit them.”

In

In the same Page, speaking of *Eikon Basilike*;

“ The Language, as far at least as I am
 “ capable of judging, is entirely Clerical, and
 “ not in the least agreeable to King *Charles's*
 “ Manner in his Messages and Declarations,
 “ most of them drawn by himself, in a close,
 “ succinct Style; whereas that of *Eikon Ba-*
 “ *silike* is redundant and declamatory.”

R E M A R K.

Let us observe how well this agrees with
 p. 183. where he tells us,

“ The Lord *Clarendon* does not lose a Word
 “ of the King's Declarations, Messages, or An-
 “ swers, tho' they are long to excess. He
 “ doubtless was enamour'd with them for the
 “ sake of the Drawer, who probably was
 “ himself; there being such a redundancy of
 “ Words, as *Warwick* observes, in his Wri-
 “ tings, &c.”

Page 351.

“ The rare History which *Echard* takes
 “ from two rare Historians, *Walker* and *Wag-*
 “ *staff* (whose Names I hardly ever before
 “ heard of) being all secret and suspected, I
 “ leave it where I found it.”

R E-

R E M A R K.

'Tis strange he should scarce have ever heard of Mr. *Clement Walker*, Author of the History of Independency; especially since, in the very next Leaf, he mentions him as one of the Members of Parliament seized by Colonel *Pride* at the Door of the House. The other, Dr. *Wagstaff*, being no Friend to the Opinions of the Times, and consequently not likely to be prefer'd, or even to get Bread as a Divine, apply'd himself to the Study of Physick, in which he made such a proficiency, that this unheard of Gentleman became one of the most noted Physicians of his time. That which renders him secret and suspected, is, that he has given such evident Proofs of King *Charles's* being Author of *Eikon Basilike*, as *Oldmixon* well knows he cannot confute; and he leaves them where he found them, for no other Reason but because he cannot answer them. Both *Walker* and *Wagstaff* were our Author's Betters, and would have been in all probability heard of much longer than himself, had he not taken care to get himself chronicled by two of the most celebrated Authors of the Age in which he lived, in the *Tatler* and the *Dunciad*; an Honour to which every body cannot attain. Upon the whole, it appears *Oldmixon* has read every thing on one side, and very little on the other,

other, which is a sure Evidence of his impartial Intentions.

Page 359, at the King's Tryal,
 " When the Charge was read against the
 " King, wherein 'tis mention'd he was in-
 " trusted with the Government by the Peo-
 " ple, he says, His Majesty interrupted the
 " Clerk, saying, I am not intrusted by the
 " People, they are mine by Inheritance; as
 " Ludlow words it, who was there present:
 " but it is an odd way of wording it, and
 " if one was Heir to Cattle or Swine, it could
 " not be more coarsely worded."

R E M A R K.

Is this a proper Reflection on such an Oc-
 casion? *Heir to Cattle or Swine!* An Ex-
 pression equally to be admired for the Good-
 Manners, Wit and Humanity. I know not to
 whom our Author was Heir, but surely we
 may with justice apply to him these Lines from
Virgil,

— *duris genuit te cautibus horrens*
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera ty-
gres.

The Man of Sense is never admitted into
 his History, and here the Man it self is laid
 aside.

aside. He just before says, This truly tragical Scene might dissolve the most obdurate Mind with Compassion and Tenderness; yet, it seems, it could have no effect upon his. Perhaps too the Expression was not so improper as he makes it: 'Tis probable the Charge might run, *Whereas he was intrusted with the Government of these Kingdoms by the People*; to which his Majesty might very properly reply, *I am not intrusted by my People; they, viz. the Kingdoms, are mine by Inheritance*. I will not affirm these were the Words, but the Conjecture is at least as probable as that *Ludlow* is at all right in the wording of the Charge, since all other Authors word it in a different manner. But supposing it to be as *Oldmixon* represents it; if the King's Expression was coarse, his Reflection is still coarser, and could not have been made by any body that was not lost to all sense of Humanity. This, with other barbarous Reflections which he takes all Opportunities of making, in the Course of the Tryal, as well as on many other Occasions, is sufficient to convince any reasonable Person, that in the main he approves the King's Murder, what professions soever he may sometimes make to the contrary.

Page 364.
 Speaking of *Cook* the Solicitor's Answer to the King's Plea, he owns, "The horrid Im-
 F " piety

" piety of it makes one tremble; and there is
 " nothing can reconcile one to the hearing of
 " it, but the Reflection that in a few Pages
 " more, we shall find the Man who speaks it,
 " brought himself to account for his Wicked-
 " nefs, and receiving his Reward."

R E M A R K.

However, when he comes to the Tryal of
 the Regicides, tho' he cannot deny but the
 Sentence upon them was just, yet he seems to
 compassionate their case at least as much as he
 does the King's, and reflects much more upon
 those who fate in Judgement upon the King's
 Murderers, than he does upon the Regicides
 themselves.

Page 369, Upon the King's Dying
 Speech.

" Some Remarks might be made on his
 " Majesty's insisting so much on his dying a
 " Martyr for the Laws, which no King of
 " *England* had ever broken more than he had
 " done. A Martyr for the People! who had
 " laboured under a heavier and longer Op-
 " pression in the first fifteen Years of his Reign,
 " than they had suffered in a hundred and fifty
 " Years before." But he adds, " I am too much
 " moved with writing this tragical Scene, to
 " have

“ have any such ungenerous Sentiments to-
wards a suffering Prince.”

R E M A R K.

Here he charges the King with oppressing the People more than any Prince had done in a hundred and fifty Years before; which is notoriously false, as will appear to any Man that has read the Histories of *Henry* the Seventh, *Henry* the Eighth, and *Queen Mary*. And when he has said all the scandalous things he can say, he is too much moved to have any such Sentiments as he has all along declared. I do not know what he means by ungenerous Sentiments; but for my own part cannot help thinking, that to rake into the most wretched Rubbish, with no other view than to cast the vilest Aspersions, and inflict the deepest Wounds on the Memory of a suffering Prince, is to the last degree base and ungenerous. Nor does it appear less so, by his afterwards affecting an aukward Concern, and making such odd Apologies as only serve to convince us, that he chiefly fears to take off the Edge of his former Calumny, and rather designs to aggravate than excuse. But 'tis a Happiness that this Province was allotted to this Person, who has strained Matters to such an unnatural Pitch, as, instead of blasting his Majesty's Character, will considerably raise it in the

Opinion of all Persons of Judgment and Sincerity: And his Reflections upon the Lord *Clarendon's* History will have the same effect: For when an injudicious Critic attacks an Author of Reputation, the Dirt which he throws retorts upon himself, and he leaves his Antagonist in better State than he found him.

The Quotations and Remarks already made, are sufficient to prove our Author's Insufficiency and scandalous Partiality; I think 'tis scarce worth while to pursue him further, but shall satisfy myself with giving the Reader an unfair Quotation of his from *Burnet's* History, p. 410. of *Oldmixon's*, p. 631.

“ Upon the Accusation against Duke *Lauderdale*, King *Charles* the Second said to
 “ *Mr. May*, They have objected many damn'd
 “ things that he has done against Them, but
 “ nothing that he has done against my Service. Such, adds the Bishop, are the Notions which Kings drink in, by which they
 “ set up an Interest for themselves, contrary
 “ to the Interest of their People: And, as
 “ soon as the People observe that, which they
 “ will do sooner or later, then they will naturally mind their own Interest, and set it up in
 “ opposition to the Prince: And in this Contest
 “ the People will grow always too hard for the
 “ Prince.”

Here

Here *Oldmixon* makes a full Stop, without adding so much as an *et-cetera*: which proves him just as good an Historian as a Poet, since it is evident that to compleat the Sense, as well as to entertain the Ear, the Period ought to be closed in a different manner. The Words in the Original are; " And, in this Contest, " the People will grow always too hard for " the Prince, unless he is able to subdue and " govern them by an Army." I should be glad to know why so great an Advocate for Liberty as our Author pretends to be, did not insert the Paragraph entire; especially since it seems to imply a tacit Distrust of his present Majesty, for whom he pretends the highest Veneration. But whatever he may insinuate, 'tis well known, that tho' his Majesty has a due Regard for his Army, as a part of his Subjects, he has a much greater for his People in general; and will prefer the Interest of the whole before that of any particular Set of Men whatsoever.

Some perhaps may think, I ought to have carried on my Remarks to the end of the History; tho' I am apt to believe, most will rather be of Opinion, that I have taken more than sufficient pains to expose an Author, who has taken so much to expose himself. But the true Motive to the giving myself this trouble, was, to inform the World (which otherwise

great

great part of it perhaps might never have known) that a certain large Volume in Folio, intituled, *The History of the Royal House of STUART*, was not long since published by a Person that owes his Bread to the Government: notwithstanding which, he has taken the liberty of casting the most scandalous Aspersions on those Princes in particular, from whose Loins the Illustrious House of *Hanover* are directly descended. And he not only takes all Opportunities of declaring his Approbation of a Commonwealth, but expresses a particular Concern that the Nation should be deprived of the good Settlement intended by the Republican Scheme in the Times of the Rebellion; which good Settlement must have been entirely inconsistent with the present good Settlement. The Author himself may seem too inconsiderable to be much regarded; but I cannot but think the Publick should know, and, I am sure, his Majesty ought to be informed, who the Persons are that engaged him in this extraordinary Work, which seems chiefly calculated to bring the Royal Family into Contempt, and to advance Republican Notions, to the Ruin of our happy Constitution. Whoever these Persons are, they must have a very wrong Notion of his Majesty's eminent Justice and Prudence, if they imagine they can recommend themselves to his Favour, by casting infamous Aspersions on the
Memory

Memory of his Royal Ancestors ; as they must also entertain a very unjust Opinion of his Courage, if they think to intimidate or tye him down to a Party, by alarming him with Apprehensions that they are otherwise prepared to set up a Commonwealth against him. I know no good Effect that this History can possibly have, unless it be in cautioning Princes from investing their Ministers with too absolute an Authority (which was the greatest Fault and Misfortune of King *Charles* the First) since, from such Measures, they may not only be engaged in present Inconveniencies, but a virulent Pen, in another Century, may endeavour to make Impressions greatly to their Disadvantage.

F I N I S.



Memory of his Royal Ancestors; as they must
 also entertain a very just Opinion of his
 Courage, if they think to intimidate or to
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 since, from such Mistakes, they may not only
 be engaged in present Inconveniences, but a
 violent Pen, in another Century, may endea-
 our to make Impressions greatly to their
 Advantage.

F I N I S



A

LETTER

To the REVEREND

375-2

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in that Collection of Falshoods and Slanders.

By the Author of the INDEX-WRITER.

Minxerit in patrias Cineres. Hor.

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HE Author of the History taken notice of in the following Tract, has for some Years been employ'd in misrepresenting and libelling the Royal House of STUART. The Secret History of *Europe*, and the Critical History of *England*, shew, that Malice and Ill-will have had long Possession of his corrupted Breast, ever ready to discharge its Venom on one or other of those Princes. Nay, so much was he under the Power of this restless Passion, that where there was no Temptation, in a Business where any other Person but himself would have been innocent, he became an Offender; and in an Index of his framing, basely perverted the Sense of his Author, that he might cast a few sly Reflections. But this Index-Writer (for his foul Practice has entitled him to that Character) has in this last Work out-done all the Libellers that went before him, and, which is more, Himself, now old in Vice, and by a long Course of sinning harden'd and grown desperately wicked, as the last Pages of this, and more fully the next Pamphlet (under the Title of *Animadversions*) will demonstrate.



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GENTLEMEN,

YOU have been pleased by your Subscriptions to encourage the Author of a very scandalous Libel, entituled, *The History of England, during the Reigns of the Royal House of STUART:*

A Work wrote with a malicious Design to blast with the most odious Reproaches, the Reigns of our Princes of that Illustrious Family; who can't suffer so much in point of Honour by such rude and scandalous Writings, as those Men must do, who making large Pretensions to Piety, are yet so forgetful of their Duty to God, and Kings, as to countenance a contemptuous and irreverent Treatment of Majesty, the Licentiousness of a common Defamer, who, regardless of the Precept of God, and Precedent of Angels, has been so audacious as to speak evil of Dignities, and bring railing Accusations against those who are honoured with the Name of Gods. And it may be that the merciful and just God, from whom are all the Traditions of the Glory and Majesty, will cause the Memory of these Princes, for the hard, false, and wicked Speeches of some Men against them, to be had in the greater Esteem and Honour; and their Reputation (like the Sun from Darkness) to rise and recover it self to such a degree of Splendour as several shall be grieved to behold, and unable to resist.

This Historiaster, tho' he has not the Front to own it, plainly enough discovers that his principal Intent was to blacken; and whoever will exercise his Patience in reading over this voluminous Collection of Falshoods and Slanders, will find him keeping this End constantly in view, *ad hanc Metam semper Collimantem*. Wherein he treads in the Steps, and follows the Example of Sir *Anthony Welden*, *John Milton*, and *Andrew Marvel*, three Men for libelling and defaming infamous; with this Difference, that his Malice and Ill-will are more extensive and diffusive; and instead of abusing One he has discharged his Venom upon Four Kings; not with *Milton's* Learning, or *Marvell's* Wit; but with a rabid Fury raking into the Ashes and worrying the Memory of these deceased Monarchs. 'Tis possible that this Insult upon the Dead, and Violation of the Royal Dignity, may gratify the harden'd Mind and deprav'd Affections of this libellous Writer; but with others, surely must meet with a just Detestation and Abhorrence those particularly who reflect on the unexampled Piety of King *Charles* the First, in forgiving the greatest Insolences and Injuries that could be offered to a Crown'd Head: and the amazing Goodness of his Son, in exerting his Regal Power to beset and cure his rebellious Subjects (his own and his Father's most implacable Enemies) not only from Punishment, but Reproach. A Consideration that very much heightens the Villany of the Crime here complain'd of; in all Cases base and unmanly, but when committed against the Merciful, Generous and Beneficent, to the utmost degree scandalous and must render the Criminal (as a Man of no Honour and Conscience) for ever infamous: so that it will appear strange, and for that Reason surprizing that Gentlemen of your Character should give Countenance to an Undertaking so unjustifiable.

that will admit of no Excuse; what every impartial and unprejudiced Person will heartily condemn. It may be urged indeed, and the Plea is readily allow'd, that such Subscribers as were altogether unacquainted with the Man, and his manner of Writing, are no ways answerable, or blameable, for whatever is published in this Book that deserves Censure. But they who had carefully read over his previous Works, his Secret History of *Europe*, and Critical History of *England*, could not possibly be ignorant of his partial Way of representing Things; they must needs see his avow'd and utter Aversion to the Royal House of STUART; and could not avoid taking notice how unfair an Adversary he was to that Illustrious Family; and therefore have no Right to this Plea, but are with good Reason to be accounted Favourers of his ill Designs. These, however, are not to be looked upon equally faulty and culpable with this false Accuser and Reviler of God's Vicegerents, unless it appear'd that not only his wicked Design, but the crooked and sinister Devices he has had Recourse to in the Prosecution of his unchristian Purpose, were likewise encouraged by their Assent. But, not to enlarge on the different degrees of Guilt that belongs to the Person who commits, and him who abets the Commission of any great Wickedness; it can't be deny'd that there is that Baseness and Turpitude in venting and publishing Slanders, that Vice carries in it something so vile and detestable, something so contrary to the Character of a Minister of the Gospel, and to the Candour and Honour of a Gentleman or Scholar, that those who shall appear to have given any Encouragement or Countenance to a Crime so unchristian and unmanly, will find the murdering Piece levell'd at others, recoiling upon themselves, and bring a Stain and Blot on their own Names and Memory,

not

not easy to be wiped off. Nor can it be thought unjust or hard that such as have been for destroying the Reputation and Credit, and throwing Shame and Disgrace upon the Innocent, should meet with the just Reward of their Demerits, and be made contemptible and base in the sight of all the People. But, vile and infamous as this enormous Crime always is, in some particular Cases, and under some special Circumstances (as is before hinted at) the Guilt and Turpitude thereof still encreases, and the nefarious Act becomes more odious and abominable. Thus when a Prince (to whom is due Esteem and Reverence, on account of his Divine Authority and Sacred Power) becomes, for his intellectual Endowments, and moral Perfections, the yet greater Object of our Love and Respect, his personal Excellencies join'd with his Character rendring him worthy of double Honour: When such a Glorious Prince shall be made the Mark of Envy and Malice, and by Calumnies Majesty shall be brought into Contempt, and Wisdom and Goodness into Disesteem: When a King (one, as I may say, after God's own Heart) who was by these inhuman Practices while living made most miserable, and thereby at length destroyed, shall not be suffer'd to rest quietly in his Grave, but after Death have his Name blackned, that his Memory may, if possible, be render'd odious to Posterity: In this case, may not Slander be thought somewhat to approach the Sin of Blasphemy? Certainly it must be criminal in a much higher Degree, than when the Injury affects Persons in a private Station, not distinguish'd by the special and peculiar Favours of Heaven. Your Christian Thoughts will incline you to lament the hard Fate of the Royal Martyr, who fell a Sacrifice to this foul Vice, and thereby still suffers in his Honour and Reputation; as does the Father of this Worthy Prince, and the two Sons, all wounded
by

by the same envenom'd Tongue, and by poisoned
 Arrows drawn from the same Quiver. But whe-
 ther they did not merit a different sort of Treat-
 ment than what they have met with from this and
 the rest of the Sons of Faction, will best appear
 after you have read over what I have to say in
 their Behalf, which I now present to your cool
 and impartial Reflections. As to King *James* the
 First, you may observe, and if the Observations
 deserve your Notice, remember, That He, who
 knew nothing but to reign, govern'd more than
 twenty Years with great Clemency and Moderation.
 That the difficult Times in *Scotland*, during his
 Minority, as much perplex'd with Church as State
 Factions, made Trial of his Patience in those
 younger Years; by which, and the Wisdom of his
 Conduct, he bore, and at last got through, those
 Difficulties; till at last God open'd him a Way to
 the just Inheritance of this Crown. That Peace
 and Plenty, the great Blessings of his Reign, might
 have been improv'd greatly to the Advantage of
 his Subjects, and the enriching of the State, had
 the Faction used such a Government with answer-
 able Returns, and not made the worst use of Peace.
 That during his Government here he took away
 the Life of no one Nobleman, and restored many.
 That the Sweetness of his Nature, a Quality that
 was wont to endear Princes to their Heathen Sub-
 jects, was to a Degree scarce to be parallell'd.
 That Mercy, Justice, and holding the State in
 Peace, which have ever been accounted the great
 virtues of Kings, were all eminent in him. That
 his Design to contribute to the Repose of *Christen-*
dom, by curbing that great Enemy of Peace and
 Christianity, the *Turk*, might have prov'd glorious
 to him, as it would have been advantagious to
Europe, had others been as true to him, as he was
 to the Common Good. That he was a patient
 Hearer

Hearer of Causes, and the justest Man that could sit between two Parties. That he was the greatest Patron to the Church that had been in many Ages. That he was the most learned Prince that this Kingdom had ever known, in Matters of Religion; and, which is more to his Honour, in his Opinions sound and orthodox. That by the great Care he took in the Education of his Son King *Charles* the First, that Prince ascended the Throne furnished with as great Abilities for Government as any Monarch in *Europe*; of which, as we might have reap'd the Benefit, so the Glory belongs to him. These Observations will have Weight and Authority with those that set a Value on the Integrity and Veracity of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, that is, with the Candid and Ingenuous; and with such will not pass for Marks of that Weakness, and Defect of Royal Virtues, as this false Accuser would fain persuade the World King *James* laboured under, and thereby made himself (what this Author is desirous he should be thought) very contemptible. To mention some of his intellectual Endowments, which tho' they are inferior to Divine Graces or Moral Virtues, are yet truly valuable, make private Men look'd upon with Esteem, Princes with Admiration. Arch-Bishop *Williams* says his Invention was quick, and his Words as ready as his Invention; and that his Speeches in Parliament, the Star-Chamber, Council-Table, and other publick Audiences of State, prove him an excellent Speaker: to which I'll add, that his Works shew him no inferior Writer. My Lord *Bacon*, after he had spoke of the Largeness of his Capacity, the Faithfulness of his Memory, the Swiftnes of his Apprehension, and the Penetration of his Judgment, thus proceeds in praise of his Eloquence, " The Faculty and Order of his Elocution was without Labour and Difficulty; not deriv'd from Art and
 " Rules

Rules; not fram'd from a servile Imitation of
 some Pattern of Eloquence; but, Prince-like,
 flowing as from a Fountain, and yet streaming
 and branching itself into Nature's Order, full
 of Facility and Felicity; imitating None, and
 not imitable by Any." And I the rather take
 notice of this Prince's Eloquence, because the *In-*
dex-Writer has spoke of it contemptuously; and
 has on that Occasion thrown out some childish and
 aukward Jests. And admirably well match'd is
 this Man's Judgment with his Wit, when he lays
 aside the Authority of the best Writers, and af-
 fronts his Readers with the bold Assertions of the
 worst, such as *Welden, Peyton, Ludlow, Vickars,*
Coke, and *Lilly* the Almanack-Writer; illustrious
 Names that frequently adorn his Margin! And out
 of these and such like Authors our Pseudo-Histo-
 rian has compos'd a Volume; a Performance, in
 respect of the Meanness of the Composition, the
 Want of Decency in the Reflexions, the Want of
 Truth in the Narration, and the Want of Modesty
 in all, not to be equall'd. But leaving this Man
 and his Associates to the Contempt of the Impar-
 tial and Wise, and to the Admiration of the Igno-
 rant and Ill-minded, I return to my Subject, and
 shall endeavour to do Justice to the abused Memo-
 ry of King *Charles* the First; who, consider'd ei-
 ther as a private Man, a Prince, or a Christian,
 will appear under each Denomination, a Person e-
 minently Great, truly Valuable, and highly to be
 Esteem'd and Honour'd. Wherever we see a
 Quickness of Apprehension, and that not confin'd
 to a few, but extending it self to a vast Variety of
 Things, so that the Possessor of that noble Faculty
 having the Key of Universal Knowledge, can enter
 at pleasure; when this extensive Genius shall be as-
 sisted with a clear and masterly Way of Reasoning,
 and both these Talents fall under the Direction of

an accurate and sound Judgment; we admire the Person adorn'd with these Excellencies, which illustrate the obscurest Birth, and raise the meanest and lowest Descent. With what Reverence then should we regard a King, and at the same time a Philosopher, a Lawyer, and a Divine; a Writer for Strength of Reasoning, Energy of Expression, Nobleness and Majesty of Style without an Equal; and for Extent of Knowledge knowing no Superior? You can't be ignorant of the Testimony given by his Enemies to his great and surprizing Abilities: How emphatically, and with what Emotion of Mind Mr. *Vines* express'd his Admiration thereof to a particular Friend, after his Return from the Treaty of *Newport*, where His Majesty had an Opportunity of displaying his Gifts, and like a Heroe encounter'd and vanquish'd Numbers. How Mr. *Henderson*, in a Writing drawn up by him on his Death-bed, and when he saw Death approaching, declared before God and the World, that he was the most intelligent Person he ever spoke with, in Matters relating to the Church and State; and that he was astonish'd at the Quickness and Solidity of his Reasons and Replies, &c. So that could Men be prevail'd upon to free themselves from Prejudice, could they be persuad'd to examine his Writings with the same Indifference and Impartiality, Care and Judgment, as they read the Works of *Euclid*, they would readily own him among the many Eminent Persons of his Time the first, the most worthy to be styl'd the Glory of the *British* Nation. Now since the better we understand him, the more we shall admire and esteem him; let us take a farther View of him, and consider him in a nobler Capacity, that of a King giving Lustre to his Scepter, and adorning his Crown.

The Ambition of this *Pater Patriæ*, (so called from his Paternal Affection to his People,) was to promote the Welfare of his Subjects, the Advancement whereof he esteem'd his greatest Honour. This made him chuse rather to deny himself than them, and prefer that which was thought Necessary for their Good, before what he saw convenient for himself. By this, in Spight of the restless Endeavours of a stubborn Faction intent and sedulous to disturb his unwearied Zeal for his Kingdom's Prosperity and Happiness, he was enabled to preserve the State for 17 Years in Peace and Plenty, to such a Degree, as all Nations about admir'd or envy'd. And when some Miscarriages arose, thro' the ill Counsel of some Men driving in their private Ends, or the Peevishness of others, by his saying that the Publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable Necessities of State, or the Rigor or Remissness of some Ministers in Church and State; this made him resolv'd to expiate these Offences, by such Laws and Regulations, as might not only rectify what was done amiss in Practice, but supply what was defective in the Constitution. No Man being more willing to complain, than he was to redress whatever had been done amiss; even beyond the Expectation of moderate Men, who were sorry to see him injure himself, out of a Zeal to benefit his Subjects. And when by all his Acts of Grace, his unwearied patience under innumerable Insolencies and Provocations, his many large Concessions, he could not prevent his rebellious Subjects from taking up Arms against him; this inclined him to carry on a defensive War, with a Moderation not consistent with his own Safety; and to make his Successes all subservient to Peace; which he would out of his love to his Subjects have purchased at any Rate, not at the Price of his Conscience. To speak a

few Words of his political Prudence. In the Law of the Land he was as knowing (as himself, no Boaster of his Parts, said to his Parricides) as any Gentleman in *England*, who did not profess the publick Practice; especially those Parts of it which concerned the Commerce between King and People. In the Art peculiar to Princes, Reason of State, he knew as much as any cotemporary Kings, or their ablest Ministers: Yet scorn'd to follow those Rules of it that lead from the Path of Justice. The Reserves of other Princes in the Leagues and Contracts to colour their Breaches of Faith, those inglorious and dark Intrigues of seditious Politicians he perfectly abhorred. But his Letters, Declarations, Speeches, &c. are full of that political Wisdom which is consistent with Christianity. None found out fitter Means for accomplishing a Design, provided better Expedients for extricating himself out of Difficulties, nor were any Counsels so prosperous as his own when vigorously executed: And he seldom miscarried, but when he followed the Advice of others. His Instructions to his Ambassadors, and other publick Ministers, were so full of Wisdom, and such prudent Provisions were made against Emergencies, as prove that he foresaw Events at a Distance. And it was the Preservation of a noble Person (one of his Council in all his Troubles) that had the King been a Cofellow to any other Prince, he would have gain'd the Esteem of an Oracle, all his Proposals being grounded on the clearest Reason, and properly adapted to the Business under Deliberation.

He shewed his Fortitude various Ways: His Mind was above Fears and Jealousies: And he was the Marquis of *Hamilton* lie in his Bed-chamber when he was charged with a Conspiracy, and lay under the Accusation of High-Treason. When in Action he despis'd Danger, and could look

Enemies and grim Death in the Face undaunted,
 and undisturbed. He more than once would have
 led his Men to Attempts which his Officers thought
 too desperate, and on that Account declined. And
 I think it may be reckon'd as well an Instance of
 his Magnanimity as Clemency, that he was so
 sparing of Blood, that no Man fell in Battle whom
 he could save. This Courage and Greatness of
 Mind that attended him in Arms, forsook him not
 with his Fortune: And when he had lost the Autho-
 rity of a King, he maintained still, and kept up,
 tho' a Prisoner, the Royal State and Dignity: And
 when *Whaley* insolently intruded into his Presence,
 and *Cobbet* bold in Power, thrust himself into
 his Coach, he taught them, who had thrown off
 their Regard, to keep their Distance from Majesty.
 And this Nobleness of Mind, and true Magnanimi-
 ty, he never parted with till with great Composedi-
 ness and Christian Fortitude, he laid down his Life.
 And here I lay hold of a fair Opportunity given
 me, to congratulate and return my Thanks to the
 Author of this History, who has paid homage, and
 for once yielded to the Force of Truth: When
 speaking of the Difficulties the King was under
 the beginning of the Year 1644, he shews how he
 acted the Part of an Hero, in breaking thro' them,
 and celebrates on that Occasion his Bravery in a
 Manner not unhandsome. I come next to consider
 him as a Christian, the best of that Age; one who
 would have been esteemed an Ornament of the
 Church, had he lived in the Days of *Justin Mar-*
tyr, Polycarp and Ignatius. This is a Subject noble,
 copious and delightful, and under the Manage-
 ment of an able Hand, would beautify and adorn
 many Pages, with infinite Pleasure to the Writer,
 and no less to the honest and candid Reader. But
 as several of the Christian Graces of this Prince,
 by the Appointment of Authority, are, and ever
 will

will be to his immortal Honour annually remembered on the Day of his Martyrdom ; and as it has, in former Times, been the Practice (conformable to the Mind of the Church) of wise and learned and good Men on that Day to set forth the Praise of this Prince, by displaying the Gifts of God so plentifully bestowed on his Anointed : And as the Press has done its Part in proclaiming, and in the most respectful Manner celebrating the same ; there is the less Reason to enlarge on what has been so often, so fully, and so much better performed, than any of my Productions are like to be ; I shall little more than touch upon them, begging my Readers Pardon, if I dwell a little on his Patience and Christian Behaviour under his Sufferings, which I shall exhibit in the Martyr's own most moving and affecting Words. To a clear, sound extensive Knowledge in Things Sacred, relating to the Doctrines of Christianity, and the Government of the Church, he joined the most exalted Piety, and seraphick Devotion ; by Temperance, Chastity, and a Freedom from all carnal Pollutions ; his Body became a Temple (I speak it with Reverence) in some Measure fit to receive that Divine Guest the Spirit of Purity. The Regard he had to private Property, at a Time when he had an Army to maintain, and his rebellious Subjects were in Possession of his Magazines and Revenues : His Resolution not to injure his Successors, by yielding to a total Alienation of that Power from them, which for his Time he consented should be at the Disposal of the two Houses : His unalterable Fixedness not to consent to the Sale of the Church Lands, declaring that he had rather live on the Church's Alms, than violently take the Bread out of Bishops and Ministers Mouths ; prove him, according to my Lord *Clarendon's* Character, the most worthy the
 Title

Title of an honest Man. I refer those, who would know the Extent of his Charity, to *St. Paul's* Description of Divine Grace: And 'tis my Request to you who are Gentlemen of reading, to oblige me with the Name of any one Person since the Apostolick Age, who had the extensive Charity *St. Paul* speaks of in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, in a Degree beyond this God-like Prince.

His humble and submissive Deportment under the Afflictions which Providence permitted him to be ried with, and his meek and patient bearing the injuries of his perfidious and ungrateful Subjects may be learnt from these pious Soliloquies, which express most pathetically his Christian Sense of his Sufferings.

“ The Miseries which have ensued on me and my Kingdoms, are the just Effects of thy Displeasure upon us: And may be yet (thro' thy Mercy) Preparatives of us to future Blessings, and better Hearts to enjoy them. O Lord, tho' thou hast deprived us of many former Comforts, yet grant me and my People the Benefit of our Afflictions, and thy Chastisements, that thy Rod, as well as thy Staff, may comfort us. Thy Will be done, tho' never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hop'd to do what was most conformable to thine. Let thy Grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the Frustratings, as the Fulfillings of my best Hopes. If nothing but my Blood will satisfy my Enemies, or quench the Flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy Will, that it be shed by my own Subjects Hands. Let me be happy to refute and put to Silence their Evil-speaking by Well-doing. Teach me the noblest Victory over my self and my Enemies by Patience: Which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King. Between both thy
“ Hands,

“ Hands, thy right Hand sometimes supporting,
 “ and thy left afflicting, fashion us to that Frame
 “ of Piety thou likest best. Bestow on me the
 “ Crown of Christian Patience, which knows how
 “ to serve thee in Honour or Dishonour. Let no
 “ Fire of Affliction boil over my Passion to any
 “ Impatience or sordid Fear. Make me willing
 “ to go wherever thou wilt lead me by thy Provi-
 “ dence. Let me not so much consider what they
 “ have done, or I have suffered, as to forget to
 “ imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their
 “ Ignorance for their Pardon.

Compleatly good. Thus said the Saint; and
 as he spoke he liv'd. Of his Mortification and
 Self-denial I need say no more, than that he pra-
 ctis'd those Graces thro' the whole Course of his
 Life; and had he not carry'd about him the inse-
 parable Infirmities of Flesh and Blood, he would
 not have wanted frequent Occasions for the Exer-
 cise of those great Virtues from the Perverseness
 and Malice of his insolent and most provoking
 Enemies.

Before I enter upon the Characters of his two
 Sons, I beg Leave to present you with an Ob-
 servation of Dr. South. Which is this. “ If any
 “ Branch of this Royal Family has unhappily
 “ drunk in any thing of the Popish Contagion,
 “ they who call themselves true Protestants, of all
 “ Men breathing, are the most improper to de-
 “ cry, or so much as to open their Mouths against
 “ any such Person on that Account. For they
 “ must thank themselves for it, who forcibly
 “ pluck'd the Children out of the Bosom of the
 “ best Father, and the firmest Protestant in the
 “ World: And sent them into foreign Countries,
 “ there to converse with Snares and Traps, and to
 “ support their Lives with the Hazard of their
 “ Faith; flying from such Protestants for Safety
 “ and Shelter among the Papists.

A staggering Consideration to Persons of such tender Years! But had that blessed Prince been suffered to spin out the full Thread of his Life in Peace and Prosperity, none had issued from his Royal Loins, but what he himself would have tutor'd and bred up to such a Knowledge of, and Adherence to the Church of *England*, that it should not have been in the Power of all the *Papists* and *Jesuits* under Heaven to have shook them in their Religion.

So that the great Seducers were *Cromwell* and his Fellow-Rebels; who by banishing of the Royal Family, cast them into the very Jaws of Popery and Seduction, and not only led, but drove them into Temptation. To which I add, that the Regicides by the Murder of this good King, depriv'd his Children of such an Example as might have made them Heirs of his Virtues, as well as his Religion. So that I hope for your Concurrence with me in condemning as highly unreasonable as well as indecent, some Mens tragical Outcries against the Effects of that Flame which they themselves kindled. And if the Sons of the Martyr were not in Soundness of Faith, or Regularity of Life, such as the wise Instructions, and pious Example of so eminent a Christian would by the Blessing of Heaven on both have made them, 'tis visible enough at whose Door the Fault lies; who are to be accounted criminal and culpable, and how much the Rebels and Phanaticks have to answer for to God and the World on that Account.

No one can do Justice to the Memory of King *Charles* the second, without making an honourable Mention of his Courage; and as there has been a general Omission of that Part of his Character, I have the more Reason to proclaim and celebrate that truly princely Ornament; and endeavour that it may no longer lie unobserved, that it may not

be buried in Silence and Oblivion. In such Esteem has this Noble Quality been ; that some Kings, with little else to recommend them than their personal Bravery, have been highly extolled and honoured with the Title of Great. This Prince, 'tis true, made no ostentatious Shew of Valour, a Thing below the Greatness of his Spirit, contrary to the Nobleness of his Mind, not debas'd and render'd Vulgar by Vanity. 'Tis likewise true, that he was careful to keep his Kingdoms in Peace, mov'd thereto, not thro' Fear, as Ignorance or Malice may suggest, but from his Tenderness and Affection to his People, to secure them from the Miseries of War.

But let his Actions speak for him, and take the following Relation as an undeniable Instance and Proof of his fearless Temper and true Fortitude. In the Year 1651, he came from *Scotland* to *Worcester* with a very sorry Army, if want of Discipline, want of Ammunition, and some Treachery, can denominate an Army such: Under these Disadvantages he was to encounter an Enemy in Number vastly superior, well provided and united, and animated and inspirited with Phantick Rage and Fury. The King, after he had refreshed his wearied Troops, and received a Reinforcement of *English*, (not considerable, unless for the Courage and Loyalty they brought with them) prepared for attacking the Rebel-Army, that lay panting and gaping for his Destruction.

Their brave General, (as the Faction is pleas'd to call him) not content with the great Superiority of Numbers, and several other Advantages he had over his Prince, thought the Covert of a Wood and Breast-Work no unnecessary Defence for his Men.

But a firm Resolution will (as we shall find) break thro' all Difficulties and Dangers to an Attempt. The King thus armed, led Part of his

Army

Army towards the Rebels, saluted by the Way
 with a few Cannon-shot from his good Friends;
 the Royalists, animated by his Bravery, made a
 successful Onset; the *Cromwellians* gave Way to a
 superior Courage, and for a while could not call
 their Cannon their own; so that the King's Forti-
 tude was rewarded with very promising Begin-
 nings; but his Majesty not being supported by
 the main Body of his Horse, which remained in
 the Town, and that necessary Assistant of Courage,
 Ammunition failing; Fortitude alone was not
 long able to maintain the Ground it had bravely
 gained, where a Stand against such Numbers was
 impossible, a Retreat became unavoidable. But tho'
 he quitted the Field, he resolved, and had given a
 further Proof of his Courage in the City, could he
 by the most earnest and moving Entreaties have
 prevailed on his Soldiers to behave themselves (as he
 told them) like Men, fighting for so good a Cause.
 This shewed his Inclination, tho' it was not in
 his Power to persuade his Men to renew the Fight.
 And of this resolute Temper he continued to
 be last: For when he was forc'd to leave *Worcester*,
 he stopp'd several Times between the Town and a
 ridge about a Mile from it, still earnest with his
 Officers, the Lords *Cleveland*, *Derby*, *Wilmot*, &c.
 all gallant Men, to face about, and with the Body
 of Horse that was left to try the Fortune of War
 more; but they all concluded the Day irre-
 verably lost, and dissuaded him from an At-
 tempt so desperate, his Majesty shewing the same
 undaunted Mind after the Defeat, as in the Time
 of Action, and gaining as much Honour by his
 manner of Retreating, as in the Field of Battle.
 And afterwards, when he put on a Disguise, and
 was obliged to act another Part, the same Pre-
 sence of Mind attended him, and enabled him to
 pass thro' and converse with his Enemies undistur-

bed, and for that Reason unsuspected ; in a Word, it did not a little contribute, by the Blessing of Heaven, to his Security, and Preservation from Dangers that surrounded, but had not Power to disturb him, to ruffle or discompose the Evenness and Serenity of his Mind. I expect our Historiaster will reply, as he did to my Lord *Clarendon* on the same Occasion, with a Horse-Laugh, one Instance of a Thousand of his Manners and good Sense. There can't be a more noble Attendant of Courage than Clemency, without this Valour will be more apt to terrify than to please, will rather excite Fear than Love. Now as for this Prince, his undaunted Resolution and unshaken Presence of Mind was perfectly soften'd by the admirable Sweetness of his Nature, that made his Person belov'd, and his Reign easy and delightful to his People, and his Memory dear and precious ; to all but sullen Faction, unmindful of Benefits, ungrateful for Favours, an incessant Disturber of his Peace, and that still insults the Goodness it could not overcome. To reckon up Particulars, and recite all the gracious Acts that flow'd from this endearing Virtue would be to prove how worthy this Prince was to be stiled *Deliciae humani generis* ; and how deservedly the Faction might be call'd the Reproach of humane Nature. But as the Memory of many of them is to his Honour still kept up, and they are to this Day spoke of with the utmost Respect and all imaginable Delight and Satisfaction ; I find myself under the less Necessity to enlarge on a Subject so well understood, to dwell on a Proof of that which is already acknowledg'd by the best part of the Nation. I shall therefore confine myself to one Instance, not generally observ'd, but such an one as will sufficiently shew the Compassion and Tendernefs of his Nature. During the Reign of this King, a small Army was kept up ; and for any

any thing that appears to the contrary from the authentick Histories of those Times in good Order (I confine myself herein to *England*, till I am better acquainted with what relates to *Scotland* and *Ireland*) not by Severity, a Thing his Nature utterly abhorr'd, but by a Way much more suitable to his and the Temper of Freemen, *humanitate & pudore*. Accordingly where the first prov'd ineffectual, and Goodness and Gentleness could not prevail, and keep the disingenuous and stubborn in due Bounds, there was a Necessity to have recourse to the latter, and to try the Power of Shame on those who could not be wrought upon by Mildness. Of this sort of penal Animadversions, running the Gantlet, may be accounted one, a Punishment then of Shame, and as such inflicted on great Offenders, who deserved to be exposed and suffer publick Disgrace. Thus was Justice tempered with Lenity; and as the Law of *England* has been accounted a Law of Mercy, therewith admirably well accorded this Prince's Temper, wherein was nothing harsh, nothing severe; extending itself like that to all, the very meanest of his Subjects, being thought not unworthy of the Royal Indulgence, that made the Prerogative itself on the Subjects side, employ'd and still exercis'd for the Ease and Benefit of the People, *Felices ter & amplius*, to be under a Constitution so mild, and a Governor yet milder. To proceed, if a sagacious Wit, a quick Conception, a ready Judgment, an extensive Knowledge, denote, and are the sure Marks of a great Genius: The Prince that made himself illustrious by these deserves the greatest Applause, merits the highest Esteem and Honour; and surely he is worthy of the same for his Countenance and Favour to those deserving Persons who espous'd and strenuously asserted the Rights of the Church, and were eminent for Learning
and

and Goodness. And it is to be lamented, that he did not adorn these Noble and Princely Endowments (after the Example of his Father; thanks to the Phanaticks, who robb'd him of that powerful Motive) with a strict and truly Christian Life, and that he was not as careful to please God, as he was to preserve and promote the Peace and Wellfare of his People. As the first thing I observed in the Character of King *Charles* the Second, was his Courage, the same shall begin that of his Royal Brother: And I am the more ready to do Justice to this Part of his Character, because Many are so blinded with one evil Affection or other, as not to be able to see what is most evident, or so perverse as audaciously to deny what is certain and apparent. Some honourable Testimonies of this I have met with, sufficient I think either to convince or to shew the invincible Power of Prejudice.

The Duke served several Campaigns under the famous *Turenne*; this gave the Marechal an Opportunity to see, and his Generosity inclined him very much to applaud the Greatness of that Courage he was a Witness of. The Prince of *Conde*, another great General of those Times, and a Witness (and I hope you'll say a good one) of the Truth I am maintaining, was so transported with the gallant and fearless Behaviour of this illustrious Person, that he has often been heard to say, that if there was any Man in the World without Fear, it was the Duke of *York*. Sir *John Narborough* was in the same Ship with the Duke, and for that Reason is a more proper Person to speak, and will be sooner credited on this Occasion, than *Oldmixon* and all the Faction. Now if we appeal to his Account of the Deportment of the Lord High Admiral during the Sea-Fight, we shall find it such as fully answers the Character given by the two great *French* Generals; by that we are informed

l, therned that the Duke never thought himself near enough
ly Ento the Enemy; continually calling to the Master
er; thof the Ship to luff her nearer: And that he fhewed,
hat po when his Perfon was in the moft extreme Hazard,
ftian te total Neglect and Contempt of Danger.

God, And as a further Proof of this, and to his im-
and Wmortal Honour, I fhall add, and beg Leave to
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And as a further Proof of this, and to his im-
mortal Honour, I fhall add, and beg Leave to
prefent you with the Preamble of an Act for
granting one Month's Affeffment to his Majesty,
viz. King *Charles* the Second. " We your Maje-
fty's moft dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Com-
mons in Parliament affembled, taking notice of
the heroick Courage with which your Majesty's
Royal Brother expofed his own Perfon, for the
Defence of your Majesty and your People, a-
gainft the *Dutch* Fleet; and of the glorious
Victory, thro' the Bleffing of Almighty God
by him obtain'd: Are humble Suitors with your
Majesty, that we may have Leave to make
fome Exprefions of our humble Thanks to
his Royal Highnefs for the fame: And for
this End your Majesty would graciously pleafe
to accept from us your loyal Subjects the Sum
of Money hereafter mentioned, and to beftow
the fame upon your Majesty's Royal Brother.
Of whom you may remember a great Man in
ance faid, that he valued an Opportunity of
nalizing his Courage, above the greateft politi-
al Advantage. Some other Parts of the Character
this Prince, I choofe to give you in the Words
the Diffenters, the favourable Testimony of
dverfaries, and true *Proteftants* of a profefsed
pift claiming your fpecial Regard. Hear then
w thofe good People apply'd to his Majesty in
eir Addreffes, as you may read them, published
Royal Authority. The *London Presbyterians*
eak of his tender Care of their Rights and Pro-
rties. The *London Independents*, of his Princely
Cle-

Clemency. The *Norwich Independents* own that he had shewn himself a wise and merciful King thro' the whole Course of his Reign. The *Independents, Baptists*, and many others in the County of *Glocester*, wish, and heartily invite all his Majesty's Subjects to join with them in Heart and Mind to pray, *Long live and reign James the Just*. The *Anabaptists* in *Cheshire, Shropshire* and *Staffordshire*, speak of his Princely Compassion, and declare him such a Prince as Heaven design'd for the highest Pattern of Royal Goodness. The *Anabaptists* of *Kent* call him the most tender and affectionate Prince that ever sway'd the Scepter. I beg your Excuse, Gentlemen, that for want of Room I cannot lay before you all the great Things said of this Prince by the Dissenters of each Denomination, which deserve never to be forgot; and that I am forc'd for your farther Information and Satisfaction, to refer you to the *Gazettes* printed in 1687. King *Charles* the Second, as you very well know, upon his Restoration, after innumerable Provocations from his rebellious Subjects such as murdering his Father, and many Thousands of his faithful Subjects, driving him into foreign Countries, robbing the Church and Nation of about 20 Millions, multiplying of Injuries to that Degree, that they had, as King *Charles* the First most emphatically expresses it, brought the Church and State into a *Chaos* of Confusions, and Hell of Miseries: This Gracious Prince, I say, out of his abundant Clemency and overflowing Goodness, was pleas'd to pass an Act of free and general Pardon, Indempnity and Oblivion, to the Intent that no Crime whatsoever committed against him or his Royal Father, should rise in Judgment or be brought in question against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, or to the Prejudice

justice of their Reputation, by any Reproach, or Term of Distinction. I beg Leave now to ask a Question or two on this Occasion. Is this the Manner of Princes towards their rebellious Subjects? Can you furnish yourselves from your great reading, with more than one such Instance of Clemency in a manner so extensive, a Degree so superlative? And that was in the glorious Father of this Prince, who, not long before his Death, sent his Son a Letter full of most wise and Christian Instructions, part of which I shall transcribe for his Honour, to the Satisfaction of all ingenuous, and the Shame and Reproach of all base and disloyal Minds.

“ As soon as the forked Arrow of factious Emulations is drawn out, use all Princely Arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds, that the Smart of the Cure may not equal the Anguish of the Hurt. I have offer'd Acts of Indempnity and Oblivion to so great a Latitude, as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and Insecurities. I would have you always propense to the same Way; and whenever it shall be desir'd and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-Policy, but of Christian Charity and Choice. 'Tis all I have now left me, a Power to forgive those who have depriv'd me of all; and I thank God I have an Heart to do it, and joy as much in this Grace which God hath given me, as in all my former Enjoyments. Be confident, as I am, that most who have done amiss, have done so, not out of Malice, but Misinformation. The Nobleness of your Mind must raise you above the meditating any Revenge, or executing your Anger on the Many. The more conscious you shall

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“ be

“ be to your own Merits, the more prone you
 “ will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from
 “ your People, and to inflict no Punishment for
 “ former Miscarriages: You will have more in-
 “ ward Complacency in pardoning one, than in
 “ punishing a Thousand.

Thus piously did the Father advise, and thus religiously did the Son exemplify the Advice given by his Royál Instructor, Princes infinitely obliging to a most base and ungrateful Faction, that requir'd the first of these their Benefactors with Murder and Calumny, and made it their Business by Sedition and Rebellion, to disturb the Reign, and by libellous Pamphlets, to revile and blacken the Memory of the latter.

Nor is the Rancour of this malevolent Party yet satisfi'd with the Injuries those Royal Sufferers have received from the barbarous Hands and Tongues of that infinitely oblig'd, and yet infinitely cruel and ungrateful Race of Men, but does to this Day shew itself in the old infamous Way of misrepresenting and libelling these two Kings, still pursu'd by Malice, the Objects still of enraged Minds, and bitter-venenom'd Tongues. But to return to King *James*; he, after the Example of his Father and Brother, gave many Proofs of his forgiving Temper, by not shewing his Resentment to several great Offenders, who, between 1670 and 1681 (a very tempestuous Season) had treated him very unworthily, had us'd great Insolence to provoke him. One Thing more I beg Leave to offer to your serious Thoughts. This Prince spent his last Years as became a good Christian, in Charity, Devotion, Mortification, and an humble, patient and submissive Deportment under his Afflictions, a pious, and as such the best Use that could be made of the Calamity that befell him by a permissivè Providence. To this Vindication of

the injur'd, I shall add a few general Reflecti-
 ons not unfit to be consider'd by the Readers of
 this Libel against the Royal House of STUART.
 By the scornful and contemptuous Treatment of
 Majesty, a Thing frequent in this Man's Writings,
 tis evident that he wrote under the Influence and
 Power of some very evil Affection; which must
 have been a strong Byass on his Mind, and drawn
 him from the Path of Truth; intent still upon
 gratifying his Malice and Envy, pleasing his ill
 Nature, and refreshing his base Mind, in ruining
 the good Name, and destroying the Reputation of
 those whom neither Wisdom nor Innocence has been
 able to secure from the Spirit of Slander and De-
 traction, and the Virulence of an envenom'd
 Tongue. Now when it shall be observed, that an
 Historian writes under the Direction of a wicked
 passion, and that there are manifest Signs and To-
 kens throughout his Work, that one main and
 principal End he aims at, is to satisfy a corrupt
 and vicious Propension; you can't but allow that
 the Credit of his Performance will thereby most de-
 servedly be impair'd and lessen'd; his Candour
 and Impartiality with good Reason be questioned;
 and the Truth and Veracity of his History on just
 grounds be suspected. Another thing observable
 in this Man's way of Writing, that runs thro' the
 whole Work, is a strange Confidence and Boldness,
 and a Degree very surprizing and shocking. And I
 am the rather inclined to take notice of this ill
 Quality, (of which our Author is so great a Ma-
 rtyr) because the Writers for the Faction, whenever
 they maintain a bad Cause, or fall foul on a good
 one; whenever they defend the Guilty, or attack
 the Innocent; enter the Lists compleated arm'd
 with Brass. The Libels of this last Century are
 wrote with this true Spirit of Controversy; and
 this Action was accounted the chief Part of a Ro-

man, Impudence must be allow'd the principal Qualification of a Whiggish Orator. Nor has this low and vulgar way been unsuccessfully employed; the Audacious still prevailing upon, and leading after them the Easy and Credulous. To these two Blemishes of Humanity, a Forwardness to affirm, and an Over-easiness to credit bold Allegations, is owing the Belief of the most ridiculous, the most incredible Things: As that an Apostolick Institution is Antichristian; a close Adherence to the Church of *England*, *Popery*; a strict Regard to Right, Injustice; That a Prince of the most yielding and complying Temper was Arbitrary: Another King renowned for his tender Love of his People, was that People's Enemy. In a Word, the Belief of such senseless Stories as are unfit to be told in any Place but one, and hardly indeed in that, I mean a Nursery. So that this Outlandish Accomplishment cannot be treated with too much Scorn, cannot be sufficiently exposed. On Account of its mischievous Effects; the ill Influence it hath on good-natur'd unwary Minds, its Aptness to seduce honest well-meaning Men. Now the Reflection the Mind naturally makes on this Occasion is this, that when an Author is past Shame, he has not an over-nice Regard to Truth; for such an one can look the World in the Face, and if it were possible, out of Countenance, after he has publish'd the grossest and most palpable Falshoods: So that the Audaciousness of our Historian must raise just Suspicions of the Veracity of his History: That, which should make him a diligent Enquirer after, and a faithful Reporter of Truth, being wanting.

As the excellent Endowments, and noble Actions of these Princes, (the Memory of which an honest Historian would have faithfully transmitted to Posterity) are not thought worthy our Author's Notice;

Notice; who fearful that Reverence and Esteem, the honourable Reward of Virtue should be their Lot; takes Care to conceal what could not but create Respect; so is he most sharp-sighted in espying Infirmities and Errors; the exposing whereof, and thereby this illustrious Family gives this Accuser the most sensible Pleasure, the most ravishing Gratification and Delight. To this Thirst, this longing Desire to blacken and defame, we owe the unwearied Pains and Labour he has taken to aggravate Faults beyond their true Size and Degree; to create them where they are not; and by a malevolent Construction, to turn even Vertue into Vice. Considerations which no one can take notice of, without reflecting on the Unfitness of this Man to draw Characters, write any thing but Libels; and of the Unworthiness of those (if any such there be) who make him the Instrument of their Malice, and under the Title of History, encourage the publishing the blackest Slander and Defamation.

As another Instance of his Judgment and Integrity, the Reader will consider the Authors he makes use of in his Work, and those he disesteems. As for his Hearsays, and Manuscripts, it is sufficient to say, that the Spring from whence the Stream issued, being hid; and knowing the Channel thro' which it has pass'd, to think that it has come out pure and unpolluted, might be a good-natur'd, but would at the same Time be a weak Conclusion. I find Sir *A. W.* often in the Margin, and suppose those Letters stand for *Anthony Welden*, a malevolent Writer, in the Reign of King *Charles the First*, an Author of no Account with Persons of good Manners, Learning and Probity; and one that lies under the Accusation of Forgery, as may be seen in the 836th, 837th, and 838th Pages of the second Vol. of *Dr. Nalson's Impartial*

tial Collections. *Lilly* the Almanack-Writer is another worthy Name that graces his History, and how far any Quotations from him may be depended on, will appear from this short Account he gives of himself. *I devoted myself Soul and Body to the Cause of the Parliament.* The Author of the Memoirs of the Church of *Scotland* had Reason to be ashamed to prefix his Name, and the Author of the History of *England*, &c. might, if he could, have blush'd at offering such an Authority to the publick. Of Sir *Edward Peyton* this only need be said, that an infamous Libel, the Product of his Virulent Pen, was lately publish'd, but could not bear the Light: The present Government took great Offence at it, and shew'd its just Resentment against the Publisher. The Regicide *Ludlow* may well be thought as favourable to the Cause, and as tender of the Character, as he was of the Person of his King. Quotations from *Larrey*, and the Author of the History of his Times, may serve the Purposes of one not over nice in judging, not over careful in delivering strict and undisguis'd Truth. The Parliament Chronicle, several times refer'd to in this Work, was wrote by a very ignorant, and I think I may call him a very profane Fellow, one *Vickers*; remarkable for his silly way of writing, and his prostituting that Name which is Great, Wonderful and Holy; by making infinite Purity to patronize Crimes horrid and most detestable. The last of his Authors that I shall at present take notice of, is Mr. *Acherley*, whom he is pleas'd to dignify with the Epithets of Learned and Judicious. Now what this Gentleman has wrote to entitle him to this honourable Character, besides his *Britannick Constitution*, I know not; I'm sure were that Performance our Guide, were we to form our Judgment of his Abilities from his fundamental Form of Govern-
ment

ment in *Britain*, and what he calls his Demonstration of the Original Contract enter'd into by King and People, he must be thought the Reverse: And if you, Gentlemen, can have Patience to read over part of that learned and judicious Work from P. 27. to P. 104. I leave it to your Ingenuity to determin upon the Learning, Judgment and Integrity of that admir'd and celebrated Writer. These are some of the Writers our Author has had Recourse to in his History; from these, and others like these, he has plentifully furnished himself with Materials for Slander; which with a liberal Hand he has dealt among Kings, thus endeavouring to rob them of their Reputation and Honour, by the Help of Authors of None. And as he has made Choice of the worst Writers, so has he rejected the Information of the best. Such as *Dugdale*, *Heylin*, *Perenchef*, *Sir Roger Manley*, *Sir Philip Warwick*, *Bishop Gutbry*, *Dr. Nalson*, *Mr. Wagstaff*, my Lord *Clarendon*, *Mr. Echard*, &c. But as his Business was to publish Falshood, what had he to do with Truth: Turn thou behind me. Of these Advocates for the Royal Cause, *Mr. Echard* has met with the worst Usage; and the Authority of his Writings is not only rejected, but he is treated with Scurrility, Scorn and Insolence. Of this the Reader may be a little surpriz'd, when he is inform'd with what Care and Labour the Arch-deacon drew up his History; how many Authors he made Use of, and living Authorities he consulted for his better Direction and Guidance; and when he knows the particular Obligation this very Man had to him, for the publick Apology made to excuse the Index-Writer for the Leger-main Tricks he had play'd in drawing up his Index. And as he is very angry with *Mr. Echard*, so he is not a little offended with my Lord *Clarendon's* History, giving publick Notice in his Title

Page,

Page, that such Liberties were taken with it before it came to the Press, as make it doubtful what Part is *Clarendon's*, and what not. A right Whiggish Charge, home and full, and as Whiggishly, I mean lamely prov'd: For after all these enormous Out-cries, continued in his Preface, about Alterations, Additions, Interpolations, &c. what has he been able to produce that has the least Appearance of a Proof, but this; That one of *Oxon*, who went by the Name of *Rag-Smith*, alias *Captain Rag*, inform'd a Gentleman who inform'd the Index-Writer, that a *Latin* Quotation of about a Line and a half, was by Direction foisted in. Now, tho' this be too silly and ridiculous to need a Reply, yet for once I'll throw away an Answer, by telling him, that if not only that, but every other *Latin* Citation in that History were added, the Veracity of the History itself, as it is a *Narration of Facts*, is no ways affected, but continues still the same.

Before I take my Leave of you, Gentlemen, I'll present you with a Story which you'll meet with in the 140 Page of this Romance: 'Tis pity it should be alter'd; be pleas'd therefore to take it in the Author's Words. " The Lord
 " *Lowdon* was sent to the Tower, where he was
 " very likely to have been dispatch'd, as by the
 " following Story which has to vouch it an Authority
 " too noble to be call'd in question. Sir
 " *William Balfour*, Governour of the Tower
 " where Lord *Lowdon* was committed, some Days
 " after receiv'd a Warrant from the King to be
 " head that Lord the next Day within the Tower
 " for fear of any Disturbance if it had been done
 " openly on the Hill. The Lieutenant, who
 " was at Cards with *Lowdon*, chang'd Countenance,
 " and holding up his Hands in Amazement,
 " shewed his Lord the Warrant: Who

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said to him, Well, Sir, you must do your Duty:
 I only desire Time to make a Settlement on
 some younger Children, and that you will let
 my Lawyer come to me for that End: To
 which *Balfour* consented: And the Lawyer
 carried away with him a Letter to the Mar-
 quis of *Hamilton*, informing him of the Mat-
 ter, and telling him, he was a *Scotsman*, and
 must answer it to his Country. *Balfour* follows
 the Lawyer to the Marquis, whom they could
 not presently find, it being Night; at last
 they found him at *Lady Clayton's*, and having
 delivered the *Lord Lowdon's* Letter, which
Balfour farther explain'd, the Marquis took
 Sir *William* with him to Court, not staying
 for his Coach, and desired Admittance about
 a Business of very great Importance to his
 Majesty: He was told the King and Queen
 were in Bed; and had given positive Orders
 not to admit any one: The Marquis in vain
 insisted on his own Right as one of the Lords
 of the Bed-Chamber, and the Right of the
 Lieutenant of the *Tower*, especially when he
 had any State Prisoner. Upon which Sir *Wil-*
liam knock'd at the King's Bed-Chamber Door,
 which being opened to him, he fell on his
 Knees, and having just mentioned the Warrant,
 his Majesty stopp'd him, saying, It should be
 executed. Upon which the Marquis enlarg-
 ing, and falling on his Knees, humbly expo-
 stulated with the King concerning it. The
 Queen express'd great Displeasure at his In-
 trusion: But the Marquis taking her up short,
 let her know that she was a Subject as well as
 himself; and that the Business he came about
 was of the highest Concern to his Majesty,
 Herself, to the whole Nation, and to himself
 in particular: He then spoke with great Ear-
 nestness

“ nestness to the King to dissuade him from the
 “ Execution: But all to no Purpose. Sir, says
 “ he, if you persist in this Resolution, no Scotfman
 “ will ever draw a Sword for you; or if they would,
 “ who should command them. The King reply’d,
 “ Yourself. No, Sir, said Hamilton, I dare never
 “ appear in Scotland afterwards: The King ne-
 “ vertheless swore twice that Lowdon should die.
 “ Then the Marquiss craving Leave to speak one
 “ Word more, said, Sir, I desire your Majesty to
 “ Look out for another House, for within twenty-
 “ four Hours, there will not be one Stone of White-
 “ Hall left upon another. This touch’d the King
 “ more than all the Arguments of Pity, Justice,
 “ or distant Danger. He call’d for the Warrant,
 “ tore it, and dismiss’d the Marquiss and Lieu-
 “ tenant somewhat sullenly. This Incident being
 “ not in Bishop Burnet’s Memoirs of the Dukes
 “ of Hamilton, he was asked why he did not insert
 “ it, and replied, I knew it, but durst not tell it.
 “ The late Duke Hamilton own’d it to be true in
 “ the late Queen’s Time, adding, I’ll print it in
 “ I out-live her. And this Story is so well known
 “ to all the People of the first Quality in North
 “ Britain, that I am not afraid to conclude from
 “ thence, there was no Passion so strong in King
 “ Charles the First, as the Desire of arbitrary
 “ Power and Revenge on those whom he took
 “ to be his Enemies.” This Story I can’t dismiss
 without Reflecting on the wretchedly mean and
 contemptible Way in which it is told, below
 the Stile of a Man of common Sense, much
 more that of a Scholar, and ill becoming one
 that sets up for a critical Historian. And could I
 be persuaded to think that this Writer was weak
 enough to give Credit to a Tale so senseless and
 ridiculous, I should look on his Judgment, if
 possible, still inferior, and more despicable. Cer-
 tain

tain I am, that the Relater of this Fable has given such a Proof of his audacious Insolence and Impudence as can hardly be match'd; and 'tis to be hop'd, that so black and villainous a Charge upon the most merciful and best of Princes, will meet with something more than Scorn and Contempt.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,



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A

β. 3.

375-3

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

TWO ENGLISHMEN,

At the *H A G U E*,

To which is added,

The Original *C O P Y* in *French*.



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AS IT IS USED IN GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

AND IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

J. O. W. W.

Author of the 'English Grammar' and 'English Syntax'

LONDON

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A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Two ENGLISHMEN.

A. ELL, Sir, I find the Grand Myltery and Difficulty of our Treaty of *Vienna* is, at last, unravell'd and brought to Light.

B. What! it is certain then that *Spain* has sign'd: Have our Neighbours, the *Dutch*, so quickly set to Rights the Slip we made, in taking upon us so rashly to speak the Sense of their Republick, relying barely on the Word of some Persons, whom we might think sufficient to answer for their Accession, before we ever consulted them? Is Don *Carlos* now put to Sea to take Possession of the Estates of *Parma* and *Placentia*? Are all the strong Places of *Tuscany* now
A 2 ready

ready to receive the *Spaniards*? Can we yet begin to triumph over the Ruins of the *Offend Company*? Or, in a Word, has *France* acceded to the Treaty?

A. What a Hurry you are in, and what a Heap of Stuff have you jumbled together! There is not one Syllable of what you have been talking.

B. No! I hope you'll at least admit that the *Spaniards* have sign'd.

A. We may very well say that we have sign'd, and that the *Spaniards* have been pleas'd to accept of it.

B. What do you mean by that? Don't they come into the Treaty?

A. Very far from it, *Spain* adheres only to what personally regards *Don Carlos*, and the Promises made for his Establishment. Set that aside, she does not so much as mention, or take the least Notice of the Treaty of *Vienna*.

B. You amaze me!

A. If you'll hear me out; you'll be still more amaz'd. You believe, perhaps, that there is at least so great an Affinity betwixt the Declaration signed in *Spain* (for there was nothing more than that) and our Treaty of *Vienna*; that the Execution of the one should assure that of the other.

B. Without doubt.

A. You're quite mistaken. For, suppose that *Don Carlos*, after the Expiration of Five Months (which is the Time stipulated) should be established Duke of *Parma*, and

Can be put in Possession of all the strong Places of
Tuscany (which, by our Promise to *Spain*,
 as *En* we are oblig'd to see done) no doubt but the
Spaniards will be satisfied, and we shall (in
 and respect to them) be settled again in the En-
 together joyment of all the Advantages, Privileges,
 you and Concessions in Point of Trade, which
 were obtain'd for us by former Treaties, and
 admit confirm'd by that of *Seville*; but whatever
 else is contained in our Treaty with the
 we Court of *Vienna*, or regards (for Instance)
 have the Company of *Ostend*, the particular In-
 at? terests of the *Dutch*, with regard to *East*
Frieseland, &c. *Spain* will be under no Ob-
 ligation at all.

B. But what does this signify, if we get
 but the Start with *Spain*, and they heap their
 Favours on us, and our Trade flourishes in
 Proportion as it diminishes with our Neigh-
 the bours? It ought to be our constant Maxim,
 that *Holland* (for Example) will never be
 more humble, and more dependent on us,
 than when their Affairs are in a bad Way.
 We are their necessary Support; and when-
 ever they are at any Dilemma, they can not
 do without us. We have already all the
 Money of their private People lodg'd with
 us, which they think safest in our Hands;
 and we shall have more, whenever they find
 themselves labouring under any Extremities.
 While their Stock is in our Hands, and the
 Fortunes of the most considerable amongst
 them encrease as the Growth of our Trade
 raises the Value of our publick Security, we
 shall

shall then have sufficient Reason to be assur'd of the Ascendant over that Republick. It would be quite another thing, if their Trade flourish'd, and those among them who bring their Money to us, could employ it more usefully at Home. They are Neighbours whom we ought in some Measure to support, since they serve us a *Barrier*, and trust us with their Treasure. But if they can but keep their Heads above Water, it is enough for us. In a Word, it is necessary that *Spain* should be at our Devotion, that we may thereby gain for our selves the whole Trade of *America*.

A. Sir, I should be glad you would explain yourself. You believe, from what hath been told you of the Renewal of the Treaty of *Seville*, that we shall again be possess'd of all the Privileges and Advantages which we had acquir'd by former Treaties; and that, in Consideration of what we do for the Establishment of *Don Carlos*, *Spain* throws herself intirely into our Arms.

B. No Question.

A. You are quite mistaken; 'tis just the contrary; for we throw ourselves upon *Spain*, and lie at her Mercy.

B. How can that be ?

A. Read. *And his Catholick Majesty intends and declares, that upon the effectuating of the said Introduction and Possession of the Estates of Parma and Placentia, his Resolution is (not sooner, pray mind that, if you please, Sir) that the abovemention'd*

Articles

Articles of the Treaty of Seville should remain in Force as well as the Enjoyment of all Privileges, Concessions, and Exemptions which have been stipulated in Favour of Great Britain, and are literally contain'd in the said Articles, and in former Treaties, betwixt the two Crowns, which have been confirm'd by the Treaty of Seville. This is what we have sign'd— Now draw your Consequences.

B. Well, Sir, if we establish Don Carlos in Italy, we have done our Business.

A. But, Sir, have you forgot, that it was ourselves that took the greatest Pains to open the Eyes of the Spaniards, and to shew them that the Emperor neither had, nor ever could have a real Design of establishing the Infant Don Carlos, as it was stipulated in the Treaty of LONDON? Is it not what we have always said, and always thought. But however, pray what must happen if that Disposition which our Ministers have, in every Court, so often imputed to the Emperor, and seems so very probable, should prove true?

B. You puzzle me.

A. I have not done, Sir. Do me the Favour to answer me. Now, that we have not only affronted France, are we in a Condition, without a French Assistance, to compel the Emperor to the Establishment of Don Carlos in Italy, not only as actual Possessor of Parma and Placentia, but also as eventual Successor of Tuscany?

B. No;

B. No, indeed!

A. And in Case our Friends, the *Dutch*, should come in, we should be thereby better enabled to oblige the Emperor to do what we always said and believ'd he would not be brought to without Compulsion.

B. Very good! The *Dutch*! Those among them who had any secret Correspondence with our Minister at the *Hague*, in relation to the Negotiation of *Vienna*, durst they have done it if they had not been encouraged by the Fear the People were in of a War? And will they now, join'd by us only, and without the Assistance of *France*, make War to establish Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, in spite of the Emperor? But, Sir, let us not dwell upon a Question that is not worth mentioning: Neither our Ministry, nor the *Dutch* will enter into any War with the Emperor.

A. Notwithstanding this excellent Principle, we are in a very fair way to lie either at the Mercy of the Court of *Vienna*, or of *Spain*; or, to speak more properly, both at once. The least we can imagine is that the Emperor will endeavour to gain Time in an Affair which, it is certain, he cannot comply with but with Reluctance. You'll allow he may do this without apprehending any thing from us, or even from the *Dutch* themselves. He'll never want Pretences, especially, if the Duchess of *Parma* (now with Child) should be deliver'd of a Son. Do you think, that *Spain's* protesting against her Pregnancy, will appear, at this Court

Court of *Vienna*, a sufficient Title to put *Don Carlos* into Possession as Duke of *Parma*, and to exclude the new-born Prince? And yet we have promised all this. Will the Emperor himself be content with our Convention with *Spain*, in which that Crown seems industriously to avoid even mentioning the Treaty of *Vienna*? Have we any Right to expect, that the Court of *Vienna* will pass over all this, and that, meerly, out of Affection for us, and to extricate us from our present Difficulties, they will be forward to have *Don Carlos* for a Neighbour in the *Milanese*, now supported by *Spain*, and may be, in time, very probably, by *France* likewise? And yet if the five Months stipulated elapse, before the strong Places of *Tuscany* are deliver'd to the *Spanish* Garrisons, and before *Don Carlos* is put into actual Possession of the States of *Parma*, we are then all to pieces with *Spain*, and we shall find ourselves cast down from our towering Expectation of all those Concessions, Exemptions, and Privileges stipulated by the two former Treaties in Favour of *Great Britain*, and confirm'd by that of *Seville*. The Word *former* is a Word of vast Extent: It does not only go back from the Treaty of *Seville* to that of *Utrecht*, but you must understand it to take in all the Treaties which that of *Utrecht* has any Reference to. Here then the Labour of many Ministries, and much Time, is lost, to us, by one Dash of a Pen, and that of our own Doing. For this is not a Matter of Sur-

prize, nor what *Spain* has extorted from us. 'Tis we who have sollicitated this Signing; *Spain* has only condescended to accept of our Offers, in which we have voluntarily sign'd our own Condemnation. All the Advantages in Commerce, which favourable Conjectures had obtain'd for us from *Spain*, at different Times, will at once vanish and be lost to us, only by the Delay of executing the Establishment of *Don Carlos* in *Italy*: And this is an Establishment which is not in our Power, but depends on the Emperor, to effectuate. So, that our Fate, in regard to *Spain*, and, consequently, our Trade, depend entirely on him. How shameful to our Country, and how wretched is our Prospect! Perhaps we shall prefer an Attachment to *Spain*, and preserve the Advantages we may have on that Side. We must then fall out again with the Emperor. But even that will not do. You are not insensible of our Weakness: If we wou'd really frighten the Emperor, we must recur to *France*, and, by making her an honourable Satisfaction for our Breach of Faith, intreat her upon the Foot of a General War, to enter again into those Notions which we made the Pretence for our breaking thro' the most solemn Engagements, and particularly those of the Treaty of *Hanover*. But will *France* be in the Humour to listen to us? On the contrary, has she not Reason to rejoice, that by our Breach of Faith, in the Treaties subsisting betwixt us, she finds herself reliev'd from the burdensome

denfome Engagements ſhe was enter'd into with us? Think you that ſhe will again put on thoſe Fetters which we ourſelves have taken off? Will ſhe not rather be pleas'd to ſee the Difficulties that we labour under? You ſee the Conſequences which attend that Puſillanimity which has made meer *Proteus's* of our Miniſters, who imagin'd they might, from time to time, with Impunity, take what Forms they pleas'd.

B. I have liſten'd to you, Sir, a long time, give me leave to ſpeak in my Turn. All that you have been ſaying is downright Sophiſtry and Declamation. Why muſt *Spain* needs quarrel with us, in Caſe *Don Carlos* is not ſettled in *Italy* within the Time ſtipulated? Are we to be answerable for the Rubs that the Court of *Vienna* may throw in the Way; or, the Delays of that Court in removing them? Nothing will be wanting on our Part; we ſhall be ready to do every thing for the Service of *Spain*: We'll cover the Mediterranean with our Fleets; We'll make Representation upon Representation at the Court of *Vienna*; and we'll even offer to *Spain*, if ſhe'll accept of it, to transport her Armies too.

A. But, Sir, will all this put *Don Carlos* into Poſſeſſion?

B. No: Do you imagine that with the *Spaniſh* Forces and our Fleet only, we ſhall be ſtronger in *Italy* than the Emperor and all his Troops?

A. But, in the mean time, what will the *Spaniards* say to you ?

B. Our want of Power will be our Justification: They have no Reason to fall out with us, but with *France*, for refusing to accede to the Treaty, and joining with us and *Spain*. We shall have sufficiently prov'd our good Intentions, while *France*, on the contrary, will have sacrific'd the Interest of *Don Carlos* to a silly Pique, and foolish Nicety. *France* will be the Object of the *Spaniards* Resentment, while they lavish all their Favours upon us. In the mean while, the Emperor will gain Time; he'll maintain himself in the Possession he has taken of the Estates of *Parma*, and, if the Grand Duke dies, he will, in like manner, seize upon *Tuscany*. The less Right he has to the Possession of those Estates, the more cautious he will be of making Enemies, and, by consequence, it will be his Interest to carry fair with us. The secret Rancour that subsists between him and *Spain*, tho' it will not come to an open War, as they are parted by the Sea, we shall foment the Division, as by one Mean we shall ingratiate ourselves at *Vienna*, and by another in *Spain*. We shall obtain the Indulgence of the latter, in Point of Trade, while our King, in regard of his Personal Interest in *Lower Germany*, will take Advantage of the Court of *Vienna*. As for the *Dutch*, we shall obtain from the Emperor (as I have already told you) just as much for them, as will serve them to rub on.

A. A very

A. A very fine Plan indeed, Sir! If the Treaty of *Vienna* was built upon this Foundation, don't you think it will seem a little odd to the People of *England*?

B. Let it seem as odd as it will, if we can but bring our selves well off, keep fair with the Emperor, and be upon a better Foot with *Spain* than hitherto we have ever been.

A. But, Sir, did you consider well of these things, when you form'd such Notions?

B. Why not!

A. I'll tell you, Sir. Do you imagine, that our pretended Good-will to *Spain*, which we shall make so great a Parade of, will be sufficient to draw such Acknowledgments from her, as to put us into full Enjoyment of all those Advantages, which we our selves will own we are by Right excluded from? Do you believe, that after the Experience they will have of our Inability to make good our Promise, they will look upon us not only with a benign Aspect, and turn all their Resentment against the *French*? On the contrary, let me tell you, when our Weakness is known, *Spain* will be convinc'd, that she can have no Recourse but to *France* alone. Thus, all the Regard, and all the Favour will fall to their Share, Contempt and Resentment to ours. But this is not all. Can you imagine, that the Emperor will be content with the Uncertainty in which your fine Scheme places him, and a situation of continual Danger, by what he may

may apprehend, in *Italy*, both from *France* and *Spain*? If he should be uneasy with his Situation, and, to rid himself of it, agree with those two Crowns without us, where shall we be then? But I go still farther: I'll suppose, for a Moment, the contrary of what we have always thought, and long said, that the Emperor will yield to our Instances, and that Don *Carlos*, will, in five Months, be really establish'd Duke of *Parma*, and Master of the Places in *Tuscany*, will not *Spain* then think, that the Support of *France* will be necessary, and, indeed, the only Prop for maintaining of Don *Carlos* in the Possession he shall have got? And won't the Emperor, in the mean time, be alarm'd with the Understanding between these two Crowns, for the maintaining a *Spanish* Prince, powerfully settled in the Neighbourhood of the *Milanese*? Shall we not have Reason to apprehend seeing the Court of *Vienna* once more change their Scheme of Politicks, and make Court to *France* and *Spain*? In a Word, don't we run the Risque of being the Sufferers by what these three Powers may mutually grant to each other, exclusive of us, and perhaps at our Expence? And who knows, notwithstanding our Ascendant over the *Dutch*, but these Considerations (which will hardly escape them) may put them upon thinking for themselves? But, after all, who is it that pushes on their Accession? To reflect seriously in our present Situation, ought we not, instead of desiring them to be-

come

come a Party, rather wish to see them remain in a Condition, that they may be a sort of Mediators to reconcile us to those Powers, every one of which we have affronted in their Turn, and to extricate us out of that Chaos into which our *Weak Ministers* have plunged us.

B. I have no Reply, Sir, to make you; I was applauding the late Success of our Ministry in *Spain*, and you have struck me all on a Heap. However, give me that Declaration, that I may read it once again.

A. Take it, I am oblig'd to be gone, and I'll leave it with you.

DECLARATION which we the Subscribing Ministers of their Britannick and Catholick Majesties make, by Virtue of the Orders we have receiv'd from the Kings our Masters.

THE King of Great Britain having communicated to his Catholick Majesty the Treaty which he hath lately concluded with the Emperor, and having declared that he has thereby given the most evident Proofs of the Sincerity of his Intentions for the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, as well in what regards the effective Introduction of Six Thousand Men, *Spanish Troops*, into the fortified Places of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, according to the Disposition of the said Treaty, as with regard to the speedy putting into Possession the Infant *Don Carlos*, conformably to the Contents of the Fifth Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*; So that neither the most Serene Infant nor his Catholick Majesty shall be under any Necessity to dispute, refuse, or remove any Difficulties which may arise upon any Pretext whatever.

His

His Catholick Majesty declares, That in Case all that is here laid down be immediately executed, he shall be fully satisfied; and that notwithstanding the Declaration made at *Paris* the 28th of *January* last, by his Ambassador Extraordinary the Marquis *de Castelar*, the Articles of the abovesaid Treaty of *Seville*, which directly and reciprocally regard the Two Crowns, shall subsist in their full Force and whole Extent; and the Two Kings abovenamed mutually promise punctually to execute the Conditions express'd in the said Articles, to which they Engage and Bind themselves by this present Instrument; provided, that within the Term of Five Months, to be counted from the Day of the Date of this present Instrument (or sooner, if it can be done) His *Britannick* Majesty shall effectually introduce the Six Thousand *Spanish* Troops into the Estates of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, and shall put the Infant *Don Carlos* into actual Possession of the Estates of *Parma* and of *Placentia*, conformably to the Fifth Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and to the *Eventual Investitures*. And his Catholick Majesty understands and declares, That from the Time that the said Introduction and Possession of the Estates of *Parma* and *Placentia* shall be effected, his Resolution is, without having Occasion for any other Declaration or Instrument, that the abovemention'd Articles of the Treaty of *Seville* shall subsist, as well as the Enjoyment of all Privileges, Concessions and Exemptions in Favour of *Great Britain*, which have been stipulated, and are literally contain'd in the said Articles, and in former Treaties between the Two Crowns, confirm'd by the Treaty of *Seville*, to be reciprocally observed, and punctually executed. In Assurance of which, we the foresaid under-written Ministers of their *Britannick* and Catholick Majesties, have sign'd the present Declaration, and have caused the Seal of our Arms to be put thereto.

Done at *Seville*, the 6th Day of *June*. 1731.

CONVERSATION

Enter deux

ANGLAIS.



OUS voilà cependant, Monsieur, arrivez au Grand Denouement de nôtre Traité de Vienne.

B. Quoy ! il est donc vray que l'Espagne a signé ? nos voisins les Hollandois ont ils aussi, déjà, rectifié par leur Accession en forme l'irregularité de nôtre part d'avoir fait parler leur Repub-

lique, sur la parole de ceux que nous avons crû en état de nous rendre d'elle, comme Partie contractante avant que de l'avoir con-
ée ? Don Carlos est il, déjà, en mer pour aller prendre possession l'Etat de Parme & de Plaisance ? Les Places fortes de Toscane sont es ouvertes à ses Espagnols ? Et il tems de danser sur les Ruines la Compagnie d'Ostende ? Enfin la France est elle entrée dans
Traité ?

A. Que vous allez vite, & que de choses vous mettez ensemble ? n'y a rien moins que tout cela, Monsieur.

B. Quoy ! n'est il pas au moins veritable que l'Espagne a signé ?

A. Disons plutôt que c'est nous qui avons signé, & l'Espagne a accepté nôtre signature.

B. Que voulez vous dire ? n'accede t'elle pas au Traité ?

A. Rien moins que cela ; l'Espagne adopte uniquement ce qui personnel à Don Carlos, & tout ce qui a été promis pour la
reté de son Etablissement. D'ailleurs elle ne nomme pas, seule-
ment, le Traité de Vienne, & ne le rappelle en aucune façon.

B. Vous me surprenez !

A. Ecoutez moy jusqu'au bout, & je vous surprendrai encore
avantage. Vous croyez, peut être, qu'au moins il y a un tel rap-
port entre la Declaration qui a été signée en Espagne (car ce n'est
de cela) & nôtre Traité de Vienne que l'execution de l'une en af-
te l'entiere execution de l'autre ?

B. Sans doute.

A. Point du tout : Et à supposer comme nous les promettons à
Espagne, que Don Carlos avant l'expiration de cinq mois, qui
le terme stipulé, soit établi Duc de Parme & Maître des Places
res de Toscane, l'Espagne, à la verité, sera satisfaite, & nous ren-
rons à son egard dans la jouissance de tous les avantages, pri-
leges & concessions sur le commerce que les Traités antérieurs
ous ont obtenus, & que celui de Seville avoit confirmé, mais
our le surplus de nôtre Traité avec la Cour de Vienne, & pour
out ce qui regarde, par exemple, la Compagnie d'Ostende, les

C

interêts

intérêts particuliers des Hollandois sur l'Ostfrife, &c. l'Espagne n'y fera tenue en aucune maniere.

B. Qu'importe après tout ! Pourvû que nous primions en Espagne, que nous accumulions de ce côté là faveurs sur faveurs, & que nôtre commerce fleurisse à Proportion que celui de nos voisins diminuera. Ce doit être une maxime constante pour nous que jamais les Hollandois, par exemple, ne seront plus souples & plus dans nôtre dependance que quand leurs affaires iront mal. Nous sommes leur appui necessaire ; ce ne sera pas dans le cas ou le besoin deviendra pressant qu'ils pourront s'en passer. Nous avons, déjà, tout l'argent des particuliers de chez eux qui placent de preference dans les fonds de nôtre nation ; nous l'aurons encore alors d'avantage. Tandis que leur fonds seront ainsi entre nos mains, & que la fortune de ce qu'il y a de plus considerable entr' eux croitra à mesure que la prosperité de nôtre commerce fera hausser nos fonds, nous aurons là des bons Garens de nôtre ascendant sur cette Republique. Il n'en seroit pas de même, si son commerce prosperoit, & si ceux d'entrelle qui viennent nous porter leur argent, trouvoient à l'employer plus utilement chez eux. Ces sont des voisins que nous ne devons pas laisser perir, puisqu'ils nous servent de Barriere, & qu'ils nous confient leurs tresors ; mais pourvû qu'ils vivent cela nous suffit. Encore une fois l'essentiel est que l'Espagne soit à nôtre devotion, & que par là nous attirions à nous tous les commerce de l'Amérique.

A. Mais, Monsieur, comment l'entendez vous, s'il vous plait ? vous croyez, peut être, sur ce qu'on vous a dit du Retablissement du Traité de Seville que nous tentons de ce moment dans la jouissance de tous les privileges & avantages que les Traités anterieurs nous avoient acquis ? Et que c'est l'Espagne qui, en consideration de ce que nous faisons pour l'Etablissement de Don Carlos se jette entre nos bras ?

B. Assurément.

A. Vous vous trompez bien, Monsieur, c'est tout le contraire ; c'est nous qui nous jettons entre les bras de l'Espagne, & qui nous mettons à sa mercy.

B. Comment cela ?

A. Lisez : Et sa Majesté Catholique entend & declare, que dès que la dite Introduction & Possession des Etats de Parme & de Plaisance sera effectuée, sa resolution est (pas plutôt, prenez garde à cecy s'il vous plait) que les Articles susmentionnez du Traité de Seville subsistent, aussi bien que la jouissance de tous les privileges, concessions & exenptions en faveur de la Grand Bretagne, qui ont été stipulé & ont été litteralement contenus dans les dits Articles & dans les Traités anterieurs entre les deux Couronnes, confirmez par le Traité de Seville, &c. Voilà c'est que nous avons signé. Tirez en vos consequences.

B. Eh bien, en établissant Don Carlos en Italie nous sommes sûrs de nôtre fait.

A. Mais, Monsieur, avez vous oublié que c'est nous qui avons le plus travaillé à ouvrir les yeux de l'Espagne pour luy faire com-

prendre

prendre que jamais l'Empereur n'avoit eu & n'auroit une Intention sincere d'établir l'infant Don Carlos aux termes du Traité de Londres? N'est-ce pas ce que nous avons toujours dit & pensé? Qu'arrivera-t'il cependant si cette disposition que nos Ministres dans toutes les Cours ont si souvent imputée à l'Empereur, & qui est assez vray-semblable, se trouve vraye?

B. Vous m'embarrassez.

A. Ce n'est pas tout, Monsieur; répondez moy, je vous prie. Aujourd'huy que nous avons offensé de gayeté de cœur la France, sommes nous en état sans elle de contraindre par la force l'Empereur à effectuer dans le terme prescrit l'Établissement en Italie de Don Carlos tant comme Possesseur actuel de Parme & de Plaisance que comme Successeur Eventuel de Toscane?

B. Non assurément.

A. Et quand nos amis les Hollandois se mettroient de la Partie, en serions nous plus fort pour obliger l'Empereur d'accomplir sur cela ce que nous avons toujours dit & crû qu'il n'accompliroit jamais que par force?

B. Bon, les Hollandois! Ceux d'entr'eux qui se sont entendus sous main avec nôtre Ministre à la Haye pour la negotiation de Vienne, auroient ils osé le faire s'ils n'avoient pas eu pour eux la crainte ou ils voyoient leur nation d'avoir à entrer en Guerre? Et aujourd'huy ils la feroient avec nous seuls sans la France pour établir Don Carlos en Italie malgré l'Empereur? Ne nous arrêtons pas, Monsieur, a une pareille question: ni eux, ni nôtre Ministère, ne veulent point de Guerre contre l'Empereur.

A. Cependant, Monsieur, avec ce beau principe nous allons demeurer à la mercy, ou de la Cour de Vienne, ou de l'Espagne, ou pour mieux dire, de toutes les deux à la fois. Le moins qu'on puisse penser de l'Empereur sur une chose qu'il ne peut pas certainement effectuer volontiers, est qu'il cherchera à gagner du tems; vous convenez qu'il le peut ne sans danger avec nous, & même en y mettant les Hollandois par dessus le marché. Les prétextes ne luy en manqueront pas, surtout si la Duchesse de Parme enceinte vient à mettre au monde un enfant mâle. La protestation de l'Espagne contre la grossesse de cette Princesse paroitra-t'elle alors à la Cour de Vienne un titre suffisant pour exclure le nouveau né, & pour mettre en possession Don Carlos comme Duc de Parme? C'est, pourtant, ce que nous promettons. L'Empereur, même, sera-t'il fort content de nôtre convention avec l'Espagne, ou il semble que cette Couronne ait affecté de ne pas nommer seulement le Traité de Vienne? avons nous droit d'attendre que la Cour de Vienne passe par dessus tout cela, & que pour l'amour de nous, & par le seul motif de nous tirer d'embarras elle se presse de se donner à elle même celuy d'avoir pour voisin du Milanois Don Carlos soutenu de l'Espagne, & aparemment, avec le tems de la France? Cependant, si les cinq mois stipulez s'écoulent sans que les places fortes de Toscane soient livrées aux Garnisons Espagnoles, & sans que Don Carlos soit mis en possession actuelle des États de Parme, nous voy

là broüillez avec l'Espagne, & de ce moment là, nous nous trou-
vons dechûs, de nôtre aveu, (vous l'avez vû) ne toutes les conces-
sions, exenptions, & privileges en faveur de la Grande Bretagne,
stipulez dans les Traités anterieurs entre les deux Couronnes, &
confirmez par celuy de Seville. Ce mot d'anterieurs, Monsieur, a
bien de l'étiendue; il ne remonte pas seulement du Traité de Seville
jusqu'a ceux d'Utrecht; il faut l'entendre encore de tous les autres
Traités, que ceux d'Utrecht rappellent. Voilà donc l'ouvrage de
bien des Ministeres, & de bien des années perdu pour nous d'un
seul trait de plume, & cela par nôtre propré fait; car ce ne point
icy un acte surpris, ou quel'Espagne nous ait arraché; c'est nous qui
en avons sollicité la signature. L'Espagne n'a fait que ce prêtér à
ce que nous luy avons offert, & ou de nôtre mouvement nous avons
signé nôtre condamnation. Tant de Traités avantageux pour nôtre
commerce, que les conjonctures favorables nous avoient donné lieu
d'obtenir successivement de l'Espagne, disparoissent pour nous par
le seul retardement d'execution sur l'Etablissement de Don Carlos
en Italie, Etablissement, néanmoins, qui ne depend pas de nous
d'effectüer, mais de l'Empereur; ainsi c'est de luy que depend
nôtre sort avec l'Espagne & par consequent celuy de nôtre com-
merce. Quelle honte pour nôtre nation! quel affreux avenir,
mais nous prefererons, peut être, de demeurer attachez à l'Espagne,
& de conserver nos avantages de ce côté là: Il faudra donc nous
broüiller de nouveau avec l'Empereur. Mais cela ne suffira pas:
vous avez reconnu nôtre Impuissance: Il faudra que pour faire res-
olument peur a l'Empereur nous ayons recours à la France en lui
faisant amande honorable de nôtre infidelité, & que nous la solli-
citions sur le plan d'une Guerre Generale de reprendre des idées
dont nous avons fait le pretexte de nos manquemens aux engage-
mens les plus solennels, & en particulier à ceux du Traité d'Hano-
ver. Mais la France sera t'elle disposée à nous écouter? n'a-t'elle
pas au contraire lieu de s'applaudir de se voir degagée par nos
manquement à la foy des nos Traités communs, des engagements
onereux qu'elle avoit avec nous? voudra-t'elle reprendre des idées
que nous avons nous mêmes brisez? ne rira-t'elle pas plutôt de
nôtre embarras? voilà le fruit qui nous attend de cette Pusillanimité
qui a fait de nos Ministres des Prothées, qui ont crû pouvoir insuc-
cessivement prendre successivement toutes les formes.

B. Il y a long tems, Monsieur, que je vous écoute; souffrez
que je parle à mon tour. Tout ce que vous venez de me dire n'est
qu'un sophisme & une pure declamation. Pourquoi voulez vous
que l'Espagne s'en prenne à nous, quand il arriveroit que Don
Carlos ne seroit point établi en Italie dans le terme stipulé? Seront
nous responsables de difficultés que la Cour de Vienne fera naître,
& de delais qu'elle apportera pour les lever? La chose ne manquera
pas de nôtre part: nous serons prêts à tout pour le service de l'Es-
pagne: nous couvrirons la Méditerranée des vaisseaux, nous ferons
à Vienne Representation sur Representation: nous offrirons, même
à l'Espagne, si elle le veut, de transporter ses armées.

A. Mais tout cela, Monsieur, mettra-t'il Don Carlos en possession ?

B. Non ; voulez vous qu'avec les seules forces de l'Espagne, & des nos vaisseaux, nous soyons plus forts en Italie que l'Empereur avec toutes ses troupes ?

A. Que dira, cependant, l'Espagne ?

B. Notre impuissance nous justifiera : Ce ne sera pas à nous qu'il faudra s'en prendre, mais à la France, & à son Refus d'accéder au Traité, & de se joindre à nous & à l'Espagne. Nous aurons fait preuve de notre bonne volonté ; elle au contraire aura sacrifié les intérêts de Don Carlos à un point d'honneur, & à une vaine délicatesse. L'indignation sera pour elle, & toutes les faveurs pour nous. Cependant l'Empereur gagnera du tems ; il se maintiendra dans la possession qu'il a prise de l'Etat de Parme ; & si le Grand Duc vient à mourir, il occupera, de même, la Toscane. Moins il aura de droit de demeurer saisi de ces Etats, plus il aura besoin de ne se point faire d'ennemis, & plus par conséquent il aura intérêts de nous ménager. L'aigreur subsistera entre luy & l'Espagne, mais sans pouvoir en venir à une Guerre ouverte l'un contre l'autre, à cause de la mer qui les separe, nous fomenterons la division, nous rendant agréables d'une façon à Vienne & d'une autre en Espagne. Nous nous ménagerons les faveurs de la dernière sur le commerce, pendant que notre Roy tirera parti de la Cour de Vienne par rapport ses intérêts personnels dans la Basse-Allemagne. Quant à nos amis les Hollandois, nous obtiendrons de l'Empereur pour eux, autant qu'il en faudra pour (comme je vous l'ay déjà dit) les faire vivre.

A. Voilà, Monsieur, un beau plan ! si c'est sur ce fondement qu'a été bâti le Traité de Vienne, le monument ne sera-t'il pas un peu étrange pour notre nation ?

B. Etrange tant qu'il vous plaira, pourvû que nous sortions d'affaire, que nous soyons bien avec l'Empereur, & mieux que jamais avec l'Espagne.

A. Mais, Monsieur, y avez vous bien pensé, quand vous vous êtes fait une pareille idée ?

B. Pourquoi non ?

A. Le voicy, Monsieur. Vous croyez que notre prétendue bonne volonté dont nous aurons fait parade en Espagne, suffira pour qu'elle nous en tienne compte, & pour qu'elle nous fasse jouir de tous les avantages dont nous nous serons, nous-mêmes, reconnus exclus de droit ? vous croyez qu'après l'expérience qu'elle fera de notre impuissance pour effectuer ce que nous avons promis, elle n'aura que des yeux d'indulgence pour nous, & tournera tout son courroux contre la France ? Je vous dis au contraire que notre impuissance reconnue achevera de convaincre l'Espagne qu'elle n'a de vraie ressource à attendre, que du côté de la France : Ainsi tous les ménagemens & toutes les faveurs seront pour elle, & pour nous, le mépris & l'indignation. Mais ce ne pas tout ; croyez vous que l'Empereur s'accommodera de l'incertitude, ou votre beau Plan le constitue, & de la situation toujours dangereuse pour luy, par ce qu'il
aura

aura à craindre en Italie, de la part de la France, & de l'Espagne? s'il s'ennuye de cette situation, & si pour en sortir il s'accorde sans nous avec ces deux Couronnes, ou en fera nous? je vais plus loin? je suppose pour un moment, contre ce que nous avons toujours pensé, & si long tems dit, que l'Empereur se rendra à nos instances, & que Don Carlos sera dans cinq mois réellement établi Duc de Parme, & Maître des Places de Toscane, l'appui de la France ne paroitra-t'il pas alors à l'Espagne nécessaire, & le seul véritable soutien pour maintenir Don Carlos dans la Possession ou il aura été mis? l'Empereur cependant ne s'allarmera-t'il pas de l'intelligence de ces deux Couronnes pour le soutien d'un Prince d'Espagne puissamment établi dans le voisinage du Milanois? n'aurons nous point à craindre de voir encore une fois la Cour de Vienne changer de système, & rechercher la France & l'Espagne? En fin ne courrons nous pas risque d'être les victimes de ce que ces trois Grandes Puissances pourront mutuellement s'accorder à notre exclusion, & peut être à nos dépens? Qui sait même si, malgré tout notre ascendant sur les Hollandois, ces reflexions qui ne leur échapperont pas, ne leur en feront point faire pour eux mêmes? après tout, qui les presse de s'engager? à bien considerer nôtre situation presente, ne devrions nous pas nous mêmes desirer qu'au lieu de prendre parti, ils demeurassent plutôt en état d'être des especes de Mediateurs pour nous reconcilier avec les Puissances que nous avons tour à tour offensées, & pour nous tirer de cahos où nous on jeté nos imprudens Ministres?

B. Je n'ay plus rien, Monsieur, à vous répondre: j'applaudis au nouveau succès de nôtre Ministère en Espagne, & vous me conservez; mais donnez moy cette Declaration que je la relise encore.

A. La voilà, je suis obligé de vous quitter, & je vous la laisse.

DECLARATION que nous les soussignés Ministres de leurs Majestés Britannique & Catholique faisons en vertu des ordres que nous avons des Rois nos Maîtres.

LE Roy de la Grande Bretagne ayant fait communiquer à sa Majesté Catholique le Traité qu'il a conclu en dernier lieu avec l'Empereur, & ayant déclaré qu'il a donné par là les preuves les plus évidentes de la sincerité de ses Intentions pour l'exécution du Traité de Seville, tant par rapport à l'Introduction effective des six mille Hommes de Troupes Espagnoles suivant la disposition du dit Traité, dans les Places fortes de Parme & de Toscane, que par rapport à la prompte Possession de l'Infant Don Carlos conformément au contenu de l'Article cinq de la quadruple Alliance, sans que de la part du Serenissime Infant, ni de sa Majesté Catholique, il soit nécessaire de disputer, débattre, ou appliquer quelques difficultés que ce soient, qui pourroient s'élever sous aucun prétexte que ce puisse être.

Sa Majesté Catholique déclare, que, pourvu que tout ce qui vient d'être enoncé soit promptement exécuté, elle sera pleinement satisfaitte.

faite, & que nonobstant la Declaration faite à Paris le 28 Janvier
 dernier par son Ambassadeur extraordinaire le Marquis de Ca-
 telar, les Articles du sus-dit Traité de Seville qui concernent di-
 rectement & reciproquement les deux couronnes, subsisteront dans
 toute leur force & toute leur extension; & les Deux Roys sus-nom-
 mez promettent également de faire executer ponctuellement les
 conditions exprimées dans les dits Articles auxquels ils s'engagent
 & s'obligent par le present Instrument, bien entendu que dans le
 terme de cinq mois à compter du jour de la Datte de cet Instru-
 ment, ou plutôt si faire se pourra, sa Majesté Britannique fera
 effectivement introduire les six mille Hommes de Troupes Espag-
 nales dans les Etats de Parme & de Toscane, & mettre l' Infant
 Don Carlos en Possession actuelle des Etats de Parme & de Plai-
 sance en conformité à l' Article cinq de la quadruple Alliance,
 & aux investitures eventuelles; & sa Majesté Catholique entend
 & declare, que dès que la ditte Introduction & Possession des Etats
 de Parme & de Plaisance sera effectuée, sa Resolution est, sans
 qu'il soit besoin d' aucune autre Declaration ou Instrument, que
 les Articles sus-mentionés du Traité de Seville subsistent aussi bien
 que la jouissance de tous les privileges, concessions & exemptions
 en faveur de la Grande Bretagne, qui ont été stipulez & sont litte-
 ralement contenus dans les dits Articles & dans les Traités antérieurs
 entre les deux couronnes, confirmez par le Traité de Seville, pour
 être reciproquement observez & executez ponctuellement. En foy
 de quoy, nous les sus-dits Ministres soussignés de leurs Majestés
 Britannique & Catholique, avons signé la presente Declaration,
 & y avons fait apposer les cachets de nos armes.

Fait à Seville le 6. jour de Juin 1731.

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LEX REGIA:

OR THE

ROYAL LAW

OF

DENMARK.

Writ in the *Danish* Language by Order of

FREDERICK III.

King of *Denmark, Norway*, of the
Goths and Vandals, &c.

Subscribed by his Majesty on the 4th Day
of *November 1665.*

Translated into *English* by a
LOVER of the *British Constitution.*

Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED in the YEAR MDCCXXXI.



ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.



THE Goths and Vandals, and other Northern Nations, who broke to Pieces the despotick Power of the Roman Emperors, who oppress'd the rest of Europe, and a great Part of Asia and Africa, were a wise and free People, govern'd by excellent Laws, mix'd with great Humanity and Justice; which they generously established in all their conquered Provinces, in the Place of Tyranny and absolute Government; and therefore were look'd upon by the sub-

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subdued Inhabitants, not as Barbarians, as they are represented by some Roman Scriblers, but as Saviours and Deliverers sent from Heaven, to rescue Mankind from Slavery.

These excellent Laws were preserv'd in Spain and France till the Vices and Factions of the Inhabitants, enabled their Princes to make their own Wills bear Sway, instead of the venerable Gothick Constitutions. This mild Government continued in Denmark in all its Integrity, till after the Conclusion of the Peace with the Crown of Sweden, 1660. when the three States, Nobles, Clergy, and Commons, met at Copenhagen to consider of Ways and Means to raise Money to discharge the Debts contracted in the late Wars; but the Nobles insisting upon their Privileges, would not suffer themselves to be tax'd, but would assist only by voluntary Contribution; the Clergy

and

And Commons on the other Hand, insisted upon it, that the Nobles who possess'd the Lands, should pay their Share of the Taxes. This Manner of arguing the Lords could not bear, and one of them stood up and said, that the Commons neither understood the Privileges of the Nobility, nor the true Conditions, of themselves, who were no better than Slaves. This opprobrious Expression did irritate the Clergy and Commons, so that, after some Debate among themselves, they concluded that they should immediately wait upon the King, and offer him and his Heirs for ever, their Votes and Assistance, to be absolute Monarch of the Realm, which was done accordingly; for Monsieur Hanon President of Copenhagen, marching at the Head of the Burghers, and Dr. Swan Bishop of that City at the Head of the Clergy, attended his Majesty in the Hall of his Palace, and did offer him an unlimited despotick Government,

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vernment, which was accepted by the King very kindly. The Nobles in the mean Time apprehensive of no Danger, were assembled in Parliament, and continued their Debates about the great Affairs of the Kingdom, when the said Hanson acquainted them with the Resolution of the Clergy and Commons, and that the King expected them in the Hall of his Palace to receive their Homage as to an absolute or despotick Monarch. It is easy to conceive in what Disorder the Lords must be, at this Time, when altogether unprepared for such a dismal and unexpected Stroke, no Man knowing whether his next Neighbour was not in the Plot against the publick Liberty of his Country; therefore they thought best to comply, especially when they understood that the Gates of the City were shut, so that none could make his Escape. Thus fell the Liberty of the ancient Danish Nation a Sacrifice to the Revenge of a Par-

To the READER. V

Party, rather than to the Ambition of Frederick the Third; a great Lesson to Clergymen and Laymen, to love their Country, and avoid Factions and Parties, which have been always destructive of the publick Liberty.

'Twas upon this Occasion, that this Royal Law or publick Instrument was compos'd by his Majesty's Order, and publish'd in the Danish Language only; and therefore I hope, the translating it into English, needs no Apology, being an authentick Piece, altogether new to the English Reader, for it is not so much as mentioned, in the Book called the State of Denmark; besides tis a compleat System of absolute Government, which can't but reflect Honour and Glory upon the British Nation, who thro' Succession of many Ages, have maintain'd in full Lustre the original Northern Plan of Government, and when endanger'd, got it confirm'd by Magna Charta and subsequent Acts
of

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of Parliament. *A Form of Government never enough to be admir'd, it clothes our Kings with excellent Majesty, directing them how to rule over a free People, and not over a Nation of Slaves; which is, I had almost said, the sole Prerogative of British Kings. Our Nobles have real Privileges, and not empty Titles; the Commons have all the Liberty imaginable without running the Risque of turning it into Licentiousness. And the Clergy are so much countenanced, that the Church as by Law establish'd, is made a Part of the Constitution.*



Lex Regia.



THE Sovereign Royal Law, constituted and enacted by the most Potent and Illustrious Prince and Lord -- Lord *Frederick III.* by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormar and Dithmarsh, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenborst,* subscribed by his Majesty on the 14th Day of *November 1665,* which the most Potent and Illustrious Prince and Lord *Frederick IV.* by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, &c.* has graciously ordered to be printed and published on the 4th Day of *September 1709.*

WE *Frederick IV.* by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark, Norway, &c.* do make known to all Men, whom it may concern, that after we have seriously consider'd,
B how

how Almighty God from the Beginning of the World, has permitted great and manifold Alterations in all Kingdoms and Principalities on Earth, by destroying one Kingdom and raising up another, and by uniting many Kingdoms into one, or by dividing one Kingdom into many, and all this is done for the introducing a more regular Form of Government, as it seemeth good to his divine and unsearchable Wisdom:

Therefore We have the greatest Reason imaginable, not only to admire and rejoice at this gracious Conduct of the divine Providence, but also to thank God for his Fatherly Care and Protection of all Mankind.

But amongst many Examples which might be given of God's particular Providence, employ'd in the Conservation of Kings and Civil Governments; we shall now content ourselves to observe how our own hereditary Kingdoms, and more especially that of *Denmark*, has been protected wonderfully by wise Providence; inasmuch as for two thousand Years it has been governed by two Royal Families only, wherein Queens have reigned some few Times; otherwise the Government continued in the Male Line successively, till our Ancestors of the House of *Oldenburg*, descended by a Daughter from the ancient Family of *Danish* Kings, ascended the Throne of *Denmark* and *Norway*, which, but a little Time before, were happily united
-under

under one King. And there is yet a greater Blessing which God, about two hundred Years ago, has graciously vouchsafed to these Kingdoms; when he bestowed upon these *Northern*, as well as many other Nations of *Europe*, the saving Doctrine of the Gospel, purify'd from the Chaff of human Traditions; for which glorious Light, We and Our Posterity should rejoice with Thanksgiving. Neither can we deny God the Glory due to his Name for the Continuation of prosperous Successes attending our Royal Family, not only by blessing our Arms, and defending us against our Enemies in the greatest Dangers, but more especially by inclining the Hearts of our faithful Subjects, to be so true and loyal to their Lord and King, that scarce any Subjects in all *Christendom* can vie with them in point of Loyalty to their Sovereign; in which good Disposition of Mind, We heartily wish they may stedfastly persevere to the End of Time.

The All-wise God had reserv'd for the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, the fairest Opportunity of giving a Specimen of their Attachment and Loyalty to their Kings, till our Grandfather's Time, *Frederick III.* of Glorious and Blessed Memory; when all the World might see with Admiration the cheerful Readiness with which they offer'd themselves to serve their Country, and their King in particular, who had so valiantly with

great Prudence defended his faithful Subjects; which was so well-pleasing to Almighty God, that he took both King and Subjects under his gracious Protection; so that his Majesty did not only put a glorious End to a bloody War, but did likewise introduce a new Form of Government; advancing at once the Kingly Power to the highest Degree of Sovereignty, as well as the Happiness of the Subject. Which Revolution being certainly from God, was perfected in a very short Time: For no sooner was the Peace concluded after the raising of the Siege of *Copenhagen*, but that the several States of the Kingdom did unanimously and willingly offer to the King our Grandfather, *Frederick III.* and to the lawful Heirs of his Body, whether Male or Female, an arbitrary or absolute Sovereignty over the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Lands and Provinces thereto belonging.

And this grand Resolution was executed on the 16th of *October* 1660. On which Day our Grandfather, of glorious Memory, was solemnly discharged by the Nobility of the Kingdom, from the Obligation of his Coronation Oath; and on the 18th, the Ecclesiasticks and Citizens did the same, by paying publick Homage to his Majesty, in the Presence of the Queen, and all the Royal Family, and offering him and his Heirs, of both Sexes, an unlimited or despotick Power,

Power, which Homage they confirm'd with a solemn Oath.

On the 17th of *November* following, the three States of the Kingdom were made acquainted by a publick Instrument, that the King was for ever discharged from his Coronation Oath; and that the original Instrument sign'd by his Majesty upon that Occasion, or any Counterpart thereof, should be declar'd Nul, and of none Effect.

And to give a finishing Stroke to this great Work, the Year following, there was an Instrument prepared, called an *Act of Hereditary Right*, or Absolute Power, which was sign'd and seal'd by the principal Inhabitants of the Kingdom, whether Citizens, Lords, or Ecclesiasticks, *viz.* 'twas signed in *Denmark* the 10th of *January*, 1661; in *Norway* the 7th of *August*, of the same Year; in *Island* the 28th of *July*, 1662; and in the *Island Ferro* on the 14th of *August*, of the said Year. In which Instrument they did not only for themselves and Posterity confirm all that had been transacted by their Fellow-Subjects, with Relation to the Hereditary Succession; but did offer to his Majesty, and to his Heirs for ever, an Absolute Power and Authority, to introduce what Form of Government He in His great Wisdom should judge proper; and likewise to regulate the Succession in his Royal Family according to His own Royal Discretion.

Which

Which Instrument, and other Documents thereto belonging, are safely conserved in our Archives, tho' at the same Time We are very well persuaded, that they are so deeply engraved on the Hearts of our loving Subjects, that they will never forget the Loyalty they owe to us, and to our Royal Hereditary Family.

After Almighty God had conducted this great Work to this Degree of Perfection, our Grandfather, of Glorious Memory, did not only take Care to enact wholesome Laws suitable to the Nature of Absolute Government, and to the Genius of the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms; but did likewise prescribe a *Royal Law* to his own Heirs and Successors in the Government (for the preventing of all irregular Proceedings) wherein they may see the unchangeable Order to be observed in the Succession to the End of the World. As touching this *Royal Law*, its a well-digested Piece, and a Work of many Years, begun by our Grandfather, of Glorious Memory, but finish'd in the Reign of our Father King *Christian V.* of Blessed Memory; who, in the Year 1683, did publish the *Royal Law* of *Denmark*, and in the Year 1687, did add thereto the Law of *Norway*; both which Laws were very beneficial to the Inhabitants: But as for the *Royal Law* introduced by King *Frederick III.* of Glorious Memory, and given out by him on the

the 14th of *November*, 1665; viz. four Years before his Death; it is to be look'd upon, and observ'd by all Degrees and Orders of Men, as an unchangeable, perfect, and fundamental Law of this Land.

And it is this *Royal Law*, that We have judg'd proper to be printed Word for Word with great Exactness, as it is in the Original, least at any Time the original Documents might unhappily perish, by any unforeseen Accident, and consequently no true Copy to be found; and likewise that many Princes and illustrious Persons, as well as the Inhabitants of this Land, may have a perfect Knowledge of this *Royal Law*. Dated at Our Castle of *Rosenburg*, the 4th of *September*, in the Year 1709. under Our Royal Hand and Seal.

Frederick R.

WE *Frederick III.* by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark, Norway*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, &c. make it known to all Men, whom it may concern, that after God in his infinite Wisdom had deliver'd our Royal House and Kingdoms from imminent Danger and Ruin threatned by a bloody War, by restoring Peace and Tranquillity to this Land; he did at the same Time graciously incline the Hearts of our
Coun-

Council, with the unanimous Concurrence of the several States of the Kingdom, to part with all their own Rights and Privileges, and to discharge us from our Coronation Oath; making all Bonds and Deeds signed by us for preserving the Liberties of the People, to be Nul, Void, and of none Effect. Declaring Us and the Heirs of Our Body, whether Male or Female, begot in lawful Marriage, as long as any of them are surviving, to have, according to their Seniority, an Absolute Despotical Right to these our Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, with all the Badges of Sovereign Power, and *Jura Majestatis*. And these our loving Subjects did not by any Constraint or Force, but freely after mature Consideration, devolve upon Us the said Absolute *Sovereignty*, empowering Us to make Nul and Void all Laws and Ordinances grounded upon our Coronation Oath, and particularly that relating to our dear Son, Prince *Christian*; dated the 18th of *June*, 1650; and another Act, entitled, *A Provisional Disposition*; dated the 9th of *June*, 1651. Or any other Law or Decree whatsoever, which may by any Way attaint or weaken our Absolute Hereditary Power, and enabling Us at the same Time to regulate the Succession both in the Male and Female Line; and to prescribe Directions for the Guardians of the Kings our Successors during their Minority. And there-

fore

fore it is our good Will and Pleasure to give out a *Royal Law*, which our Subjects and their Posterity must observe and swear to, as to the fundamental Law of this Realm, so that neither We or Our lawful Heirs, or any of their Descendants can either privately or publickly contravene or disobey; but on the contrary they are to bind themselves with an Oath to oppose all such that speak or act against this *Royal Law*, whether they be Natives or Foreigners: And are not to suffer themselves to be influenced either with Fear or Love, with the Hope of Gain, or with the Apprehension of Damage, so as to speak or act any Thing, which may diminish our Despotick Power, by turning away from Us the Hearts of our loving Subjects: Wherefore We having in View the future Happines of our People, do constitute and appoint this *Royal Law* to be observ'd by all our Successors, and by all the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, from the Highest to the Lowest of them, as an unchangeable, perfect, and fundamental Law of this Land to the End of Time.

1. Seeing that all Things derive their Beginning from God, We will therefore in the first Place, in this *Royal Law* recommend very particularly to our Children, and to their Children's Children, whether of the Male or Female Line, to a thousand Generations, the Worship of the true God, as

reveal'd in the Holy Scriptures, and as set forth in the Confession of *Ausburg*, and that all the Inhabitants of this Land be protected in this Profession of the Christian Faith, against all *Seċtaries*, *Hereticks*, and *Revilers* of the Christian Religion.

2. The King of *Denmark* and *Norway* shall hereafter be esteem'd by all his Subjects, as independent upon Earth, acknowledging no higher Power than God only.

3. The Kings of *Denmark* shall have the highest Authority to make, alter and repeal Laws, or dispente with them, as he shall think proper.

4. All Employments and Offices, of what Nature and Denomination soever, shall be appointed by the King's Absolute Authority.

5. The Kings shall have Power of making Peace and War, forming Alliances, and laying Taxes upon the Inhabitants, because it is well known that a Kingdom's Peace cannot be maintain'd without an Army, and an Army cannot subsist without a Treasure.

6. The King shall have an absolute Authority in the Affairs of the Church, and all religious Assemblies; in a Word, he shall enjoy all the Rights and Prerogatives, which an Hereditary, Absolute or Despotick KING can enjoy.

7. All Ordinances and Rights relating to the Government, shall be issued out in the King's

King's Name only, who if of full Age, is to sign them with His own Hand.

8. As soon as the King has entered upon his 14th Year, he shall declare himself to be of full Age, and to be no longer under Tutors and Guardians.

9. The Guardianship of a Minor King shall be regulated by the last Will of his Predecessor; but in case the deceas'd King made no such Provision in his Testament, then the Queen, his Widow, if surviving, shall be Regent to the young King her Son, taking to her Assistance seven of the King's chief Counsellors, who shall manage the Government amongst them, deciding all Controversies by Majority of Votes, wherein the Queen is to have Two, and each of the other seven Counsellors, One; all Dispatches and Ordinances are to be issued out in the King's Name, and to be signed by the Queen and the said seven Counsellors.

10. If the Queen Mother be dead, or married again, then shall the next Prince of the Blood, if in his 18th Year, and can always reside in the Kingdom, be Regent, and have two Votes, as aforesaid.

11. But if the Prince of the Blood is not in his 18th Year, then the said seven chief officers of the King shall manage the Rency, whereof every one of them is to have one Vote and equal Authority.

12. If one of the said seven chief Officers dies, or by any other Accident is render'd uncapable for that high Employment, then another shall be immediately elected, and take his Place in the Regency.

13. The said Regents or Guardians shall not only promise Fidelity to the King, but shall likewise swear that they will exert their utmost Diligence to preserve the Absolute and Despotick Power in its full Force and Virtue, during the Time of their Regency, as they shall answer to *God* and the *King*, that it may be transmitted to Posterity.

14. As soon as the seven Regents have taken their Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, they shall immediately make an exact Inventory of all the Provinces, Cities, Fortresses, Jewels, Money, and of warlike Stores, both by Sea and Land, as well as of the King's Expences and Incomes, that it may thereby appear in what State and Condition the Kingdom is at that Time; and that the Regency may be by this Means enabled to give a good Account of their *Administration* to his Majesty as soon as He shall be of Age, or else be punished for abusing the Trust reposed in them.

15. This Kingdom of *Denmark* henceforth shall never be reputed to want a King, for in that very Moment that a King dies, the next Prince of the Blood is actually, without any farther Ceremony, an Hereditary Despotick or Absolute King. 16. Be-

16. Because since the several States of the Kingdom have invested us and our Descendants for ever, with an Absolute and Unlimited Sovereignty, all Forms and Ceremonies are Useless and Preposterous, because for the future Our next Heirs will be born **KINGS**, and not elected. Nevertheless, that all the World may see that the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* do reckon it their greatest Glory and Power to humble themselves before the Almighty God, and to be blessed of Him, by the Hands of the faithful Ministers of Christ; We therefore Will and Order that the Kings of *Denmark* be anointed solemnly in the Church with decent Ceremonies.

17. The King shall make no Oath of any Kind, whether by Word or Writing to his Subjects, because neither Covenants nor Oaths can bind an *Hereditary Absolute Sovereign*.

18. A King of *Denmark* may order himself to be anointed when he thinks proper, even during his Minority, the better to derive upon his Person and Subjects the Blessing of *Almighty God*, and as for the ceremonial Part, He may regulate it according to the Circumstances of Time and Place.

19. And seeing daily Experience teacheth Us, that the more Powerful any Potentate or Monarch in united Provinces is, the more secure he and his Subjects will be against foreign Invasions: Therefore We will and command,

mand, that these our Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, with all the Provinces, Islands, Lordships, Fortresses, Jewels, ready Money, and all other Goods, and warlike Stores, both by Sea and Land, which we now possess, or which our Successors by any lawful Title hereafter may acquire, do all remain undivided in the Possession of one Absolute Hereditary King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

20. And it is our Will and Pleasure that the other Children do content themselves with the Hope of Reigning when it comes to their Turn, and with honourable Maintenance, either in Money or Lands, the Incomes whereof they shall enjoy for their Lives, but the Property of it remaining still in the King; and the Provision which shall be made for the Queen Dowager, shall be on the same Foot.

21. That no Prince of the Blood do presume to marry, to go out of the Kingdom, or to engage himself in the Service of a foreign Prince, without asking Leave of the KING.

22. The King's Daughters and Sisters shall have a Maintenance suitable to their Quality, till they are married with the King's Consent and Approbation, and then are to have such Dowry, as the King, in his Wisdom, shall think fitting; they at the same Time declaring in Writing under their Hands, that they will expect no more from his

his Majesty either for themselves, or for their Children; but content themselves with the Hope of succeeding in the Government, when it comes to be their Turn.

23. If it so falls out at the King's Death, that the next Heir to the Crown, shall happen to be then out of the Kingdom, He shall immediately return to his Kingdom of *Denmark*, to abide and to keep his Court there, and immediately take the Reins of Government in his own *Hand*: But in case he does not repair to his own Kingdom within the Space of three Months, reckoning from the Time that he has been apprised of the Death of his Predecessor, unless in case of Sicknes, or some other lawful Impediment; then the next apparent Heir to the Crown, shall be declared *Stateholder* or *Vice-Gerent*, till his Majesty's happy Arrival into his Hereditary Dominions, in Pursuance of the Tenour of the *Royal Law*, in the Case of Minority and Guardianship already mentioned.

24. The Princes and Princeesses in the Point of Precedence shall take their Place immediately next to the King and Queen, and amongst themselves according to the Proximity of their Line, to the Hereditary Succession in the Government.

25. They shall never swear before any Judge, but before the King only, or by one immediately delegated by his Majesty.

26. What

26. What may be farther said, for the better Explication of the *Royal Law*, is briefly comprehended in these Words; that the *Hereditary Kings* of *Denmark* and *Norway*, may and do enjoy an Uncircumscribed and Unlimited Power and Authority, in the strongest Sense that any other *Christian* Hereditary and Despotick King can be said to enjoy the same; all which is likewise to be understood of the *Hereditary Queens* of *Denmark* and *Norway*, when the Succession falls into the Female Line; and seeing We are taught by daily and woeful Experience, that the Authority and Power of Kings are oftentimes undermined by their own Ministers, in whom they repose the greatest Trust, and whom they most load with particular and daily Favours: Therefore We command that our Successors, the *Hereditary Kings* of *Denmark* and *Norway*, be very jealous in this Point, and with attentive Heed examine the Proceedings of their Ministers, with relation to our *Absolute Sovereignty*, that so it may be transmitted without Spot or Blemish in its full Glory and Vigour to Our latest Successors: And for the farther strengthening of the same, We Will and Command that whosoever presumes to speak or act any Thing which may be prejudicial to our *Absolute Power* and *Authority*, be proceeded against as a Traytor to our Crown and Dignity, and be severely punish'd as usually in Case of High Treason.

27. Having already ordered, that the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Provinces thereto belonging, remain for Ever undivided:

We shall now proceed for the preventing of Discord hereafter in Our Royal Family, to regulate the Succession as particularly as can be. Therefore it is our Will and Pleasure, that as long as any of our Male Heirs, born in lawful Marriage are living, that neither a Woman descended from the Male, nor Man nor Woman descended from the Female, shall be called to the Succession. Nor any Prince or Princesses by the Mother's Side, have any Right or Title to the same, as long as any Prince or Princesses by the Father's Side are to be found, so that a Princess of the Masculine, shall be preferred to a Prince descended of the Female Line.

28. When the Succession falls to a Princess of the Blood, She shall have the Preference, who is descended from an Elder, rather than any other, and so on, as long as any of the Masculine Line doth survive; but when the Male Line is quite extinct, the Princes and Princesses of the Female Line, shall take their Turn, and the same Order be observed in the Succession, that is to say, the Male is to go before the Female, and the Elder is always to take Place of the Younger.

D

29. But

29. But to set this Matter in a clear Light by an Example, and to take away all Handle of Contention from our own Children, when it shall please God to remove us from this Earthly, to a Heavenly Kingdom; Prince *Christian* our first-born Son shall enjoy and possess the Hereditary Absolute Government of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and of all the Provinces and Lordships thereunto belonging, and as long as any of his Male Descendants are to be found (tho' he himself be dead before us) yet neither Prince G. nor any of his Family, nor his Sister, nor her Family, shall have any Right or Claim to the Crown of our Hereditary Kingdoms.

30. But when the Line of the Family of Prince *Christian* is quite Extinct, then the Male Line of our Son Prince *George* shall possess the Absolute Government of these Kingdoms; observing the aforesaid Regulation, *viz.* The Male to go before the Female, and the Elder to go before the Younger, tho' he was born before his Father came to the Crown: And if it pleases Almighty God graciously to bless us with more Children, the same Method of Proceeding is to be observed likewise with Relation to them.

31. But upon Supposition (which God forbid) that the Male Line should fail, then the Succession shall fall into the Share of the
last

last King's Son's Daughter, and to her Heirs, if she hath any, but in case she hath none, then the King's eldest Daughter and her Descendants, and then the Second and her Descendants, one after another, Line after Line, the Male always to be preferred before the Female, and the Elder before the Younger.

32. But if the last King leaves neither Son nor Daughter behind him, then the next Princess of the Blood shall succeed in the Government.

33. Next to this shall a *Princess* who is nearest relating to the King in the Male Line ascend the Throne, and her *Descendants* as aforesaid.

34. But if our Son's Families are become quite Extinct, then the Princess *Anne Sophia*, and her Heirs to a thousand Generations shall sway the Scepter of these Kingdoms.

35. The Daughter of an elder Daughter, shall be preferred to a Son of a younger Daughter, that the Genealogical Order may not be disturbed, but that the Second succeed the First, the Third the Second, the Fourth the Third, and so on.

36. But if the Succession falls to the Share of a Daughter's Son, and that he is blessed with Male Heirs, then the same Order is to be observed with regard to his Descendants, as has already been prescribed to our Masculine Line.

37. The Queen's Husband shall have no Authority in these Kingdoms, however powerful a Prince he may be in his own Country; but shall give the Precedence to her in all Things, and obey her, as the Hereditary Sovereign *Queen of Denmark and Norway.*

38. Amongst our Sons and Daughters who have Right to succeed in the Government; Posthumous Children, born after their Father's Death are justly accounted such, and shall in their Turn, as well as the others, succeed in the *Government.*

39. And for the better preventing the Collateral Lines from being disturbed, and confounded for the Time to come; We Will and Command, when at any Time for the future, a Son or Daughter is born in any of the Branches of the Royal Family, that the Parents (if they expect their Children should have any Right to the Crown) do transmit the Names of that Prince or Princess, and the Day of their Birth to the King, that they may be duly registered; and that they on the other Hand, do desire His Majesty to grant them an Instrument, acknowledging that He had been made acquainted with the Birth of the said *Prince or Princess*; a Counterpart whereof shall be carefully kept in our Archives, that by this Means the Genealogy of our Royal *House* may be kept clear and undisturbed.

40. All that has been spoken hitherto of Sons and Daughters, is to be understood of those begot in lawful Marriage.

Thus have We, according to the best Direction of Human Prudence, made Provision for the future Peace and Prosperity of our dear and loving Subjects ; but the best-concerted Schemes of Human Policy are still in the Hands of *Almighty God*; into whose gracious Protection and fatherly Providence, We most humbly recommend our Kingdoms and all our *Loyal Subjects*, to the End of the World.

Dated at our Court in *Copenhagen*, the Fourteenth of *November*, and Signed

FREDERICK.

FINIS.



for All that has been taken notice of
 and Daughters is to be understood of
 the Regent in his said Marriage
 This says We according to the
 Tradition of Human Prudence made Provi-
 sion for the future Peace and Prosperity of
 the said Kingdoms; but the said
 proposed Schemes of Human Policy are still
 in the Hands of Almighty God; and whose
 Providence and Justice Providence
 We most devoutly recommend our Kingdoms
 to all our Royal Subjects; to the Honour
 of the World; and to the
 Satisfaction of our Court in Copenhagen; the
 Successors of Alexander; and signed

FREDERICK

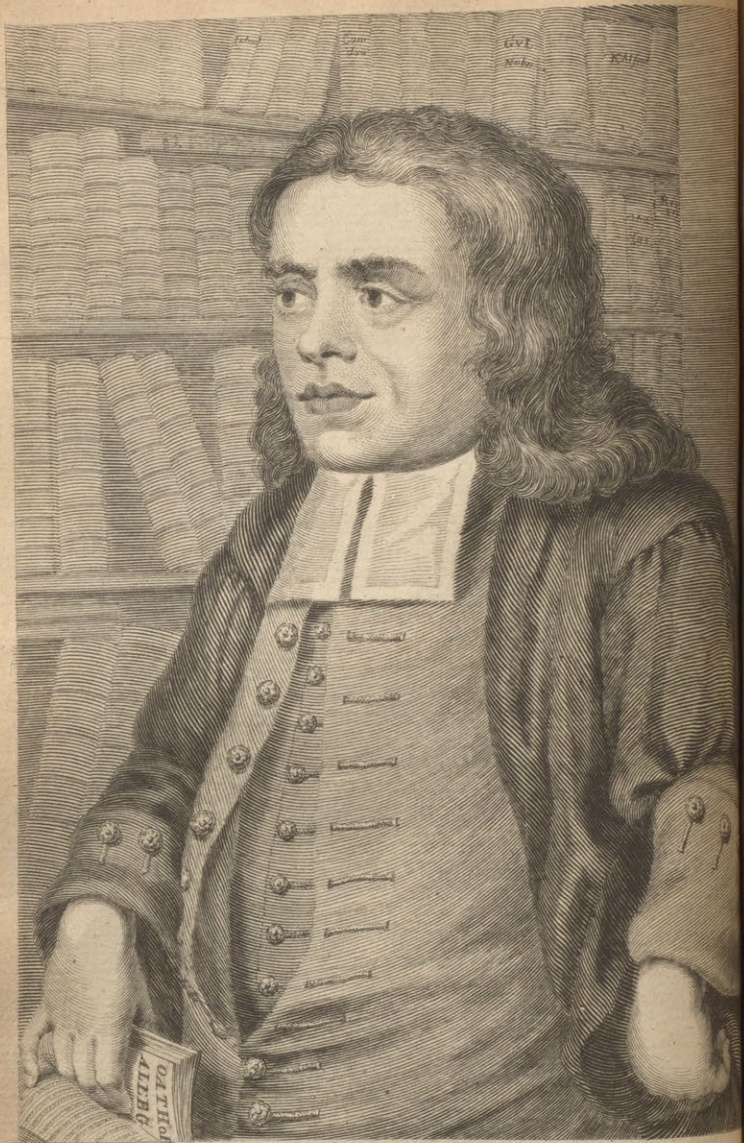
FINIS



1731

375-5

21



THOMAS HEARNE M.A. of Edmund-Hall *Quaer*
9

A

VINDICATION

Of those who take the

Oath of Allegiance,

to His Present MAJESTIE from
Perjurie, Injustice, and Dis-
loyaltie, Charged upon them
by Such as are against it.

Wherein is evidently shewed
that the COMMON GOOD of
a Nation is what is *Primarily*
and *Principally* Respected in
an Oath, and therefore when
the Oath is inconsistent with
that, the Persons who have
taken it, are absolved from it.

Proving of which the Case of MAUD
and King STEPHEN is particularly
Consider'd.

In a Letter to a *Non-Juror.*

Conscientia mille Testes.

Printed in the Year 1731.

INDICATION

Of those who take the

of the

The present is a...
...
... Charged upon them
... such as are against it

... the COMMON GOOD
... Nation is what is
... Virtuously
... and character
... is inconsistent
... the persons who
... are applied
... of which the
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TO THE
R E A D E R.

IT has been a very just Observation made by some Writers, that those Persons, who have been most industrious in handing down to Posterity the Memorials of other Men, have generally had the Misfortune to be neglected Themselves. Unwilling that so hard a Fate should befall a Man who so little deserves it, I was glad to embrace any Opportunity rather than trust a Thing of such Consequence to *Hereafter*; and I have this Satisfaction (how uncommon soever it may be thought to give an Account of a Man in his Life Time) that I have preserved some Memorials of an indefatigable

A Gen-

Gentleman now living, which an able Pen may improve greatly to his Honour when dead.

With this View then the following Epistle (which escaped perishing with another on the same Subject) now makes its publick Appearance; and without an Apology will prove, I hope, a standing Monument of it's Author's early Talent at *Reasoning* as well a Proof of his Proficiency in *History* when considered as pen'd at the Age of twenty two.

It may be necessary to premise perhaps that the (a) Gentleman, for whose Good I suppose it was intended, and from (v) whom it came (with many other MSS) expressly by Will to the *Bodleian Library*, was an eminent Non-juror. One! who had been always a par-

(a) Mr. Cherry of *Shottesbroke, Berks.*

(b) See the Vellum Reg. of Benefactors in the *Bodl. Library.*

To the READER. iii

particular Friend to our Author, having at his own Expence (c) according to his grateful Acknowledgment) educated him at School and afterwards at the University.

This was the Gentleman to whom the following Letter was sent, probably to engage him in a Compliance with the Oath of Allegiance to King *William*, notwithstanding his former Oath to King *James*. And I think it no common Instance of an early Gratitude to endeavour to rectify what was apprehended to be an Error in that Friend's Manner of thinking, who had contributed so much to qualify him for the doing it.

That He therefore may never be forgotten who has raked the Repositories of Antiquity and been indefatigable in fetching Learning from Places where not many

(c) *Leland. Itin.* Vol. 1. Pref. p. 15. *Leland Collect.* Vol. 1. Pref. p. 39.

would have sought after it, a few Memorials of his Life and some Observations on his Writings may be more for His Credit, and less troublesome to the Reader than a tedious Preface to so little a Work.

The first Discovery I can make of Mr. *Hearne* is from the Parish Register of *Abbots* or *White-Waltham*; a Village about Six Miles distant from *Windsor*. Here it stands upon Record that he was baptized by the Name of *Thomas* Son of *George Hearne* and *Edith* his Wife on the Eleventh of *June* 1678. His Father I have been informed was a considerable Antiquary of the lower Class; and was *Sacristan* of that Parochial Church to the Day of his Death. So that Mr. *Hearne* in all Probability receiv'd his great Propensity to the Study of Antiquity as it were *ex Traduce*.

To the READER. V

I think it is agreed on all Hands that his early Inclination to Letters first discovered itself amongst the *Tumuli* of his own Parish Churchyard; over which he was observed to be continually plodding almost as soon as he was Master of the English Alphabet. To this soon after adding a little Writing he grew impatient after Antiquity: resolved never to be unprepared for collecting Materials that might be serviceable hereafter, and accordingly stuffed his Diary (which was his constant Companion) with every Occurrence worthy his Notice. This he prudently foresaw would turn to a good Account in his more advanced Years; Vacancies in his future Labours might be supply'd with a Story from his Journal; and tho' it might not be very methodical, or perhaps not at all to his Purpose in Hand, Yet the Design

sign of preserving it might sufficiently justify the Publication of it.

This is the advantageous Method he has pursued all his Life Time: He has copy'd *Monuments* and *Inscriptions*; *Original Letters* and *venerable Ballads of Antiquity*; Stories of honest *John Ross* and *Peter Langtoft*; *Robert of Brune* and *St. Thomas Cantilupe*: Men! who had not Mr. *Hearne* lived, might have laid for ever buried in an ignoble Obscurity. The Preservation of these Things may be ascribed to his *Collectanea*, which are now swelled to a prodigious Size.

It is difficult indeed to determine to what particular Number these MSS Volumes are now grown, because they are kept with as strict and sacred a Care from the Eyes of Mankind as the

the ^(d) Oracles of the *Sibylls* re-
posed in the Capitol. The highest
Number I have yet seen quoted
by himself is cxxiii. in his Pre-
face to the ^(e) Annals of *John* of
Trokelowe. So that notwith-
standing there can be no certain
Calculation made of an exact
Number, Yet there is some room
for a Conjecture that they are not
fewer than five Hundred.

Several Passages there are in his
^(f) xcv Volume that enough con-
vince us of his not being then ar-
rived at Years of Discretion, not-
withstanding he had fill'd so many
of them: If therefore his In-
dus-try was as great in his ad-
vanced Years as in his Youth
which I believe all will allow

(d) See Dr. *Prideaux's* Account of those
choice *Leaves* in the 485 page of Vol. 2. of his
Conjunction: where we find that none but the
keepers of them were ever Suffered to peruse
them, and they only upon particular Exigencies.

(e) P. 29. (f) *Rob. de Glouc.* Vol. 2. p. 638.

when

when they consider the uninterrupted State of Health he all along enjoy'd) I think I may be allowed not to have exceeded the Number, but rather to have fallen short of it. This however I only took Notice of to shew what an *inestimable* Loss the World must sustain, should this *prodigious* Treasure perish with the *Collector* of it.

This Digression I hope the Reader will pardon; and so without dwelling on the first Eight or ten Years of his Life, I shall follow him to the School, where I am told he laid the Foundation of his future Greatness.

It was happy for Him as well as the *World* that he fell into the Hands of a good (g) Master at *Bray* School: It being a melan-

(g) Mr. *Gilson*, Author of the excellent *Grammatical Exceptions against the late Alterations made in the common Ascidence and Grammar.*

cholly Thing to consider how many great Geniuss have either been cramp'd or utterly spoil'd thro' the Ignorance or Indolence of trifling Pedagogues. Here he soon mastered the Rudiments of Learning, and by a gradual but speedy Progres became acquainted with the *Roman* and *Greek* Historians.

Thus encouraged by the Pugnancy of his *Parts*, his assiduous Industry and Proficiency in School Learning, his liberal Friend thought them sufficient Motives to the Continuance of his Bounty, and sent him accordingly in the Year MDC XCV (with a considerable Addition) to the University of *Oxford*. Fortune here again (if I am rightly informed) seem'd particularly fond of him: The Vicar ^(h) of the Parish where his

(h) *White Kennett*, M. A. afterwards Bp. of *eterborough*.

Benefactor lived was at that Time a considerable Tutor in *Edmund Hall*, and in the Study of Antiquity most eminently remarkable. Thro' this Gentleman's Means he was admitted into this Place, and used more like a Son than barely a Pupil by him

A few Years being spent in Academical Learning, by the Help of which he had improved his Propensity to Antiquity; He gave the World a Specimen of his future Designs. In the Year MDCCLII. (but VII Years from his Matriculation) he publish'd a copious Index of the principal Passages in Sir Roger L'Estrange's Translation of *Josephus*. Which seems to have met with so good a Reception, that the same was reprinted not long after in an Octavo Edition. In MDCCLIII. he obliged the World with (or at least occasion'd the Publication of) the *Reliquiae*
Bod-

To the READER. xi

Bodleianæ or some genuine Remains of Sir *Thomas Bodley*; adding the same Year to his other Labour *Pliny's Epistles* and *Panegyrick* with various Lections and Annotations; not to mention his Edition of *Eutropius*, with many other Things published all in this Year. In MDCCLIV and v. came out that laborious Work call'd *Ductor Historicus*, 2 Vol. being a short System of Universal History, and an Introduction to the Study of it.

It would be almost endless to expatiate particularly on his Labours, or to give an Account of the Product of every Year; for which Reason I must refer the Reader to his own printed Catalogue of them, publish'd at the End of every Book since they became numerous.

During this Period however it is observ'd that the following

Epistle was written, which loudly speaks in the Behalf of Mr. *Hearne's* Industry, and shews the early Application he had made to Books. The many just Quotations in it from sacred History as well as Prophane, from Acts of Parliament and Lawyers of the greatest Name, I flatter my self will excuse my writing a Panegyrick, and it's Author's Name recommend it enough to the Perusal of Mankind.

In MDCCIII. on the 3^d of *July* he took the Degree of Master of Arts, and had no sooner completed it, but the Eyes of the whole University were upon him: His Industry was almost become a Proverb, and (notwithstanding a little Surliness of Temper, which it is thought he brought into the World with him, and which probably increased with his severe Stu-

To the READER. xiii

Studies) he met with Friendship in a great many, and much Respect from all Men.

I should have mention'd indeed before this, the Encouragement he had from the ^(k) Head Librarian, who (acquainted with his Diligence) made him Under-keeper of the *Bodleian* Library. There he had Room enough for his Inquisitive Genius to range in; of which he made so good a Use that the Product of every Year afterwards may justly be ascribed to the Acquisitions he had made in this Treasure of Learning.

After some Years spent in this Way, of printing *Indexes, Itineraries* and *Collectanea*, his Labour met with an additional Reward; being on 19th of *Jan.* 1714---15. elected *Archetypographus* of the University and superiour *Beadle*

(k) Dr. *Hudson* Principal of *St. Mary-Hall*.

of Civil Law. (1) This we find him acknowledging with Pleasure and Humility to be an Honour, which he took the first Opportunity of mentioning to the World, on purpose that his Gratitude might be made known to Posterity. And notwithstanding he was conscious to himself that the University Favours were conferred upon One who every way undeserved them, in respect of Learning, and other requisite Qualifications, yet still he had very good Reason for accepting of them upon this Account amongst others, as they seasonably assisted and relieved one of their Members that had for many Years led an obscure and retired Life, and was at that Time reduced to a necessitous Condition, thro' the great Expence he had been at in carrying on many publick Designs.

(1) *Leland. Collect.* Vol. i. p. 56.

To the READER. XV

In this happy Posture of Affairs one would have imagined he might have been easy and satisfied: But neither Friendship nor Preferment could put a Stop to his Enquiry after *Truth*. Soon after this Promotion he acquired better Reasons (to *Himself* at least) for Non-Compliance with the Oaths that were necessary for *keeping* it, than he had before for the *Acceptance* of it; and accordingly resigns that advantageous Post, which the University had so lately conferred on him, as inconsistent with his *Conscience*, or at least, his Manner of *Thinking*.

Ever since he has steadily adhered to the Principles of a Non-juror; has spent his Time in annually obliging the World with something relating to the History of *England*, or with some other Affairs as they accidentally have
fell

fell in his Way, both for the Benefit and Pleasure of Mankind. Here I think I may leave him still labouring at the Oar, deserving the Favour and Compliments of the Learned upon his yearly Revival of something (as it were) lost to every one but Himself.

(^m) *Singulis fere Annis Cl. Hearnius aliquid e MSS. eruere quod ad Historiam Anglicanam spectat, idque Præfationibus ac Appendicibus prolixis sæpe longe aliena complexis sive ornare sive onerare.*

—(ⁿ) *Hearnius doctus Antiquarius & Industriæ summæ. Hic Talpa eruditus egregia e Tenebris eruit; multum scalpsit, corrasit, & occultus ipse Literaturæ Cumulos, Naso satis acuto, in Lucem edidit. — Hearnium alterum verbis mutilatis totum incumbentem, fortiter, obstinate, contractis*

(m) *Acta Eruditorum Anno. 1729. p. 182.*

(n) *Ed. Young. Orat. Codrington. p. 26.*

To the READER. xvii

Supercilius infixum, & Temporibus suis hoc e Saxo Ingenii sui Vi vel Durtie potius, Lumen elidentem videor videre. These Passages how much soever they may look like Ridicule to Men who deal only in *Polite Learning*, are still undoubted Confirmations of Mr. *Hearne's* Industry, and will ever be thought so by Persons of deeper Penetration.

Amongst many Qualities remarkable in him, his strict and unshaken *Integrity* is none of the least. No Regard for any one's Merit could ever prevail with him to connive at their Errors: He chose rather to break off the strictest Friendship, than to be led aside by it in his Search after Truth; Nay his very *Gratitude* when it interfered with his *Integrity* was at once renounced as no longer binding. (o) *Operæ Pre-*

(o) *Leland. Collect. Vol. i. p. 37.*

C

tium

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tium est (says he) *Lectorem monere me nulla alia de Causa à Richardsono dissentire, nisi quod Veritatem aliis quibuscunque Amicitias anteferendam esse censeram.* And in another Place, ^(P) *Eo collineat Operum nostrorum Scopus, ut Veritatem pro virili asseramus, cui litavimus.*

There is one Thing indeed relating to *University College* (to which Society he ^(q) declares himself indebted) which it would really be a Fault in me not to take Notice of, because I am positive his *Veritatis Amor* can never be reconciled with it.

During the late unhappy Contest in that House, occasion'd by the Death of Dr. Charlett, Mr. Hearne published *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*; at the End of the 2^d Vol. of which he adds a Glossary upon English Words.

(P) *Alured. Beverl.* p. 43. (q) *Leland. Itin.* p. 78.

Upon

Upon the Word *Writ* he has it
thus: We commonly understand
by *Writ* (the same with the La-
in *Breve*) a written Order or
Precept from the King or Court
of Judicature, by which any thing
is commanded to be done, rela-
ing to a Suit or Action.

Had he left off here he had
one very well: (r) *Sed ad Agen-*
zum Nati sumus, are his own
Words; upon which Principle I
suppose he proceeded in this Place.
Of this kind (he tells us) is that
remarkable one relating to *Uni-*
versity College of King *Richard*
the Second, with his Seal annexed,
which he just saw and hastily run
over.

Whether he ever saw this In-
strument I shall not scruple at
present, but whether there is any
Seal to it, or has been within the
Compass of Mr. *Hearne's* Years,

(r) *Rob. de Avesbury Praef. p. 1.*

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I leave to the Enquiries of the *Fellows* of that Society.

The same he tells us was done afterwards expressly by K. *Henry VI.* in a Writing quoted from the Muniments of the same College by (f) *Mr. Twyne*. The Thing will appear best to the Reader if I produce the Passage printed by *Mr. Twyne* and the Translation of it by *Mr. Hearne*.

Nam cum Temporibus Henrici Sexti inter Gulielmum Abbatem de Osney, & Richardum Witton illius Collegii Magistrum esset Controversia &c. And then follows the Instrument itself, which is only a common Form in the Case of a Law-Suit drawn by some Attorney, which *Mr. Hearne*, without the least Authority whatever, makes to be one of these *Writs* or Precepts from the King or Court of Judicature relating to

(f) *B. Twyne Apolog. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* p. 198.
the

the depending Suit between the
Abbot of Osney and *Richard Whitten* then Master of the College.

How he came to translate *Temporibus Hen. vi^{ti}* by the Order of *Henry* the vi looks more like *Design* than *Blunder*; tho' I would not suggest that he had any Intent of giving a Turn to a Cause then depending in some Measure upon such Instruments as he would have made this.

The Annals of this College lately publish'd by Mr. *Smith* I find have given our Antiquary some Distaste; but upon what Bottom this Anger is raised, a little Enquiry (if the Reader will permit me) will soon discover.

In his Preface to (t) *Sprott* I found this Gentleman a very great Favourite of Mr. *Hearne's*; whose Character there given is *Vir per-eruditus & benevolus*:

(t) *Sprott. Pref. p. 24.—P. 17.*

But

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But I am afraid Men's Tempers grow sour and morose as they advance in Years. In a Preface to the Life of *Richard II.* we have another Account of Mr. *Smith*: viz. *Scriptor ille ferreus atque mendax* Guilielmus Faber de Joh. Rosso *tam maligne passim locutus est.*—*Hæc in Gratiam* Guilielmi Fabri *Ecclesie Anglicanæ* (quod vix credas) *Sacerdotis*, qui multum *Temporis in isto uno* [scil. Antiquitatis] *Studio consumpsit*, nuperque (jam pene *Octogenarius*) *Librum prolixum*, *Annales Collegii Univerfitatis*, *Verbo haud satis apto*, appellatum, *Lingua vernacula conscripsit* (ne dicam *conscribillavit*) & *in publicum protrusit.*

I cannot but observe here, that Mr. *Smith's* Age is made a part of his bad Character; when old Age, by some more sacred Writers than Mr. *Hearne*, is thought *honourable*

To the READER. xxiii

able rather than scandalous. Many other Sentences there are in this Preface of his, which abound with the same sort of Language of this Rev^d old Gentleman, which the *Veritatis Amor* can never justify.

(^v) One Passage there is respecting *Sprott* (whose Authority I own I have some Reason to scruple) which proves, that Mr. *Hearne* has either not kept up to his avow'd Regard for *Truth*, or else has unhappily blundered in a Point of Chronology, tho' he abuses Mr. *Smith* for it in the very same Case. His Words are these: *Sprottus floruit An. Dom. 1274. longe nimirum citius quam exoptat Guil. Faber, qui ἀναχρονισμόν ἠμνησάμενος, audacter falsoque retulit, Ranulphum Higdenum primum omnium fuisse qui de Scholis Aluredianis aliquid tradidit, &c.*

(u) *Life of Rich. 2. Pref. p. 19.*

It

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It is observable here in the first place, that *Sprott* lived (according to Mr. *Hearne's* own Confession) in 1274, which was in the Reign of *Edward* the First; that he studied *in ea parte Adis Christi quam vulgo vocant Quadrangulum Cantuariense*, and that he wrote of *Canterbury College* and left a Book behind him concerning it, is evident from the above-cited Preface to *Sprott's Chronicle*.

This is a very surprising *Canterbury* Tale indeed; and what wou'd make *Sprott* (provided it could be prov'd) more Famous than the *Samian* Philosopher, who by the Help of Transmigration passed thro' 2 or 3 Successive Stages of Generation, but never under the same Name.

Sprott, who lived in 1274, in the Reign of *Edward* the First, studied in *Canterbury College*, which

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which was not built till 1363, and therefore, agreeable to this Account, must either have lived about 89 Years before he was born, or at least written of a Place as many Years before it was built.

This Mistake I would have accounted for in my Author's Behalf, had it been in my Power; but as it is not, I must leave it to himself, who is better qualified to reconcile Difficulties of this Nature.

Another Slip of this kind appears in the 302 page of his Collection of *Curious Discourses*. *Academia* (says he) *scripsit* Guilielmo Wykham *Episcopo* Winton. *ut illis accommodaret Machinas, quarum Ope Scholam Theologiam Voltis & Fornicibus exornarent.* It is very well known that the *Divinity School* (for which his Loan was desired) was built on the Year 1476, by *Tho. Kempe*
D Bishop

Bishop of London. This Mr. *Hearne* allows in the Page preceding the Place before cited. (w) *William* of *Wikham* Bp. of *Winton* died the 27th of *Sept.* 1404. so that according to this Assertion the University sent to him *ut illis accommodaret Machinas &c.* 60 Years after his Death. (x) *Rymer* in his *Fœdera* tells us, that *Hen. Beaufort* Bp. of *Winton* died the 3^d Id. of *April* 1447. and was succeeded by *William Waynflete*, who lived in Possession of the same till 1486. So that if for *Wikham* we read *Waynflete*, as the Person petition'd by the University, we shall come within the Time of building the *Divinity School*, and set Mr. *Hearne* right in his Chronology. This I believe was an Alteration of no Design, but only a simple, thoughtless Blunder. Mistakes of this sort I shall

(w) *Le Neve*. p. 286. (x) *Rymer Fœd.* Vol. 8. p. 392.

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conclude with an Assertion of his relating to *University Coll.* where he makes *William of Durham* to have studied in the *Great Hall*, which was not bought for the Use of *William of Durham's* Scholars till 124 Years after his Death.

As for the Censure passed upon *Mr. Smith* in the Passage above-mentioned (which really is too severe without better Grounds for it) I may venture to say 'tis Unjustifiable. For supposing that *Sprott's* Book was written before *Higden's*, yet still *Mr. Smith* (who had never seen or heard of it till he had finished his *Annals*) might undoubtedly say, and consistent with Truth too, that *Ralph Higden* was the first he ever had met with quoted as a Friend to the weak Cause of *K. Alfred's* Halls, and who seem'd first to have introduced this Novelty into the World.

Mr. *Hearne* therefore in the former Case seems to deserve the Sentence of being ἀναχρηστικὸν *immemor*; and in the latter to be very Ungenteel, to make no worse of
 'it. (y) *Utinam igitur Auctor*
 ' *Noſter* (to use almost his own
 ' Words) *Errores expungat, Li-*
 ' *brumque Retractationum ipſe*
 ' *confeſtim edat, Crimenque ne-*
 ' *fandum, quod Clerico hoc digno*
 ' *intulit, pro virili eluat. Hoc e-*
 ' *nim non extorſit Veritatis Amor.*

Whilst I am thus impartially considering our Antiquary's Character, by setting him right in his Mistakes, as well as commending his Vertues, one thing occurs which I should have been glad never to have had the Opportunity of correcting. About twenty Years before the Publication of the Life of *Richard II^d*. (which was wrote by one of the Monks

(y) *Leland. Collect. Vol. 1. p. 27.*

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of *Evesham*, our Author, in his
(2) Preface to the VII Volume of
Leland's Itinerary, expresses a
heartly Concern for the just Rights
of the Crown, in Opposition to
those ' who, in order to advance
' and maintain *Republican Princi-*
' *ples*, strain their *Inventions* to
' give a wrong *Turn* to, and per-
vert the *true Meaning* of our best
Historians; and *studiously asperse,*
blacken and defame, the Memory
of K. *Charles* the II^d. (as others
with less *Modesty* have done
that of K. *Charles* the Ist.) What
he has said upon these Points he
hopes no *Ingenuous* or *Impartial*
Person will think *Uncharitable* or
Unbecoming.

These are sounding Words,
and express a great deal of Loyalty
to the Memory of those Princes.
But such fickle Things are our
Memories, that sometimes they

(2) *Leland. Itin. Pref. p. 12.*

seem

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seem to take Pleasure in exposing us. Hence doubtless it was that Mr. *Hearne* lately run counter to his own above-cited Declarations. It must be Forgetfulness (I hope so at least) that will suffer a Man to draw his own Character in an infamous Light; and whether he has not done it to the Life, let the *Reader* judge when he has heard the Accusation, and is referred to the Place where he may soon inform himself.

At the latter ^(a) End of the Life of *Richard* the II^d. there is a *Letter* printed (and Mr. *Hearne* says an *Original* one) of *Charles* the First when Prince of *Wales*. It is directed to the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, and interpreted by the *Publisher* of it, as carrying on an Affair of Gallantry. Be the Letter what it will, *Original* or not, He ought to have given a

(a) Pag. 405.

To the READER. XXXI

better Reason for making it publick. He was apprehensive (he tells us) that if such a *Letter* should be stifled, some Persons might interpret it an Instance of Partiality, and be apt to make base Reflections upon it. Let us examine this kind of Reasoning a little. The stifling this *Letter* would have been thought an Instance of *Partiality*; The Reason of which must be this; Because Mr. *Hearne* is necessarily obliged to publish every Thing he meets with. And then, he says, that some Persons would be apt to make base Reflections on it: On the *Letter* I suppose, which if stifled, they might never see or hear of: Or if he means those Gentlemen who communicated it to him, he has again forgot his *Veritatis Amor*, because they never intended it should be printed. That it may escape therefore all

Cen-

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Censure he publishes it in a heap of *Appendixes* and *Curæ secundæ*, and makes it a hundred Times more easy for base Reflections to be cast on it than it was before.

This is the *Reason* given for publishing this *Letter*. In the next Book printed by him (which was *Trokelowe's* *Annals* of *Edward* the II^d) we have an Apology in his Preface for the very same Thing. The *Letter* became the Subject of almost every one's Discourse, and a Reflection cast upon a Prince, remarkable for his *uncommon Chastity*, could not but be taken Notice of by many of his Friends. Whether it had liked to have discontinued any of his Subscriptions, or whether he had more maturely considered the Matter I cannot say: This however is plain, that his *Apology* is designed to give a softer Turn, than was hinted in his

Ex-

To the READER. xxxiii

Explanation of the Letter; and that now he had rather have it thought, that the *Prince* was unwarily *mif-led*, than *inclined* to this Gallantry.

It had been more *prudent* (and I may add less *officious*) in Mr. *Hearne*, whilst he was thus endeavouring to clear himself, to have first got leave for the Printing this Letter from the *Gentleman* who shewed it him, and who, I am informed since, so highly regrets it, that he has broke off a Friendship with him, that had been kept very strict for many Years. I must subjoin by the way, that it is certainly a greater Instance of *Partiality* to publish a *Letter* as an *Original*, which the Editor could not at that Time, neither can he now prove to be so.

The *Apology* will appear, upon a little Consideration, not at all inferiour to his *Reason* for printing

E ing

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ing it; especially if we observe, that tho' he did not know what the *Intrigue* was, yet he happily conjectured, by making the *Prince* to be enticed like *Joseph* by the Importunity of a lewd Mistress; tho' I don't remember that *Joseph* ever wrote to a third Person about His Affair. Nay, it may be remarked further, that Mr. *Hearne* makes the (b) Wife of *Pharaoh* the *importunate* Woman, when the Scriptures assure us, it was *Potiphar's* Spouse that was so deeply smitten with the Comeliness of the *Hebrew*. But a Man may possibly forget his *Bible*, who is so very much taken up with *Adam de Domerham*, and the *black Book* of the *Exchequer*, &c.

(b) This Blunder I find has reach'd my Author's Ears, and in his Preface to *Tho. Cain* stands corrected, tho' with some Reluctance. For he says, it signifies nothing whether it was *Pharaoh's* or *Potiphar's* Wife.

Had

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Had this unfortunate *Prince* lived some hundred Years before he did, Mr. *Hearne's* Love for *Antiquity* might probably have engaged him in his *Defence* rather than in *exposing* him. We find him, in the (c) Appendix to *Leland's Collectanea*, very angry with *Tyrrel* the Historian for staining the Reputation of *Ethelred* and his first *Queen*: There he says 'it is a great Crime to scandalize any Person; the Heinousness of it increases according to the Dignity of the Person, of whom the Scandal is raised: But this (says he) may be wiped off by a publick *Retraction*.

This was good Doctrine, had not a Preface to *Cambden's* Queen *Elizabeth* shew'd, that Men do not always practise as they advise: But a publick Retraction, which

(c) Page 77.

E 2

(from

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(from the Ingenuouſneſs of Mr. *Hearne's* Diſpoſition) I have Reaſon to think he will make, may wipe off the Blemiſh he may have contracted, either in the Caſe of Prince *Charles*, or the indecent Language given Mr. *Smith*. His Pretence to *ſtrict Integrity*, I am almoſt confident, will prevail with him to do it, in a better Manner than diſguiſing it in a trifling *Apology*; and as he is a ſtrict Enquirer after *Truth*, and is by this Time convinced it was wrong to publiſh the *Letter*, or abuſe the aged *Divine*, I don't doubt but in his next *Work* he will retract what he has ſaid in both Caſes, and fruſtrate the Expectations of ſome People who think he delights in *Abuſe*, by acknowledging me his *Friend* in ſetting him right.

Thus have I conſidered one of his excellent Qualities; the next is his *Fidelity* as an *Editor*.

One

To the READER. XXXVII

One Rule which I have been informed he at first laid down, and generally speaking closely observed, was always to follow his Authors religiously. Their Mistakes by this means were punctually copy'd and sacredly preserved: Nay, the very Blunders of Transcribers were faithfully penn'd down for the Amusement of Posterity. *Prurigo emendandi ac commutandi a Nobis plane absit*, are his own Words in the Notes after the Appendix of *John of Trokelowe's Annals of Edward the Second*. And again, in^(d) *Leland's Itinerary* he declares, that he was so nice in this Affair, that I observed (says he) Mr. *Leland's* Way of Spelling, and omitted nothing, not so much as the Asterisks, and other Notes of that Nature that had been inserted by him: Nor did I leave out

(d) *Leland. Itin.* Vol. 1. p. 15.

even

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‘ even those *Words* that are plain-
‘ ly *redundant*, nor pretend to
‘ alter those that are manifestly
‘ *wrong*, and occasion’d by the
‘ Haste the Author was in, or else
‘ by the Defect of his Memory.

This Method is very observa-
ble throughout the numerous Vo-
lumes he has obliged the World
with. *Sic MS.* he has noted per-
haps in the *Margin* to shew that
he was not ignorant of the Error
in the *Copy*. *Delenda sunt ut
opinor* may possibly be seen at the
Bottom of one Page, and *lege &c.*
at another. Here perhaps may
be a *Desunt &c.* and there a *Sub-
intellige &c.* But still amidst all
these Regulations, the Text is
generally kept *purely corrupt*, and
scarce a Blunder thro’ the whole,
but what is very industriously
preserved. Nay, so great a Re-
gard has he for the old Way of
Spelling, that the following E-
pistle

To the READER. XXXIX

Epistle (which I have printed as like the Original as possibly I could) is a standing Proof of it.

There are indeed a few Cases in which he has vary'd from this Rule, (e) which might have been conceal'd, ' *had I not been apprehensive* (to use his own Words in another Case) *that some Persons, if such Slips should be stifled, might have interpreted it a great Instance of Partiality, and made base Reflections upon it.* One of this Nature I must not pass by, least his Character should prevail (as probably it might) with some Men hereafter to establish his *Errors for Truths.*

(f) Dr. *Leonard Hutton*, in his *Antiquities of Oxford*, has quoted a Line from *Shepreve's Life* of (g) Dr. *Claymond*, concerning a *Shed*

(e) History of Rich. II. p. 404. Cur. Sec.

(f) Dr. *Hutton*, Student of *Christ-Church*, about the Year 1574.

(g) Dr. *Claymond* President of *Corpus*.

that

that formerly stood in the *Corn-Market*, built to skreen the Corn from the Weather. Upon this there was an Inscription, and the Copy from whence he transcribed it, had it thus, *viz.*

Ut possit *sircum* Saccus habere locum.

In this Verse there appears a palpable Error, which a Reader of no extraordinary Capacity might have discovered and corrected. But see the Misfortune of not following an old Rule. By an unhappy Conjecture he has wander'd from his *Copy*, and to make *better Sense* of it he has acted the *Critick's* Part, and mend-ed *sircum* with *circum*. But I think the Alteration of that *Letter* makes but little Difference in the Sense. The Lines (as I copy'd them from the MS. Life now in the *Musæum* at *Oxford*) run thus, *viz.*

To the READER. xli

lebs ubi Rura colens, empturis hordea vendit,
Aspice quadrifido tecta propinqua foro.
Hoc erexit opus talem Claymundus in Usum
Ut *Siccum* possit Saccus habere Locum.

Whether this Mistake arose from his not having an Ear for the *Monkish Musick*, an Error of the like Nature may serve to determine.

(^h) In the Catalogue of his Works, annexed to the History of *Glastonbury*, he has published the following Inscription in the following manner, now to be seen in the Remains of *Rewly*.

ELE LONGESPE COMITISSE DE
VERVIC VISCERA SVNT HIC.

Mr. *Wood* saw this entire, but afterwards it was broken, and unskillfully placed in a Wall of one of the lower Rooms of (ⁱ) *Rewly*, where Mr. *Hearne* says, he has

(h) *Antiq. Glaston.* p. 337.

(i) A Monastery adjoining *Oxon.*

F

often

XLii *To the* READER.

often seen it, and that it is very legible. In this ancient Inscription I find there is a *Jingle* too; and had it been so legible as he declares it was when he saw it, I am surpris'd that *He*, of all Men, should be so inaccurate a Copyer (a Trade he has followed almost all his Life) as to transpose one Word and add another, instead of taking it as it really is,

ELE DE WERWICK

COMITISSE VISCERA SUNT HIC.

The Word *Longesse*, insert'd in his Account of it, is not upon the Stone, how legible soever he asserts it to be; and the Spelling of *Werwick* quite altered by him, without the least Authority whatever but his own.

This Blunder may in some Measure be accounted for in this Manner. ---- There is now in the *Anatomy School* (which was formerly under the Care of Mr. *Hearne*)

To the READER. XLiii

Hearne) a Stone found at *Rewly* (probably the Foundation-Stone of a Chapel there) bearing this Inscription---ELE LONGESP̄ COMIT̄: WAREW̄: HANC CAPELLAM FECIT:

This no doubt had often been perused by my *Antiquary*, as well as the other before mentioned; and perhaps the trusting too much to Memory, might raise a confused Notion of both Inscriptions, and corrupt the *Monkish Single* in the former Case.

These few Mistakes then have taken their Rise from not sticking closely to his *Copy*: I shall take Notice of but one more, which was occasioned by following it too closely; and it may be seen in his Edition of that valuable (^k) MS. which is said to have belonged formerly to Venerable *Bede*.

Let it be observed in the first Place, that this MS. is in very old

(k) MS. *Latino Grac.* Fol. 38.

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Capital Letters, and each Page divided into two Columns: The first contains the *Latin*, the *Greek* is wrote collaterally in the other. Thro' the *Oscitancy* of the Scribe, the *Latin* Sentence is frequently carried beyond the Bounds of its own Column, by which means it becomes intermixed with the *Greek*. The Text as he has printed it stands thus: *viz.*

MIRARI COEPERVNT ΕΘΑΥΜΑΖΟΝ
ET CONFVNDEBANTVR. ΜΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΙΗΠΟΡΟΥΝ.

At the Bottom of his Page (not contented with Dr. *Mills's* Reading) he adds *sic plane in Codice nostro non εθαύμαζον ε διηπόρου ut apud Millium*; tho' it will appear beyond all Dispute upon any one's Enquiry, that the Dr. was not in the least to be blamed. For, as I observed before, thro' the Careless-

To the READER. XLV

lessness of the Scribe, the Latin Line being carried beyond its due Bounds into the Greek Column, and the Words MENTE and MENTE consisting of five Capital Letters, just the same in both Languages, unhappily led Mr. *Hearne* into this Mistake. So that by defalcating one Word from the Latin, and converting it into two Greek ones of no Signification at all, he spoil'd the Sense of the one, and made the other quite superfluous. — But some Faults sure are pardonable in so voluminous a Writer.

To be particular in shewing his Talent at *Reasoning* would, I fear, be making too free with my *Reader's* Time: I might quote three Parts of his Discourse on the *Stunsfield Pavement*, had not Mr. *Poynter* thoroughly considered it already; and give such Instances of it which nothing but
Envy

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Envy or *Ill-Nature* could find fault with. But the following *Epistle* prevents my dwelling upon this Excellency, it being a Master-piece of its kind, and what the Reader, I hope, will be greatly delighted with.

But let the *Epistle* speak for itself: There is one Paragraph in his (1) Preface to *Sprott's Chronicle* which really seems to be a new Method of Reasoning, such as no Writer but himself, I believe, dares lay any Claim to. He is there speaking in *Sprott's* Praise, and his Words are these — *Adeo ut non videam cur mihi sit Detrimeto, si publice declarem me opinari de Academia nostra Oxoniensi Opus etiam justum ac distinctum contexuisse*: And then comes the Reason in the very next Sentence, viz. *Opinioni favet Auctoris Pietas. Quod si Tu aliter sentias,*

(1) P. 28, 29.

To the READER. XLVII

*Ego in Sententia non perstabo,
nec quorsum recidant quaecunque
animadverti magnopere laborabo,
si modo illud concesseris de Collegio
Cantuariensi Opus post se reli-
quisse, in quo multa itidem de tota
Academia è Monumentis præ-
claris obiter notaverit.*

This is the Argument produced
to prove that the Author of that
lean Chronicle (whether *Sprott* or
some other, it not clearly ap-
pearing that *Sprott* was the Au-
thor of it) composed many other
valuable Books, not at all in-
ferior to the *Chronicle* which is
published. Great Pity indeed!
That such profitable works should
be buried in Obscurity; and
doubtless was there not some
Hope of their being still recovera-
ble, *Sprott's* Admirers (how in-
flexible soever in other Cases)
would lament greatly under their
Loss in this.

Agree-

XLVIII *To the READER.*

Agreeable to this, new Method of Reasoning we find an uncommon Conjecture in his Preface to the Sixth Volume of *Leland's Itinerary*, which very few Writers would ever have made. From a Medal of *Carausius* bearing this Inscription, VICTORIA CEA. he endeavours to prove, that the Brogue of the common People is the true Standard of the *Roman* Dialect and Pronunciation. The word *Cæsar*, according to this *curious Remark*, is not to be pronounced as it generally is by People of Fashion or Breeding, *Cesar*, but agreeable to the broad Manner of Speaking used by the most rustick of Mankind, and as it stands upon the Coin, CEASAR.

I acknowledge this Observation to be a very curious one, and to stand upon the Authority of a Medal, but if it should ever be discovered, that it proceeded from
an

To the READER. XLIX

an Error of the *Mint-Master*,
from a simple Literal Transpo-
sition, or from any other Acci-
dent (as possibly it might) the
Remark will then sink in its Va-
lue; The Coin indeed may be cu-
rious upon the Account of the
Blunder, but is no more an Ar-
gument to ascertain the Truth of
Dialect or Pronunciation, than
that *spurious Halfpenny* of His
present *Majesty*, would be a Stan-
dard in the Next Age for pro-
nouncing GEORGIVS instead of
GEORGIUS.

It would waste too much of
the Reader's Time probably, to
offer here a Collection of all the
Poetical Fragments scatter'd thro'
his Labours; the Preservation
of which by Printing them, I
must observe, shews no small De-
sire to be useful to Mankind, as
these Rhythmes contain either
Lessons of Oeconomy; such as,

G

With

L

To the READER.

With a red Man reade thy read ;
With a brown Man break thy Bread :
At a pale Man draw thy Knife ;
From a black Man keep thy Wife.

Rob. Glouc. 2 Vol. p. 698.

Or an Account of an ancient local
Custom :

Ule, Ule, Ule, Ule,
Three Puddings in a Pule,
Crack Nuts and cry Ule.

Rob. Glouc. p. 679.

Or else an Illustration of a Pedit-
gree :

William de Coningsby
Came out of Britany,
With his Wife Tiffany,
And his Maid Manfas,
And his Dog Hardegrafs.

Thus have I collected some Me-
morials of Mr. *Hearne's* Life,
and have taken the Liberty to
correct some few Mistakes in his
Writings. In a Thing of such
Moment I have been very care-
ful

DER. *To the READER.* Li

ul, not to offend either my Rea-
ler or Author; avoiding *Flat-*
ery on the one hand, and *Scandal*
on the other. I have described
his good Qualities as they have
occurred, and rectify'd some Er-
rors he unfortunately fell into,
in order to save him the Trouble
of doing it himself.

I little thought indeed when I
undertook to publish this *Letter*,
what a Defence would be expected
for my doing it, or that I should
make His Friends my Enemies
by it. But for want of better
knowledge of the Nature of the
Affair, It was no sooner adver-
sified than at once condemned as
valicious, or at least *Impertinent*.

At first Sight indeed I own it car-
ries a bad Aspect, to publish a
Man's Letter without his Con-
sent, but when Circumstances are
rightly considered, and the whole
matter weigh'd a little, I don't

doubt but Mr. *Hearne* himself will laugh at the ill-digested *Zeal* of his *Espoufers* in this Case, and be obliged to those *Gentlemen* who caused the Publication of it, by engaging themselves to take off such a Number when published. To set those Persons therefore right, who could not encourage this Performance consistent with Conscience, and to wipe off the Dirt which others have secretly endeavour'd to bespatter me with, I shall offer a few Lines in my own Defence; and a few I believe will serve as a sufficient Answer.

As for the *Malice* objected to me, I have no other way to clear myself of *that*, than by seriously declaring, it never once entered my Thoughts; and as for the *Impertinence* of it, the same Reasons that prove against *me*, will rise in Judgment against Mr. *Hearne* likewise. When I first discovered this

To the READER. Liii

this Letter in MS. the Title had something in it so very odd, that I could not forbear looking farther into it, and read it at first with a good deal of Surprize. I was very much pleas'd with the Author's Labour, though shock'd with the Principle on which the Treatise was built; and intended to have considered how far the *Common Good* would justify Men in laying aside an Oath, where there was no Judge to determine when it was for such a Good; had I not been prevented by answering these Insinuations of its being a Malicious Thing to print it.

As I found it a learned and labour'd Piece, I thought it might please the Reader, if it did not profit him: Nay, I am not ashamed to own, that I had an Eye to my own Interest in doing it. The Author's Name I was satisfied was well known to the Learned

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LIV *To the* READER.

ed World, and his Works always sold at an *excessive* Price; so that I imagined no one would raise Objections against me for consulting my own Profit in publishing Mr. *Hearne's* Works, any more than they would against him for printing other Peoples. The *Letter* itself is a Vindication of those who took the Oath of Allegiance to King *William*; and I cannot think it any bad Part of a Man's Character to give his Reasons for complying with that Oath, which others refused. The Point was disputable, and Censures no doubt were passed upon the *Jurors* as well as *Non-jurors*. His Reasons for Compliance (how weak soever in the Eyes of those of a different Perswasion) were doubtless good in his own; and if he has discovered better now for refusing the Oath, than he before gave for the taking it, 'tis
an

To the READER. LV

an Argument I think of his constant Enquiry after *Truth*, and of his discharging his Conscience as he improves in Knowledge.

This however is plain, that he did not proceed in a Concern of such Moment with Levity or Rashness; but after a Mature Consideration he ventured to take the *Oath of Allegiance*, and gave his Reasons for it in this *Letter* accordingly. His Worldly Interest, 'tis manifest, was no Motive to him; He shewed himself a strict Enquirer after *Truth*, and did not comply upon the sordid View of raising his Fortune upon the Ruins of his Integrity. How he became dissatisfied in this Affair since shall not be my Business to enquire.

Why Mr. *Cherry*, whose Friendship for him was inviolable to the Day of his Death, should suffer this *Letter* to be placed in a Publick

LVI *To the* READER.

lick Library (where he knew every thing was to be seen) had he not apprehended it to be for Mr. *Hearne's* Credit, I cannot conceive. Some indeed have objected, that it was not left so by his *Will*, which I own I have not had an Opportunity of enquiring into, contenting my self with the exprefs Testimony of the *Register* of Benefactors, which I thought Authority enough for my asserting it. And doubtless, had it not been his *Inclination* at least that it should be so lodg'd, he would have cancelled it himself in order to prevent its being publick, or ordered it to have been consumed with other useles or private Papers.

But such was that Gentleman's Integrity, and his Regard for Mr. *Hearne* so steady, that notwithstanding the Letter differed from him in Principles, and opposed
his

To the READER. LVii

his own way of Thinking, Yet as
it was drawn up in a conscientious
Manner, and illustrated with
many curious Instances, it seems
to have been his *Desire*, if not
his exprefs *Will*, that it should
be deposited in this Place of Learn-
ing for his Credit as a *Writer*,
and Character as a *Christian*. Upon
the Whole I hope the Objections
urg'd against me for publishing a
Letter of so much *Worth*, pen'd
with so much *Judgment*, and sup-
ported with such *Arguments*,
will appear more like *Malice* and
Impertinence in the *Objectors*
than in *Me* for making it publick.
The same Reason then may be
given for my printing a Treatise
of my Author's, which he him-
self gave for publishing Letters
of Dr. Langbaine's: ^(m) *His itaque*
de Causis in lucem protuli quoniam
erudita est Epistola, & Auctoris

(m) Leland. Collect. Vol. 5. p. 282.

LViii To the READER.

Nomine digna, multaque contineat à Re Historica non aliena, & hanc statui mihi esse describendam jurisque publici faciendam. Neque dubito quin tu, Lector benevole, æqui bonique sis consulturus.

AT the earnest Request of several of my Friends, I have here reprinted that *Letter* which Mr. *Hearne* made publick of *Charles* the First, when Prince of *Wales*, that my Readers may see how little Room there was (even Supposing it to be an Original one) for so ill a Construction as has been put upon it.

STEENIE,

I Have nothing now to wryte to you, but to give you thankses bothe for the good counsell ye gave me, and for the Event of it. The
King

The LETTER. LIX

King gave mee a good sharpe position, but you tooke away the working of it, by the well relished Comfites ye sent after it. I have met with the Partie, that must not be named, once alreddie: and the cullor of wryting this Letter shall make me meete withe her on Saterdag, although it is written the day being Thursday. So assuring you that the busines goes safelie onn, I rest

Your constant loving freind

CHARLES.

I hope ye will not show the King this Letter, but put it in the safe custodie of Mister Vulcan.

On the Back this:

Pr. Ch. to the Duke.

Without Date.

ERRATA.

Pref. p. 21. l. ult. leg. p. 27. dele p. 17.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. The author discusses the various ages of the world, and the progress of human civilization. He also touches upon the different religions and philosophies that have shaped the course of history.

The second part of the book is a detailed account of the various nations and empires that have existed throughout the world. The author describes their customs, laws, and achievements, and provides a comprehensive overview of their political and social structures.

The third part of the book is a collection of biographies of some of the most important figures in world history. The author profiles the lives and deeds of these individuals, highlighting their contributions to the world and the impact they had on the course of human events.

The fourth part of the book is a series of essays on various subjects, including the nature of government, the role of religion in society, and the progress of science and technology. The author offers his own insights and perspectives on these issues, drawing upon his extensive knowledge and experience.

The fifth and final part of the book is a summary of the author's thoughts on the future of the world. He discusses the challenges that lie ahead and offers his predictions for the course of human civilization in the years to come.

THE

Oath of Allegiance

VINDICATED

By

Mr. *Hearne*, now a *Nonjuror*.

SIR,

I N a former Letter, I endeavoured to Vindicate those who have taken the *Oaths of Allegiance* to His *Present Majesty*, from the Imputation of *Perjury*, *Injustice*, and *Disloyalty*, cast upon them by such as Scruple them, by shewing That when the King himself Breaks His Oath by Tyrannizing upon, and Depriving his Subjects of their Liberties, and consequently the *Common GOOD* of the *NATION* requires either his Deposition, or, at least, that a Restraint shou'd be put upon him some other way, those who had taken *Allegiance* to him before, are solved from Obligation to him. This I did especially by what passed between King *Henry VIth*, and *Edward IVth*.

A

Now

2 *Mr. Hearne's Vindication*

Now Understanding what I there said hath not that Effect as was expected, I hope it may not be taken amisse, if in this Letter, I prosecute the *Same Thing* further, by giving

First an *Historical* Account of what passed in Relation to *Maud* the Empreffe, and *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, as to the Sitting upon the Throne ;

Secondly, Shewe That those who tooke an Oath to *Stephen* as to their Sovereign Lord, notwithstanding they had before Sworne Allegiance to Her the Empreffe, thought themselves, yea even were, loosed from their Obligation to her, because the *Common Good* of the *Nation* so required it.

First therefore as to what passed in Relation to the Sitting upon the Throne.

HENRY the First of that Name, King of *England*, Son of *William Conqueror*, and, for His Great Learning, Sirnamed *Beauclerke*, or ever the Warre was begune betweene him and his Discontented Brother *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, in the first Year of his Reigne $\overline{CIC: C}^a$, married *Molde* or *Mawde* the Daughter of *Malcolyne* or *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, and of *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter of *Edward*

(a) Vid. *Speed's Chronicle*.

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 3

the *Out-Lawe*, by whome, as some Chronicles say, he had two Sonnes, and two Daughters, that is to say, *William*, and *Richard*, *Mawde* and *Mary* ^b. *Polydore Virgil* saith ^c, That of *Mawde* were borne *William* and *Mawd*, and of a Concubine *Richard* and *Mary*.

But *Polydore* is an Author who had more regard to *Elegance of Expression*, than *Truth*, which ought to Overballance every thing else in an *Historian*, and therefore, in this Relation, I shall not make any Quotations from him, knoweing very well that *Leland* speaks of him according to his Desert ^d, when discovering his Error in the Rise of *ISIS*, he writes thus:

Utinam Polydorus tam oculatus fuisset gestis in Rebus Britannicis, quam interim est tersus, nitidus, elegans. Na ille tum exegisset opus immortalitate plane dignissimum: modo & eadem opera cognitionem utriusque Linguae, videlicet Britannicæ, & Saxonicæ, tanquam ad Coronidem adjecisset. At ille interim laudandus plurimum, qui domi Sedens, & Numerofo Veterum Auctorum de Rebus in Britannia gestis Scribentium præsidio destitutus, præstitit in tanta angustia, quanta potuit alius

(b) Vid. *Grafton's Chron.*

(c) Sub an. 1120.

(d) in *Comment. in Cygneam Cantionem* in voc. *ISIS*.

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quisquam maxima. *Hæc ego de Polydoro modeste satis, ut arbitror, & candidè retuli, quem interim aperte de me male loqui, & sentire certo scio, id quod susque deque sero.*

But however this be, certain it is, and all Chronicles mention it, That King Henry, having ended his Differences with the *French* King, who had usurped upon Part of his Lands in *Normandy*, Anno Dom. *MD: C: XX* returned into *England*, with a great Deale of Joy and Pleasure, and was received with as much. Nothing now but Mirth and Praise of the King, for his Victorious and Happy Undertakings. But the Old Adage always holds true:

————— *Miscetur tristia lætis;*

And the like Saying of an Old Celebrated Poet, *Seva Noverca dies nunc est, nunc Mater amica.* For on a sudden the most sorrowful and unexpected News was brought to the King and whole Kingdome, as ever, I may say, was heard of in *England*. For the King's Sonnes and his Daughter, with other Nobles to the number of 140, as some *Chronicles*, to the number of 160, Persons, as others, besides fiftie Marriners, having taken Ship at *Harslew*, thinking to follow the King,

(e) *Hæstod. in Lib. cui Tit. Opera & Dies.*

and

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 5

and Sailing forth with a South-Wind, their Ship through Negligence of the Mariners, proceeding from the Prædominancy of Old *Bacchus* in their Heads, having entertained him with the greatest Security, was throwne upon a Rocke, and utterlie perished on the Coast of *England*, upon the 25th of *November*, So that of all the Companie, none escaped to bring News of this Dreadful Accident, but one Butcher, who catching hold of the Mast, was driven with the same to Shore, which was neare, and so was saved from the greatest Danger.

Matthem of Westminster says nothing of the Marriners being Drunke, but thinks that this Punishment from the Waves happened deservedly: *In vita enim eorum non libidinem fluxerunt enormem: Unde creditur, eos enormiter in Mari tranquillissimo vitam in puncto terminasse.*

A Lamentable Case truely it was, to be deprived of Children thus! However the King's Eldest Sonne *William* might have been saved by Boat, had not the Cries of his Base Sister, the Countess of *PERCH* made so deep an Impression upon him as to make him endeavour her Safety, which yet was in vaine, and to his owne Ruine;

(f) *Hist. L. 2. p. 30.*

for

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for whilst he was busie in taking her in, others leaping in, overloaded the Boat, whereby all miserably perished: Thus *William of Malmsbury*:

Jam alios undis exponebat, alios ingressa per rimas aqua enecabat, cum jam ejeta Scapha filius Regis excipitur, servarique potuisset ad littus regressus, nisi soror ejus notha Comitissa Perticix in majori Nave cum Morte luctans, fæmineo ululatu Fratris opem implorasset, ne tam impie se relinqueret. Ille Misericordia infractus lembum Carina applicari jussit: Ut Sororem exciperet, mortem misellus pro Clementiæ teneritudine indeptus. Continuo enim multitudine insilientium Scapha victa subsedit, omnesque pariter fundo involvit.

The more heavy the News yet: For this *William* was the King's Eldest Sonne, and the next Heire to the Crowne, and was endued with such Excellent Qualifications and Accomplishments, as drew the Hearts of all to him. So *Malmsb*:

Filium habuit Rex Henericus ex Matilde Nomine Willielmum dolci spe, & ingenti cura in Successionem educatum & provectum. Nam & ei, vix dum XII annorum esset, omnes liberi homines Angliæ & Normanniæ, cujuscunque Ordinis & Dignitatis, cujuscunque Domini fideles, manibus

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 7

manibus & Sacramento se dedere coacti sunt. *Filiam quoque Fulconis Comitis Andegavensis vix Nubilem ipse etiam imubis despondit, & accepit dato sibi a Socero Comitatu Cenomannico pro Munere Spontalico. Quin & Jerosolymam Fulco ire contendens, commendavit Comitatum Regi, si veniret, futurum profecto generi, non rediret. Plures ergo Provinciae spectabant Nutum Pueri, putabaturque regis Edwardi Vaticinium in eo comulendum: ferebaturque Spes Angliae modo arboris succisa, in illo juvenculo verum floribus pubescere, fructus procurere, & ideo finem malorum spectari posse.*

Huntingdon relates this memorable Shipreck thus, without mention of Young *William's* Endowments, or of the Possibility of his Escape.

Anno CIO: C: XX. Gratia omnibus doctis & pacificatis in Gallia cum Gaudio Rex Henricus rediit in Angliam: Sed in ipso Paris transitu duo Filii Regis Willielmus & Richardus, & Filia Regis & Neptis, & multi Proceres, Dapiferi, Camerarii, Pincerna Regis, & Richardus Consul Cestriae naufragati sunt. Qui omnes vel fere omnes Sodomitica Labe dicantur & erant irretiti. Improvise igitur the same with what Westmonasteriensis saith

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saith in the Words above cited) Mors
Absorbuit emeritos, cum mare tran-
quillissimum ventis careret.

The most Learned, and Judicious Sir
Walter Raleigh, in that most admirable
Booke of his Intituled *The History of the
World* s thinks that this great Slaughter
by the *Watery Element* happened as a
Punishment to King *Henry* for his Unna-
turalness to his Eldest Brother *Robert* the
Lawful Heire to the Crowne, and his
other Enormous Crimes. Which cannot
be gainsaied, it being a thing too often
seen that Children are Punished for their
Parent's Transgressions.

By this memorable Accident also the
Falsity of King *William Rufus's* Speech
was remarkably Experienced, which he
utter'd to the Ship-Master upon his going
to *Normandie Anno Dom. MD: XC: IX* up-
on Notice that *Nans* was besieged by his
Enemies, whome a little before he had
Quieted. Namely the King being at
Dinner rose hastily up, tooke Shipping,
and, notwithstanding there was a great,
and tempestuous, Wind, forced the
Master on, (who advised him to Stay till
it was Settled,) Saying, *That he never
heard as yet of any King that was drowned.*

(g) In the Preface.

King

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 9

King *Henry* therefore being, as hath been related, so unexpectedly Deprived of this Flower, whose sweet Dispositions had drawne the hearts of all to have a great Affection towards him, was beset with nothing but Sorrowe, and Troubles; as indeed well he might, seeing he lost his life so ignobly, proceeding, according to the general Report from Carelesnets and Vice, notwithstanding his Death was noble in this, that rather than his dear Sister should loose her's, he would hazard his owne, Life, altho it be the common opinion that he is rather to be blamed than praised, who being in the greatest anger, instead of freeing himself from it, labours to save others who are in the same, notwithstanding he sees it will be a kind of Miracle to save his owne Life.

To make up this Gappe, the King in the Yeare next^h following, *April 10th.* If I remember rightly *Matter Stowe* saith was *Jan. 3^d* married a Second Wife named *Adelicia*, a Lady of Excellent Beauty, and Noble Endowments, Daughter to the Duke of *Lovaine*, and Descended of the Noble Dukes of *Lorraine*.

John Hardyng i also, after having given

(h) Vid. *Hollingsh. Chron.* pag. 41. *Lond.* 1587.

(i) *Chron. Vit. Hen. I.* fol. c:xxx.v. pag 2. *Lond.* 1543.

10 *Mr. Hearne's Vindication*

an Account of the Shipwrecke, tells us
That the King Married againe, and so
say all other *Chronicles*. *Hardyng's* owne
words shall here be added.

The Third Yere after [*viz.* after the Departure to *Normandy*] to England came again,
The Duke his Sonne, Willyam of Normandy,
His Brother Richard also, the Sothe to Sain
And Erle Richard of Chester in Compaignie,
With many other Lords, in Shippes them bye
Uppon the Seas were dreint in greate Distresse.
Of the whiche the Kyng, had then greate
hevineffe.

Whiche Duke William had wed the Daughter
then

Of Fowke Talboys, Erle of Angeow had bene.
With whom a \bar{c} Knightes with many Menne
And Ladies many, were drowned as was seene.
And then the King wed Hadelyse the Quene
The Duke Godfrey Daughter, that was of
Loreyne

Of His Mourning to comforte hym againe.

A Lady of such both *External* and *Internal* Endowments promised the fairest
that she should have a numerous offspring,
yet herein the King was Deceived, and
all his Labour for this End (which you
may be sure was not small) was defeated.
For he had no Issue, to the Renovation
and Augmentation of his Grief, by her.
Nothing

Of the Oath of Allegiance. II

Nothing now was to be done by the King but to take Care the Crowne might be settled upon his Eldest Daughter *Maud*, and her Issue. *Anno Gratia* herefore 1126. the King being in *Nor-mandy*, and understanding that *Henry* the Emperor (his Daughter *Maud's* Husband, she having beene married to him *n. 1108.* being then not above 5 Years of Age, for her Birth was in the latter end of *CIO: C: I.*) was departed this Life at *Utrecht*, the 23. of *May an. eod.* sent for his said Daughter the Empresse to come immediately over to him into *Nor-mandy*; and having set his Business in order on that side the Sea, and taken her with him, he returned into *England* before the Feast of *S. Michael*, where calling a Parliament, in the Presence of himself, and *David* King of *Scotland*, he caused the Nobles (and first above all others *Stephen* his Sister's Sonne, who, as shall be said, first Violated it,) to swear Fealty to her, as to his Lawfull, and now onely Heir, by which they should be againe governed by one of the Royal Blood. The Oath was this, *That they should as such as in them lay, after King Henry's Decease, (if he Died without Heir-Male) establish her Queene of the Monarchy of*

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Great Brittain, now called England. But whether they did or no (saith ^k *Gemeiensis*) belongs not to me to tell.

Gyraldus ^l and *Hygden* ^m and some Ancient ⁿ MSS. Affirme (but with very little Probability or Credit) That the Emperor *Henry* Died not at this Time, according to the general Bruite; but that rather upon a *Remorse of Conscience* arising from his Imprisonment of his owne Natural Father to Deathe, *Hen.* viz. 34; and also his Spiritual Father the Pope with his Cardinalls; repenting of these Abominable Actions, he laid aside his Imperial Roabe, and with all Secrecy fled into *England*, intending to do Pennance, by Severity of Life, for them; Accordingly that at *West-Chestre* he became an *Hermite*, changing his Name into *Godscall*, (as being now called of God) where he to lived for the Space of 10 Years, and was interred in the Cathedrall Church of *St. Werburga* the Virgine. Upon which his sudden Flight, the Empresse *Maud* his Wife, saith *John Stowe*, ^o was suspected to be guilty of his Death, and for that Cause was kept continually in the King's Cham-

(k) P. 680. (l) *Itinerar.* (m) *Polyicr.*
 Lib. 7. c. 16. *Hoved.* in *Hen. I.* (n) See *Sped.*
 (o) In his *Annals.*

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 13

ber. Here Master *Stowe* is infallibly out; for notwithstanding She was kept in the Chamber with the Queene, as *Matthew Paris* saith also, yet it is no good Reasoning to say it was for her Wickedness; for even the said *Paris* gives us a much more wise and solid Reason, and withall altogether consonant to Truth, for her being so kept, viz. for that her Father did love her exceedingly, as being now his sole Heir. An honourable Place truly to live there; for what place may be more noble than for the Daughter to live with the Queene her Mother? Where could She have been more secure from Enemies than in the Palace of her Mother and Queene? And without doubt the King well considered this; knoweing That severall Dangers were in other Places whereby he might easily be robbed of this his Designed Successor. And that the same *Stowe* also was as much in the wrong for assigning her Burying-place at *West-Chestre*, in *St. Werburg's* Church, appears, First from those who write of the Antiquities of that County, p who mention no such Matter for certainty, which sure they

(p) Vid. *William Smith's* and *William Webb's* Descriptions of *Cheshire*, published by *Dan. King*, in Folio.
wou'd

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wou'd do were they certified of the Truth hereof; Secondly, The Generality of *Chronoclers* tell us, he was Buried at *Spire*, with this Epitaph:

Filius hic, Pater hic, Avus hic, Proavus jacet istic. As even *Brompton* tells us 9: *Eodem anno Henricus 4. Imperator gener Henrici Regis obiit, & Secundum quosdam apud Spiram, cum Progenitoribus suis sepelitur.* Where by *Quosdam* that he must understand the Greatest Part of *Chroniclers*, the Reader will grant, after he hath Searched our *English* Writers upon this Subject, and more especially from his Citation of *Giraldus*, onely for the contrary Opinion, to which he gives the most Credit. For thus he writes immediately after: *Verius tamen videtur Giraldus in Itinerario Walliæ sentire, ubi dicit Quod Henricus iste postquam Patrem suum Spiritualem Dominum Papam, cum Cardinalibus, ut supra dictum est, incarceraverat, & etiam Patrem suum Carnalem incarcerando debonestaverat, tandem ad Cor rediens, ultroneus exul factus est, & Matilda, filia dicti Regis Henrici, uxore clam dimissa, apud Cestriam per Decennium Hermeticam duxit Vitam, ubi dum viveret, ne cuiquam innotesceret,*

(9) *Chron. P. 1015. Col. 1. Sub. an 1125. inter Scriptores 10. Angliæ Antiquos. Lond. 1625.*

Of the Oath of Allegiance. 15

Godescallum se vocavit, quod sonat à Deo vocatum. Sic igitur Imperatore latenter digressa, Matildis Imperatrix sine prole aliquâ ab eo concepta, ad Patrem suum Regem Henricum in Normannia adhuc existentem rediit.

See for this Particular, if you please, more especially *William Gemeticensis* ^r, who also reporteth *Maud* to be a Woman generally well thought of, and approved among the Greatest Princes of the Empire, for her Prudent and Gracious Behaviour towards the Emperor her Husband; insomuch that they became Suiters unto her, seeking by all means to attaine her to Govern them, and to that end attended her to *K. Henry* in *Normandy* to Sollicite the same; to whome in no wise he would give his Consent, meaning to make her his Successor in the Kingdome: Unto which *Malmesb.* (who then lived) accordeth; saying ^s, That She was extremely unwilling to come out of those Parts of the Empire, where both her Dowry and Acquaintance lay, and that the Princes of those Countries made more than one single Journey into *England*, to sollicite the King that She might be their

(r) *Polyer*. Lib. 7. c. 16. (s) *Novel*. L. 1.

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Empresse, but the King would not part with the Heire of his Crowne.

Afterwards the King to be free from the Complaints and Disturbances of Foreign Princes, concluded a Marriage between *Jeffry Martell*, Sirnamed *Plantagenet*, Earle of *Anjou*, Sonne of *Foulke*, who also gave his Sonne with the Earldome, the Territories of *Gaunt*, and *Thury*, and his said Daughter the Empresse, which was Solemnized in *Normandy* the 3d of *April*, *an. præd.*

Anno Dom. MD: C: XXXI. His Daughter *Maud*, for some Displeasure, between her and her Husband, Departed from him and came into *England*. Some write That She was the Provoker of certaine Displeasures between her Husband and Father, which so affected his Mind with Passions of Grief, that many thought it was a great Hastning of his End; And indeed *Malmesburie* u saith, That the King upon his Death-Bed passionately mention'd the Wrongs and Indignities wherewith her Husband had Disquieted his Mind. Howbeit soone after this her Departure from him, by Consent of the Estates, who met at *Normandy*: She was

(t) Vid Reg Hoved. in Hen. I. Hunt. in Hist. Lib. 7.
(u) Novel. Lib. 1.

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reconciled to her Husband: Sent unto him upon his Intreaty: And, *Anno Dom. MD: C: xxxi. ut supra*, bare him a Sonne, whose Name was *Henry*; for Joy whereof, King *Henry* assembled his Lords, and againe made his said Daughter, and the lawfull Heires of her Body Successors in his Dominions.

Thus *Malmesb.* in his owne Words; Yet it must be noted that *Chroniclers* Differ in their Assignation of the Yeare, some placing it in *Anno Domini 1127.* others in—28. others some in 1132.]
Convocato ergo omnibus Regni Principibus (or, Magno Concilio Cleri & Populi) *pud London*, filiam suam & Hæredes ex ea nascituros, sibi constituit Successores; & fecit Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Abates, Regemque *Scotiæ David*, & Comitibus & Barones totius suæ Dominationis iurare fidelitates *Matildi filie ejus, & Henrico Filio ejus*, adhuc minimo, & constituit eum Regem post se. Juramentum ergo cuncti, quicumque in eodem Concilio alicujus videbantur esse momenti, primo *Willielmus Cantuariæ Archiepiscopus*, mox cæteri Episcopi, nec minus Abbates. Laicorum, primus juravit *David Rex Scotiæ*, ejusdem Imperatricis Avunculus, tunc *Stephanus Moritonij Comes*

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Comes & Bononiæ, Nepos *Henrici* Regis ex sorore Adala, mox *Robertus* Filius Regis, quem ante Regnum susceperat, & Comitem *Glocestriæ* fecerat. *Notabile fuit* (ut fertur) Certamen inter *Robertum* & *Stephanum*, dum æmula laude Virtutum inter se contenderent, quis eorum prior juraret, illo Privilegium filij, isto dignitatem Nepotis spectante. Ita Obstrictis omnibus Fide & Sacramento tunc quidem a quoque in sua discessum est.

Brompton tells (w) us the same thing, but with this Note, viz. That all were not of this Opinion, That a second Oath was taken; *Anno Dom. 1128*. Secundum quosdam Proceres Angliæ juraverunt coram Rege quod Superius dictum est, videlicet de Regno Angliæ ad Opus *Matildæ* Imperatricis filix suæ observando, si ipsa Patrem suum sine Liberis decedentem superviveret.

But those Authors who are of the contrary Opinion with *Brompton's* Quidam, are certainly not to be relied upon, since *Malmesburienfis*, lived in this King's Time, and was a Person, as *Bale* and *Pitt* will tell You of an Honest and Good Life, and withall of great Industry in Search-

(w) In *Chron.* p. 1015. inter *Scriptores Angliæ antiquos 10, Lond.* Fol. 1652.

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ing into the Bowells of Venerable An-
tiquity.

Things being thus carried on, now
was the Time wherein the King was
called into the Country of Bones: For
in the Year of our Lord CIO: C: XXXV.
being in *Normandy*, returning on a cer-
tain Day from Hunting, he ate some
Ampreys, notwithstanding he had before-
times found them Prejudicial and Dis-
agreeable to him, by which he received
the Stroke of Deathe in the 35th Yeare
and Third Moneth of his Reigne. So
from *Prompton* (x) Cum die quadam a venatu
redijisset, apud Sanctum *Dionisium* in Silva
Leonum Carnes comedit *Murænarum*, i. e.
Ampredarum, quæ licet ei semper noce-
bant, eas tamen semper amabat. Cum
autem Medicus hoc genus Comestionis
Regi prohiberet, ille Salubri Consilio
minime acquievit, *Secundum quod dicitur,*

Titimur in veritum semper, cupimusq; negata.

Hæc igitur Comestio pessimi humoris
Matrix & consimilium vehemens excita-
rix Senile Corpus letaliter confrigerans,
subitam & summam Perturbationem fecit.
Contra quod ad impetum Materici gra-

(x) Col. 1020.

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vissimæ dissolvendum Natura reluctans fe-
brem acutam excitavit ; qua prævalente,
Rex Magnus cum jam Annis $\overline{\text{xxxv}}$ &
3^{bus} mensibus regnasset, prima die De-
cembris Anno Domini supradicto vitam
amisit hujus seculi Temporalem ; *Hic
autem Annus erat ab adventu Norman-
norum 69, & ab Adventu Britannorum
1245.*

Now was the Time for *England's*
Weeping and Lamentation, having lost a
King of such Rare Endowments ; For
notwithstanding some heape great Re-
proaches upon him, yet certaine it is he
did not deserve them (allowing for the
Infirmities of Men) being for his great
Skill in *Martial* Affairs, and his discreet
Government of his Kingdome, sufficient-
ly celebrated both at home and abroad.
Which procured these Verses upon him by
one of that Age :

[orbis,
Rex *Henricus* obit, Decus olim, nunc Dolor
Numina flent Numen deperijsse suum.
Mercurius minor Eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter Imperio, Marsq; vigore gemit.
*Anglia quæ cunis, quæ Sceptro Numinis hujus
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit.*
Hæc cum Rege suo, Normanniacum ducem arceat ;
Nutrijt hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum.
Well

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Well might *England* therefore Weep,
for such a Losse, but more especially for
the long Troubles now coming on.

For no sooner was the King Dead, but
Stephen his Nephew, by his Sister (y),
Earle of *Blois*, notwithstanding he had
formerly taken an Oath of Allegiance to
Maud and her Issue (for *Henry* had De-
signed her to Succeed him *Legitima &*
Serenni Successione, saith *Malmsbury* (z))
claimed the Kingdome, and by the Helpe
of his Brother *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*,
was Crowned KING. And notwith-
standing at first onely the Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury, and two other Bishops swore
to him, yet afterwards most of the Nobles
went into, and tooke the Oath of Alle-
giance to Him, as their Sovereign Lord:
Even *Robert* of *Gloucester*, King *Henry* the
First's Natural Son, not standing out, but
with this *Proviso* he Swore, viz. *That*
his Honour and Covenant should be pre-
ferred.

Thus You have what I first proposed,
namely, The *Historical Account* of *Ste-*
phen's coming to the Crowne: I have
brought it from the Beginning of King
Henry's Issue, that so *Maud's* Legitimacy

(y) Vid *Chron. Brompton.* Col. 1022. *London.* 1652. fol.

(z) *Malmsb. Hist. Novel.* Lib. 1. p. 100. 105. 2.

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to the Crowne might be the better Discerned. You see how forward the Nobles were in those Dayes to Submitt to the Earle of *Blois* notwithstanding his having no immediate Right at present to the Crowne. I am nowe to shewe

Secondly That the Nobles thought themselves, yea even were, free from their former Oath, because the Affairs of the Nation at present required that a Submission should be paid to *Stephen*.

For afterwards (altho' this be something Forreign to the Business) upon the Agreement ^(a) between King *Stephen* and *Henry* the Second, *Maud* herself was set aside, and *Stephen* was to Continue in the Throne during his Life, after which the said *Henry* was to Succeede, to whome it was to continue in his Issue. So that if the *Common Good* in this, and other Oaths, be not especially to be considered, in this particular Business there is a *Gordian Knot* which our *Non-Jurors* will not be very able to untye, unless They do it by some indirec't Means. For the Allegiance was transferred from the Right Heire to an Ufurper, as *Stephen*

(a) Vid. Bp. *Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of a Non-Separation*, p. 11.

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must be owned to have been by those who deny that Allegiance can be transferred from the Right Heire. And they must continue Allegiance to the Usurper for his Life; which is repugnant to the Nature of our Constitution, if it be bounded in a Lineal and Legal Succession. And againe, *Maud*, to whome they had sworn, is set aside, and the Reversion of the Crowne is Entailed on her Son, tho' she was living.

But more close to the Business, That the *Common Good* did require a Submission to *Stephen*, none can deny if they consider *First* That *Maud* was then in *France*, when *Stephen* was in *England*, and that thereby Opportunity was offered to *Stephen* of Doing an Extraordinary Mischief to the Land, provided he were not received, and that more especially, because his Brother was Bp of *Winchester* was said.

Secondly If they consider that the Priviledges of the Clergy had been infringed, and therefore that they required such a Sovereign as would Maintain them to the utmost of his Abilities, as *Stephen* promised and did in a great Measure performe.

† Sic MS.

Not

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Not one of our *Non-Jurors* can be so bold as to affirm That the Whole Nation was so Wicked in those Dayes as to perjure themselves, without any Respect to the Reasonableness of what they did. For certaine it is that they knewe very well That the *Prime* End of an Oath is to be preferred to one which is *Inferior*. The *Prime* End of an Oath is *The Good of the Persons concerned in it*, and the *Inferior* one, *The Ascertainning something to him to whome performed*. Therefore ^(b) *whatsoever the Intention of the Persons was, how Strict soever the Expressions may be, if the keeping of the Oath be really and truly inconsistent with the Welfare of a People, in subverting the Fundamental Laws which Support it; I do not see how such an Oath continues to Oblige: For, there is no Relation of Mankind one to another, but there is some Good Antecedent, which is the just Measure of that Obligation they stand in to each other. So that since the Common Good of the Nation, namely The Preservation of its Rights and Priviledges, &c. required a Submission to Stephen, the Nobles &c. might really think themselves, yea and even were, solved from their Antecedent Oaths to the Emperesse.*

(b) *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* p. 5.

But

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But further yet, The *Common Good* of the Nation was so much respected in this Submission to *Stephen*, that his wearing the Crowne During his Life, and then the Reversion of it to *Henry* the Second, was confirmed by Parliament (which will in some Measure confute those, who affirme the Parliament hath nothing to do in Matters of this Nature). For faith *Fortescue* (in a M.S. Treatise called, The Declaratyon made by *John Fortescue* Knight upon certain Writings sent out of *Scotland* agenst the Kyng's Title to hys Realme of *England*, imperfect in the *Bodleian* Librarye, inter *MSS. Digb. Num. 198.* but perfect in the *Cottonian*, some Notes whereof I have lying by me) King *Henry* the Third (so it is written in the MS. for which I write *first*) had Issu a Doughter weddit to the Emperour of *Almayne* by whome She had Issue, but after his Decese she was weddid to the Earle of *Anjou* and had Issu by hym a Sonne afterward callid *Henry Fitz Empresse*, and that Kyng died without any other Issue, so that whis Deth this Lond wold not suffir this Doughtir to reign upon hem by cause it was not enheritable by Women, and by the same Reason they wold not suffir hir Sonne to be their King, which by Force

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of that Eleccion was made ennoyncid King of *Englond*, and so reigned more then XVIII Yere, and afir that when the Sonnys which the sayd *Stephyn* had were Dede, Accorde toke betweene hym and *Henry Fitz Empresse* that the same *Henry* shuld afir his Decefe have the Kyngdome of *Englond* to hym and to his Heires Masles for evirmore, of which Estate he was then made sure by Auctorite of Parliament by whiche Title he and his Issue have reigned in this Lond alway Sithen.

This is all which I have by me out of the said Treatise in relation to *Stephen*; I could wish I had the remainder, which is in the *Cottonian* Librarye, for the *Bodleian* Copy hath not a Word of what I have just now Transcribed, nor of several things Passing before this Relation of *Stephen's* Comeing to the Crowne &c. breaking of (I knowe not for what Reason) abruptly with these Words by the forsaid judgement of *Genesis* may not be denied. For— in the 6. intituled— A Woman ys under the Power of Man wyle she ys under the Byshop of *Rome*.

But Bishop *Stillingfleet* (c) quotes this MS. (for this he must mean by his Words— in a *Manuscript Discourse about the Title of*

(c) Ubi Supra p. 11.

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the House of Lancaster, unless it be the
Latyn Booke, which the foresaid Declara-
tion so much mentions, which probably it
may, because the Bp. quotes the Words
in Latine once, which notwithstanding
contained much of that which is the Sub-
ject of the Declaration, being the Cause of
(e) Thus: Fortescue saith, that Henry the
second was Crowned King in the Life of his
Mother (who lived to the 13th of Henry the
second) by the General Consent of the King-
dome; and immediately before: The Right
of Henry the Second was Declared Communi
Consensu Procerum & Communitatis
Regni Angliæ.

Indeed Rad. de Diceto (d) who Lived
earlier that Time, mentions nothing of
the Parliament, but then Fortescue appeals
not only to the Chronicles, but to the
Proceedings of Parliament, for what he
alleges (c).

And Matt. Westminster (f) and Paris †,
Persons of Great Authority, say That
this was done Communi Consensu Procerum
& Communitatis Regni Angliæ.

Gervase (g), That the Great Men were
summoned to perfect the Agreement, by

(d) Rad. de Diceto. A. D. 1153. (e) Stillingfleet,
bid. (f) Matt. West. A. D. 1153. † Matt. Paris,
cod. an. (g) Gervas. A. D. 1153.

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giving their Assent to it, and confirming it by their Oaths.

Gul. Nabrigensis (h), That the *Bonum Publicum* was the Foundation of the Agreement.

And, to name no more, *Matt. Westm.* (i) again, That the King and the Lords did all sweare to it, and a Solemn Charter was made to it, and kept in a most sure Place.

From what hath been said, it seems nothing is more certaine than that the *Bonum Publicum* was the Foundation of what was done in *England* from the first Usurpation of *Stephen* till the time wherein the Crowne was returned againe to Prince *Henry*. And so I have given Satisfaction I hope in the two Things proposed. But I shall nevertheless stay upon this Matter somewhat longer, by shewing that notwithstanding the *Bonum Publicum* did not require their Allegiance to *Stephen*, yet they had good Reason to think they might safely do it. For

First It is said by *Rad. de Diceto* (k) That *Hugh Bigod* Sware, That King

(h) *Gul. Neuburg. L. 1. c. 30.* (i) *Matt. Westm. S. 1153.* (k) *Radulphus de Diceto Abbrev. Chronicle. Col. 505. Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. p. 71.*

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Henry the First, on his Death-Bed, Disinherited his Daughter, and made Stephen his Heire. Hugo *præterea* Bigot, *Seneschallus Regis, præstito Juramento, probavit coram Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi qd. dum Rex ageret in Extremis, Imperatricem exheredavit, & Stephanum igitur constituit successorem.* Which if true, shews how Erroneously they Argue who would have us Discharged by K. James the First, before we Sware to King W.

Secondly The Lords and others of the Realme thought that their Oath was not Obligatory, because taken to a Woman. The Opinion was, saith *Radulphus de Diceto* (1) *Fore nimis turpe, si tot Nobiles, fœminæ subderentur,* That it would be an Action altogether Base, and unbecoming Men professing Generosity and the Good of the Realme, to suffer any such thing as Submission to one of the weakest Sex.

Good Reason there was why they should deny Obedience to a Woman:
For

(1) *Radulph. de Diceto Abbrev. Chronic. Col. 505. Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. p. 71. Will. Pryn's Collections Vol. 1, p. 490. Stillingfleet, loco citato.*

First,

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First A Woman is of such an Infirm Constitution, and Fickle Temper, in Respect of Man, That nothing but Fears and Jealoufies must be bred, generally speaking, whilst she bears sway; from whence Anarchy and Confusion, and consequently Destruction to the National Customs will followe of Course. This I say not according to my owne Opinion, but the Sentiments of those more Ancient Times.

Secondly Man is by Nature above Woman, and therefore has more Right to Govern, and so whatsoever he doth, provided it be agreeable to Reason, ought to be Submitted to by the Woman as a Servant under him. And further presently after the Fall, God told the Woman That she should be in Subjection to Man, as her Sovereigne, to whome She ought to pay all Due Deference and Ready Submission. And so writes *Fortescue*, both in the Words which I have above Transcribed, and in these (m): No Woman ought sovereynly or supremely to Reigne upon Man. Whiche Matter ys provyd

(m) In MS. supra citato, in § cui tit. *A Woman ys under the Power of Man, &c.* ut supra descripsi.

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by the Jugement that God gave upon
the fyrst Woman when She had Synned,
saying to her thes Words (eris sub potestate viri, & ipse dominabitur tui) which
be in the Boke of *Genesis* the thred Chapter,
and bethe suche in Englishe: Thou shalt be under the Power of Man, and he shall be thy Lord. Which Words spokyn
to that Woman whas spoken to all the kynd of Women, as the Words though poken by God to the fyrst Man, whas poken to all Mankynd. Now notwithstanding Sir *John* tooke not these Words in such an Extensive Sense, as to suppose That a Woman is under the Power of every Man, but onely that She is under the Power of some particular Man; Namely the Pope, which according to Sir *John's* Sense is enough: (For faith he, Our Lord said not in hys forsaide Jugement that a Woman shuld be under the Power and Lordshype of all Men, which is untrew yff she be under the Power and Lordshype of any Man. For Logycions say, Quod Propositio indefinita est vera si in aliquo supposito illa fit vera, And by that reason she ys under the Power and Lordshype of Man yf in any kynd of Subjectyon she be under the Power and Lordshype of Man. Wherefore the forsaide

faid Text of *Genesis* or any thing deduced thereof may not prove that a Woman may not Reign in a Kingdome of whiche the King hath no Sovereigne in Temporalities sithen she abideth alwais Subyet to the Pope.) I say notwithstanding Sir *John* was not of such Opinion, yet I see no reason why they might not be of it in King *Stephen's* time, when Learning flourished not so much as in *Fortescue's* time; nor were there so good Conveniences for the Propagation of it.

But *Thirdly* They might think that the Oath was not so Strong which they had taken to *Maud*, as not to be broken without Perjury, since they had seen such Changes already in Successions as did demonstrate That the Lawfull Heire was not always to be received, if one that was farther removed might be received with greater Safety: For, as was said above, The *Common Good* is what ought primarily to be considered in Oaths, and that ought to Overballance every thing else.

The setting aside the Lawfull Heire, and Admitting the Unlawfull one in his roome, shall be here illustrated by some Examples. Which notwithstanding they may seeme to make against what I said above,

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above, viz. That I would prove that the Nobles &c. had reason to think themselves absolved from their Oath to *Maud*, the *Common Good* being set aside; yet to the unprejudiced they will seeme otherwise: because there the *Common Good* was only Supposed, whereas here several other things were the Causes of the Rejection, altho' the *Common Good* was generally the *Primary* one, and that only I insist upon here, because most agreeable to my purpose, which is to shewe That Allegiance ought to be paid to his Present Majesty, because the *Common* or *Public Good* of the Nation requires it.

That *Prioritie of Birth* hath the Lawfull Title to Dominion, seemeth to be a Truth so plaine, that none of any Skill or Judgment will deny: And yet that the Younger have oftentimes been received before the Elder Sonnes is Warranted by History both *Divine* and *Prophane*.

I.

Thus *David* preferred *Solomon* before *Adonia* ⁽ⁿ⁾: Even as I sware unto thee [*Bathsheba*] by the Lord God of Israel, saying, assuredly *Solomon thy Sonne* shall

(n) 3 Kings 1. 30.

E.

Reign

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Reign after me, and he shall sit upon my Throne in my Stead; even so will I certainly do this Day.—(o) *Let Zadok the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anoint him there [at Gihon] King over Israel.* And (p) *Then sat Solomon upon the Throne of David his Father, and his Kingdome was Establish'd greatly; But yet Adonia the Eldest Sonne was then Living.*

II.

And *Rehoboam* Son of *Solomon* appointed the Youngest of his Sonnes to Succeed him. So saith the Text (q): *Rehoboam made Abijah the Son of Maachah the Chief to be Ruler among his Brethren: for he thought to make him Kings*

III.

And what do we gather from all the Accidents which befell the Righteous *Joseph*, unless it be that God is pleas'd That the Younger should oftentimes Rule over the Elder, notwithstanding he cannot claime a Legality of Title? *Rachel* we know was Barren for some time by the

(o) Ver. 34. (p) Ch. II. ver. 12. (q) 2 Paralipom. XI. 22.

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Pleasure of the Lord (altho' she was most beautifull, and *Jacob* had served Fourteen Years for her (r) because *Leah* was hated, who yet received at first most honour from God, her Womb being opened, and she bare four Children (s): But at length the Lord looked upon *Rachel*, and she also conceived and bare *Joseph* (t) This was the first Favour of the Lord shewed in an Eminent manner. But afterwards greater Favours appeared: For notwithstanding he was the Eleventh Son, and therefore according to the Common Course of Things could not expect so high Honours as his Elder Brethren, yet the Lord was always with him, and made him to prosper and be a Real Sovereign to his Brethren: For *First* his Dreame concerning the Sheaves, in which his Brethren's Sheaves fell downe, and made Obeifance to his Sheafe (u) shewed God had chosen him to be Superior to the Rest. *Secondly* So did also the Dreame of the Sun (w) Moon and Starrs submitting themselves to him. *Thirdly* But this more especially was manifested after he was sold into *Egypt* by them (x), out of

(r) Gen. XXIX. (s) Cap. id. v. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

(t) Cap. XXX. v. 24. (u) Cap. XXXVII. v. 5, &c.

(w) Cap. id. v. 9. (x) Cap. id. v. 28.

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the Hatred they bore him: For *First* he was favoured of *Potiphar* an Officer of *Pharoh's* and Captain of the Guard, who bought him of the *Ishmaelites* (y) by whome he was made Overseer of his House and all that he had (z); A most high Honour indeed. But greater yet: For, saith the Text (a), *It came to passe from that Time that he had made him Overseer in his House, and over all that he had, that the Lord blessed the Egyptian's House for Joseph's Sake: and the Blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had, in the House, and in the Field, &c.* And notwithstanding afterwards through false Accusation (b) he was cast into Prison, yet the Lord's Favour was still more remarkable towards him (c), and afterwards *Pharaoh*, because he had interpreted his Dreams (d) which did betoken Famine after VII. Years, set him over all Egypt, *because there was none so discreet and wise as he was* (e), and he was adored and worshipped almost like a God, so great Estimation had he. And he gathered Provision over all the Land against

(y) Cap. XXXIX. v. 1. (z) Ver. 4. (a) Ver. 5.
 (b) Cap id. v. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20. (c) Ver. 21,
 22, 23. (d) Vid. Cap. XLI. (e) Cap. Ejusd. Ver. 39,
 &c.

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the Years of Famine, at which Time, marke what Power he had over his Brethren; For, as You may read in Chapters XLII, and XLIII, XLIV, *Jacob* sent his Sonnes into *Egypt*, there being a sore Famine in *Canaan*, at several Times to buy Corne of *Joseph*, they not knowing that he was their Brother whome they had Sold, and they paid him the greatest Reverence; And in the last Mission he revealed himself (f), and sent for his Father into *Egypt*, who came with all his Household, and received the Greatest Honours from *Pharaoh* for *Joseph's* Sake, Who was ever after Adored as King, and at length Died (g) being CX Years Old, and they embalmed him, and he was buried in a Coffin in *Egypt*.

I have insisted the longer upon this Story of *Joseph*, because of the Remarkable Manifestation of Providence in every particular of it, and therefore may have probably some Influence upon the Minds of those who at present deny the Interposition of Providence in the bringing over our Gracious Sovereign His present Majesty whome God long Preserve, and setting him upon the Throne; Affirming That Providence onely permitts such Do-

(f) Cap. XLV. (g) Gen. L. v. ult.

ings,

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ings, but is not pleased with them; These Men for sooth, think That God is more pleased with Romish Superstitions and Tyrannyes, than the Primitive Worship, and the Subjects Enjoyment of their Liberties.

IV.

King *William* surnamed the *Conqueror* of this Realme, drawing near his End, beganne to think of one to Succeed him, and thereupon Pitched upon his Son *William*, notwithstanding *Robert* his Eldest Sonne, was alive; and thereupon, being in *Normandy*, commended him with Letters under his owne Seale to *Lanfranke* then Arch-Bp. of *Canterbury*: a Man highly Esteemed in Forreign Countries, and in *England* in such Admiration That his Authority was Absolute. In which Letters the King Expressed his Good Affection to his Son *William*, and Extolled his Virtues and Loyalty to him, and said that he was every ways fit for Government. And moreover he had also Respect to the Good of the Realme, for knowing That his Son *Robert*, being of a Flexible and Mild Disposition, was more fit to Govern a People well Settled in

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Affection, than such as had been newly Conquered, and not yet weaned from their Ancient Customs, he thought his Son *William* might better Succeed, *jure in hoc Casu non obstante*, being of a Fierce and Fiery Temper, and made for a Curb to the Irregular and Rebellious. With this Letter therefore he Posted away, and in a short Time arrived at the Port called *Whitesand*, where he had the first Intelligence of the Decease of his Father, which made him make the more hast to the Arch-Bp. to whome he delivered the said Letters, and was forthwith Declared King, upon the 9th of *Sept.* (h) *A^o. Gratia CIO: XXXVII.* and upon the 1st of *Oct.* next Ensueing was by the same *Lanfranke*, with all the Ceremonies and Solemnities pertaining to that Action, Crowned at *Westminster*.

V.

The said *William* dying by the Force of an Arrow, Shott by Sir *Walter Tyrrel* at a Dear in the New-Forrest *August* the 2^d in the 13th Year of his Reigne, *Robert* the Eldest Brother was still kept from the

(h) Vid. Sir *John Hayward's* Hist. of the 3 *Norman Kings*, p. 141.

Crowne, notwithstanding it was his Right not onely by Birth, but by Ex-
 presse Covenant made between him and
 his Brother *William* upon Oath (i), and
 his Younger Brother *Henry* apprehending
 the Opportunitie of the Duke's Absence,
 (he being then in *Palestina* Warring
 against the *Saracens*) forthwith seized upon
 the Treasure of the King, and thereby
 also upon his State, and so was Crowned
 at *Westminster* upon the Second Day of
August, the Day of *William's* Death in
 the Year 1100. by *Maurice* Bp. of *London*;
 because *Anselme* Arch-Bishop of *Canter-*
burie was then in Exile.

In giving these Examples, I would not
 be thought to be of Opinion That the
 Younger Sons may be preferred always
 before the Elder, but onely when it is
 more Safe, and the *Common Good* so re-
 quires it. And so those Lawyers are to
 be interpreted who Affirme That a King
 may Determine in his Life, which of his
 Sonnes shall Reign after him. Namely
 this must be Understood when a State is
 newly raised to the Title of a Kingdome,
 or when by Conquest, Usurpation, or
 some other Meanes of Change, the Go-
 vernment thereof is Transferred from one

(i) *Ibid.* p. 223.

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Stemme to another: For then there being no Certaine Lawe to be followed, the Right seems to Depend upon the Disposition of the Prince.

As well *Hen.* therefore as *William* were preferred to *Robert* because there was not so much Danger from them as from *Robert*. For

First, as to *William*, The Right of Succession to the Crowne of England being not at that Time so surely Settled, as it hath been since; but having Waved in long Uncertaintie; *first*, in the *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* and *English*, and afterwards betweene the *English* and *Danes*, and was then newly possessed by the Sword, *William* was more fit (as is manifest from what I said above) for settling Affairs, and consequently for insuring the Kingdome to the *Normane* Line than *Robert*.

Secondly *Robert* had given just Offence, and therefore might be put by, having borne Arms against his Father.

Secondly, as to *Henry*,

First, The same reasons hold with Respect to him as I gave for *William*.

Secondly, *Robert* was borne before, *Henry* after the Conqueror was King, and

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in this Case there are Learned and Great Judges who stand in Favour of *Henry*, as will be somewhat clear by and by.

VI.

Herodotus gives us an Example altogether fit for my Purpose (^k) in these Words: *Επι δὲ ἡ ἀγχιλή ἀπίκετο ὡς τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης ὡς γὰρ βασιλέα Δαρείων τὸ Ἰσπίεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαρραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν εἰς Σάρδις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶν τε δεινότερα ἐποίησε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὠρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπαγγέλλετο, πέμπων ἀγγελίας κατὰ πόλιν, ἐπιμαίειν στρατὸν, πολλὰ τε πλοίων ἐπιτάσων ἐκείνοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχεν, καὶ νῆας τε καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ὄππην, καὶ πλοῖα· τριτέων δὲ ὡσεὶ γελλομένων, ἢ Ἀσία ἐδόνετο πᾶσι ὅτι τρεῖς ἑπτακαταλερομένων δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων, καὶ ὡς ἄσκησιν ἐπιμαίειν, τετάρτων ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ δεδωθέντες, ἀπέστειλαν δὲ τὸν Περσῶν· ἐν ταῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠρμητο ἐπὶ ἀμφότερος στρατεύεσθαι. Σπλάμμενος δὲ Δαρεῖς ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς χάρις ἐγένετο μεγάλη ὡς τὴν Ἀρταμονίης, ὡς δὲ μὲν ἀποδείξαντα βασιλῆα κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἔγωγε στρατεύεσθαι ἔσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖος καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεύσθαι γερονότες τρεῖς παῖδες οὗ τῆς προτέρας γυναῖκος Γοβρυέω θυγατρὸς· καὶ βασιλεύσαντι, ἐξ Ἀπίας τὸν Κύρος, ἕτεροι τῶν τῶν ἄλλων μὲν δὲ πρότερον ἐπέστρεψε Ἀρταβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ*

(k) in *Polymnia*, in principio.

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Ἰππυνομένων, Ξέρξης· ἑόντες δὲ μητρὸς ἔ τ' αὐτῆς,
 ἑσασιάζον· ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης, κατόπι πρῆσθύτα-
 τός τε εἶη πάντος ἔ γόνος, καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶη πῶρος
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τ' πρῆσθύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν.
 Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη τ' Κύρος θυγα-
 τρός, καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶη οὐκτησόμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν
 ελευθερίαν. Δαρεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένα καὶ γνώ-
 μιν, ἐτόγγχανε κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Δημάρητος
 ὁ Ἀρίστανος ἀναβῆθαι εἰς Σῶσα, ἐστρημένος τε τ'
 ἐν Σπάρτη βασιλείης, καὶ Φυγὴν Ἰππυνομένων ἐαυτῶ ἑνε
 Λακεδαιμόνος ἕτος ὁ νῆρ πυθόμενος τ' Δαρεῖς παί-
 θων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ Φάσις μὴν ἔχει,
 Ξέρξης συνεβέλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεισι, ὡς
 αὐτός μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖω ἢ δε βασιλεύοντι, καὶ ἔχοντι
 το Περσῶν κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ, ἔπι ιδίωτη ἑόν-
 τι Δαρεῖω ἔκων ἔτ' εἰκὸς εἶη ἔτε δίκαιον, ἀλλὸν τι-
 να τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐαυτῶ· ἐπέειχε καὶ ἑν Σπάρτη,
 ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποπίθῃ μιν, ἔτω νομιζέσθαι, καὶ οἱ
 μὲν πρῶτον ἑόντες ἑώσι πρὶν ἢ τ' πατέρα σφείων Βασι-
 λεύσθαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος Ἰππυνομένων, ἔ τ' Ἰπ-
 πυνομένων τὴν ἐκδέξιν τ' βασιλείης γινέσθαι· χησα-
 μένης δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτη ὑποθήκη, γινῆς ὁ Δα-
 ρεῖος ὡς λέγει δίκαια, βασιλῆά μιν ἀπέδεξε.
 Which in *English* runnes thus:

Now when News was brought to Da-
 rius the Sonne of Hystaspes of the Fight at
 Marathon, his former Anger Conceived
 against the Athenians because they had
 invaded Sardis was not a little Augmented,
 and therefore was the more Propense to

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make Warre upon Greece: And he gave out Declarations of his Intentions, and therefore desired That all Cities in his Territories would make greater Preparations than before they had done. Whilst these things are Carrying on, Asia received Continual *Exagitations* for the Space of 3 Years. Whilst therefore the most Valiant and Skillful Soldiers are Picking out, and Greatest Preparations making, in the 4th Year the *Egyptians* who had been Subdued by *Cambyfes*, fell from the *Persians*: Which made *Darius* make the Greater Celerity in his Expedition both against the *Egyptians* and *Athenians*. But whilst he is busy in these things a great Dissension arose amongst his Children about the *Succession*: because by the Lawes of *Persia*, the King might not enter into Enterprize of Armes, before he had Declared his Successor. Now *Darius* had three Children before he was King, by his first Wife the Daughter of *Gobrys*. After he was King he had other foure, by *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*. *Artabazanes* was Eldest of the first sort; *Xerxes* of the second. And being not borne of the same Mother, they Contended together for the Empire. *Artabazanes* alleged that he was the Eldest of all

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all the King's Sonnes, and that it was a
Custome among all Nations, That in
Principalities the Eldest should succeed.
Xerxes, that he was begotten of *Atossa*
the Daughter of *Cyrus* by whose Valour
the *Persians* had obtained their Empire.
Before *Darius* had given Sentence, *De-*
maratus the Sonne of *Aristo*, being cast
out of the Kingdome of *Sparta*, and flying
from Lacedæmon, came to Susa. This
Man hearing of the Controversie be-
weene the Sonnes of *Darius*, came (as
the Story goes) to *Xerxes*, and advised
him to add this to his former Plea, namely
that he was borne first to *Darius* after he
had obtained the Kingdome and Empire
of the *Persians*: but that *Artabazanes* was
borne to him whilst he lived a Private
Life: And that therefore neither Equity
nor Justice would permitt That any other
should obtaine the Honour of Reigning
before him; And that it was the Custome
of *Sparta*, That if a Man had a Sonne in
private Estate, and afterwards another
when he was King, this last should succeed
in his Kingdome. *Darius* hearing this,
and thinking nothing could be more agree-
able to Reason, rejected *Artabazanes*, and
gave Judgement for *Xerxes*.

This

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This Example if Weighed in the Balance of Reason and Justice, will appear to any Man of Sense so Pertinent to the Purpose in hand, that it makes altogether for what I alledge, That for the *Common Good*, the Direct Order of Succession may be Changed. For even *Darius* did this Rather for this End, than out of Opinion that *Xerxes* was the *Rightfull* Heir.

VII.

After *Alexandra*, the Kingdome of *Judaea* was obtained by her Eldest Sonne *Hyrcanus*; in the 3^d Year of the *CLXXVII Olympiad* ⁽¹⁾, Q. *Hortensius* and Q. *Metellus* ^(m), being Consuls. His Mother having in her Life-time Committed it to him. But her Younger Sonne *Aristobulus* was the most strong, and of a Fiery Temper ⁽ⁿ⁾. And therefore the same *Josephus* tells us ^(o) That *Hyrcanus*, three Moneths after the Decease of *Alexandra* his Mother, was Expelled out of his Kingdome by him. *Hyrcanus* being very much Displeas'd with this Injustice, fought forth with his Brother neare unto Jericho:

(1) *Ufferii Annales* p. 423. Sub an, Per: Jul. 4644.

(m) *Josephi Antiq.* Lib. 14. c. 1. (n) Idem *De Bello Judaic.* L. 1. c. 4. (o) Lib. 85. *Ant.* c. 9.

where

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where a great number of *Hircanus's* Followers submitted themselves of their own Accord to *Aristobulus*. Through which Accident *Hircanus* was forced to flee to the Fortrefs of the Higher City. The rest of the Faction, for feare of his Brother who had gotten the Victorie, retired themselves within the Præincts of the Temple, where they were besieged and taken. After which, a Peace was Treated of betwixt both the Brethren, and their Difference was Concluded in this Manner, that *Hircanus* should passe the rest of his life without meddling with State Affairs, and *Aristobulus* should Reigne. This league was Ratified betweene them in the Temple, and confirmed with Oaths, Conjunction of Hands and Embraces, in the Sight of all the People: Which being finished, *Aristobulus* retired himself into the palace, and *Hircanus* to *Aristobulus's* lodging, to lead a Private and Quiet life (p). The maine Reason of *Hircanus's* submission of himself to his Brother *Aristobulus*, and Putting, the Government into his hands, was, as You may read in *Josephus* afterwards, The Common Good, or had he held out against him nothing but Slaughter and Famine would have im-

(p) Lib. 14. Ant. c. 1.

mediately

mediately followed. I might give the Story at length, but 'twould be too Tedious, and my other Business calls me away.

VIII.

Lewis borne after his Father was Duke of Milane, was preferred in Succession before his Brother *Galeace*, who was borne before (q).

But You will say that these Examples are not very Material, because they do not shew that the Rightfull Heire hath been turned out, since the Youngest Sonne if borne after his Father hath Obtained the Kingdome, and his Elder Brethren borne before, is the True and Legitimate Heire to the Crowne. And that this is confirmed by many Grounds of the *Imperial* or *Civil* Lawe (r): As that Sonnes borne after their Father is Advanced to a Dignitie, doe hold Certaine Privileges, which Sonnes formerly borne do not enjoy: That these Children which are borne after a Person is freed from any infamous or servile Condition, doe participate onely of that Condition, and not they

(q) *Guice*. Lib. 1. *Blond*. Decad. 2. Lib. 2.

(r) Vid. *Hayward's Hist. of the 3. Norman Kin.* p. 226. who

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who were borne before. That if a Man
taketh a Wife in the Province wherein
he holdeth Office, the Marriage is good,
if after the Time his Office shall expire,
they Continue in the same Consent: but
so that the Children borne before, shall
not be thereby held for Legitimate.
That those Children which are borne
after their Father is honoured with the
Title of *Clarissimus*, doe enjoy the Rights
due unto that Degree of Dignitie, and
not they who were borne before. That
if a Sonne borne after the Father hath
lost his Kingdome, is not Esteemed the
Sonne of a King: So neither he that is
borne before the Father be King.

But these Passages, and the like, Com-
monly Alledged for Probation of the
younger Sonne's Right to the Kingdome,
provided he was borne after his Father
were King, and his Brother, or Brothers
borne before, are little pertinent to the
purpose, because they concern not any
Universall Right of Inheritance, which is
due unto Children after the Death of
their Parents; but certain Particular
Privileges and Rights Attributed unto
them whilst their Parents were living,
which, for the most part, are Arbitrarie
G and

and Mutable, as Depending upon the Pleasure of the Prince.

And notwithstanding many Interpreters of both Lawes are of the Contrary Opinion, *i. e.* think them of great weight in this Particular, and therefore give their Judgment for the Younger Brother, if borne first after his Father had the Empire; yet there are others of more solid Judgment, who thinke the Elder Sonne in every Case by all true grounds of Lawe ought to succeed, unlesse there be any Expresse Lawe of the State to the Contrarie. For

First: This is the Nature of all Successions by Way of Inheritance: For, if a Father purchase Lands, Leafes, Cattel or other Goods, the Inheritance shall be transmitted to his Eldest Sonne, although borne before the Purchase. Likewile, if a Father be advanced to any Title of Honour, as Duke, Earle, Marquesse, &c. the Eldest Sonne is to succeed in the same, altho' he was borne before the Advancement. And therefore seeing this is the General Rule in all other Inheritable Successions, and there is no Reason of Singularitie in a Kingdome; it followeth, that in like Case the Succession of a Kingdome

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Some should also Descend to the First-borne, notwithstanding he were borne before the Kingdome was achieved by his Father.

Secondly, The Sonne who was borne before his Father was a King had once a Right to succeed in his Kingdome; because had not another Sonne beene borne, without Doubt he should have succeeded. This being so, I cannot, for my Life, perceive how his Right should be utterly taken away by this Younger Sonnes Birth: For there is great Difference between *Diminution* and *Extinction*. I don't Deny but the Multiplicity of Children both Diminish the Right of the Elder Sonne in Respect of the Goods, which are to be distributed amongst all; But that this Distribution should Infringe the Right of the Elder in Point of Succession, is such a Piece of Absurdity, as I cannot find reconciled by any Philosophy I have read. And he must needs invert the Common Notion of Things who will from hence gather That an *External* and *Casual*, i. e. an *Independent* Accident is in It self sufficient to Eradicate and Extinguish the Right of the Subject. So that it is plaine that the Distribution of the

G 2 Goods

Goods amongst several Children does not Extinguish the Right of the Elder. Nor *Secondly* can it be Diminished in those Things which are not of Nature to be either Valued or Divided (of which sort a Kingdome is the Chief) but do pass intirely unto one. For the Right of Blood which onely is Regarded in Lawfull Successions, is Acquired and Held from the Nativitie of the Childe, and doth not beginne at the Father's Death; at which Time the Inheritance doth fall.

Thirdly and *Lastly*, If it be true That he that is borne first after the Acquisition of a Kingdome, should succeed; then it is also true in Degrees of Consanguinity more Remote: And Consequently if the King dies without Issue after he had obtained this Dignity, then would one that was related to him, altho' perhaps several Degrees off, succeed him, because Borne after he was King, and so his owne Sonne borne before he was a Sovereign will be excluded. And whether in this Case there would not be the greatest Injustice Acted imaginable, I appeal to any Man living. Let even the Heathens themselves Judge here. Let us read over all their *Political* Injunctions and Lawes, and

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and see whether they ever favoured such Kinds of Action as this. And what do *Christian Politicians* teach us worse Rules than *Heathen*? shall God's Revelation be so abused, as that our Reason and Understanding should be rather Obscured than Illuminated by it?

Nothing is therefore more agreeable to Reason than that when the Elder Sonnes have been Excluded it hath been for other Reasons, but Principally for the *Common Good*.

Fourthly, They might thinke themselves with a great Deale of Reason freed from the Obligation of their Oath, because the Pope had given them an Absolution, as You may see in the *Chronicles*. *Cropeared Prynne* will satisfy You Sufficiently in his Voluminous Collections.

No one that considers the great Authority of the Pope, and the Feare which was had of him, can thinke this Reason as infirme.

Once there was a Time when the Popes claimed no such Power as now they do, of Deposing Princes at their Pleasure, and Exercising both *Ecclesiastical* and *Temporal* Jurisdiction intirely themselves, as if Kings were not of Divine Authority.
They

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They then considered That a *Regale Sacerdotium* is really and truly accomplished, when both Priest and King act together in bringing their Subjects to a Knowledge of their Duty, and Directing them in the Path to Heaven.

And therefore it is that we see in the *Imperial* Lawe the Authoritie of the Prince and Priest are made Equal, when it is Decreed (s) *That no man may remove a Body out of a Monument in the Church, without a Decree of the Priest or Commandment of the Prince.*

And indeed, in short, the Authoritie of the Emperors in Disposing of such Matters, and Direction in Matters of Doctrine, together with the Bishops, appears abundantly out of all their Ancient Laws, and out of the Rescripts to Popes, and the Epistles of the Popes to them.

But scarce in any one thing doth the Care of Princes for the Welfare and Peace of the Church, and the Obsequiousness of Popes to them appeare more, than from the Letter of *Pelagius* the first (who was little above 550 Years from Christ) to *Childebert* King of France, in these Words (t): We must endeavour, for the

(s) Dig. Lib. 11. Tit. 7. Le. 8. Offa.

(t) *Pelagius* I. Epist. 16. and 25. q. 1.

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taking away of all Scandal of Suspicion, to present the Obediency of our Confession, unto Kings, to whome the Holy Scriptures command even us to be Subject. For *Ruffinus*, Your Excellencies Ambassadour, asked from us Confidently, as became him, that either we should signifie to You, That we did observe in all Points the Faith, which Leo had Described, or send a Confession of our Faith in our own Words.

And according to this Great Authority and Respect, they received high Titles. The Law stiles the Emperor Sanctissimum *Imperatorem* (u). And his Privileges *Divinas Indulgentias* (w). *Justinian* in the Inscription of one of his owne Lawes, inserts amongst his owne Titles, *Semper adorandus Augustus* (x). And *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* in Favour of the *Christian Religion* (y), *Ut sciatis omnes, quantum* Nostra Divinitas *aversatur Nestorium*. And it would be Endlesse to Enumerate all. In a Word, They are such as Discover that Emperors and Kings are of Divine Original, and therefore

(u) Dig. Li. 31. Tit. 1. L. 87. Sect. *Imperator*.

(w) Cod. Li. 1. Tit. 1. L. 1. Tit. 15. L. 3.

(x) Cod. L. 1. Ti. 15. L. 3.

(y) Cod. L. 1. Tit. 1. L. 3.

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cannot be Deposed *pro Arbitrio* unless they turn Enemies to God, and their Countrey, as Certainly Tyrants do.

But afterwards the Popes forsooke that Respect they formerly paid to them, and Ingrossed both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Authority to themselves.

This Usurpation happened *first* when the *Lombards* and other Barbarous People Invading *Italie* had like to have taken away all the Pope's Temporal Estate: For then he sending to the Easterne Emperours for Reliet; when he found his Intreaties were in vaine, he applyed himself to the *French*. *Stephen* the 3^d especially made great Lamentations to *Pipin* and *Carloman* (2); as likewise did *Stephen* the 4th to the Sonnes of these Princes, whom at length he obtained to hearken to him. They therefore with their Power delivered *Italy* from the Infestation of the *Lombards*, and thereby the Pope beganne to cheare up, and to reprehend with some Bitterness, the Eastern Emperours; and not only reprehended them, but even Translated the Empire to the *French* for their good Service to him; And by this Means wanne so upon them that at length

(2) Vid. Dr. *Donne's Pseudomartyr*. Lond. 1610. fol. in Pag. 58.

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he gain'd sole Authority both in *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Affairs, and they durst not contradict him. Hence the Original of Deposing Kings at Pleasure. Now were continual Thunderbolts Issued forth against such as Gain'd his Power and Authority; but none more Absolute therein than *Gregory* the 7th. concerning whom alone I shall note some Things relating hereto, as being more Directly to my Purpose, he living but little before King *Stephen's* Time.

This Pope therefore thought himself much above all his Predecessors, or any other Bp. in the World, that he Augmented the Usurpations which had been before his Time to such a Degree; that none but *Sonnes of Belial* can think becoming a Man professing Knowledge, and Worship of the only true God, much less one that pretends himself to be the greatest Friend to Christ.

Before his Appearing, by Excommunication was intended onely *Spiritual Punishment*, unless some of the Popes made it reach further, as You may read in the foresaid *Dr Donne*: And this Kind of Excommunication is now call'd *Excommunicatio Major*, and in the Canons *Anathema Maranatha*, the Denouncing of

H which,

which, and the Absolving from it, was Acted with many Formalities, and Solemnities, and had many Ingredients, of Burning Tapers, and Diverse Others, to which none could be Subjected without the Knowledge of the Arch-Bp: But *Gregory* extended Excommunication even to *Temporal Punishments*, and that in a more remarkable Manner than his Ancestors: For by the Frequency of his Excommunications it appears they were all Cholérique, and not at all agreeable to the *Evangelical* Spirit; and the Postscripts, saith *Dr Donne* ^(a) were worse than the Body of the Letter; being Confiscations, which his Predecessors, upon whose Actions, in this Case, he should have relied, never exercised, being of a more mild and Christian Disposition, knowing that otherwise they had but small Reason to affirme themselves Chief Heads of the Church.

His Actions are the best Proove to shewe the Absoluteness of the Authority to which he Pretended. *First* he shewed it to the *French King*; and then to the Emperor.

To the Bishops of *France* he writes ^(b) that their King *Philip* is not to be called

(a) *Pseudomartyr*. pag. 66. (b) *L. 2. Ep. 5.*

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King, but a Tyrant, which by Perswasion of the Devil is become the Cause and the Head of all Mischief: And that therefore they (the Bishops) must endeavour to make a Change in him, and to shewe him, That he cannot Escape the Sword of Apostolique Animadversion. And afterwards bids them Depart from Communion with, and pay no Obedience to, him: And moreover that they should forbid Divine Service throughout all France. And at length that if their Authority will not prevaile, he will interpose his owne, and endeavour to take his Kingdome from his Possession. And in the same Tenour He writes to the Earl of *Arundel* (b) That if the King persevere, both He and all which give Obedience to him, shall be sequestred from the Communion of the Church, by a Councell to be held at Rome. This was the Mildness shewed to such as had Established, as I have said, the Pope in his Temporalities; otherwise, perchance, he might have sent a Begging, Yea worse been sent with Stones, by his Enemies, into the other World.

His Severity to the Emperor *Henry* appeares best from the Forme of his Ex-

(b) L. 1. 2. Ep. 18.

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communication of him, *viz.* Contradico
ei (*) I denie him the Government of all
the Kingdome of Germany, and of Italy:
and I absolve all Christians, from the
Band of the Oath, which they have made
to him, or shall make: And I forbid any
Man to serve him as his King: for it is
fit, That He which endeavours to Dimin-
ish the Honour of the Church should loofe
his owne Honour. And because he hath
contemned to obey as a Christian, Parti-
cipating with Excommunicated Persons,
and Despising my Admonitions, and
Separating himself from the Church, I tie
him in Vinculo Anathematis.

In which Forme two Things are ob-
servable, besides *Excommunication* as
taken in it's Proper sense, namely as it
Extends to Spiritual Punishment onely,
two Things; *first Confiscation*, in not
suffering him to enjoy the Dominion of
France, a Thing not heard of before:
Secondly, his Absolution of the Subjects
of all Oathes of Allegiance, which they
have, or shall make to him.

This being done, he wrote an Epistle
to a certaine Bishop, at his Request, to
shewe that in this Action he had not

(c) *Binius*, To. 3. fo. 1282. A.

passed

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passed the Bounds of his Power and Authority, the Contents whereof are (d),

First, that there are manie and most certaine Documents in the Scriptures of his Kind of Excommunication, of which he cites those which are ordinarily offered, *Tues Petrus*, and *Tibi dabo Claves*, and *Quodcunque ligaveris*: and then asks whether Kings be excepted? True Kings are not excepted; but then, saith Dr Donne (e) *This Proceeding against Kings is Excepted: That is, it is not Included in that Commission, as hath been Enough and Enough proved by Many.*

Secondly, he urges the Testimony of *Gratian* a Pope, *That Priesthood is above Principality, and that the Bishoppe of Rome is the Chief Priest.*

Thirdly, he brings in Pope *Julius*, who expounding the Words, *Tibi Dabo Claves*, of certaine *Oriental* Bishopps, saith, *shall not he that opens Heaven, judge of the Earth?*

Fourthly, he cites (though not as *Gregory's* words are) a Privilege granted

(d) Li. 8. Ep. 21. *Episcopo Metenti.*

(e) *Ubi Supra*, p. 71.

by

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by *Gregory* the First, to a Monasterie, and *Deprivation* from secular Dignity, and *Excommunication* to any that Infringe that Privilege. It is the Privilege of the Monasterie of *St. Medard*. In which *Deposition* is made to be the lesser Punishment, and to precede *Excommunication*. But *Gregory* is forced to make an Addition of the Word *Decrevit* in his Citation; a *Decree* presupposing Infallibility. But he that reads the Epistle itself will find that this *Deposition* and *Excommunication*, is only a *Comminatory Imprecation* to Deterre any from Infringing the said Privilege, and was commonly used in granting Privileges.

Fifthly, His next Reason why Princes may be Deposed by Priests, is taken from the Diversity of their *Beginning* and first *Institution*: For saith he, *Royal Dignity was found out and invented by Humane Pride, but Priests were intituled by the Divine Pietie*. And who knows not that *Kings had their Beginnings from those Men, who being Ignorant of God, and provoked by the Prince of the World, the Devil, through Pride, Rapine, Perfidiousnesse, Murder, and all Wickednesse, affected a Government over their Equals, by a blind Ambition, and Intolerable Presumption?*

Sixthly,

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Sixthly, He brings in the Examples of *Innocent* who Excommunicated *Arcadius*, and of *Zacharye* who Deposed *Childerique*.

These Things being said by him in favour of his Authority, in the *Seventh* place he Reproaches and Debases the *State* and *Order* of Kings in a most Insufferable and Dreadful Manner, saying *That even Exorcists* (which is no Sacred Order) are superiour to *Princes*. And his Reason why *Exorcists* are Superiour to *Princes* is, *that since they are above the Divell himself, much more are they superiour to those which are Subjects to the Divell, and Members of the Divell*. And at length saies further, *in discoveringe his Rancoure and Malice in the highest Degree, In regal Dignity very we are saved, and from the Beginning of the World till now, we find not one King equal in Sanctitie to Innumerable Religious Men. What King hath done any Miracles? To what King have Churches or Altars beene erected? How many Kings are Saints? Whereas, onely in our Sea there are almost Hundred.*

The Popes therefore Pretending to such an Absolute Power and Authority, and their Inferiors easily submitting to them, well might the Nobles &c. submit themselves to King *Stephen*, being absolved

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solved from the Oath he had taken to *Maud*, and they likewise assured by him, That they might do it very safely. For even the Pope then had as greate Power here as in other Parts. *Gregory* the VIIth of whome just nowe, shewing his Pride in a Remarkable Instance, by desiring King *William* the Conqueror to do Fealty for his Crowne, from whome nevertheless he received a Flat Denyal in these Words, in a Letter sent to him: (f)

Excellentissimo Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Pastori Gregorio, Gratia Dei Anglorum Rex & Dux Normannorum Willielmus Salutem cum Amicitia. Hubertus Legatus tuus Religiose Pater, ad me veniens ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & Successoribus tuis Fidelitatem facerem, & de Pecunia quam Antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec Ego promisi, nec Antecessores meos Antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. Pecunia tribus ferme Annis in Gallis me agente, negligenter collecta est. Nunc vero Divinæ Misericordiæ me in Regnum meum reverso, quod collectum per præfatum Lega-

(f) MS. Codex Epistolar. Lanfranci Cited by Sr. John Davys in his Irish Reports of Præmunire fol. 89. Fullers Ch. Hist. Cent. XI. Book. 3. p. 3.

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um mittitur; & quod reliquum est per Letters Patent of Lanfranci, Archiepiscopi fidelis Nostri, si opportunum fuerit, transmittetur. Oportet pro Nobis, & pro statu Regni Nostri, Gregoriam Antecessores Vestros dileximus, & Vos a Omnibus sincere diligere & obedienter audivere desideramus.

But the Kings after *William* gave him more Respect: And they never denyed him Power of Absolution in such Cases as was of *Stephen*, as had I Time, I could shew; For it is remark'd by our Church Historians that (*). The Papal Power in England went forward very much untill the Statute of *Mortmaine* was made in the Reigne of King *Edw. I.* That it went backward slowly when the Statute of Provisions was made Anno Dom. 1340. Regni *Edw. III.* 12. Swiftly when the Statute of *Præmunire* was made Anno Dom. 1393. Regni 16 *Rich. II.* And that it fell downe when the Papacy was abolished in the Reign of *K. H. 8th.*

This Kind of Reasoning abundantly shewes how great Reason, according to the Principles of those Times, the English did to swear Allegiance to *Stephen*, their Antecedent Oaths to *Maud* notwithstanding.

(*) Fuller in his Church Hist. L. 3. Cent. XIII. p. 116.

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And now I hope I have with the greatest Clearness proved, I had almost said Demonstrated, That the Nobility and Communalty of England, Submitted to *Stephen* upon Principles of Reason and Justice, the *Common Good* of the Nation being the Chief Matter they depended upon.

The Result of all is this, That the *Common Good* of a Nation is *Principally* to be considered in an Oath, and that therefore it is not *Obligatory*, Provided it be inconsistent with it. For otherwise any one may take an Oath to another to stand by him in all Cases, even to the Ruine, and Destruction of any Kingdome, and if he refuses be stigmatized for a Perjured Person. But no one that pretends to any Thing of Skill in these matters will approve of such Oaths as Binding. Nor can therefore those Adversaries to the Succession of his present Majesty, blame such as have sworn Allegiance to him, with any Shewe of Reason. They know very well in what a Condition the Kingdom was in at the Time of the Abdication. And that if King *James* had been permitted to have continued in his Actions, by this Time nothing but Tyranny had Reigned, the Protestant Religion
utterly

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utterly Extirpated, and the Land flow'd
with Blood. Can any one therefore thinke
that God had not an Eye over us, in Pro-
viding a Prince a Professed Enemie to
Popery, to be our Deliverer from this
destruction hanging over our Heads?
and what should we reject his Providence,
and willingly involve ourselves in Ruine!
Should we contrary to our Predecessors be
such Pittiful Maintainers of our Lawes
and Liberties? Certainly all Nations of
every humanity, Yea the very *Romanists*
For themselves would have cryed out shame
upon us.

Our Constitution is so Excellent that
the Prince hath not such Absolute Au-
thority as to impose what Lawes he pleaseth
upon the People, nor on the other Hand
the Liberty of the People so unbounded
to command and force the King to
do what they please. No, there is a Due
Power and Authority to both, every way
becoming a strong Foundation. And
therefore the King makes Lawes by the
Consent of the People his Subjects. And
this Kind of Dominion is called *Dominium*
Politicum & Regale, in Contradistinction
to the Dominion which a Tyrant uses,
called simply *Dominium Regale*. So that
if our King Rule *Dominio Regali*, then

he might command us to what he Pleaseth, without our Consent first of all had, but as he rules by the former, *viz. Dominio Politico & Regali*, our Consent is prerequired. I shall here beg leave to Transcribe faithfully what the most Judicious and Learned *John Fortescue* Knt. in *K. Edm. IV*th's Time hath written concerning these two Dominions. He writes therefore in these Words (h).

Ther be ij kynds of Kyngdomys, of the whiche that one ys a Lordschip, callid in Latyne *Dominium Regale*, and that other is callid, *Dominium Politicum & Regale*: And they Dyversen in that the first may Rule his People by such Lawys as he makyth hymself, and therefor he may set upon them Talys and other Impositions, such as he wyl hymself without their Assent. The Secund may not Rule hys People by other Lawys than such as thay assenten unto: And therefor he may set upon them non Impositions without their own Assent. This Dyversite is wele taught by Saynct *Thomas* in his Boke which he wrote *ad Regens*

(h) In Tractatu quodam MS. cui Tit. The Difference betweene *Dominium Regale & Dominium Politicum & Regale*, in *Bibliotheca Bodl.* inter MSS. *Ren. Digb.* Num. 145. Script. propria Manu *Adriani Fortescue* Mil. Anno Dom. 1532. Regni *H. 8vi.* 24^o.

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Cypri De Regimine Principum. But yet
it is more Opynly treatid in a Boke callid
Compendium Moralis Philosophiæ, and sum-
what by *Gyls* in hys Boke *De Regimine*
Principum. The Children of *Ysrael*, as
saith Saynt *Thomas*, after that God had
chosyn them in *Populum Peculiarem &*
Regnum Sacerdotale were Rulid by hym
nder Jugs *Regaliter & Politice*, unto the
tyme that they Desyryd to have a Kyng,
as than had al the Gentyls, which we
call Panymys, that had a Kyng, a man
that Reynyd on them *Regaliter tantum.*
With which Desyer God was gretly of-
fendyd, as wel for their folye, as for their
Unkindness, that sithen they had a Kyng,
which was God that Reynyd upon them
onlytykly and Royally, and yet would
chaunge hym for a Kyng, a verey Man,
that would Reyng upon them Royally.
And therefore God manasyd them, and
made them to be fearyd with Thonders
and other ferefull thyngs from Heavyn.
And whan they would not leve their folye
and Desyer, he chargyd the Prophete
Amuell to Declare unto them the Lawe
of such a Kyng as thay askyd. Which
amongs other thyngs said that he would
take from them their Londs and Goods,
and Gyfe them to hys Servaunts. And
also

also set their Childern in his Works and Labours, and do to them such other many harmefull thyngs as in the VIIIth Chapyter of the first Boke of Kyngs it may appere, wheras before that tyme while they were Rulyd onely by God Royally and Polytykly under Jugs hvt was not lesfull to any Man for to take from them any of theyr Goods, or to greve their Childern, that had not offendyd. Wherby it may Appere that in thooke Days *Regimen Politicum & Regale* was Dystwyngwyd à *Regimine tantum Regale*. And that it was better to the People to be Rulyd Polytykly and Royally, than to be Rulyd onely Royally. Saynt *Thomas* also in his sayd Boke prayseth moche *Dominium Politicum & Regale*, bycause the Prynce that Reynith by such Lordship may not frely fall into Tyranny, as may the Prince that Reynith *Regaliter tantum*. And yet thay both ar equal in Astate and Power, as it may lightly be schewyd and provyd by Infallible Reasons.

The Title of the Second §.

Why one Kyng Reynith Regaliter tantum, and another Reynith Politice & Regaliter.

HYT may peradventure be Mervelid by some Men, why one Realme is Lordschip onely Royal, and the Prince therof Rulyth yt by hys Lawe callid *ius Regale*; And another Kyngdome is Lordschippe Royal and Politike, and the Prince therof Rulyth by a Lawe callid *ius Politicum & Regale*, Sythen thes 2 Princes both of Egal Astate. To this Dowte it may be answeyrd in this Manner. The first Institution of thes two Realmys upon the Incorporation of them is the Cause of thys Dyversite. When *Nembroth* by Might for hys owne Glorye made and incorporate the fyrst Realme and abduyd it to hymself by Tyrannye he would not have it governyd by any other Rule or Lawe, but by his own Will, by which and for thaccomplishment therof he made it. And therfor though he had thus made a Realme, Holy Scripture Deny'd to cal hym a Kyng, *Quia Rex dici-*

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dicitur à Regendo. Whych thyng he dyd not, but oppreffyd the People by Might, and therfor he was a Tyraunt, and callid *Primus Tyrannorum*. But Holy Writt callith hym Robustus Venator coram Deo. For as the Huntar takyth the Wyld Bette for to Sclee, and Eate hym; So *Nembroth* subduyd to hym the People with Might to have their Service and their Goods usyng upon them the Lordschip that is callid *Dominium Regale tantum*.

After hym *Belus* that was callid first a King, and after hym his Sone *Nynus*, and after hym other Panymys, thay by Example of *Nembroth* made them Realmys, would not have them Rulid by other Lawys than by their own Wills, which Lawys ben Right good under Good Princes. And their Kyngdom's are then most resemblyd to the Kingdom of God, whych Reynith upon Man Rulyng hym by his own Wyll. Wherfor many Christyn Princes usen the same Lawe. And therfor it is that the Lawys Sayen *Quod Principi placuit Legis habet vigorem*. And thus I suppose first beganne in Realmys *Dominium tantum Regale*. But afterward whan Mankynd was more Manfuete and better disposyd to Vertue, Grete Communalities, as was the Felischip that came into

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into this Lond with *Brute*, wylling to be
unyed and made a Body Politike callid a
Realme havng an Heede to Governe yt,
as after the saying of the Philosopher,
Every Commualtie unyed of many parts
must needs have an Heede; than thay
Chose the same *Brute* to be their Heed
and Kyng. And thay and he upon this
Incorporation, Institution and Ownyng
of themself into a Realme, ordeyned the
same Realme so to be Rulyd and Justyfyd
by such Lawys, as thay would assent
unto. Whiche Lawe therfor ys callid
Politicum. And by cause it is mynstrid
by a Kyng it is callid *Regale, Politica*
dicatur & Polos, quod est Plures, & Teos, sci-
entia, quo Regimen Politicum dicitur Regimen
ulurium scientia sive consilio ministratum.
The Kyng of *Scotts* Reynith upon hys
People by this Lawe, videlicet *Regimine*
Politico & Regali: And, as *Diodorus Syculus*
saith in hys Boke *De Pristinis Historijs*,
The Realme of *Egypt* is Rulid by the
same Lawe and therfor the Kyng therof
Chaungith not hys Lawes without the
Assent of hys People. And in like fourme,
as he saith, is Rulyd the Kyngdom of
Saba in *Felici Arabia*. And the Lond of
Libie and also the more parte of all the
Realmys in *Affrike*. Whych maner of
Rule and Lordschip the said *Dyodorus* in
that

that Boke prayfith gretely; For yt ys not onely good for hys People that Receyve therby fuch Justice as they Defyer themfelf. Now, as me femyth, it ys fchewyd opynly ynough, why one Kyng Rulith and Reynith on hys People *Dominio tantum Regali*, and that another Reynith *Dominio Politico & Regali*. For that one Kyngdome beganne of and by the Might of the Prince, and that other beganne by the Defyer and Institution of the People of the fame Prince.

The Title of the Third §.
Hereafter be Schewyd the Frutes of *Jus Regale*, and the Frutes of *Jus Politicum & Regale*.

AND how fo be it, that the *French* Kyng Reynith upon his People *Dominio Regali*, yet Sainct Lewis Sumtime Kyng ther, ne any of his Progenytors fett never Tayls or other Impositions upon the People of that Lond, without the Affent of the 3 Aftars, which whan thay be affemlid are like to the Courte of Parlement in Englund. And this Order kepte many of hys Successors untill late Days that the 3 Aftars durft not come togeders. And than for that Cause and for grete Necessite which the *French* Kyng had of Goods for the
De-

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artyd by necessity so to Watche, Labour and Grubbe in the Ground for their Sustenance, that their Nature is much Wastid and the Kynd of them brought to nowght. They gone Crokyd, and are feble, not able to fyght nor to Defend the Realme, nor they have Wepon nor Monye to bye them Wepon withal but verely they lyvin in the most Extreme Povertie and Myserye, and yet they Dwellyn in one the most Fertile Realme of the World. Wherthrough the *French* Kyng hath not Men of his owne Realme able to Defend it, except his Nobles, which beryn no such Impositions. And therefore they are Ryght likely of their bods, by such Cause the said Kyng is Compellid to make hys Armys, and Retennys for the Defence of his Land of Straungers, as *Scotts, Spaniards, Arragonars*, Men of *Almayn*, and of other Nations, els al his Ennymys might Overrenne hym. For he hath no Defence of his owne, Excepte his Castells and Fortrais. Loo this the Frute of hys *Jus Regale*. Yff the Realme of England which ys an Yle, and therfor may not lightly gett focours of other Londs, were Rulid under such a Lawe and under such a Prince, it would be than a Pray to al other Nations that would Conquere, Robbe and Devoure yt, which was wel provyd

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provyd in the Tyme of the *Brytons*,
than the *Scotts* and the *Pycetes* so bette
and Oppressyd this Lond, that the People
herof sought helpe of the *Romaynes*, to
home thay had byn Tributorye. And
than thay would not be Defendyd by
them, the sought helpe of the Duke of
Britayne, then callid *Little Britayne*, and
auntyd therfor to make hys Brother
Constantine their Kyng. And so he was
made Kyng here and Rayned many Yers,
and his Childerne after hym off wych
crete *Arthure* was one of their Issue.
at, blessid be God this Lond ys Rulid
under better Lawe, and therfor the People
herof be not in such Penurye, nor therby
hurt in their Persons, but they be Wel-
lyve and have al thyngs necessarye to the
sustenance of Nature. Wherefore thay
Myghty and able to resyfte the Adver-
sities of the Realme, and to bett other
realmes that do or will do them wrong.
For this is the Frute of *Jus Politicum &*
Regale, under which we lyve.

This Greate Man hath handled, You
see, this Matter so Judiciously, that it
were vaine for me to say any thing more
of *Dominium Regale & Politicum* under
which we live. For, You see, he hath
emonstrably proved how the King can-
not give Lawes without the Consent of
his

his People, and that if he could it were to the Ruine of our Nation.

Now since King *James* broke his Oath, by which he was Obliged to Protect and Defend his Subjects, can any one of reason thinke his Subjects Obliged by their Oath to Maintaine him on his Throne, which would be their certaine Destruction?

A good Sentence meet wee in *Caxtons* Booke of Armes, in these Words (i), if rightly weighed, not aliene to our purpose:

Prynces Soverayne for none other thyng were establyshed but for to doo Ryght to every of their Subgettis that shold be oppressid for ony Extorsion, and for to defende and kepe them lyke as the Good Sheppard Expofeth his Lyf for hys Sheep, and therfore oweth the Subgette to Resorte to the Lorde as to hys Refuge whan ony Grief is doone to hym, and the Good Lorde schal take his Armes for hym yf it be nede, that ys to saye schal helpe with his Power to kepe hys Good Right be it by waye of Justyce or by Execution of Armes.

And indeed, if the King be intrusted with the Defence of the Realme, as indeed he is, then it is said That (k) *In-*

(i) Ch. 3. (k) *Hill. 20. E. 1. B. R. Ro. 14.* *Rushworth's Collections Part. 2. p. 501.*

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ambit Domino Regi Salvatio sibi Commiss.
And That *per Juramentum est astrictus ad*
providendum Salvationem Regni circum-
vaque.

Allegiance is an Act of Reciprocation :
or as it binds the Subjects to Tribute
and Subjection, So therefore must it the
King to the Charge of Protection, by
the Expence of those; *Rex ad Tutelam*
Regis, Corporum & Bonorum erectus, faith
Portescue. And in the Great Case be-
tween the Earles of Hereford and Glo-
cester (m), it is said, That *Dominus Rex*
& omnibus & singulis de Regno suo Justitia
securus.

I suppose therefore that by what I have
said, Sir, You are satisfied, at least ought
to be, That the Jurors to His Majesty
that now is are farre from Entertaining
disloyal Principles.

You may, perhaps, think me an *Anti-*
monarchist, And that I have been Guided
very much by Mr. Tyrrel's History. But
I declare unto You that I am the quite
contrary, and am a Professed Enemy to
all such as Indulge *Antimonarchical* Prin-
ciples: And that I am so farre from ap-
proving Mr Tyrrel's Booke, that I really
believe all he hath said about Election hath
but a weake Foundation; the strongest his

(m) *Hil ubi Supra.*

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owne Opinions. Sure I am, That he would have Quitted himself more to his Credit, had he not receded from the Sentiments of such as wrote before him, I mean the Chiefest who held that our *Monarchie* is much Ancienter than Mr. *Tyrrel* makes it. But here's the Case: Mr. *Tyrrel* is Resolved to be Partial, and to Demonstrate to the World what Great Errors he hath Rectified. But so it is, That he is in this whole Worke so Erroneous himself, that he wants a Weeder to come after him. And indeed he that shall undertake to Weed or Purge the Faults from it, will have a very Tiresome Piece of Worke: because for the most parte he drawes Authors to be of His Opinion, notwithstanding he knowes they are of the Contrary. But I shall put a Stop here, (having been more Tedious than at first I intended) and assure You that I am,

SIR,

Your Faithfull and

Humble Servant

Scripti Aula
Sti Edm. Oxon.
Jun. 11^o. 1700.

THO. HEARNE.

SOME

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

Dissenting Interest,

And the CASE of those

Who have lately deserted it :

WHEREIN

something further is suggested for its
Support and Strengthening, occasioned by
some late Pamphlets concerning the Decay
of that INTEREST.



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SOME
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Dissenting Interests

And the Case of those

Who have lately deserted it:

WHEREIN

is shewn that the
Dissenting Interests
are not so much
encreas'd as is
generally suppos'd
and that the
Reasons for
their Increase
are not such as
will be of any
great Advantage
to the Nation.



L O N D O N

Printed by J. GALT, at the Golden Ball, in St. Pauls Church-yard.



SOME
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Dissenting Interest, &c.

IT is a Matter of Fact, that is almost known to every Body, that there has been, of late Years, an Humour amongst some of our Ministers of conforming to the Establishment: I call it an Humour, because it seems to have caught and run as other Humours amongst Men do. I would not be understood to insinuate by this Term, as if these Gentlemen, many of them, have acted only from Whim, and without some Reason; but only, as there are certain Humours in acting, which, at certain Times, prevail and spread, one following the Example of another, pretty much as People follow Fashions, so there may be something of this Inclination, to do as others have done before

A 2 them,

them, in the present Case. However, the Matter of Fact is plain, that several Instances there have been of late of Persons that have left the Ministry amongst the Dissenters, and have complied with the Terms required by the Establishment. It is the Business of this Paper to make some Observations upon that Case, and the Effect it has upon the Dissenting Interest.

This cannot, I think, be reasonably censured as an impertinent or improper Undertaking: For, though every Man has certainly a Right of acting in these Things as seems best to himself, and ought to do it, without regarding the Sentiments of others concerning him; yet the Publick will always have something to say in what thus passes in the Face of the World. And if any particular Person apprehends he has any Remarks to make, which may be of common Use and Advantage, and, in making them, keeps within the Bounds of Justice, Modesty, and Christian Love, he certainly has a Right of communicating them to the World. Whether or no the following Observations come up to this Character, every Reader must judge, who will give himself the Trouble of looking over them. This the Author takes upon him to assure the World of, that he has no personal Views in writing this Pamphlet; and aims at nothing but promoting, by what he shall say, that Cause which he thinks to be of very great Importance. He has a very great personal Respect and Value for several of those Gentlemen, whose Conduct in this Matter he is remarking upon, and nothing but a common Good could have engaged him in such an Undertaking. If he is mistaken, or miscarries in his Design, he must be forgiven, as many an unsuccessful well-meaning Writer has been before him.

Some of these Gentlemen, who have, of late Years, deserted the Dissenting Interest, are Persons of very considerable Merit, in respect of their natural and acquired Endowments, and the Probity of their
Lives.

Lives. The Change of their Sentiments and Practice in those Things, that are debated between the Church and the Non-Conformists, can make no Change as to their personal Merit. I mention this here, not only as a notorious Matter of Fact, but also to shew how ready we are to give them the Honour of it. And, by the way, I cannot but take Notice of one Particular, which demonstrates that the Dissenters, speaking in general, act upon truly Catholick Principles, and will procure them a great deal of Honour in the Eyes of all the worthy Part of Mankind, and yet may not be so commonly known as it deserves. My Meaning is, that several of those who have conformed from amongst us, have owed their Preferments in the Church to the good Offices of their old Friends amongst the Dissenters: And I dare answer for it, that the Bulk of them will be ready always to justify, in every proper Instance, the high Esteem they have for such truly deserving Persons; and will be so far from reflecting on them for leaving us, that they retain the same good Character, and improve their new Stations in the Church for more distinguished and intensive Usefulness, as they have Opportunity of doing, they will sincerely rejoice in it; for we are far from being of that narrow Spirit some would make us. If so be that practical Religion is promoted, it diminishes none of our Joy therein, that others are honoured of God in being the Instruments of it. But it will always grieve us, if, after such a Change, we see them spend their Zeal in a foolish earnestness about impertinent Trifles, prejudice their Usefulness, by seeking after Preferments, or carelessness about their Temporalities; or too much to abate of a true Diligence in the proper Business of a Gospel-Minister.

The far greatest Part of the whole Number of such as have conformed, I mean since the Accession of his late Majesty, for that is far enough back to carry our Considerations upon this Subject, have been

been young Persons ; and those either such as have made no Attempts towards settling amongst us, the Number of whom, however, is but small, or else such as have had no Opportunity of fixing themselves at all, or, at least, not in such Places as were to their Inclination. And it has very frequently happen'd, that an unsuitable Gaiety and Levity of Conduct, which has render'd them unacceptable to the serious Part of our People, which all that know us will allow to be the far major Part ; or an unseasonable and imprudent Forwardness in discoursing upon some particular Schemes concerning the Disputables of Religion, have prevented their settling amongst us, and consequently thrown them upon this Change. And, whenever this may be the Case, we may be assured no reasonable Person, when he comes into a graver and more thoughtful Stage of Life, will approve it ; for certainly a Man cannot be without Fault that will not part with some of the innocent Gaieties of Youth for the sake of his publick Character and Usefulness. Nor again, will any equitable Person say, but there may be, at least, as much Fault in a Youth, who is just come hot from his Education, and has his favourite System in his Hand, upon all Occasions in his Discourses, venting the Nostrums of his own Scheme to the too great Neglect of Practicals, and of Decency towards many learned, thinking, pious Men in a different Scheme, as there can be, in any over Tenaciousness of their particular Sentiments in the People. If Modesty is a requisite Qualification in a Learner, so it is in a Teacher, and especially in a young and raw one. Where either of the Cases I have mentioned happens to be fact, no Wonder if a young Man will want Acceptance amongst People, who enjoy a Freedom of Judgment and Choice.

There are some few Instances, indeed, where Persons, in the Middle of Life, or further, have taken the Gown upon them. I believe, I may positively affirm,

firm, that this Number does not amount to Ten
 in the Term of Time specified before; and I
 with I had not Reason to say, that Imprudence
 in Conduct had too often render'd their Situation un-
 easy to them, and so put them under a Necessity of
 quitting their Posts among us, which were by no
 means inconsiderable.

It has been a pretty common Case to find some of
 those, that have talked loudest on the Side of Liber-
 ty, and against Impositions of every sort, going off
 from us to the Establishment. This, I am apt to
 think, will appear odd and inconsistent enough to
 most considering People; not that to be in the Esta-
 blishment, and to have large and generous Senti-
 ments, and a dislike of Impositions in Matters of
 Religion, are inconsistent Things. Where Men are
 educated that Way, and early brought under those
 Circumstances, before they judge right of the Nature
 of such Things, and discern the Consequences and
 Tendency of them, there will be a vast Difference
 in the Case. Being educated in high Notions of
 Church-Power, and the Regards due to an Establish-
 ment, they may think Submission their Duty. Af-
 terwards, when they look further, they may fall in-
 to freer open Thoughts, which has often been
 the Case. And they may, with perfect Integrity,
 and consistently with the most generous Sentiments,
 hold those Posts they were possessed of before; but,
 I think, can hardly contribute any Thing to the
 Support of a Power usurped over Conscience. But
 this is nothing at all to the Case of the Gentlemen
 mentioned before. It will be an hard Matter to un-
 derstand how Men, that see, and are convinced of
 the Unreasonableness and destructive Tendency of
 such Impositions, can consistently, with their Eyes in their
 Head, deliberately submit to them. There will be
 but too much room to say, that there is a great Dif-
 ference between talking for Liberty, and being hear-
 edly and thoroughly in its Interests. Not that I
 would

would accuse these Gentlemen of having forsaken their free Sentiments, and being gone over into the High-Church Scheme: This would be concluding too much from the Premises which their Actions give us. Interest, Resentment, Pique, Rashness, &c. may lead a Man to do many Things, which his professed and cool Sentiments will not so well square with. But, while we are thus apologizing for their Conduct, that we may rank them still amongst the Friends of Liberty, they must excuse us if we think they forgot their own Sentiments when they conformed, and that we look upon them as the weakest Friends that Liberty has, and the least to be depended upon. There is one Thing that these Gentlemen plead for themselves, which, I must freely own, I cannot sufficiently admire the Weakness of. They usually say, that as they cannot continue their Ministry amongst the Dissenters, without submitting to some Hardships and Impositions; therefore, they think, it is better to do it once for all, where there is some shew of Authority for requiring it, namely, in the Establishment: The plain *English* of which is this; that as, in some Points of Divinity, they are in different Ways of thinking from the generality of the common People, they must either smother their Thoughts on these Heads, or belie them; or else, it may be, lose the Favour of their Hearers, and consequently their Usefulness among them; and therefore they will take a bold Leap once for all, and belie their Sentiments with a Witness, by solemnly declaring and subscribing, as true and Christian Doctrine, what, in their Consciences, they are convinced is not so. It must be owned, this is a very hard Case, on all Sides, where-ever it happens. An honest Man cannot consistently make any Declarations, or deliver any Doctrine contrary to his own Sentiments; nor yet can an honest Man, in Points of real Importance, where the Life and Practice of Religion is concern'd, do any other than deliver, in his Instructions of the People,

People, what seems to him the whole Counsel of God:
 But yet, on the other hand, I think a Man owes so
 much to his Acceptance and Usefulness, as not need-
 essly, about disputable Points, where probably one
 humane Interpretation may just as much affect Pra-
 ctice as another, to set himself to oppose the received
 Explication, especially not to do it in an assuming
 dogmatical Way. Nor can such Conduct be called
 sincere. I would never practise or encourage that;
 nor, for any Consideration whatsoever, baulk a ne-
 cessary Truth, though it should happen to be dis-
 agreeable. And where a Man cannot in such a Case
 discharge his Conscience and keep his Post, it is cer-
 tainly his Duty to quit it and follow his Conscience:
 but then, this can lay a Man under no manner of Ob-
 ligation to conform. He may live usefully, and obtain
 Subsistence, in many civil Nations, with much more
 Honour both to his Integrity and to Truth: And
 will certainly give him much better Reflections to
 be so, than to manage himself and strain a Point, in
 order to comply with what he does not thoroughly
 approve of. And after all, at this Time of Day, it
 must be owned, there is so much of a Free Spirit in
 the Laity amongst the Dissenters, that, unless in
 some very few Cases, a Man, if he acts with tolerable
 Prudence and Temper, may use all needful Li-
 berties, and not be in pain for the Consequence.
 Thus much was necessary to say in Justice to our
 People. But indeed, to insist upon the acknowledged
 Truths, and plain Practicals of Religion, will be
 every Minister's both wisest and most useful Course,
 whether he be in the Establishment, or out of it.
 It has mostly happened, that the Instances we have
 An hundred of Persons taking Orders in the Church from
 amongst us, have been of such as have resided in or
 near the Metropolis. I shall not pretend to enquire
 into the Reasons that might be assigned for this Cir-
 cumstance, but shall mention one certain Conse-
 quence of it, namely, that by this Means they have
 been

been more taken Notice of, and made a much greater Noise in the World.

And after all the Noise that has been made about it, I verily believe, that if we were to have an exact List drawn of such as have conformed, it would not amount at the highest to above Fifty, throughout the Kingdom, in the Term mentioned. I do not say this without Foundation.

And yet, though this Number is so small, I must frankly acknowledge I cannot help admiring that it has been so great; for in my Mind, after having viewed the Case all round, the Temptation to Conformity is very weak, and a Man must have a pretty strong Bias that Way, before he can find out any sufficient Reason to justify it to himself.

The Merits of the Cause debated between the Church and us, are the same they have been for many Years last past; and I think it is a clear Case, that the Advantage of the Arguments lies mightily on our Side, both in the Case of Ministerial and Lay-Conformity; for, though there are Inconveniences and Defects in our Scheme, and no Scheme in this World will ever be perfectly clear of them, yet, certainly, we have much fewer than the Establishment, and there is one Advantage in our Case which theirs has not, *viz.* That if Use and Practice shews any Thing to be attended with Inconveniences that were not foreseen, we have a Power in every Society of correcting them, and for the most Part are neither ashamed nor afraid of exerting it, when Occasion requires; whereas the Establishment acts upon the Principles of Perfection and Infallibility, though they are disclaimed. This Debate, as to the Case of Impositions, Subscriptions, and Ceremonies and Modes of Worship, has been handsomely stated in a late Paper, called, *An Inquiry into the Causes, &c.* However, there is one Thing which that Gentleman, as I remember, has taken no Notice of, and yet, I think, is too material to be omitted; I shall therefore add it to that Account of the
Argument

Argument on the Side of the Dissenters. What I mean, is their Privilege of choosing their own Ministers, which they have a Right to in Nature and Conscience. For as Religion is a personal Thing, and it is an Absurdity to transfer the Care of it to another; and, as a Man's Happiness in the future State, will depend upon his Improvements in real Piety in this; and, as *these* will also depend very much upon the Ministerial Instructions he sits under, it is certainly a Matter of the highest Concern, that he make the best Measures he can for his own Advantage in this Respect, and consequently have the Right of choosing his own Minister. Now, when one single Person has the Nomination of a Minister for a whole Parish, or a considerable Number of Souls, he may indeed use his Power, and sometimes actually does it, in such a Manner as to promote their spiritual Welfare, by fixing amongst them a serious, worthy, painful, learned Man; yet it is most certain here is an Hazard run whether he will or no, and the People can do it best for themselves: They are most concerned for their own Happiness, and therefore, it is to be supposed and hoped, they will take the most Care of it; and then they can best judge whether a Man's ministrations are such as they can reap Advantage from. And really, as it seems odd, and an Absurdity to be prescribed to, though we may be advised, in the choice of the Physician or Lawyer we shall use; so it is much more so, that this Matter should be taken from the People, whose proper concern it is; and given to another, who it may be knows but little of them; is never Resident amongst them; has no Concern about them; but happens to have the Right of representation, and has some Favourite or Dependant to oblige with the Living. This would be an insupportable Difficulty with me, was I of the Clergy or of the Laity: In the one Case, I could not bear the thought of having the People robbed of their Right; so tender an Article; nor could I bear the Thought,

in the other, of being thrown upon a People, not only it may be without their Consent, but contrary to their good Liking, and so be a Grievance and Burden to them all the Days of my Life To have the Choice and Affections of his People, is next to being useful among them, (and without those Affections there is but small Prospect of Usefulness) the greatest Pleasure of a Minister's Life, when he knows the Nature of his Office. It may be said here, that the People of the Church of *England* have this Privilege, for they may chuse a Lecturer when they please. I would only observe, that if they may do it, and actually do in the City, or in some large Parishes, they cannot in small ones, not being able to support the Expence. And after all, if I mistake not, this Privilege is very precarious; for a Rector, or Vicar may refuse a Lecturer the Use of his Pulpit, and so defeat the End of their Liberty; so that it may happen they may have no Relief, but in separate voluntary Societies. In one Word, the Privilege of the People to choose their own Ministers, with a Power of preventing the ill Consequences of a Minister's being too independent upon his People, and of consulting and determining concerning the best Measures to be taken for promoting the Benefit of the Society, and of judging concerning the proper Subjects of Church-Communion, is, in my Opinion, alone worth dissenting for. It is true, where Men act according to these Principles, it will necessarily occasion them some temporal Difficulties; but I am sure it is worth the while to submit to them. From what has been said, it will appear that there cannot be much said from the Merits of the Cause, to lead Men to Conformity who are educated otherwise. It can hardly be, that they can do it from a Sense that it is their Duty so to do, only they can make a shift to make it easy to themselves.

Nor yet can Interest be reasonably thought so great in the present Case, as to move very strongly. If we
may

may judge by the Success of the greatest Part of
 them that have tried this Way, it will be pretty
 plain that we ought not to carry our Expectations
 very high. When Livings become vacant, the Right
 of Presentation is either in the Crown, or in private
 Patrons; or the Clergy, either the Bishops, Col-
 leges, or Dean and Chapters; or else in some Bodies
 corporate, as the Mercer's Company, &c. The
 Livings in the Gift of the Crown, are usually but small.
 As to private Patrons, they are generally engaged to
 different Sort of Persons; and consequently such as
 these I am speaking of, who are, for the most Part,
 the Institute of proper Friends, and the proper Methods
 of Application, must expect to be the last taken No-
 tice of. Ecclesiastics will assuredly be so faithful to
 the Interests of their own Body, as to bestow their Fa-
 vour upon the Members of it. And if Advowsons
 continue to be bought up and engrossed by the Cler-
 gy, as they have been said to be pretty much of late,
 this will narrow the Compass more still. And this,
 the way, seems to me to have so dangerous a
 tendency to advancing that Power and Indepen-
 dency of the Clergy, which some are so eager for,
 that it well deserves to be taken into Consideration,
 whether a Law to put some Bounds to this Engrossing
 of Livings, may not be as necessary now, to the Se-
 curity of the State, as the Statute of *Mortmain* for-
 merly. But to pass this: As to Bodies Corporate, it
 is no great Number of Livings, comparatively speak-
 ing, that falls within their Gift; and they none of
 the best neither. Consequently upon all this, there
 cannot be a great deal expected in the Way of Inter-
 est from Conformity. The best Preferments cer-
 tainly will be preserved for other Hands, for many
 Reasons which a common Understanding will readily
 suggest. And indeed, in Fact, Things have some-
 times been so managed, as to shew they have not been
 ever-solicitous to draw us this Way, unless fine Pro-
 mises and delayed Performances have any great Influe-
 ence.

ence. Interest, indeed, is but a fordid View to govern in this Case. However, I thought it could not be amiss to mention in this short Manner, how little, commonly speaking, there is even of this to work upon a Man; and yet I fear, whether in some Cases this is not the first Mover in this Change; but however, was the Prospect of Interest never so great in this Way, I could have but a very despicable Opinion of that Man who could be influenced by it.

Nor, in my Opinion, is there any thing more weighty, to dispose any Man to Conformity, in that stale Pretence, the Peace of the Church. I know, indeed, that this has been pleaded often as an Argument to draw us over; and very moving Lamentations there have been made, in tender Language and pathetic Metaphors, by some dear Sons of the Church, setting forth how unnaturally and barbarously she has been used, and her very Bowels torn out, by our Separation. There is something, indeed, very piercing in such sort of Strains; some Hearts are so tender as to have been deeply struck by them, and have professed, that their leaving us has been owing to this Cause. I cannot help admiring at their great Sensibility; and at the same time observing, that there is very little Reason for it: For I always thought, and must, I believe, continue to think so, that Peace consists in an Harmony of Affection, and not in the Sameness of Opinion, or in a Uniformity of Practice; but rather seems to suppose a Difference in these two latter Articles: And if so, the Peace of the Church may be as much preserved, though I, or any Number worship God in a Way different from what her Sons do; as if the whole Nation was to think and practise alike to a tittle. It may be so, if I pursue my own Apprehensions with Quietness and Moderation, and the Church is easy with my doing so. It is Pride, Domination, Wrath, Contention, Envy, and the like, that break Peace, and not meerly having different Thoughts and Practices in these Things.

And

And there may be altogether as much of that bad spirit, and actually has been, within the Pale of the Church, as out of it. So that my being, or not being in the Establishment, makes nothing either for or against the Peace of the Church; but Things would remain just as they were in this Respect, let me, or others do as they will. And consequently there is no Strength in this Plea. If it has any Meaning, it can be only this, that the Peace of the Church is then alone promoted, when the Rulers of it have their Will and their Way.

It has been urged, as an Argument to prevail with some to enter into the Establishment, that by that Means some wished for Alterations might, in a short Course of Time, be obtained; but, in my Opinion, with very little Face of Probability. It is true, indeed, that there are many Moderate Men, who do not think the Constitution of their Church so perfect, as that it might admit of some Improvements, particularly in the Point of Discipline; but there never has yet been that happy Juncture, when a Majority of this Stamp; and I very much question, whether there ever will. There is Reason to think, that the Majority will always be of the Mind of a certain Doctor, who has lately gravely told us, *That we cannot be too zealous for the Forms of the Church, and that Reformation is good, when Reformation is wanting; but that to be always reforming, is no reforming at all.*

We are not at a Loss for his Meaning. And, indeed, could a Majority be found of this condescending, healing Spirit among the Clergy, which however I think there are many certain Indications, is not to act among such as may constitute the Lower-house of Convocation, whatever may be the Case in the Upper, (the Moderation of many of whose Members we have very grateful honourable Thoughts of) what can we expect? Does not the Act of Union absolutely cut off all our Hopes from it? Dr. Calamy has judiciously made this very Observation, and applied it to the same

same Purpose long since, in his historical Additions to his Abridgment of the Life of Mr. *Baxter*, at the Year 1706, p. 695, 6. And if this be so, then there can be no manner of Strength in the Plea I am now taking notice of. But supposing there is Room yet left to expect any such Alterations to be made, those that conform from amongst us, must have pretty sanguine Hopes to imagine they should ever be so situated in the Church, as to give them Consideration enough to have any Influence upon such a Work, should it ever be set forward.

There are some other Considerations that may be thought of here, which are of smaller Moment indeed, but yet need not be wholly omitted. If these Gentlemen succeed, and are taken Notice of in the Church, the Consequence will be, and in Fact is, that many of her *native* Sons will hate them, and envy them, as standing in their Places, and eating their Bread. This will give a generous Mind some inward Chagrin. Again, a great deal, as to their Acceptance with their new Friends, will depend upon what they see to be their Carriage towards their old Ones. If they neglect us, and break off all free friendly Intercourse with us, then the Party they are gone over to will carefs and hug them as their dear Friends, especially if they can throw out a virulent Reflection now and then upon the Dissenters; but then, if they have any Gratitude or Generosity in their Tempers, they must abhor themselves inwardly for doing so. But, if they continue to speak handsomely and honourably of us; if they are willing to live with us, and carry towards us in a friendly Christian Manner; they will be looked upon shily, and with coldness, and deemed False Brethren by a great many. In a Word, it is at best but an awkward uneasy Situation they are got into, and much good may it do them.

The End of all that has been hitherto said, is this: I have made these Reflections upon the little Reason
these

there is for quitting the Ministry among the Dissenters, and exercising it in the Church, only for the Sake of contributing a little towards the Stopping that Humour, if this Passage should fall into the Hands of any that are warping that Way. I have no design, by any Thing I have said, to cast any invidious Reflection upon any; that is the farthest from my Thoughts. I have very honourable Thoughts of many worthy Members of the Church-Communion, and as heartily as any Man reverence them for their Learning, Piety, Moderation, and Usefulness. Nothing that I have said, which I thought my View in this Pamphlet required, will, I hope, be esteemed an Abuse of that Liberty which the Government gives us; far be any such Thing from me. I hope, there is not a Dissenter in *England*, but has a grateful Sense of the Lenity of our Governors towards us, and would abhor the Thought of abusing it in any Instances; no such Baseness or Ingratitude would I by any means encourage or countenance.

My Design in the Observations made upon the Case mentioned in the Beginning of this Paper, is to have an Opportunity of considering a Consequence drawn from it. Nothing is more common, than the Belief that the Dissenting Interest is upon the Decline. Our own People have got that Notion. Many in the Establishment have got it also, and are not a little pleased with it. Whether the Fact is so or no, I shall enquire presently. In the mean Time, I would observe, that the Opinion that it is, has sprung from the Instances that have happened of Persons who have conformed as *Ministers*: But, certainly, more is concluded from this Fact than it will bear. The Number of such is too *small* to build such an Opinion upon: To lose a matter of Fifty, or suppose it One hundred, in sixteen Years time, out of so large a Body, as the Dissenters of all Denominations throughout the Kingdom are, can be no such

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great

great Matter surely; nor, generally speaking, has their Consideration amongst us been so great, as to make up what was defective in point of Number. It may be thought, that they have drawn off a Number of their Friends along with them; and, indeed, it might have been reasonable to imagine, that the Advantages of intimate Friendship might have given them the Opportunity of insinuating into some of the Laity, that stood in that Relation to them, the same Thoughts of the Matter they had themselves. And it cannot be denied, but now and then, in fact, it has been so; but not to any great Degree: And I, my self, have known where it has been endeavoured, but with miserable Success; and they have met with shameful Repulses. One Thing it is necessary to observe, that the Congregations these Gentlemen have left, those of them that were fixed amongst us, have never wanted a Supply to fill up the Vacancies they had made. Our Meeting-Houses have been under no Necessity of being shut up upon such an Occasion; and I heartily hope, and believe, they never will. So that all that can fairly and justly be inferred, I think, from these Premises, is, that we may have over-educated our selves, like our Neighbours the Church of *England*; and that some of our young Ministers have not patience to stay, till Providence gives them an Opportunity of fixing among us; and are unwilling to take up with any, but the most considerable of our Pulpits; but by no means, that our Interest is mouldring and dwindling away, and that in a few Years we must follow it to its Grave. And, indeed, considering the great Emoluments to be expected in the Establishment, the small Provision in most Places for Dissenting Ministers, and the Moderation professed among us with respect to the Points in difference, it is nothing extraordinary, that in such Numbers as are educated amongst us, some should go over to the Church; it is rather surprizing there are no more.

As to the Case it self, the Decay of our Interest, I think several very considerable Things may be said against it. The Dissenters, it is well known, consist of People of several Denominations, each of which is distinct from the other, and manages its own Affairs by it self: These Denominations are principally three, Presbyterians, Independants, and Baptists; I say principally three, because there is a Body of People amongst us, which makes no contemptible Part of the Community, called Quakers. Now, though many of their Principles and Practices we have as great a dislike to as others can have, yet surely they are Christians, and as surely they are not Conformists; and therefore, according to strictness, they ought to be mentioned, when we are reckoning the Strength of the Dissenters, as such. But I shall wave them, and only speak of the three Denominations. Now to make out the common Opinion, the Decrease must be common to all the Three; or at least the Decrease of One, or Two, must outdo the Increase of the Other. But how do we prove this? I am apt to think this will not be an easy Matter to do; and that Evidence will be found wanting. It will be difficult to know the true State of the Interest, not only of all the Denominations, but of one only; because there is frequently a want of Communication between them. And yet this must be done, and also an Account taken of the past State of Things as well as the present, in order equitably to ballance them, and judge whether we lose Ground or no; otherwise we shall have a lame and imperfect Idea of the Case.—We are to reckon, moreover, the Increase of Births amongst us. All own, that the World in general grows more populous; and *England* certainly does not grow thinner of Inhabitants than it was; and that Part of its Inhabitants who are Dissenters, have this Faculty of Multiplication in common with their Neighbours. There is no Curse

from God upon them to hinder their Fruitfulness; this therefore must be taken into the Account. For merely to have a *Number* of our Communion leaving us, and going over to the Establishment, is not a Proof of the Decrease of our Interest; unless that Number is found to exceed the Proportion, in which our Births, those I mean that grow up to Maturity, outdo our Burials. — And even if it should be found to be so, this will not prove the Point, *our Decay in general*: For it is to be remembered, that as some desert us and go to Church; so some desert the Church and come to us. Several Instances there are of this in the Neighbourhood where I live, and in many other Places a great many more. And in Fact it is found, that the Interest thrives in many Places, which has been taken Notice of already in some late Papers. Even in the Metropolis, there are several Congregations, within these few Years, that have been raised almost from nothing; as there may be others which have sunk considerably below what they were. All these Things must be considered, and weighed one against the other, to know the present State of our Affairs; and I am very much inclined to think, that where that is equitably done, we shall not be found in that decaying Way we are commonly said to be. I have insisted the longer upon this, because the very prevailing of the Notion of our Decay, has tended to help it forward; and has actually driven away some from us, being ashamed to continue of, as they thought it, a sinking Cause. Just as in the common Affairs of the World, the Whispering about that a Man is going to break, is one of the surest Ways to ruin him. Upon the whole, I have but seldom known, that where a Minister has been a practical lively Preacher, a Man of a pious and exemplary Life, and who has carried himself with Wisdom and Prudence amongst his People, that the Interest died under him; but, on the other hand,

hand, has held its own, if not thriven and flourish-
 ed. And it seems to me, that all our Decays are
 local only, and do not extend to the *whole*. The Re-
 mainder of this Paper will be employed in assigning
 what seem the Causes of this *local Declension*, after I
 have premised the Reasons that induced me to make
 them publick.

I have a deep Sense upon my Mind of the Impor-
 tance of maintaining the Dissenting Interest; and
 therefore, if I could be at all instrumental in serving
 it, it would give me great Pleasure; with this View
 I have ventured these Thoughts abroad. My Sense
 of the Importance of the Cause I am appearing for,
 goes upon these Principles: Our Dissenting is a pub-
 lick solemn Protest against all human Power and Au-
 thority in the Concernments of Religion. A Multi-
 tude of us evidently act upon this Principle, to the
 neglect of our temporal Interests: This is the Case
 with the Laity universally, who by falling in with
 the Establishment, would save themselves the Ex-
 pence of supporting separate Societies, and often feel
 the Sweet of it in their Trades also: And as to our
 Ministers, it is as certain, that for the Sake of their
 Consciences they submit to considerable Hardships.
 It commonly happens, that a Book-keeper's Post in a
 Counting-house, or the Office of a common Excise-
 man, shall bring in more temporal Profit than their
 Incomes and Advantages; and consequently they
 cannot be actuated by Interest. Now to speak freely,
 considering the Humours of the Age in regard of
 Christianity, I am clearly of Opinion, that so solemn
 a Disclaim of human Mixtures, and human Autho-
 rity in the Things of Religion (which have ever been
 the greatest Bane and Prejudice to it) and pursued so
 thoroughly, and in so disinterested a Way, is *one* of
 the best Expedients to support the Credit of it.

Again, our Cause is one with the Cause of Liberty
 civil and ecclesiastical. Our Fore-fathers have all
 along

along made noble Stands, especially against all In-
 croachments upon religious Liberty, and the Pro-
 gress of spiritual Tyranny. When we remember
 Arch-bishop *Laud*, the Case of Dr. *Leighton*, and the
 Proceedings of the Star-Chamber, we shall always
 own they did well: But whenever it appears that the
Laudean Spirit is dead, and not asleep only, I shall
 with pleasure disown the Necessity of acting upon
 their Principles; but not till then.

This Zeal for ecclesiastical Liberty, does the more
 recommend the Dissenting Interest at present, as the
 main Body of 'em have acquired more large, gene-
 rous, and catholick Sentiments than even their Fore-
 fathers, and utterly disclaim all those Encroachments
 upon the Conscience, which some amongst 'em for-
 merly were but too apt to favour. As to civil Li-
 berty, it is evident to all that take an impartial View
 of our History since Queen *Elizabeth*, that the sever-
 al Struggles against arbitrary Power in the succeed-
 ing Reigns, were chiefly supported by the Influence
 of those of our Principles, especially among the mid-
 dle Rank of People; and to this principally must be
 ascribed the Hardships brought upon them by the
 Government in those Days, and the Enmity of the
 High-Church ever since; and therefore, their de-
 claring absolutely for passive Obedience to the Crown,
 as well as Submission to the Church, was thought
 the proper Test by which to try and harrass 'em.
 And even at this Day, it concerns the Gentlemen of
 the Church of *England*, who are hearty in the Inter-
 ests of the Protestant Succession, to consider, whe-
 ther they do not owe the Success of their Endeavours
 in Favour of it, principally to the zealous, unshaken,
 and disinterested Attachment of the Protestant Dis-
 senters to the Succession; and consequently, whether
 an encrease and strengthening of their Interest, rather
 than any diminution of it, be not to be wished for
 by all the Friends of the present Establishment. And
 this

his Firmness of the Dissenters is the more to be observed on the Account of the several Discouragements they have continued under ever since the Revolution, from the *Test Act*, the uncertainty of the Laws about their Schools, whereby they have been exposed to many vexatious Prosecutions, and the insol Behaviour of those who have been in the Administration from time to time, with respect to any thing proposed in their Favour. A piece of Policy, which it is apprehended can no ways tend to strengthen the Interest of the present Royal Family amongst us, while it weakens the Hands of those who have been all manner of Principles always among the surest and steadiest Friends of it, and who are also both a very numerous and wealthy Part of the Nation, and have so large an Influence on the Trade of it, that take an immense Source of the Riches and Power of the Kingdom. And as I have mentioned Trade, I may venture to affirm, this also is a Proof of the great Importance of the Dissenting Interest to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation; since the Encrease of it in several valuable Branches, is very much to be ascribed to the Liberty with which they have been favoured since the Revolution; and its flourishing State, is in a good measure the Fruit of the Sobriety, Diligence, and Application of that Body of Men; of which no other Evidence need be given than this, that in those Towns and Parts of the Kingdom where Trade thrives most, there the Dissenters are most considerable for Numbers and Wealth.

There is another thing that also very much deserves the Consideration of the Laity of the Church of *England*, which is, that the Freedom they enjoy from the Encroachments, Oppressions, and exorbitant Power of the more ambitious and selfish Part of the Clergy, is to be ascribed to the Dissenters, their Number and Influence. In those Times, when the Clergy had none to oppose them, or however, had

Power enough in their Hands to crush their Opponents, it is evident with what a high Hand they carried it over the Laity. Not to speak of the Times of Popery; in King *Charles* the First's Reign, the Lord *Faulkland*, and others even of the Royalists, in Parliament, found reason to make the severest Reflections upon that Spirit of Pride and Domination which then discovered it self in the Clergy, and complained how hard they bore upon all who would not tamely submit to their arbitrary Will and Pleasure. Nor is such a Spirit peculiar to one sort of Clergymen: In all Ages and Places where they have had Wealth and Power, and their Adversaries have been too weak to make any Opposition, there has been too great a Disposition to tyrannize over the Laity, and lay upon 'em whatever Burdens they please, to which they must either patiently submit, or incur the Censure of Enemies to Religion and the Church; the Reason of which is, not any thing in the Nature of the Office, but because the Wealth and Authority attending it, draws into it Men of worldly Minds and selfish Views, to whom therefore it is natural to abuse the Influence their Office gives them, to advance their own secular and ambitious Designs. It is plainly owing to the Numbers of Dissenters amongst us, that the People are encouraged to oppose any unreasonable Encroachments of the Clergy, and that they, on their Part, are more modest and cautious in setting up their exorbitant Claims; tho' even now there are some can't forbear shewing what they would be at, had they Power equal to their Inclination. I would not here be understood, as if the Dissenters had set themselves up as declared Adversaries to the Clergy; for on the contrary, it must be confessed by all who have Candour and Gratitude enough to do us Justice, that the Clergy have much fairer Quarter from the Dissenters, than is usually given by opposite Parties one to another: Since they are not only as ready to

treat

reat 'em with all due Respect, and to pay 'em all their legal Dues, as any of their own People, but are as generous in their voluntary Contributions and Presents to 'em on every Occasion, especially to Persons of Merit; and even those of a different Character, are seldom so severely censured by the Dissenters, as by those of their own Church.

Once more, it seems to me that the different Parties amongst us, are, in the Hand of Providence, instrumental of a great deal of good. I have read of some States, where different Parties have been maintained for politic Reasons, to keep a Ballance, and support the publick Peace; and why it may not be something like it in the Case of Religion I cannot see. In Fact, the Protestant Separation has in several Places reduced the Papal Faction within narrower Limits, and to greater Decency in many respects; and whether there may not be something of the same kind, *mutatis mutandis*, by our Dissenting Separation, I see no absurdity at all in supposing. *Abst invidia* *perbis*. Without doubt in this Case the Parties are checks one upon another, and are mutually restrained within the Bounds of Decency more, and perhaps incited to greater Regularities and Diligence; and certainly to make this Supposition, is nothing but considering human Nature as human Nature. *Pbil. i.*

15 — 18.

I think it is evident, that whatever care there is taken for the Observation of the Lord's-day, and the frequent preaching in the Churches, is owing to the Influence of the Dissenters; for in the *Laudean* Times strictness in keeping the Lord's-day and Afternoon Lectures, were looked upon as Marks of Puritanism; and even more lately, some of the High-church Clergy can't forbear showing how little they relish either of these. And were the Dissenting Interest to sink, there is too much reason to fear, that the Interest of practical Religion would sink with it to a very

low Ebb. Great numbers of the Clergy, especially in the Country, would excuse themselves of the Trouble of preaching; and though even now, there are complaints of great Irregularities among too many of 'em, they would then be apt to take still greater Liberties.

Thus the Dissenting Interest appears important, and therefore I would do all in my Power for its Support; and I offer what follows for this Reason.

But it may be suggested here, my Undertaking is needless, others having gone before me and anticipated and prevented me. If I thought so, I would not be so weak as *actum agere*, or so impertinent as to trouble the World with a Need-not. I own, indeed, that a great deal has been lately said upon this Subject, and to very good Purpose. We have had several Papers published upon it: The first was an *ingenious* Discourse, called, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest*. He resolves them into two, *Ignorance of their own Principles*, and *Mismanagement of their Interests*. As to the First, He himself is a Confutation of his own Remark; for if Fame says true, that Writer has since then conformed himself; and consequently is an Instance, that to *know* the Principles of the Dissenters, and *approve* them, and *commend* them, and yet to *desert* them, and *act in defiance* of them, are Things that may be found in one Man. In his second Observation I agree with him, as will be seen hereafter. There are several Weaknesses in that Writer, which have been taken Notice of by some that have followed him, and animadverted upon with sufficient Severity. The first of these Papers, called, *True and impartial Thoughts, &c.* cannot be sufficiently commended, for the Author's serious Spirit, his Zeal for practical Religion, and his earnest Endeavours to excite our younger Ministers to exert themselves that Way: He *wisely* and *piously* observes, that the Cause of serious Religion,

was the *Original*, and must be the *Support* of our
 Cause, p. 6. and upon this Foundation he has built
 a great many *excellent* and very *judicious* Advices. I
 wish his Counsels may have the good Effect which
 the Author designed in them. I shall add but little
 to this Part of his Performance. He has pointed out
 what should be the *Subjects* of ministerial Instruction,
 and with what *Spirit* Ministers should act. What
 may be suggested further, relates to the *Manner* of
 Pulpit Discourses. In my Opinion, it would contri-
 bute not a little to the Success of them in popular Au-
 ditories, if there was a *freer Manner* in them. It has
 got an awkward Air for a Man to be *absolutely* tied
 down to what lies in his Paper before him; and yet it
 is necessary to have *something*, to prevent the ill Con-
 sequences of loose extempore Discourses. What I
 would therefore humbly propose, is this: Young
 Preachers should compose their Discourses in their
 Closets, with all the Exactness and Care they are ca-
 pable of; but not of sufficient Length to last them
 the whole of the Time allotted for this Part of pub-
 lick Worship; and that this Defect should be sup-
 plied, by enlarging, illustrating, and urging the fe-
 deral Parts of their Discourse in a free Way, ac-
 cording as the Subject, and the present Temper of
 their Minds suggested to them. In this Way, I think,
 they might avoid all the ill Consequences of meer
 extempore Discourses on the one hand, and the
 Coldness, Dryness, and Formality of Harangue on
 the other. — Besides, it will be useful and just to
 give, and keep to the exact and critical Sense of their
 Text, but at the same time avoiding all the Show
 and Labour of a critical Discussion. — In Passages
 of Scripture that are produced as Proofs, or occasi-
 onally only, it is certainly necessary to keep as near
 as possible to the Sense the Place bears in its own
 Context. The *allusive* Manner of quoting Texts,
 and the Custom of expressing our Sense in *Scripture*

Phrase, where it has not been done judiciously, and according to this Rule, has, I am perswaded, done a great deal of Hurt. It has led People into wrong Interpretations of such Places; and sometimes very absurd Conceptions in Religion have sprung from it. — A diffuse Style, where a Man can come at it, is certainly the best for the Pulpit. — The Custom of dilating upon Places occasionally quoted, when they are not wracked, and the Subject forgotten by that Means, has been very happily and to good Purpose used by many. — I shall only say further here, that the *fashionable* Study of the Classics, may do very well as an *Amusement*, and as an *Ornament for polite Conversation*; but as it is managed by some, is a mean *Qualification* of one that speaks from the Pulpit; and I humbly think, that our young Ministers, who spend the Chief of their Time in those Studies, might easily direct them into a Channel that would better fit them for acceptableness and success in their Sermons. The other Parts of ministerial Conduct, have been excellently, and with an admirable Spirit, stated and urged, in a Sermon by Mr. *Soame*, which is highly worth every Ministers serious Thoughts. Were our Ministers to act universally according to the Advices given by these two Authors, as many amongst us do in a distinguished Manner, we might reasonably hope, that a serious Spirit would break forth more in our Societies. But, in my Opinion, something else is to be considered, when we are enumerating the Occasions of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest, as that Decay is only a *local* and not a *general* Thing. The Author of *Free Thoughts* has mentioned some of these; such as the Preferments in the State, which are *only* to be had by conforming; Intermarriages; Complaisance to Friends; and a Disrelish of serious Piety; a Sceptical Spirit, when we and Christianity are deserted together. I shall not enlarge upon these, but add to them what seems to me further necessary.

Many

Many of the Particulars I am about to speak of, are such, as while our Ministers are fallible imperfect Men, and our People are so too, and we have a Mixture of good and bad in our Societies, we must not expect to be entirely exempt from. I do not intend them as *Reproaches*, but as *kind and friendly Hints* only. If by looking every Man into his own Spirit and Conduct, or abroad into the World about us, we find that either what I mention is not Fact, or that the Effects I ascribe to them do not really spring from them, no hurt is done. It is only my Labour lost. But if we find what is alledged to be true, what I would hope, and desire, is, that, as we would not make that indeed a *general Decay* which is now *local only*, and bring Ruin upon our Cause (I speak to such as are heartily concerned for its Support) we would universally, as much as in us lies, guard against them, and so prevent those ill Consequences; for we are far from being in a desperate hopeless Way.

The *first Thing* which I would mention, is an Error in Point of Education, which some People run into; I mean, the putting their Children under the Instruction of High-church School-masters. It may seem, that to learn Writing and Accounts, *Latin*, and *Greek*, has nothing to do with this Matter, and we may learn them any where safely enough. And were we sure that the Teachers would never intermeddle in any Thing else, so we might. But of this we can hardly ever be sure. For though the *Masters* may have so much Wisdom and Faithfulness as to confine themselves merely to what they undertake to do; yet their *hot-headed Users*, who are usually just come warm from the Universities, and have not had knowledge enough of the World to cool them, may do the same Mischief more effectually, and can never be relied on. I have known where a great deal of Ill has been done this Way. And for my Part, I had a thousand times rather my Boy could write only an awkward Hand,

or knew no more of *Latin* than his Mother, than that for the Sake of Skill in them, he should run the Hazard of being poisoned and corrupted in his religious Principles. We thought it a very *unnatural Hardship* laid upon us by the Schism Act, which took away from us our Privilege of educating our Children; and methinks, we should not tamely and foolishly do almost the same Thing that Act aimed at, by voluntarily putting our Children under such sort of Tuition. Though the Contrivers of that Act did it to their *eternal Infamy*; yet in this they acted a *wise and consistent Part*, taking thereby the *likeliest Step* to suppress our Interest. And shall we, who are sensible of their View in it, by taking much the same Steps, be contributing towards the Accomplishment of it? I would not therefore, where there was any Opportunity of avoiding it, send a Child to a Tory School, so much as to learn his A, B, C. And as most of the Free-Schools in *England*, as far as I have had Opportunity of observing, are fallen into such Hands, a better Step, in my Opinion, cannot be taken, than to establish a School in our own Way, in as many of the considerable Towns in the Kingdom as we can. This Matter, I am sure, deserves some serious Thoughts. What has been said, relates chiefly to the Country, and to those who are designed only for a Lay-Life, and may be extended also to take in the Education of our Girls as well as our Boys.

Another Thing, which has contributed to this local Decay of our Interest, has been the *Decay of Trade* in several Places. That Trade is a variable Thing, sometimes encreasing, sometimes decreasing, every Body knows: As also, that there are Places in *England*, formerly of great Business, which have now scarce any. The Consequence of the Loss of Trade, is a Decrease of the Number of Inhabitants. Now, every one knows, that the Strength of our Interest

lies amongst the middling and trading People; and therefore, where Trade and Populoufness decrease in a Place, our Meetings must be expected to grow emptier there. Nothing is more obvious than this. And this Observation has been confirmed by Fact in the two Southern Counties, in which Trade is prodigiously sunk from what it was; and where, if I mistake not, the greatest Part of the Decay lies.

Sometimes our Societies have suffered by the *Insufficiency, Immorality, and Neglects* of our Ministers. This is a Case, which, I bless God, has but rarely happened amongst us, especially as to *Immoralities*; but it would be great Weakness and Partiality, to say it never has. — All People are certainly not qualified by Nature for the instructing others; and where there is a Defect in Nature, Education can never supply the Defect. There is a great Variety, indeed, in Men's Talents; and every one who has not mean ones, must not be immediately set aside; or we may find out Societies for such, of their own standard, among whom they may do good: But where a Man has not the natural Capacity of distinguishing Truth from Falshood, Proper from Improper, and is not *apt to teach*, he should never be admitted into a Pulpit. The Way to prevent this, would be, not to bring up such for the Ministry; nor admit them into it by Ordination. I wish we do not state of a proper Exactness in this Matter, and forget the apostolic Rule, *1 Tim. v. 22.* As to *Immoralities and gross Negligences* in ministerial Work, the people always have it in their Power to free themselves from the Burden of such a Man; and by a prudent exerting of it, may prevent the ill Consequences that would otherwise follow; and should be encouraged to do it.

It falls in naturally here to observe *another Circumstance*, which has in some Cases done us no little Prejudice, I mean the *Encouragement* shewn to strolling

Scotch-Ministers. I do not mean such as come from their own Country, with good Characters and proper Recommendations. I should be ready to shew to these all the Respect their personal Merit requires. But in other Cases, I think, we are too complaisant abundantly to such Men, when we neglect Persons of our own Country, whose Education, Spirit, and Conduct we have the best Opportunities of knowing, for their Sakes. They will hardly return the Compliment in *Scotland*. It is a foolish Humour in some of our Societies, to be engaged by the Noise and Wheedle of these People. And in Truth, they are very rarely cut out for any Usefulness amongst us. The Power of their Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, &c. runs too much in their Heads; and the general Fire of their Tempers is too great, to fit them to deal with *English* Constitutions, and to act upon Dissenting Principles. And to speak a plain Truth, if we look abroad about us, we shall find, I believe, that they have done much more Mischief than Good amongst us, which should make us more cautious for Time to come.

In *several other Cases*, a Neglect of the rising Generation has been of considerable Disservice. Two Instances will make what I mean here very plain. It has sometimes happened, that the younger Part of a Congregation has been desirous of some Alteration in the common Method of singing Psalms, which has been opposed by the elder Part; and the Rashness and Fire of Youth, when they found the Phlegm and Stiffness of the old People would not comply at all, has broke forth into ruinous Steps. I have also known, when near upon the whole Body of the Youth have been dissatisfied with the Minister, and that with reason too, and have offered to maintain a Joint-Pastor at their own proper Charges; and yet the senior Part has refused compliance with their Motion, meerly to avoid giving uneasiness to an

n honest weak Man; for that was the Case. Now, in my Opinion, in such like Cafes, we ought to take more Notice of the rising Generation, and shew a greater Regard to them; or else, how can we expect that our Cause should survive our own Day?

Sometimes the Management, when Vacancies happen in Congregations, in order to the filling them, such as to do Mischief. Any Thing that eneches upon our fundamental Principles; namely, the Right of the People to choose their own Ministers, must tend to do us Hurt. Where an *obstinacy* of Temper, or superiority of Circumstances in some one particular Member; any *artful Caballing* amongst the People; or *intermeddling* by Ministers, further than meer Counsel when desired to give it; Influences more than is meet, to procure a fair Majority the Choice; if it does not break out into open Quarrels and Divisions, yet will occasion such secret Uneasinesses and Discontents as can never have any good Issue. And as often a long Train of Mischiefs found to follow, when a People proceed *rashly* to a choice, or fix upon a Person with whom they have not a competent Degree of Acquaintance, or at least we run a great Hazard of them, I would humbly make a Proposal, which, if it can be put in practice, will, I hope, go near to prevent them; and at least may be of use in Country Places. It is this: That there be fixed in every County in *England*, one or more *Supernumeraries*. Many Advantages would, I apprehend, attend this Scheme. They will be ready to supply, upon occasional Necessities, as the Absence or Sickness of a fix'd Pastor. This will give them an Opportunity of being acquainted with the Congregation in the Neighbourhood, and the Congregation with them; and therefore if Vacancies happened, they might be filled up, if the Congregation and such a Person could agree in it, much better to *mutual* Satisfaction, and without running

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that Venture that is done when a Minister and his People are entire Strangers to one another. Till such Opportunity happened, a young Man that had just left the Academy, might spend his Time in such occasional Services; and sometimes in the Family of one Minister, sometimes in that of another, much to his own Improvement; for there are very few among us, indeed, from whose Conversation, Pulpit Discourses, and ministerial Conduct, a capable, sober, observing Person might not learn something. And the various Studies, Talents, and Turns of Men, would render this Method more beneficial still to the young Gentleman. I am aware there are Difficulties in this Scheme, and therefore Objections to be made against it: Chiefly these two: It will not be found easy to persuade the Parties concerned to fall in with such a Proposal: Or, if they could, how shall the young Gentleman be maintained during his being in this Situation? To which I answer: I verily believe, that if proper *Perswasions* were used, there would be found some who would be ready to make the Experiment. Certainly, Usefulness, and a Prospect of fixing well and reputably amongst us, are much better consulted this Way, than by living idly in the City. And as to their Maintenance; if the Persons I speak of are in no Capacity of supporting themselves, their occasional Employ will do something towards it. There are few Neighbourhoods, in which there are not some Ministers capable of helping such a Person as to his Board; and, I hope, few that are capable, but would be willing also, for the Sake of a publick Good. The Fund also, one would hope, might employ something this way, and so carry on its own Design. After all, it assuredly cannot be more difficult for a Person to subsist in such a Country Situation, though he was unsettled, than it would be for him to do it unsettled in the City. And I am informed this Course is generally taken

aken in *Scotland*; where the several Candidates for the Ministry, are, for the most Part, dispersed up and down among the several Presbyteries. However, if this Scheme be esteemed impracticable and chimerical, yet the same End might be in a good Degree answered, by proceeding upon Vacancies in the Country thus: Let those Congregations, any of whose Members have sufficient Acquaintance with the World, seek out for themselves: But where they have not good Opportunities for that, let them engage the Advice and Assistance of their *neighbouring Ministers*, who by their *personal Knowledge* of their Case, and Intimacy with other Ministers, are *best* qualified to help them. If this Method was closely kept to, much Evil would be prevented, and many Inconveniencies that attend seeking Help at a distance, unless when it can be had no where else.

There is an *Error* into which human Nature is every apt to fall, and will always do prejudice, especially in our Circumstances. I mean a Spirit that has something prelati- cal in it. If a Man assumes an Authority and Superiority over others, that has no just Foundation, it will always be disgusting to those it is exercised over: And where there may be some Foundation for it, from *superior Age, or Piety and Learning* (for we allow of no other Foundation, our Opinion being for a *Parity* between Ministers in all other Respects) yet, if it appears in a supercilious Air, and affected Distances, it will always be insupportable. This one Fault will tarnish a thousand Excellencies, and will do more Hurt than they may do Service. Pride in Managers and Ministers will ever ruin a Cause that depends upon the voluntary Accession of People, and has neither Law nor *Interest* to support it.

A great deal also depends, amongst us, upon the Carriage of senior Ministers towards such as are just appearing in publick: The Case with many Youths

of considerable Merit and great Modesty, is pretty much the same as with a tender Plant; a warm and kindly Sun, temperate Air, and proper Watering, will nourish it and bring it to Maturity; but a nipping Frost, a bleak Wind, &c. will go very near to kill it, if they do not quite do it. Thus it is in the Case mentioned: A senior Minister, who acts the Part of a *Father*, infills into them good Advice with *Tenderness and Affection*, countenances and encourages them, if he can do no more, will be a Means of confirming them and fixing them amongst us; but if instead of this, they are treated with *Severity*, if they see *worthless, confident Fellows* preferred before them, and especially if they have *ill Turns* done them, and are *ill used*, they will certainly be discouraged, and in danger to be driven from us.

Our *Moderation* in some Cases has weakened us. In the Point of occasional Conformity, our Pleas for it, and Practices of it, it certainly has; and, in other Cases, an *injudicious* Way of talking about Moderation, has had the same Effect. Moderation signifies dissenting peaceably, maintaining a charitable Spirit towards such we differ from, and giving them all due Esteem and Respect, and remembering that we do not disagree in Fundamentals, and laying no more stress upon the Difference than the Merits of the Cause require, is a certain Duty, and is generally our Practice; but to think, or talk as if there was nothing of Moment in the Debate, and to be solicitous to bury the Distinction between us, is as certainly a weakness and want of Judgment, and I am sure has done us hurt.

Some have left us for Reasons not reducible to any of the former Heads. Thus, *Disgust* at the Conduct of a Neighbour, a Friend, a Minister, has thrown some into the Bosom of the Church, by which they think they take a Revenge upon the whole Party; and, indeed, in most Cases, when Men do conform,

they

they do it in a Pet. There will be no guarding against this, while Men will not be brought to consider before they act. *Some sordid People* run into the Church meerly to save their Subscriptions. A base Spirit! below Remark! *Some have conformed meerly* because they did not know what they did. As that *Gentleman*, who after he had taken Orders, when he had been some Years amongst us, denied, meerly from his Ignorance, that the *Church* insisted upon the *Posture of Kneeling* in receiving the *Communion*.

For a Conclusion; Whether or no the *Particulars* I have been mentioning will be thought to reach my Point, I cannot say: If any Reader thinks they do, and that our Declensions are owing to such like Things as these, I hope, if he is a well Wisher to our Cause, he will be so wise as to guard against such Misconducts himself; and endeavour to prevent them, as far as his Influence may reach. And after all, though it be allowed that those and such like Things have done us hurt, and that the Dissenters may in some Places lose ground; yet we are far from being in a contemptible State, or going to tumble to Pieces. If ever such an Event should happen, which at present there is no manner of room to fear, our Fall will be owing to our selves.

POSTSCRIPT.

There is *one Thing* that has had very bad Influence upon our Affairs, and yet was forgotten to be mentioned in its proper Place, which therefore I shall speak a few Words to here. In *many Cases* it has happened that our young Ministers have appeared in publick too soon. The Rule of the Church of *England* for not admitting Persons to Priests Orders before the Age of Twenty-four, is certainly a very wise one, and deserves imitation. If it was something later before Ministers undertook publick Work, it would

would certainly be better than to do it before; many Crudities and Weaknesses in their Discourses, many Indiscretions and Follies in Conduct, which give Offence to wise and serious People, and sometimes have driven away some from us, would be prevented; when more Age, Study, and acquaintance with the World, had ripened their Judgment, encreased their Knowledge, cooled their Passions, and moderated their Self-valuation, they would act certainly much less offensively, and with more acceptance in their publick Stations. For the Sake of these very great Ends, methinks every one amongst us should do what he can to prevent having our Pulpits filled by People who are not of a competent Age; and particularly, Tutors should not excite and urge their Pupils to preach so very early, but do rather what they can to discourage such an Inclination when it discovers it self; and this even in Youths of very prompt and forward Parts, for, if I mistake not, such are liable at *that Age* to several Mismanagements, which those of a duller, slower Genius are not; or at least full as many, and as fatal ones.

F I N I S.





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A

SERMON

PREACH'D at the

VISITATION

Held at *WAKEFIELD* in

YORKSHIRE,

JUNE 25. 1731.

BY

WILLIAM BOWMAN, M. A.

Vicar of DEWSBURY.

The Fourth Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for STEPHEN AUSTEN, at the
Angel and Bible in *St Paul's Church-Yard.*

MDCCLXXXI.

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The Teachers of the Clergy's Association
of Religion: With an Appendix
the General and Particular of the
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MDCCLXXXI. P. 63.

THE
PREFACE.



As the following Discourse was not originally designed to be published, I think it necessary to inform the World, that it now appears abroad in vindication of itself from the ill natured Censures and gross Misrepresentations of some of its Reverend Auditors.

TRUTH has always appeared to me in so amiable a Light, and Prejudice and Bigotry in such dismal and deform'd Colours, that I have long been used to think it my Duty, upon all proper Occasions to endeavour the Advancement of that, and Rooting out of this.

WHAT Success I have had in the present Undertaking, is evident from the almost general Cry that has been raised against me, and the severe Names I have been branded with, for speaking the Di-

States of my Conscience with Freedom and Sincerity.

'TIS indeed a hard Case, that Religion should be attended with such deplorable Circumstances, as not to be permitted the Test of Reason, but must be subject to the partial and obstinate Passions of perverse Men. Truth shines always the brighter for being opposed, and if what I have said may seem to cast some shade over it, a candid Expostulation from my Reverend Brethren would have been of much more Service, than the opprobrious Names of Erastian, Heretic, and Apostate. It is always a Presumption of a bad Cause, when foul Language is called in to supply the Place of Argument; and it was pertinently enough said by one upon this Occasion, that Demetrius and the Craftsmen might well be full of Wrath, when their Craft was in Danger to be set at naught.

THE Subject of the following Sheets is the Result of an impartial Enquiry into the Nature of a Christian Church, which were designed as the Foundation of a much larger Work, which I purpose God willing, some time or other to publish:

The P R E F A C E. V

publish: And I profess that neither Interest nor Scepticism, neither Ostentation nor Ill nature, but a hearty Love of Truth, was the Motive that induced me to speak out.

WHETHER what I have said be reasonable or no, the World must now judge, to me it appears so; and if I have err'd, 'tis with a good Conscience, and a Readiness to retract upon sufficient Conviction. I have Reason to complain of the Misrepresentations my Sermon has suffer'd, and how many Things I have been made to say, which I never thought of. A Reverend Brother, who was many Miles off when it was deliver'd, has more than once preach'd his Audience to Sleep, in confuting Things I never advanc'd.

ALL I have to say to this is, that I have Printed my Discourse faithfully and entirely, as it was deliver'd from the Pulpit, without any the least Alteration; chusing rather to trust the Candour of my Reader with any unguarded Slip that may be found in it, than undergo the Charge of a Falsification. I declare solemnly, notwithstanding what has been insinuated

sinuated by some of my Brethren, that I esteem and honour Episcopacy as much as any one, as it is an Apostolical Institution, an Institution excellently adapted to the Circumstances of the Times, and an Institution settled by the Legislature; but as to its being essential to the Church, I think I have Reason to deny. In a Word, as the Church of England by Law established is subject to the King's Supremacy, (whose Power within his Realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all other his Dominions and Countries, is the highest Power under God, to whom all Men, as well Inhabitants, as born within the same, do by God's Laws owe most Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in the Earth) I have nothing to object against those Powers committed, by lawful Authority, to her Trust, and shall ever think myself in Conscience obliged to pay all due Reverence to her Dignitaries, and those of her that exercise any Jurisdiction.*

AS to what has been hinted, that I have borrow'd some Thoughts from the Independent Whig, and The Rights of

* Can. 1.

the Christian Church; I answer, that 'tis impossible to write upon a Subject of this Nature, without saying many things that have been said before: As to the Books mentioned, I must own there are many Things incomparably well said, and much just and demonstrative Reasoning: And tho' I cannot agree with the general Tenour and Design of those Writers, yet where any Argument has appeared to me just and conclusive, and by Consequence is become my own, 'tis very possible, in treating upon the same Subject, I may have express'd the same Thought. I profess, I have no otherwise made Use of the fore-mention'd Books, than as the same Thoughts may have occur'd to me naturally, and without a Design of copying. This, I think, will appear to any Judge of writing, from my different Method of handling the same Thoughts, and the Variety of Language in which I have expressed them.

TO conclude, what Reception the following Discourse will meet with in the World, I neither know, nor care. I write for no Man's Favour, nor fear any one's Displeasure: Truth, and the Cause of
pure

pure Religion, with me, supersedes all other Considerations; for the Sake of which I am content to face an Inquisition, or to starve in a Dungeon, to be destitute, afflicted, tormented, to wander about in Goat-skins, and Sheep-skins, to be slay'd with Scourges, or broken on Racks. Let Ignorance then, or Ill-Nature, rage as horribly as it will, let Censures and Persecution pursue me even to Death, let my Reputation descend down to succeeding Generations branded with all the Infamy of Heresy and Miscreancy; yet while I live, there will be something within, will always speak Peace in the midst of a stubborn and perverse World; and beyond the Grave, a GOD that will one Day reward those that have suffer'd for Truth and Righteousness Sake. Thus does it behove a Christian, thus a Minister of the Gospel, to act.



MATTH. XV. 6.

*Thus have ye made the commandment
of God of none effect by your tra-
dition.*

IT has ever been the un-
happy fate of Superstition,
that by pretending to too
much Religion, it has sap-
ped the Foundation of all
Religion; and by being productive of
Traditions, that have no being but in a
blind mistaken Zeal, it has levell'd the di-
vine Oracles of the most high God, with
the weak Opinions of frail Men.

PRIESTCRAFT has generally been re-
puted the Parent of Superstition, and as
it is the undoubted Interest, so has it been
the great Design of Priests of all Religi-
ons, to inculcate this profitable Delusion.

B

THE

THE Clergy of the Church of *Rome* had never risen to that prodigious height of Grandeur and Glory, had not, by their means, Transubstantiation long ago justified Reason out of Doors; and the *Pope's Infallibility* been a more incontestable Article of Faith than that *our Saviour died to save sinners*; to deny the Priest's power of *Absolution*, as damnable as *Adultery* or *Incest*, and not to bow to the *Altar*, as *Murder* or *Rebellion*. All their pious Frauds and legendary Tales of Saints and Miracles, were confessedly calculated for this end, to aggrandize the Order of an ambitious Priesthood, and to give them a dazzling Lustre in the Eyes of the Vulgar.

THE Paganism of old *Rome* had never kept its Ground, nor its Priests been had in so much Honour and Esteem, but for their well projected Deceit of *Augurs* and *Haruspices*, of the *Sibylys* and *Duumviri*: Their *Dies fasti* and *nefasti*, their *Epulae* and their *Feriae* were of infinite Use in the solemn Pageantry; and the removal of the profane Vulgar from their horrid Mysteries continued an awful Deference and Veneration.

Destructive of RELIGION. 3

THE grand Impostor *Mahomet* had now slept undistinguish'd amongst the forgotten ruins of Mortality, and his Religion untalk'd of and unknown had perish'd with him, but for the pretended Visions he saw, and strange Voices he heard in the Cave of *Hira*, and his familiar Converse with the Angel *Gabriel*.

THE *Jewish* Doctors had never maintained the first Posts of Honour and Esteem, but for their diligently inculcating those abominable Traditions of their *Elders*, which *Grotius* and *Lightfoot* quote from their *Talmud* *.

WAS Religion indeed nothing but a politick Institution, was there neither Revelation nor God in the World, this Procedure had been not only tolerable, but a well-concerted Scheme of future Greatness.

AND as long as the World was easy under this Priestly Domination, there was no mighty mischief done; or if a few of the wiser part of Mankind had found out the Cheat, it had probably been buried in their own Breasts. For who that has

* *Grot.* in Matt. xv. *Light.* Hor. H.

4 *The Traditions of the* CLERGY

any Regard to his own Welfare, to his Life or his Possessions, would endeavour to undeceive the World in a Point, in which it is every Man's Interest they should be deceived?

BUT when we are sure there is a God that *ruleth in the Kingdoms of the Earth*; a God that hath revealed his Will by *many infallible Proofs*; and hath transmitted a perpetual Memorial thereof to us and our Posterity for ever; his Word is to be supposed sufficient to direct our Lives and Conversations, and to guide us, without other Helps, *in the Way that leadeth to eternal Life*. All other Religious Doctrines and Traditions, besides those contained in the Divine Oracles, are the Doctrines of Devils, broach'd on purpose to affront the all-wise Majesty of Heaven, by making him the Author of a Revelation imperfect, and incompetent for the End design'd.

IF the Loss or Salvation of our Souls depend upon what God has reveal'd to us in Scripture, as I believe no Christian will deny, then that Revelation must be sufficient of itself for Salvation, or God is *an austere and cruel Master, reaping where*
be

he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strow'd.

NOTHING then can excuse an ambitious Priesthood, who tamper with the Consciences of Men, who preach up Doctrines unknown to the Scriptures, and make void the Commandment of God by their Tradition, who have more Regard to their own Greatness, than the Salvation of those to whom they preach, and who prefer their Authority over, to their Care of, the Churches.

WHAT shall be done to *these Watchmen that are blind, greedy Dogs that can never have enough, Shepherds that cannot understand, that all look to their own Way, every one for his Gain from his Quarter?* Can they say with St Paul, they are free from the Blood of all Men? Or shall not rather the Blood of Numbers that have perished thro' their Default, be rigorously required at their Hands?

ONE would think it needless to enquire, whether the establish'd Church of this Nation laboured under the same Errors? A Church that calls herself pure and reform'd, and her Ministry orthodox and Apostolical. But alas! 'tis too true, that

6 *The Traditions of the CLERGY*

that this our pure and reform'd Church wants yet Purity and Reformation, her Ministry is not so orthodox and Apostolical as is generally imagined; the Spirit of the old *Harlot* her Mother is not yet forgotten; the primitive Thirst for Grandeur and Ambition reigns sadly Triumphant; the Honour of the *holy Function* is to be defended at any Rate, and the *Laitie* to be depress'd to harmless Beasts of Burden, the innocent Creatures of Priestcraft.

THERE are, without dispute, among the Clergy of this Nation, many moderate and brave Men, who make the *Gospel of Christ* the Rule of their Profession, and prefer *the Commandments of God to the Traditions of Men*. But then there are too many of a contrary Strain, haughty and enthusiastic Men, who call themselves, and those of their Order, the *Spiritual Princes of the Earth*, who wrest the Prerogative of God out of his sacred Hands, who juggle Omnipotence out of the World, and substitute themselves in its Place, *making void the Commandments of God by their Traditions*.

I SHALL

Destructive of RELIGION. 7

I SHALL therefore in the following Discourse endeavour to shew, wherein the Clergy of this Nation oppose their vain and human Traditions, to the Divine Word of God. And this,

First, With Relation to their Mission.

And

Secondly, With Relation to their Authority.

First then, With Relation to their Mission.

THAT there must be some to preach and expound the Word of God, as long as there is a Church and a Religion, seems to me necessary beyond dispute. For while Mankind is a Mixt Multitude of Ignorant and Careless, of Men of Business and Men of Pleasure; while there are *Cares of the World, and Deceitfulness of Riches, to choak the good Word of God,* and render it barren and unfruitful; 'tis necessary Mankind should always have a Monitor ready at hand *to preach the Word, to be instant in Season, and out of Season;*

Season; to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and Doctrine. For how shall they hear without a Preacher?

IT is as necessary there should be some Form of Government, some kind of Discipline in the Church; for without it there could be no such thing as Unity, which is essential thereto. All the difficulty is, what Rule ought to be observed in the Management of this Affair; which must never be left to every one's private and discretionary Conduct; for then might all be Preachers and no Hearers, all Governours and none to be governed. Some kind of *Mission* is absolutely necessary, for the Sake of Order and to avoid Confusion, for *how shall they preach except they be sent?*

I KNOW that as our Church has Tenets and Opinions of her own, with a peculiar Stiffness in this Respect, so to oppose and contradict them, at this Time o' Day, is in her candid Judgment, a kind of *Erastianism* little better than *Heresy*. But regardless of a Name, and for the sake of Truth, I shall however enquire into the Foundation of her Traditions, and endeavour

endeavour to set this Question in as clear a Light as the thing will admit of.

I THINK it is evident beyond all Dispute, both from Scripture and the earliest Writings of the Church, that the Apostles, after our Saviour's Death, by Authority committed to them, constituted an Order of Men, to govern and take Care of the Church, and to ordain inferior Ministers in every Place.

IT is no less evident, that this Order has been continued down in a long uninterrupted Succession to the present Time, and in all Probability may be continued down till Time shall be no more.

FROM this *Apostolical Institution*, our Clergy desirous to persuade the World that they have something in them of so Divine a Nature, as in an especial Manner distinguishes them from the rest of Mankind, draw this pleasant Inference in favour of themselves; *viz.* That *Episcopal Ordination is essential to the Church of Christ, that without it the pure Word of God cannot be preached, nor the Sacraments duly administred*, and consequently that there are no true Churches upon Earth, but those of *England and Rome*.

C W H E T H E R

WHETHER these Tenets be consistent with Christian Charity or no, that Charity *which believeth all Things, hopeth all Things, that Charity which judgeth not lest it be judged*, I shall not now enquire. I shall just observe by the way, that in a Church reform'd and establish'd by Law as ours is, under the Episcopal Oeconomy, 'tis an Institution absolutely necessary for the Call of such as are to be set apart for the Administration of sacred things, an Institution laudable and excellent in itself, and admirably adapted for the Conservation of Peace, Decency, and Order. But that 'tis essential to a Christian Church is not so easily granted.

IF Episcopal Ordination be an essential Call to the Ministry of the Gospel; it must be so upon one of the following Accounts. Either

1. As it was instituted by the Apostles for a positive and perpetual Ordinance. Or,

2. As

2. As it conveys to those, upon whom it is conferr'd, some necessary Requisite for the Work of the Gospel.

As to the first, That it was instituted by the Apostles for a positive and perpetual Ordinance,

I SHALL beg leave to observe,

THAT as whatever is instituted by the Apostles for a positive and perpetual Ordinance, must be a necessary and indispensable Term of Salvation; so 'tis inconsistent with the Goodness of God, to hide and obscure such Ordinances in Darkness and Ambiguities, which are of such vast Importance to the eternal State of all Mankind. As long as our *God is a good and gracious God, full of Mercy and Compassion*, he cannot but make every Thing that concerns the everlasting Happiness of our Souls, clear, obvious, and indisputable. But that this concerning Episcopal Ordination is not so, I leave its most bigotted Patrons to judge. The present State of the Church of *Scotland*, of the reformed Churches abroad, and of the modern Dissenters in *England* is an

incontestable Evidence of this. 'Tis indeed a reasonable Inference, that because the Apostles instituted this Ordinance, and the Primitive Churches rigorously observ'd it, and consequently that at that Time it was the best and most advantageous Institution for the Church, therefore Circumstances remaining the same, that is, as long as it continues the best apparent Institution, it ought to be inviolably and religiously maintained. But to say that because the Apostles instituted an Ordinance, which was the best for the Church at the Time of its Institution, therefore that Ordinance is to be observed even when Circumstances are such that 'tis the worst and most detrimental Ordinance the Church can have, is an Argument only worthy of the *Hickes's* and *Leslies* of the Age.

AND as certainly as the Tempers of all Men and Times are not the same, so certainly could not the Apostles design, that an Institution adapted to particular Tempers and Times, should to all Tempers and at all Times ever remain the same.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, from the supposed Perpetuity of this Institution, a Consequence will naturally result, which will overturn the Foundation of all Civil Governments; the Destruction of which, we are sure, the Apostles could never design. For as it implies an entire Independence of the State, and is a discretionary Act of the Bishop, independent too himself (for a divine Institution is not cognizable by the Civil Power) it follows that the Government can exact no legal Security for the Behaviour of the Clergy, but what they themselves are pleased to give; that it can impose no *Oaths*, *Subscriptions*, nor *Declarations* upon them, nor can controul them in the full Exercise of their Function, in what manner they shall judge convenient: Consequently they are not restrained by any legal Ties, from secret Treason, or open Rebellion: No Civil Deprivation can stop their Mouths; their Office and Character extends over all Men, and to all Nations, and submits to no Authority upon Earth.

THIS is indeed to divide a Kingdom against itself, to erect *Imperium in imperio* with a Witness, to reduce Civil Societies

cieties into a State of Nature, to refuse *Tribute, to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Honour to whom Honour*; this is to dispense with *every Souls being subject to the higher Powers*, to lay the Honour of Majesty in the Dust, to *despise Dominions and speak Evil of Dignities.*

I KNOW 'tis a Position of Dean *Hickes**, That *no Doctrine is to be rejected for the Severity of its Consequences.* But to make this Position true, it is necessary that the Doctrine from which such Consequences result should first be proved; for when the pretended Doctrine is uncertain, and equally probable of each side, the Severity of its Consequences is the greatest Presumption against it; but when the Consequences are such, that they absolutely destroy other, even self-evident, Doctrines, that pretended Doctrine must of Course fall to the Ground.

THUS is it, I think, manifest beyond Contradiction that Episcopal Ordination was not instituted by the Apostles for a positive and perpetual Ordinance.

* *Answer to The Rights of the Christian Church.*

2. THE other Reason, why Episcopal Ordination is supposed an Essential Call to the Ministry, is, that it conveys to those, upon whom it is conferr'd, some necessary Requisite for the Work of the Ministry.

I KNOW no other Requisite for the Work of the Ministry, than Piety and Learning. The first disposes us to be serious, devout, and conscientious in the Discharge of our Duty; the second stores our Minds with useful Knowledge, furnishes us with Materials to dictate, with Elocution to persuade, and with Examples to propose, but does Episcopal Ordination confer either of these upon us! Does Piety or Learning follow the Imposition of Hands? Does either Ignorance or Immorality flee at the Bishop's Approach.

IN the Times of Inspiration indeed and when the Working of Miracles was a necessary Qualification for a Minister of Christ, the Apostles, as Men commissioned by the Holy Spirit, by an immediate Communication of the same Spirit, ordained others to succeed them in the Ministry, which could not be supply'd with-
out

out those extraordinary Helps, and Assistances, which were convey'd to them by the Imposition of Hands,

BUT now that Miracles have fail'd, and Inspiration is no more, what have we to do with extraordinary Helps and Assistances? Can we expect the all-wise God to confer an extraordinary Grace for an ordinary, tho' important, Work?

Do any of us feel any other Motions of the Spirit than a serious and devout Thoughtfulness, for the Work we have undertaken, which is indeed (as all other good Thoughts are) the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit? Do any of us mean any other Motion when we profess ourselves moved by the Holy Ghost at our Ordination? Do we not still find ourselves Men of like Passions with our *Lay-Brethren*, subject to all the Frailties and Infirmities of humane Nature?

NOR do I apprehend, that that Promise of our Lord to his Apostles, *Lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world* *, implies any extraordinary Assistances to be given to the Ministers

* Matth. xxviii. 20.

of the Gospel, or any particular Call to the Ministry; but only, that wherever *two or three are gathered together in our Saviour's Name, there is he in the midst of them.*

THUS does Episcopal Ordination convey nothing to those upon whom 'tis conferr'd as a Requisite for the Work of the Ministry.

So that from what has been said, we may, without any Absurdity, conclude, that tho' Episcopal Ordination be an excellent Institution, 'tis no divine Ordinance, nor essentially necessary to the Christian Church. I know it will be objected that I have the whole Authority of the Primitive Fathers against me, who always speak of Episcopacy as of a Divine Ordinance, of perpetual Obligation.

BUT I shall take very little Pains to confute an Objection, drawn from the Sayings of Persons, in Favour of an Oeconomy they lived under. 'Tis natural for all People to like their own Constitution best, and to speak of it in the most pompous Manner. Besides, why might not they be bias'd by the same pleasing Temptations of Honour and Grandeur,

Grandeur, that we are? Why might not they err out of too furious a Zeal, as some of us have done? But what, if most of those Sayings we quote with so much Triumph, should imply no such Thing as the perpetual Duration of Episcopacy; and no more than that Episcopacy was the settled Oeconomy of the Church at that Time?

I Do not know a more sanguine Expression than that of St Ignatius, *Let no one meddle with any Thing, tho' ever so convenient for the Church without the Bishop**. Suppose this, if you please, to be a Prohibition, that no one take upon himself the Office of a Minister, tho' his Ministry be ever so necessary for the Church, without the Bishop's Ordination: What can it imply but that Episcopal Ordination was at that Time the settled means of *sending Labourers into Christ's Vineyard?*

I KNOW nothing more is implied in that Saying of St Cyprian †, *Farewel Epif-*

* Μὴδεις χωρις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι ποιῆσῃτο ἢ ἀγκόντων εἰς ἡ ἐκκλησίαν. Ig. Ep. ad Smyr. cap. viii.

† Actum est de Episcopatus Vigore, & de Ecclesie gubernandæ sublimè & divinâ Potestate. Ep. ad Corn. 59.

episcopacy, and the sublime and divine Power of governing the Church. And I could shew the same of most of the other Expressions that have been quoted to this purpose, would Time permit, or were it necessary.

To have done then with this Head; what I have before said with relation to Episcopacy, is supported and confirm'd by the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and by our own Oaths and Subscriptions, who have over and over acknowledged the *King's Majesty in all Causes and over all Persons, Ecclesiastical and Civil, to be supreme Governour.* The Proceedings of the Legislature imply an absolute Power to appoint what Rules and Orders in the Church they shall judge most convenient. Such is Episcopal Ordination at this Day; necessary indeed, but only as 'tis the best apparent Institution and the Will of the Legislature,

I COME now
Secondly, To shew wherein the Clergy oppose their Traditions to the Word of God with Relation to their *Au-*
thority.

thority, and that in two Respects,
as they claim,

I. A POWER of making Laws and
Canons.

II. A POWER of authoritative Abso-
lution and Excommunication. But

I. As they claim a Power of making
Laws and Canons.

IN the Infancy of the Church, when
Christianity was confined to Corners, and
Believers were few and inconstant, while
the Princes and Emperors of the World
continued Pagans and Persecutors, the
Heads of the Church had undoubtedly a
Power of making such Rules and Laws,
as were necessary for Decency and Order,
and to confine all, who were admitted in-
to their Society, to the strict Observance
thereof.

LAWs are as necessary for the Church
as the State, when therefore the supreme
Powers would take no Care about the
Church, but only to persecute and annoy
it, 'twas necessary some Laws should be
made

made by those, who were set over it in the Lord: This gave Rise to the *ancient Canons and Apostolical Constitutions*, which have long been so famous in the World. But when Kings and Emperors once became Christians, the Church of course began to incorporate with the State, and the Power of making Laws reverted back again to the old Fountain.

To the Clergy indeed was generally left the Management of such Laws, as concern'd the Church; but it was only by Permission from the Civil Power, and in them the Confirmation, and Execution still rested.

IF indeed the Clergy of any Nation have a Power of making Laws and Canons independent of the Civil Powers, if they can assemble together in Convocation, when and where they think proper, to enquire into Offences and regulate the Church, they are so far from being Subjects, that they are really the *Presidents and Princes* of the Earth; *Kings of temporal Kings*, to whom all Mankind are Subjects. If they can do this, what should hinder them from unthroning Majesty? What should hinder them from

from making Laws contrary to Laws, and overturning Nations at Pleasure? It is a mere Scholastic Quibble to say, that all their Laws and Canons relate only to Spirituals, and that they pretend to no temporal Jurisdiction: For a Sanction of Rewards and Punishments, is essential to every Law; and every external Act, in order to the enforcing a Law, whether it be Exclusion from the Communion, a temporary Penance, or a formal Recantation, is as much a temporal Punishment, as Imprisonment or Death. If they say, their Laws are only about the Spiritual and everlasting good of those committed to their Care; so, I say, are all Laws whatsoever. And if the Civil Power can make as good Laws for this End, as 'tis possible for the Clergy to do; to assert this Power, is to multiply Causes for a single Effect, a monstrous unpolitical Scheme, which in other Cases the Clergy will not allow reasonable. What the Laws of *England* have determined in this Case, I need not mention. But

II. THE Clergy claim further a Power of authoritative Absolution and Excommunication.

By authoritative Absolution and Excommunication, the Clergy sometimes mean an absolute Power of admitting into, or excluding from, the Kingdom of Heaven, whom they think proper; at other Times a Power of admitting them into, or excluding them from, their Society upon Earth, in a judicial way.

IN the former Case, I have shewed before they have no Authority, but what they derive from the Civil Power; as it appears likewise from the Procedure of all our Ecclesiastical Courts.

As to the later, I shall speak to it, in a few Words.

As God has frequently declared in Scripture upon what Conditions Mankind shall be saved or damn'd, it can never be in the Power of any created Being to disappoint his eternal Purposes. Whether the Conditions of Salvation required by God, be performed or no, is known only unto him, and to those as-

sisted

sisted by his divine Inspiration. For which reason the Apostles were endued with a Power of remitting and retaining Sins, as declarative of God's just Judgments, by Virtue of their infallible Knowledge. But would short-sighted Men claim this Power, which only appertains to Infallibility? Would he set himself in the Apostle's stead, with all his Ignorance and Infirmities? Nay rather would not he set himself above, not only the Apostles, but even that God himself, *in whom he lives, moves and has his Being*? Would he wrest the Scepter out of the Almighty's Hand, extort his Prerogative from him, and damn or save, whom he has not damn'd or sav'd?

COULD the hapless Flocks, committed to the Charge of such, be once made to swallow this horrid Delusion, there is nothing wanting to establish the tyrannical Domination of *Rome*; our Revenues would soon pour in Millions upon us, and our Authority rise triumphant above the Powers of the Earth.

WOULD the Clergy be but once so moderate as to mean no more by this than a conditional Absolution and Excommunication,

munication, we would not dispute or refuse it. But then of what Use would such a Power in the Church be? Shall not every honest conscientious Christian, who endeavours to walk *worthy of his Calling, with a lively Faith in God's Mercy, and the Merits of his Saviour,* obtain a full Pardon and Forgiveness of his Sins, without the Priest's Absolution? Or shall not the wicked, without the Thunder of his Excommunication, receive the due Reward of all his Sins!

I SHALL now beg leave to conclude with a Word or two, by way of Advice.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been before said, the Work of the Ministry is doubtless a great and important Charge, and in the Management of which is required the nicest Care and Caution. We are sent to teach and take Care of the wandring Flock of Christ, (*and Wo be unto us if we preach not the Gospel:*) but not to aggrandize ourselves at their Expence, or grow rich upon the Spoils of Superstition. We are appointed the *Stewards of God's Household,* to give his Servants their *Meat in due Season and Measure,*

sure, and if we perform not this Charge as becomes faithful Stewards, our Master has threaten'd *to cut us in Pieces, and to give us our Portion with the Unbelievers.*

LET us then set about the Business, we are appointed to, in good Earnest, not with *Eye-Service*, as Pleasers of ourselves, but as the *Servants of God*. Let us make the Holy Scriptures, the Rule of all our Actions and Labours in the Lord. Let us beware of those false Doctrines and Traditions that have given so much Offence to Religion. They may serve indeed to create a superstitious Awe in the weak unthinking Part of Mankind, but, with all sober and wise Men they only reflect Scorn and Contempt upon ourselves. They will certainly one Day rise up in terrible Judgment against us, for the Mischief we have done with them in the Church, and the Dishonour we have cast upon God. 'Tis this Affectation of Power and Grandeur, has raised us so many Enemies in the World, and gave Occasion to a late attempt upon us, at the Thoughts of which we may yet tremble. Would we change this
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haughty Note in Time, we have yet Friends sufficient left us to stem the Fury of designing Men, and to frustrate all their Endeavours. Would we yet take heed to the Ministry to which we are called, *God, even our own God would give us his Blessing, and happy is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh shall find so doing.* Which, &c.

F I N I S.

August 29. 1731.

N. B. Mr AUSTEN, Bookseller in St Paul's Church-yard, has the intire Collection of MSS. Sermons, of several eminent Clergymen lately deceas'd, left with him to be sold for the Benefit of their Widows; and he likewise gives Notice, that he will buy MSS. Sermons, provided they have never been Transcrib'd.

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*Now I praise you, Brethren, that you remember me in
all Things, and keep the TRADITIONS, as I deli-
vered them to you, 1 Cor. xi. 2.*

*Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the TRA-
DITIONS which ye have been taught, whether by
Word, or our Epistle, 2 Theff. ii. 15.*

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BEING

R E M A R K S

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R E M A R K S

O N

Mr. *BOWMAN*'s

Visitation Sermon, &c.

WITH humble Submission to our learned Preacher, I cannot, but think he opens his Sermon too much like an Empirick in Divinity, in endeavouring to gain the Esteem of the Populace by depreciating that of his own Order. The upstart Retailer of Physick never fails to tell you, that the rest of the Faculty only make Fools of others to enrich themselves; that they pick your Pockets, even at the Expence of your Constitution: But I, says he, am come purely to undeceive you; and were I as sure of losing an Estate, as by my Success I am likely of getting one, would still persevere in this glorious Attempt.

In like Manner our Preacher introduces

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the Weakness of the People, and the Knavery of the Priests, in his second Paragraph: *Priestcraft has generally been reputed the Parent of Superstition, and as it is the undoubted Interest, so has it been the great Design of Priests of all Religions, to inculcate this profitable Delusion.* The Dangers to which Priestcraft (as he calls it) exposes our Civil Constitution, the Reader will see urged in the Sequel of the Sermon (p. 13.); and the exalted Character of a disinterested Preacher in the Preface to it; where, if the Author has rejected the Commission of an Apostle, he has gloriously asserted to himself the Spirit of one: *For the Sake of Truth I am content to face an Inquisition, or to starve in a Dungeon, to be destitute, afflicted, tormented, to wander about in Goat-Skins and Sheep-Skins, to be flay'd with Scourges, or broken on Racks.*

I beg Leave to carry on the Comparison between the Mountebank and Divine one Step farther, because I intend afterwards to follow the Reasoning of the latter without Interruption. The *Itinerant* Physician (the Divine I confess is too well fixt to deserve that Epithet) before he comes to the End of his Speech, too often betrays his Ignorance in
the

the Language of his Faculty. A hard Word misapplied, or wrong translated, lays him open to the Scoff perhaps of some sauntering School-Boy. This unluckily proves to be Mr. *Bowman's* Case. He happens to have one *Greek* Citation in his Sermon: *Timeo Danaos & Dona ferentes. Μηδεις χωρις τῆ ἐπισκόπου τι περισέτω ἢ ἀνημόλιον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,** i. e. *Let no one do any Thing belonging to the Church without the Consent of the Bishop.* Mr. *B.* translates it thus, *Let no one meddle with any Thing, tho' ever so convenient for the Church, without the Bishop.* How he comes to render ἢ ἀνημόλιον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *tho' ever so convenient, &c.* is the Secret I am now going to account for.

Upon peeping into the *Latin* Translation, he finds it, *Nullus sine Episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ CONVENIUNT in Ecclesiam.* Puzzled at the *Latin*, and ignorant of the *Greek*, he first tries the Sentence thus, *Let no one meddle with any Thing that is CONVENIENT for the Church.* But being a great Reasoner, he soon perceived the Nonsense of what he thought the literal Interpretation, of a Prohibition against meddling with any Thing CONVENIENT to another. Well, a

* Ign. Ep. ad Smyrn. Sect. viii.

sanguine Writer requires a sanguine Translator: He throws in two small Words, and out comes the Sentence wonderfully emphatical: *Let no one meddle with any Thing, THO' EVER SO convenient, &c.* Poor Gentleman! I cannot but smile to see the great *Enquirer into the Nature of a Christian Church*, thus puzzled to construe a Sentence plain in *Latin*, and still plainer in *Greek*. Let me advise him, before he proceeds farther in his Studies about Church Affairs, to undergo a little longer School-Discipline.

The following Citation from *St. Cyprian**, gives us too evident Proofs that his former Master did not do him Justice: *Actum est de Episcopatus vigore & de Ecclesiæ SUBLIME & divinâ potestate.* I was always taught at School, that Adjectives that make *is* and *e* in the Nominative, make *i* only, in the Ablative. Accordingly, I find it *sublimi* in the *Oxford* Edition; I suppose it is so in all others. I should have imputed this Mistake to the Printer, but after five Impressions, printed, as I understand, under the Nose of the Author, I leave the Reader to judge which of the two are culpable.

When I reflect upon the Ignorance the

* Ep. ad Corn. 59.

Author

Author has here betrayed in the only two Specimens he has given us of his Learning, and remember the Apostolical Colours he puts on in the Preface, it reminds me of a Story, which, I think, is attributed to *Erasmus*, who hearing an insignificant Preacher describing the Apostles as simple illiterate Men, in a Style that shew'd too much his own Simplicity, broke out into this Exclamation, *En virum vere Apostolicum!*

From this Author's Learning, let us proceed to his Reasoning. The Design of his Discourse is to *shew wherein the Clergy of this Nation oppose their vain and human Traditions to the divine Word of God. And first with relation to their Mission.* Under this Head, he goes so far Hand in Hand with all the Divines of our Church, that 'tis Pity he should leave good Company with so much Warmth at last. He allows (p. 8.) that *some Mission is absolutely necessary: That (p. 9.) the Apostles, after our Saviour's Death, by Authority committed to them, constituted an Order of Men, to govern and take Care of the Church, and to ordain inferior Ministers in every Place: That this Order has been continued down in a long uninterrupted Succession to the present*

sent Time, and in all Probability may be continued down till Time shall be no more: Lastly, That *Episcopacy is an Institution laudable and excellent in it self, and admirably adapted for the Conservation of Peace, Decency, and Order.* What would any of us wish for more? Oh, the young Gentleman will shew you, that how high soever he lets Episcopacy soar, he holds it, like his Kite, by a String, and will level it for you presently. For (it seems) to conclude from these specious Premises, that this Ordinance *is to be observed even when Circumstances are such, that 'tis the worst and most detrimental Ordinance the Church can have, is an Argument only worthy of the Hickeys and Leslie's of the Age.* A sudden Fall indeed! Does this Author insinuate that Circumstances *are now* such, that they have been, or that they may be such? If he disputes only about a Possibility, 'tis a little unjust to fall so hard upon two Gentlemen who cannot now appear for themselves, on account of a Case that in all Probability will never appear against them. For surely if Episcopacy is *admirably adapted for the Conservation of Peace,* and has been found by Experience to agree with all Forms
of

of Governments from the first Institution of a Church, we may still hope it will never deserve this Character of being the *worst and most detrimental Ordinance* that can be.

We deny not but Animosities and Tumults have arisen among Bishops; but we say, they were owing to the Faults of the Men, not of the Institution. And we have Reason to think so, because all Forms of Government are subject to them. Dr. *Maurice* * has shewn, that whatever Calamities have befallen Episcopal Churches, the Dissenting ones have been equally liable to the same. This Author knows that it has been often urged, That the prudential Reasons for which our Saviour or his Apostles instituted Episcopacy, will always subsist, and plead for the Necessity of its Perpetuity. But, it seems, the Perpetuity of it is frequently established upon a wrong Foundation. For,

(P. 9.) *From this Apostolical Institution our Clergy desirous to persuade the World that they have something in them of so divine a Nature, as in an especial Manner distinguishes them from the rest of Mankind, draw*

* Answer to Mr. Baxter's Church History, p. 367, &c.

this pleasant Inference in favour of themselves; viz. That Episcopal Ordination is essential to the Church of Christ; that without it the pure Word of God cannot be preached, nor the Sacraments duly administred, and consequently that there are no true Churches upon Earth, but those of England and Rome.

From this last Consequence one more *Inference* will be drawn, not so *pleasant* as some others to this Author, *viz.* That the *Enquirer into the Nature of a Christian Church* knows less of the History of it, than he would have the World imagine. I will prove it in the Words of an Author, whom he has made free with by Name, but whom he likewise is less acquainted with, than he would make us believe he is. The Passage being somewhat remarkable, I will give it at Length*.

“ The whole *Christian World*, as it always has been, so at this present is episcopal, except a few *Dissenters*, who in less than two hundred Years last past, have arisen like a Wart upon the Face of the *Western Church*: For little more Propor-

* *Leslie's Discourse* shewing who they are that are now qualified to administer Baptism, &c. Sect IV.

" tion do our *Dissenters* here, the *Hugonots*
 " in *France*, the *Presbyterians* in *Holland*,
 " *Geneva*, and thereabouts, bear to the
 " whole Body of the *Latin* Church, which
 " is all Episcopal. But if you compare them
 " with the Catholick Church all over the
 " World, which is all Episcopal, they will not
 " appear so big as a Mole. 2. If our *Dissenters*
 " think it much that the Church of *Rome*
 " should be reckon'd in the List against them,
 " we will be content to leave them out: Nay
 " more, if we should give them all those Chur-
 " ches which own the Supremacy of *Rome* to
 " be join'd with them, (as they are the nearest
 " to them) it will be so far from casting the
 " Balance on their Side, that the other Epis-
 " copal Churches will by far out-number
 " them both.

" Let us then, to these *Dissenters* against
 " Episcopacy, add the Churches of *Italy* and
 " *Spain* entire, with the Popish Part of *Ger-*
 " *many*, *France*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*, (I
 " think they have no more to reckon upon.)
 " Against these we produce the vast Empire
 " of *Russia* (which is greater in Extent than
 " all these Popish Countries before-named)
 " *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and
 " all the *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*,

“ which will out-number both the *Papists*
 “ and *Presbyterians* before-mention'd. And
 “ this Comparison is only made as to the *La-*
 “ *tin* Church: But then we have all the
 “ rest of the *Christian* World wholly on the
 “ Episcopal Side, against both the Supre-
 “ macy of *Rome* and Parity of the *Presby-*
 “ *terians*: The whole *Greek* Church, the
 “ *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Mingrelians*, *Ja-*
 “ *cobites*, the *Christians* of *St. Thomas*, and
 “ *St. John*, in the *East-Indies*, and other
 “ oriental Churches. Then in *Africa*, the
 “ *Copties* in *Egypt* and great Empire of the
 “ *Abyssins* in *Ethiopia*. These all are Epif-
 “ copal, and never own'd the Supremacy of
 “ *Rome*, and over-reckon, out of Sight,
 “ all that disown Episcopacy, and all that
 “ own the Supremacy of *Rome* with them.

As to our Want of *Christian Charity* (p. 10.)
 for those who do not enjoy the Benefit
 of an Episcopal Ministry, it has been often
 answer'd, that we judge them not; to their
 own Master they must stand or fall. We
 doubt not but a merciful God will make Al-
 lowances for Cases of Necessity, and even
 invincible Prejudices. These are Proofs of our
Charity, which believeth all Things, hopeth
all Things. But Charity does not, cannot
 make

make me disbelieve my own Title to an Estate, because my Neighbour cannot produce as good an one. Nor can I think a good Title less requisite, because he wants it.

The Author proceeds to confute this *pleasant Inference*, that Episcopal Ordination is essential to the Church, because it is an Apostolical Institution. He argues thus. If it is essential because an Apostolical Institution, then it must be so, because it is an Apostolical Institution designed to be *positive and perpetual*, (p. 11.) But this is what he denies. So that you see the Dispute at last turns upon *Principles*, not upon *Inferences*, which this Gentleman is so desirous of being *pleasant* with; for all allow that there were some Apostolical Institutions, which were only temporary. That Episcopacy was not designed to be perpetual, the Author argues, *Because a God full of Mercy and Compassion cannot but make every Thing that concerns the everlasting Happiness of our Souls clear and obvious. But that this [Thing!] concerning Episcopal Ordination is not so, I leave its bigotted Patrons to judge. The present State of the Church of Scotland, of the reformed Churches abroad, and of the modern Dissen-*

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ters in England, is an incontestable Evidence of this.

This is *Des Cartes's* Proof of his own Existence somewhat inverted: *I doubt, therefore I am.* But this Author says, *The Truth of a Proposition is called in Question, therefore it is not true.* If we must disbelieve all Religious Principles, till Mankind are agreed in them; we have nothing to do but to turn *Atheists.*

As *Charity* before obliged us to think that Mankind had not err'd in any of the Essentials of Religion, so now from God's Mercy we are to conclude that they cannot err. He cannot but make every Thing that concerns the everlasting Happiness of our Souls, clear, obvious and INDISPUTABLE. Objects appear plain, according to the different Texture of Mens Eyes. The Necessity of Infant Baptism is not clearly enough revealed to the *Anabaptists*, of neither Sacraments to the *Quakers*, and Revelation in general is disbelieved by those Gentlemen who have furnished our Author with this Argument. Will he therefore arraign God's Mercy; or will he conclude, as his Teachers have done, that because there are Disputes about the Sense of a

Reve-

Revelation, therefore God has made none? One of these are the inevitable Consequences of his Assertion. I, for my Part, tremble at these Truths, which appear in so *amiable a Light* to others.

But I am surpriz'd to think this Gentleman should not see the Weakness of this whole Argument from his own Concessions. He allows Episcopacy to be an *Apostolical Institution*, because it appears to him *evident from Scripture* to be so (see p. 9, & 12). Now this very Point not one in six Hundred of the *reformed Churches abroad, or the modern Dissenters in England*, will allow him, most of whom maintain that no Bishop is described in Scripture but *Antichrist*. Now where are the Effects of our Author's great *Charity*, I am sorry I must add, *God's Mercy*; neither of which, we see, have wrought between him and his Brethren a Coalition?

There's nothing more in the Author's Argument, unless he expects I should answer his Appeal to the most *bigotted Patrons* of Episcopacy, and determine whether the Perpetuity of it is clearly express'd in Scripture. I answer, that tho' it is not express'd, it is sufficiently implied in it. And I think our Author's Concessions go a great
Way

Way to prove it so. If some Kind of *Mis-*
sion is absolutely necessary, 'tis highly proba-
 ble our Saviour or his Apostles appointed
 one: If Episcopacy in particular is clearly
 describ'd in Scripture, as Bishop *Potter* * has
 excellently proved; and this Gentleman does
 not deny: If no good Reason can be pro-
 duc'd, why it should not be perpetual, as
 this Gentleman has not produced one: If
 those who were contemporary with the Apo-
 stles have mention'd it as design'd to be per-
 petual; and the *Christian* Church in all Pla-
 ces for fifteen hundred Years has thought her
 self obliged to adhere to it; this to me is Ar-
 gument sufficient for the Necessity of its Con-
 tinuance. However, I beg Leave to con-
 firm this concurrent Proof in the Words of
 the present Archbishop of *Tuam* †. He lays
 down this Rule,

“ That *the positive Laws and Institutions*
 “ *of our Saviour Jesus Christ are always to*
 “ *be interpreted according to the universal*
 “ *and receiv'd Practise of the Apostles.* Nor
 “ is this any more than what for ever takes
 “ place in all Kingdoms, Commonwealths,

* Ch. Gov. c. III.

† *Divine Authority of Church Government, &c.* in a Ser-
 mon preach'd at the Consecration of *Dr. Peter Brown*, p. 26.

" and Communities throughout the World,
 " Let us suppose (for Example) that a Case
 " arises upon a Statute of the Land (as many
 " needs must) that the *express Letter of the*
 " *Law* does not reach to, and therefore,
 " alone, cannot determine: If in such a Case
 " as this, it sufficiently appears, that, imme-
 " diately from and after the making of that
 " Law, the *universal and allowed Practice*,
 " and that *in pursuance of the Law it self*,
 " has constantly been in such a certain Man-
 " ner; this *same Practice* shall be reckoned
 " as an Authentick Interpretation, or rather
 " as a *Part* of the Law, and equally obli-
 " gatory with the *Letter* of it. And this
 " with all the Reason that may be: For
 " whenever a Law is made; (especially by a
 " Legislator that is wise and good) it is al-
 " ways to be supposed, that they with whom
 " the Execution of this Law is first entrusted
 " (and who therefore are to be an Example
 " to those that are to come after) have suffi-
 " cient Instruction and Information given them
 " concerning the full Import and Design of
 " what is enacted; and if they in any Thing,
 " relating to that Law, should act otherwise
 " than was intended by the Law it self; it
 " is not to be imagined but the Lawmaker
 C " would

“ would immediately interpose, and not suf-
 “ fer his Intention, in making the Law, to
 “ be from the very Beginning so abused or
 “ perverted. Thus, I say, the Matter stands
 “ with Relation to all worldly Communities;
 “ and that the same Rule will even much
 “ more strongly hold in the *Christian Church*,
 “ will, I think, easily be granted, if we con-
 “ sider, that the Apostles not only were, as
 “ Judges and Magistrates in a Civil State, en-
 “ trusted with the Execution of the Laws
 “ and Institutions of our Blessed Saviour;
 “ but also had herein such constant, certain,
 “ and even infallible Assistance from the Holy
 “ Ghost (who *guided them into all Truth*,
 “ (John xvi. 13.) *taught them all Things, and*
 “ *brought all Things to their Remembrance,*
 “ *whatsoever Christ had said unto them* (ch.
 “ xiv. 26.) as put them beyond all Possibility
 “ of Error; to which even the best Magi-
 “ strates, and most learned Judges, in world-
 “ ly Communities, are often subject.

The learned Author proceeds to confirm
 this Proof, by observing that in many other
 Instances we can only learn the Intention of
 the Apostles from the Practice of the primi-
 tive Church. Thus there's no express Com-
 mand for abrogating the *Jewish Sabbath*,
 and

and setting apart the *Christian Sunday* instead of it: For the Laity, at least for the Women's partaking of the Eucharist. Dr. *Hickes* * has likewise observed these and other Particulars. But I would not trouble this Gentleman too much with invidious Names.

Another Reason alledged, why Episcopacy was not design'd for a perpetual Ordinance, is, (p. 13.) because *from the supposed Perpetuity of it a Consequence will naturally result, which will overturn the Foundation of all Civil Governments; the Destruction of which we are sure the Apostles could never design.* For as *IT* implies an entire Independence of the State, and is a discretionary ACT of the Bishop, independent too himself (for a divine Institution is not cognizable by the Civil Power) it follows that the Government can exact no legal Security for the Behaviour of the Clergy, but what they themselves are pleased to give.

The Author here design'd, I suppose, to represent a Confusion between the Church and the State, and the Words most elegantly echo to the Sense. The *Institution* of Episcopacy is said to be a discretionary ACT

* *Christian Priesthood*, p. 7.

of a Bishop, who is said to be *independent* in his Person; and the PERSON is said to be *independent*, because the INSTITUTION of his Office is *not cognizable by the Civil Power*. The Consequence the Author draws from hence, that the Government can impose *no Oaths, Subscriptions, nor Declarations*, is confuted by every Day's Experience. The Objection, I suppose, that the Author aimed at is, That Bishops having in themselves an inherent Power of ordaining, they may carry on, if they please, a Succession of their own Order in Opposition to the State. Allow this Objection all the Force imaginable, it makes no more against the Perpetuity of Episcopacy, than of Presbytery or any other Mission whatsoever, or even of Christianity it self. Fix a Church under what Form of Government you please, the sincere Members of it will think themselves obliged to continue that Church, tho' the State should use its utmost Endeavours to destroy it. In ordinary Cases the Church may, for prudential Reasons, restrain her self from exercising many of her inherent Powers: Or (if this Gentleman will insist upon my so speaking) the Supreme Magistrate has a *Right* to impose such a Restraint: Thus in *England*

the Power of nominating Bishops, of ratifying Canons, &c. belongs to the King. But no one can be so absurd as to think that the Church, (be it what or where you will, any religious Society whatsoever) would not exercise these Powers independently of the Prince, when she found he made use of them to her Destruction. Disputes may have arisen about the Limits within which she is ordinarily restrained, or *ought* to be so; and Men have differ'd about the Circumstances that oblige her to break through them, and to act according to her original Independency: But still, I say, all allow, Independency is at last the Church's essential Prerogative; and I therefore urge, that this Argument against the Perpetuity of Episcopacy, drawn from a possible Inconvenience to the State, may as well be urged against the Perpetuity of any Church, any Religion, even of Christianity in general: *No Civil Deprivation [no Restraint] can stop its Mouth, its Character extends over all its Members, and to all Nations, and submits [to be confined] by no Authority upon Earth.* Another Reason why Episcopal Ordination is supposed an essential Call to the Ministry, is, that it conveys to those upon whom it is conferr'd some necessary Requisite for the

Work

Work of the Ministry. I pass over the Absurdity of reckoning *Ordination a Call.* The Author's Answer to this is, *that he knows no other Requisite for the Work of the Ministry, than Piety and Learning.* I thought he had allowed (p. 8.) *That some kind of MISSION was absolutely necessary.* Yes, he will tell me, *for the Sake of Order, and to avoid Confusion.* On whatever Account it is allowed, I know not how to reconcile the Difference, between *absolutely necessary*, which it is granted to be in one Place, and a *necessary Requisite*, which it is denied to be in the other.

To proceed, This Gentleman, I cannot but observe, is a mighty *prudential* Interpreter. If he can but discover the Reason of an Institution, it presently removes the Divinity of it: He seems to invert the Poet's Maxim, and reads in his Manuscript,

Nullum Numen adest, si sit PRUDENTIA.

'Tis sufficient for me that we are told in express Terms, in Scripture*, *That no Man taketh this Honour of being an Officer in God's Church to himself, but only he can*

* Heb. v. 4, 5.

claim it, *who is called and commissioned by God, as was Aaron.* Nay, that even our Lord, who was God as well as Man, *glorified not himself to be made an High-Priest, but he who said unto him, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* Accordingly we find in the Gospels, that he lived privately, and assumed no Part of that Office, which he came into the World to execute, till he had first been solemnly anointed to it by the Descent of the Holy Ghost*. I should think after so great an Example, our Author might allow some other Requisite for the Work of the Ministry, besides Piety and Learning. He plumes himself, no doubt, upon his imagined Possession of both these Qualifications, and he reasonably thinks there's only wanting the Will of the State to make the Vicar of *Dewsbury* equal to any Spiritual Vicar in *Christendom*. You shall presently see him display his Gifts: *The first disposes us to be serious, devout, and conscientious, in the Discharge of our Duty; the second stores our Minds with useful Knowledge, furnishes us with Materials to dictate, with Elocution to persuade, and with Examples to propose.— But, my Bre-*

* See Potter on Church Gov. p. 216, & 136.

thren,

thren, does *Episcopal Ordination* confer either of these? Allow him *Materials to dictate* in the Church; (according to his own beautiful Expression) he needs no Authority for that Purpose. But as large as this Gentleman's Principles are, I don't know any Church that would unite with him upon them. The *Quakers*, to whom he comes the nearest upon this Head, tho' they would allow his *Piety* a necessary Requisite for *the Work of the Ministry*, (as he and they both call it) yet would reject his *Learning*. Mr. H—y, who sets up for a Church himself, and is the next most likely to join him, tho' he is charmed with *Materials to dictate*, *Elocution to persuade*, &c. yet insists not on *Piety* without some Terms of Abatement. I must leave our Author then, to stand alone, unless he is pleas'd to join with those Gentlemen from whom he has borrow'd some Hints in the Prosecution of this Argument. With the Reader's Leave, I will once more return to it.

The Author was to shew that no *necessary Requisite*, &c. was convey'd by Ordination. How does he do this? Why, by alledging that it conveys no *extraordinary Helps and Assistances*, (p. 16.) Has the Church of
England,

England, or any one of her Members ever said, or thought it did? Was his Design then to dress up her Principles in odious Colours; only to make her contemptible to her Enemies? Well, but how does he prove that it does not convey even *extraordinary Assistances*? Because the Clergy find themselves *Men of like Passions with their Lay-Brethren, subject to all the Frailties and Infirmities of human Nature.* But if this Author would look into his good Friend Dr. *Hickes's* Sermon, called *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised*, he will there see that even Supernatural Gifts did not, in the Apostolical Age, exempt the Possessors of them from human Passions or Frailties, but often made them more liable to both, by laying them under Temptations to Pride, Envy, Contention; and the like; that wicked Instruments often had them in great Abundance; and that therefore *Discerning of Spirits**, as it was necessary for the Primitive Church, so is expressly said to be one of the Gifts granted to it.

Lastly, If the Author intends to prove that Ordination conveys no ordinary Grace, such as is requisite for an ordinary, tho' important Work, I may venture to say, he has proved

* 1 Cor. xii. 4.

nothing to the contrary; for he only argues, as the *Quakers* and *Infidels* do against both Sacraments, from the Effects not being always visible. But the Wit is applicable, if not the Argument; and that receives a double Sting from the Character of the Speaker. Hear then how — *Truths, not DIVINE! come mended from his Tongue. Does Piety or Learning* (says he) *follow the Imposition of Hands? Does either Ignorance or Immorality flee at the Bishop's Approach?* No, and much less, I suppose, at an Archdeacon's Visitation.

But because I am desirous not only of silencing this Gentleman, but convincing him, I will answer all the Cavils he or his Shop of Eloquence can furnish out upon this Head, in the Words of the *judicious* Author of *Ecclesiastical Polity* * : A Title, which I wish this Writer may merit by the Work he is engaged in of a like Nature.

“ A Thing much stumbled at in the Manner of giving Orders, is our using those memorable Words, of our Lord and Saviour *Christ, Receive the Holy Ghost*. The *Holy Ghost*, they say, we cannot give, and therefore we *foolishly* bid them receive it. — The *Holy Ghost* may be used to signify

* *Ecc. Pol. Book V. Sect. 77.*

“ not the Person alone, but the Gift of the
 “ *Holy Ghost*; and we know that Spiritual
 “ Gifts are not only Abilities to do Things
 “ miraculous, as to speak with Tongues which
 “ were never taught us, to cure Diseases
 “ without Art, and such like; but also that
 “ the very AUTHORITY and POWER which
 “ is given Men in the Church to be Mini-
 “ sters of Holy Things, this is contained
 “ within the Number of those Gifts whereof
 “ the *Holy Ghost* is Author; and therefore
 “ he which giveth this Power may say, with-
 “ out Absurdity or Folly, *Receive the Holy*
 “ *Ghost*, such Power as the Spirit of *Christ*
 “ hath endued his Church withal, such Pow-
 “ er as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor
 “ *Cæsar* on Earth, can give. — Our Saviour
 “ after his Resurrection from the Dead, gave
 “ his Apostles their Commission, saying, *All*
 “ *Power is given me in Heaven and in*
 “ *Earth: Go therefore and teach all Nations,*
 “ *baptizing them in the Name of the Father,*
 “ *and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching*
 “ *them to observe all Things whatsoever I*
 “ *have commanded you**. In Sum, *As my*
 “ *Father sent me, so send I you.* Where-
 “ unto St. *John* doth add farther, that *Ha-*

* Matt. xxviii. 18.

“ *ving thus spoken, he breathed on them and*
 “ *said, Receive the Holy Ghost* †. By which
 “ Words he must of Likelyhood understand
 “ some Gift of the Spirit, which was present-
 “ ly at that Time bestowed upon them, as
 “ both the Speech of actual Delivery in say-
 “ ing *Receive*, and the visible Sign thereof, his
 “ Breathing, did shew. Absurd it were to
 “ imagine our Saviour did, both to the Ear,
 “ and also to the Eye, express a real Donation,
 “ and they at that Time receive nothing. It
 “ resteth then, that we search what special
 “ Grace they did at that Time receive.
 “ Touching miraculous Power of the Spirit,
 “ most apparent it is, that as then they re-
 “ ceived it not, but the Promise thereof was
 “ to be shortly after performed. The Words
 “ of *St. Luke* concerning that Power, are
 “ therefore set down with Signification of the
 “ Time to come, *Behold I WILL send* the Pro-
 “ mise of my Father upon you, but tarry
 “ you in the City of *Jerusalem*, until ye be
 “ endued with Power from on high. Where-
 “ fore, undoubtedly, it was some other Effect
 “ of the Spirit, the *Holy Ghost* in some other
 “ Kind, which our Saviour did then bestow.
 “ What other likelier than that which him-

† John xx. 21.

“ self doth mention, as it should seem of
“ Purpose to take away all ambiguous Con-
“ structions, and to declare that the *Holy*
“ *Ghost* which he then gave, was a holy and
“ ghostly AUTHORITY, Authority over the
“ Souls of Men?

By this Time, I hope, the Author will allow he receiv'd some other Effects of the *Holy Ghost*, at his Ordination, than what he had before it, how strongly soever he was moved to undertake the holy Function. What has been urged, will be a sufficient Answer to the Author's Interpretation of Scripture, which I imagine to be much below a *Geneva* Comment, tho' I cannot fully find out his Meaning. *Nor do I apprehend*, says he, (p. 16.) *that the Promise of our Lord to his Apostles, Lo I am with you always to the End of the World, implies any EXTRAORDINARY Assis-* tances to be given to the Ministers of the Gospel, or any particular Call to the Ministry; *but only, that wherever two or three are gathered together in our Saviour's Name, there is he in the Midst of them.* So far are the present Ministers of the Gospel from interpreting this Text as conveying any *extraordinary Assis-* tances, that they don't think those which the Apostles enjoy'd are implied in it;
and

and for this plain Reason, because whatever the Apostles receiv'd by virtue of this Promise, was to continue *even to the End of the World*. If by a *particular Call*, this Author means a *particular Commission*, 'tis then indeed urged, that as the Apostles receiv'd one in the former Verse, so here there is a Promise of the Perpetuity of it. He allows (p. 9.) the Apostles had a Commission, and that it was convey'd to others; for they constituted an Order of Men, and this Order of Men were constituted to ordain others: Upon what Text he founds this Commission, I leave him to determine. When he says there's no more implied by the former Text, than the latter, he should have given us his Interpretation of it; for if he will submit to that which is generally received, great Part of his Sermon is totally overthrown.

We come now (p. 17.) to the Authority of the Fathers, who always speak of Episcopacy, as of a *Divine Ordinance, of perpetual Obligation*. But they alas! are old Fellows, and an Author that knows any Thing of Mankind, will immediately baffle an Army of such Evidences. *Is it not natural for all People to like their own Constitution best? And why might they not err, out of too furious*

rious a Zeal, as some of us have done? I am glad this Author can think of some to keep them in Countenance. I would fain flatter my self he means our *Dissenting Brethren*, against whom, if he will give me Leave to offer these Arguments, I may venture to say, they are at least equally applicable: For may we not thus argue, When People have thrown off the Encroachments of any Power, they often run to the opposite Extreme, and are afraid of the very Shadow of it. And when a Form of Government is once settled, it is natural for all the Members of it, to like it best. I would mention *too furious a Zeal*, but I am sensible that is an invidious Topick. The *pleasing Temptations of Honour and Grandeur*, I should think, more than counterbalanced by the Dangers to which the Episcopal Office exposed the Primitive Fathers. An Office attended with such severe Perquisites as theirs, required all our Author's Apostolical Spirit to hold it.

But what, after all, if the Sayings of the Fathers should imply no such Thing as the perpetual Duration of Episcopacy? (p. 18.) I answer, They all of them speak of a Bishop as essential to the Being of a Church, and the
Principle

Principle of Unity under *Christ*. Passages of this Nature are so numerous, that this Author, when he grows somewhat cooler, cannot miss of them.

He concludes, with telling us, that what he has offer'd is *supported and confirm'd by the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and by our own Oaths and Subscriptions, who have acknowledged the King's Majesty supreme. As supreme as he is*, he has declared he has not the Power of *ministring either God's Word, or the Sacraments*. And yet this Author has advanced Doctrines from whence he might easily claim it. I leave him the Hopes of enjoying a great Share of his Blessing.

Upon the whole, as *awakening* a Preacher, as Mr. *Bowman* would make us believe he is by his Preface, I think I have shewn he sometimes *nods* emphatically.

F I N I S.

*The Behaviour of the Cl—gy, as well as
their Traditions, destructive of Religion.*

Or, A Succinct

375-9

HISTORY

OF

PRIESTCRAFT,

Throughout all AGES.

CONTAINING,

A general Introduction of the Institution of all pretended Revelations. — Remarks on *Priestcraft* amongst the *Greeks*: The strange Superstition of that learned People, proved to be the Ruin of *Athens*. — Remarks on *Roman Priestcraft*, their *Augurs*, *Pontiffs*, &c. — An Account of the *Bramins*, *Bonzées*, *Talapoins*, and other Eastern Priests: with a curious History of the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces* among the *Jews*. — *Popish Priestcraft* unveil'd, particularly with regard to our own Island.

Concluding with

The Secret Intrigues of the GOWN with all Parties from the Reformation to the *Vicars Ap---cy*.

Dedicated to the Most Worthy Sect of Free-thinkers.

That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Priests and Deacons, with true Knowledge and Understanding of thy Word; and that both by their PREACHING and LIVING they may set it forth and shew it accordingly. Liturgy of the Ch. of England.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *A. Dodd*, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar; *E. Cook*, under the Royal Exchange; *J. Chrichley*, at Charing Cross; and *J. Jolyffe*, in St. James's Street. 1731. [Price 1s.]

The History of the City of London
from the Foundation to the Present Time

HISTORY

PREFACE

It is a great pleasure to me to see this History of London printed and published. I have been many years employed in the study of the History of this City, and I have been assisted by several learned Men, who have helped me to collect and digest the Materials. I have also been assisted by several Antiquaries, who have helped me to collect and digest the Materials. I have also been assisted by several Antiquaries, who have helped me to collect and digest the Materials.

The first Edition of this History was published in 1709, and it has since been reprinted several times. It is now published in a new Edition, which is more complete and more accurate than any former Edition.

I have added several new Chapters, which contain the History of the City of London from 1709 to the present Time. I have also added several new Plates, which contain the most beautiful Views of the City of London.

I have also added several new Engravings, which contain the most beautiful Views of the City of London. I have also added several new Engravings, which contain the most beautiful Views of the City of London.

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TO THE
Most Wise and Excellent *Sect*
OF
FREE - THINKERS.

Worthy SIRs,



S the following Pages contain a full and exact Relation of that continual Struggle which has in all Ages been supported by your Illustrious Society, against *Enthusiasm, Superstition, and Priestcraft*; I knew not where so properly to dedicate them on their Publication, as to those for whose sake they were written: taking occasion at the same time, to

DEDICATION.

congratulate You on the flourishing State of your Opinions, to which even Priests themselves, through the Love of Fame or of Truth, are come over: For what other Ends could induce the pious and Learned T--l, W--n, B-w--n, to forsake all hopes of Preferment, and openly declare against the Religion of their Fathers and their Country? What tho' there may remain, or rather seem to remain, some little Differences among them, concerning a *Miracle* or *Fig-Tree*? yet as long as they all join zealously in the good old Cause, of asserting Liberty, and exposing the Clergy; they ought each to preserve a just Share of Applause, as they ever shall of Esteem, in the Breast of,

Et c.





THE
E P I S T L E
TO THE
R E A D E R.



Though most of our Modern Wits declaim as furiously against Prefaces and Introductions, as our Modern Patriots do against Bribery and Corruption; yet as I take all Books to be a kind of Visits from the Author, to his Readers, methinks it is not amiss, if we make our Honours at coming into the Room. In pursuance of which Maxim, and in order to bespeak your Favour, Courteous Gentlemen, do ye see, I thus

thus scrape ye a Bow, and then to the Business.

It is impossible but ye must have heard of Parson Bowman, and his celebrated Sermon. That Prodigy of Priests, whose Modesty, and Love of Truth, excited him to expose the whole Order: Upon which Account he is esteemed a most excellent Person by Polite People, is likely to be chosen Chaplain to the pious Sect of Free-Thinkers; and to be remembered, as the Society drops off, with twenty Pounds, and a florid Paragraph in their Wills, to convince the World, both of his and their Zeal for Infidelity. Tho' not to conceal Truth, there are some godly Folk, who enquire seriously, if he does not hide a Couple of Cloven Feet under his Gown, take the Thing he calls his Sermon for a Libel, both on Scripture and Clergy, and are actually in some Doubt, whether he be only the Forerunner of Antichrist, or the Man of Sin himself. But it has deservedly render'd him famous, and thereby answered the Doctor's End; it has even enobled the

Place

To the READER. iii

Place he dwells in; and Dewsberry shall be recorded for its Vicar, unto the World's End. Nay, it has done yet more, it has revived Parson Betty's forgotten Sermon in Praise of the Priesthood, and raised that zealous Divine from his Grave, to dispute with our Doctor on the Merit of their respective Declamations, which stand like a Pair of Chandlers Scales, one as much above the Horizon of Reason, as t'other below it.

Now let which will be in the right, do ye mark me, it has made all the Town ring with Controversy, and contributed much to the Benefit of those worthy Members of the Republick of Letters, the Stationers and Booksellers of London, and Westminster. But having carefully observed, that both Parsons, to shew their Learning, have begun with ransacking the most distant Nations, and appealing to the most early Ages, for the Confirmation of their Opinions; that Priests have been fetch'd out of the East-Indies by one, and Druids and Culdees raked out of their Graves
after

iv To the READER.

*after more than a Thousand Years Rest by
t'other; I thought it might be of prodigious
Service, especially to such Beaus as would
shew their Parts upon this Subject, to give
them a Succinct History of the Free-Think-
ers Struggles with Priesthood, through-
out all Ages; including all that can be
said on that popular Topic, the contempt
o' the Clergy; by exposing the Frauds of
their Order, from Dan to Bersheba: So
that binding up my Book, with the Inde-
pendent Whigg, they may make it the
same Complement, as the Parson did my
Lord of L---nd---n; (tho', as some think,
a little at the Expence of his Bible.)*

Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.

*No more I'll buy how ere of Pelf-full,
This single Book's to me a Shelf-full.*

*And on its Strength, venture to argue,
instance, or apply, with the learned st Black-
Coat of them all.*

I sup-

vi To the READER.

might become a Prophecy, and the neglecting
Horace's Rule,

— Sesternere; sacra profanis.

Cost one a Whipping at the Cart's A--se.

Having thus told you the Merits I depend on for your Favour, let me next take notice of some little Slips, you must excuse. In the first place, I must entreat your Pardon, for my now and then talking somewhat gravely; Homer himself you know nodded a little, especially in his Odysses; 'twas a small twang of Madness kept up the Spirit of Lucretius, and his Translator; but as for T--nd, Tind--l, G--rd--n, C--ll--ns, and AAg--l, they have as well as I slept for whole Pages. Nay, I have heard our Reverend Brother B--wm--n's Sermons were so much inclined to that Stile, which is properly called the Soporifick, that his Hearers often took a Nap by Sympathy; insomuch that one Reason for the Choice of his late famous Subject, was to try if for once he could not keep them awake.

I have been as cautious as I could for
my

viii To the READER.

many, but think fit to hint only at one, viz. Mr. Os---n seems to have a P---n for broaching B---my, as appears by his *Essays on the Resurrection, &c.* and therefore it might be construed into an Infringement of his Province, if one should trespass that way, 'till his term is expired.

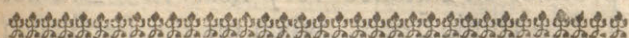
By this ——— I expect your Stomachs raised, and therefore I bid you heartily welcome, to a Free-Thinker's best Feast, a Dish of Roasted Parsons.



THE



THE
Behaviour of the CL---GY,
As well as their
T R A D I T I O N S,
Destructive of RELIGION.



C H A P. I.



ALTHOUGH since our enjoying both Spiritual and Temporal *Liberty*, from the happy Effects of the late glorious REVOLUTION, many Treatises have been written to expose the *Usurpations* of the *Priesthood*, and many also, with a view to recommend the Principles of *Free-Thinking*; Yet I know not how it happens, but I have met with no *body* who hath undertaken to give us, any *Regular History* of the *Disputes* between the two contending *Parties*, viz. the *Abettors* of *Priestcraft*, and the *Partizans* of *Human Reason*. Tho' as the Sequel of this *Work* shall prove, it was

was on their *Principles*, that those Differences have been occasioned, which have divided the World, and raised those Distinctions, which several Sects have contended for, with so much Heat and Vehemence to this Day. *Free-Thinking*, tho' perhaps a new Name, has been however in the World ever since it began; and a learned *Brother Author* on our side, would certainly have succeeded better, if instead of * *Christianity*, he had asserted, *Free-Thinking to have been as old as the Creation*. Sure I am, that I can produce an Instance very near it. Did not † *Eve* think freely, when on the Persuasion of the Serpent she eat the *Apple*? I agree indeed it had been better, if she had let it alone; but it was the Effect of *Free-Thinking*, tho' a Mistake; and as such the Error was punished: But her using her *Reason freely*, tho' the fatal Cause of it, is not, as I find, censured. Thus then *Eve*, who was literally (according to the *Mosaick* History) *the Mother of all Flesh*, was in respect of *Opinion* also, *the Mother of Free-Thinking*. Having thus given you the Original of our Sect, I intended you also a Definition of their Faith, and a short System of their Doctrines, and so to have proceeded to an Account of *Priestcraft*: But

* A late famous Book bearing this Title. † The *Free-Thinkers* acknowledge *Moses* as an Historian, and urge whatever they find in his Works in their Favour.

finding that some Retrospection would be necessary, with respect to *Religion* in general, I mention'd my Thoughts to a Friend who had long studied these Points, and desired his Opinion. He gave it me in writing as follows: And tho' as you may perceive, he has a strong Tincture of the *Errors of Education*, yet as there is something curious in his manner of Deduction, I dare say it will not displease.

“RELIGION, or Worshiping the
 “supream Power, is so natural a Consequence
 “of believing one, and that again, is so
 “strictly united with our Reason, that we
 “see no Nation so rude, no People so bar-
 “barous, who have not received them both,
 “and in some manner owned a Divinity,
 “and payed Adoration. When the Know-
 “ledge of the true God decayed, thro'
 “the Corruption and Ignorance of Man-
 “kind, many new and ridiculous Notions
 “were started, and prevailed. For first,
 “Men observing the regular Course and
 “Motion of the heavenly Orbs, and con-
 “sidering the apparent Influence they have
 “on sublunary Bodies, from thence con-
 “jectur'd, that either they were Beings of
 “an excellent Nature, or else that they
 “were guided and directed by such Beings.
 “Hence they took these for Gods, and fell
 “to worshiping them: And as the Occasion
 “of this sort of Idolatry was general,
 B 2 through-

“ throughout the Globe, so was the Prac-
 “ tice of it likewise. *Princes*, Founders of
 “ vast Empires, such as * *Nimrod*, were
 “ first revered by their Successors, and in
 “ process of time adored by their Sub-
 “ jects. † *Families* raised to themselves
 “ particular *Gods* from the most worthy
 “ of their *Ancestors*; and FEAR also helped
 “ in the Creation of *Divinities*, when *War*,
 “ *Diseases*, and such like, found Admit-
 “ tance into the Catalogue of *Celestial*
 “ *Powers*. Worship of this kind, natural-
 “ ly introduced *Priesthood*, and as Im-
 “ pressions of *Religion*, consequently made
 “ Men tractable, and obedient; Policy came
 “ to have a large Share in Ecclesiastical In-
 “ stitutions; and *Revelations* grew an or-
 “ dinary Preface to the establishing of Laws.
 “ § In fine, what is usually observed of the
 “ Princes in the most antient Times, that they
 “ united both Crown and Mitre, is a strong
 “ Proof of their making this use of Reli-
 “ gion, as being sensible, how soon Peo-
 “ ple submit to what is commanded by In-
 “ spiration, and how hardly they would
 “ yield Obedience to the same Things, if
 “ enjoyned only by the Civil Power. † Thus
 “ *Numa* by pretending Conferences with the

* Owned as a Deity under the Name of *Belus*. † Vid.
Weemse of the *Four Degenerate Sons*, p. 165. and *Gratus de*
Verit. lib 4. § Usual in all Writings in favour of the Clergy.
 † Vid. *Livy*, *Plut.* and others.

“ Nymph *Aegyria*, found a way to intro-
 “ duce *Religion, Ceremonies, and a Priest-*
 “ *hood* amongst the *Romans*; and by their
 “ help, reduced them from a boisterous,
 “ and tumultuous Nation, to live under the
 “ Restraint of Laws, and a Regard for the
 “ good of their Society. * *Lycurgus* had
 “ recourse to the same Method, and tho’
 “ in the general, both these Instances were
 “ to good Purposes, yet the same *Means*
 “ have often been practised to *Bad*. For
 “ Example, When † *Mahomet* induced
 “ the *Arabs*, by sham Pretences of *Com-*
 “ *munication with God and his Angels*,
 “ to receive a § *Motley Worship* full of Ab-
 “ surdities, and fitted only for secular Pur-
 “ poses, such as advancing his Power, and
 “ giving a lawless and unbounded Swing to
 “ his Pleasures, with which having once
 “ infatuated the Minds of the People, he
 “ spread even in his life time, the *Arabian*
 “ *Dominion* (by the *Mission* of the *Sword*
 “ which he pretended was the Seal of his
 “ Commission from *Heaven*) thro’ a confi-
 “ derable Tract of the East, which has
 “ ever since continued to encrease, tho’ it
 “ be now more peaceable in its Spirit, than
 “ at its Institution. Such being the Original
 “ of these pretended Revelations, what
 “ could be expected from the *Priesthoods*

* Vid. *V. Max.* † Vid. *Dr. Prideaux's* Life of that Im-
 postor. § An Account of the *Mahometan* Faith, &c.

“ that were established for their *Propa-*
 “ *gation*, but Tricks and Artifices of the
 “ same sort ! *Religion* in those Days was not
 “ as it is now, made the Tool of the State,
 “ from the base Inclinations of its Professors,
 “ but was really so in itself, *instituted* for
 “ that *Purpose*, and continued also as an *En-*
 “ *gine* for that End. * The *Romans* there-
 “ fore, were careful to preserve such par-
 “ ticular Branches of the Priesthood, as
 “ were most proper to affect the *Temper* of
 “ the *People*, and produce such Effects as
 “ they desired, in the hands of *Patricians*,
 “ who took their Measures † from the Se-
 “ nate, and were often of great use to the
 “ State, by help of that Veneration, which
 “ from their Quality, their manner of
 “ Living, their being esteemed capable of
 “ knowing the Will of Heaven, and by their
 “ Arts of Divination, they had gained a-
 “ mongst the Vulgar. And that the repu-
 “ ted *Oracles* of *Greece*, were of a like
 “ Stamp, we may guess from *the Sarcasm*
 “ *upon them, that they Philipized, i. e. were*
 “ *help'd in their Divinations, by Mace-*
 “ *donian Gold.* Tho' Proceedings of this
 “ kind, set off with *solemn Rites*, and as it
 “ were gilded by § *publick Sacrifices, Pro-*
 “ *cessions, and Games, as in Greece* and

* Vid. *Bowman's Sermon, Augur's, and College of Pontiff.*
 Vid. *Pomp. Letus cap. de Augur.* † Vid. *Plut.* § Vid.
Lipsius.

“ Rome, might impose on vulgar Under-
 “ standings, who always place the Essence
 “ of *Devotion* in *Ceremonies*; yet the De-
 “ lusion would never pass upon Minds of
 “ a more elevated reach of Thought; who
 “ by considering the Nature of the Deity,
 “ from the glorious *Fabrick* of his *Works*;
 “ the daily Instances both of his Power, Wis-
 “ dom and *Providence*, must necessarily fill
 “ their Breasts with higher and more eleva-
 “ ted Ideas, and discover the inconsistency of
 “ paying such absurd Adorations to an om-
 “ niscient Being. What then must they do,
 “ in a World generally affected with *Super-*
 “ *stition*? they were bound, either to
 “ comply with the *Religion* of their Coun-
 “ try, concealing their own Sentiments, or
 “ at least expressing them very obscurely,
 “ as most of the Philosophers did; it being
 “ both the wisest and the safest way: Or
 “ they must have had recourse to Reason,
 “ and Argument, in Defence of their Opi-
 “ nions, which in popular States, is often
 “ dangerous as well as in Kingdoms, Reli-
 “ gion being so necessary, and consequently
 “ so sacred to the State, that the least At-
 “ tempt was considered, not only as a Crime
 “ against Heaven, but also as a kind of Trea-
 “ son. Such an unseasonable Opposition to
 “ *Vulgar Divinity*, proved fatal to * *So-*

* *Diogenes, Laertius, and many others.*

“ *crates*, and a bare Suspicion that * *Ari-*
 “ *stotle* was not Orthodox, as to the recei-
 “ ved Notions in *Athens*, occasioned a Per-
 “ secution against him, which obliged that
 “ great Man to fly, and afterwards, as some
 “ Authors say, broke his Heart. I know
 “ † a late Writer much admired by his own
 “ Party, would very feign rank *Socrates*,
 “ and some other wise Men both of *Greece*
 “ and *Rome*, under a new Sect called *Free-*
 “ *Thinkers*; but as far as I have been able
 “ to understand the Tenets of that Sect,
 “ (which seem, as the Principles of Religi-
 “ on often are, Secrets unto the Professors)
 “ their *Origine* may be referred to another
 “ Cause, which to speak freely, I take to
 “ be this. Some of the *Pagan Mysteries*
 “ were so *monstrous*, others so *ridiculous*,
 “ and the *Behaviour* of the *Priests* in ge-
 “ neral so *scandalous*, that Men of great
 “ natural Understandings, saw thro’ all their
 “ Pretences at a Glance, and immediately
 “ perceived the Marks of human *Policy* in
 “ the *Construction* of these *Revelations*, and
 “ of *human Frailty* in the *carrying* of them
 “ on; but above all the Excess of *human*
 “ Folly, which had so rivetted the *Belief*
 “ of them in *Vulgar Breasts*, that if Oc-
 “ casion had required it, possibly they might
 “ have become *Martyrs*. In such Circum-

* Rapin's Comparison between *Plato* and *Aristotle*. *Justin*
Admonit. ad gentes. † Mr. C---l---s.

stances, * these more intelligent Persons
 threw off this incongruous load of *motley*
Divinities; they laugh'd (as well they
 might) at the *Rapes* of *Jupiter*, the
Adulteries of *Venus*, and the *Thefts* of
Mercury; they could not away either
 with the silly, the cruel, or the lewd
 Mysteries, instituted to the Honour of
 these pretended *Deities*: But having got
 thus far, here they stopp'd; and priding
 themselves in having overcome *Vulgar*
Errors, either totally neglected any
 Search, into what, from the Works of
 Nature, might be discovered of their Al-
 mighty Author, or else † elevated with
 presumptuous *Opinions* of their own
Wisdom, pretended to assign new *Cau-*
ses, which were as weak, as trifling, and
 as far below the Dignity of *Reason*, as
 those, in whose stead they were to suc-
 ceed; mostly mingled, § where they were
 at liberty to vent them, with the sharpest
Raillery against the *Devotion* paid to the
 GODS, and the most *stinging REFLEC-*
 TIONS on all RELIGION: themselves
 leading Lives suitable to their *Principles*;
 suggesting that if there were *Gods*, they
 resided in some *Seventh Heaven* or other,
 totally free from all Care, leaving the U-

* *Diogenes, Democritus, Epicurus.* † *Democritus and Epicurus,* who assert the Generation of the Universe from Atoms.
 § *Vid. Lucretius and Lucian.*

“ *niverse* to the Guidance of *Chance* and *se-*
 “ *cond Causes*, where the Corruption of one
 “ thing, was the Generation of another, and
 “ where the Basis of all Wisdom lay in using
 “ the present Time; since Futurity was un-
 “ certain, and their much admired Apothegm,
 “ * *Let us live to Day, for to morrow we die,*
 “ speaks at once the Wit, the Sentiments,
 “ and the Morals of these Followers of
 “ *Epicurus*, or rather of *Lucretius* his Sy-
 “ stem. These Sir, are the indisputable
 “ *Parents*, of you modern *Free-Thinkers* †,
 “ as the last mentioned Authors Works,
 “ continue a sort of Bible amongst ye to this
 “ Day. And hence it comes to pass, that ye
 “ still preserve a sort of hereditary Hatred
 “ to *Priests*, even under a real and most ex-
 “ cellent Revelation, which your Ancestors
 “ contracted against a Set of false *Teachers*,
 “ a sort of Forgers of holy Lies, whose
 “ Care it was to support, because them-
 “ selves were supported, by *Delusion*. I
 “ wish I could add to render ye inexcusable,
 “ that all pious *Frauds*, all Arts of *Supersti-*
 “ *tion*, all Endeavours to grasp at *World-*
 “ *ly Things*, by seeming to despise them,
 “ were banished from amongst those who
 “ profess themselves Believers of the *Gospel*,
 “ or that finally *Priestcraft*, were a *Thing*

* Vid. *Lucretius*, the Poems of *Anacreon*, and some even
 of the Odes of *Hor.* † The ever memorable Fable of the
 BEES. The Oracles of Reason, &c.

“ utterly,

"utterly unknown to a *Christian*, or even
 "to a *Protestant Priesthood*. But alas!
 "These are Wishes formed in vain, now
 "the Apostles are gone, and Miracles cea-
 "sed, *Religion* depends on the ordinary
 "Protection of *Providence*, and the *Lives*
 "and *Actions*, as well as the *Words* and
 "Doctrines, of a *Clergy*, must either ruin
 "or support it. We live in an Age, where
 "Events justify, not Causes; and where
 "the Merits of the *Professors*, are thought
 "the best Arguments for or against a Pro-
 "fession."

So much at present for the Opinion of an
 Enemy, which in Cases where he admits
 our Reasonings, is the strongest Proof of
 their being just: but fearing my Readers
 might be tired with his Gravity, and Care
 of Quotations, I have omitted some, and
 shall make use of the rest of his Letter,
 on a proper Occasion. In the mean time,
 give me leave to proceed in shewing the
 Danger of carrying *Religious Disputes*
too high, which I may safely appeal to all
 the World, is the continual failing of the
Cl-gy.



C H A P. II.

WHEN one considers the *Blood* that has been *spilt*, the *Kingdoms* that have been ruined, and the *Multitudes* which have been destroyed in religious Quarrels, what an Opinion can one entertain of that Principle, from whence all these dreadful Evils have *overflow'd*? when we are reading the *human Sacrifices* that were offered by the *Heathens*, when we peruse the Slaughter of the *Benjamites*, by their Brethren about the *Concubine* of a *Levite*, or reflect upon the Stories of the *Inquisition* and the furious *Persecutions* against *Hereticks*, amongst the *Christians*, how readily may we *exclaim*?

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

Such mighty Ills! *Religion* could persuade!
When warp'd by Men, and sunk into a Trade.

And yet if we examine the Principles either of the *Laws of Nature*, the *Revelation* given by *Moses*, or its *Accomplishment* from
the

the Ministry of JESUS, and we shall find nothing in these Laws, which tend to the Destruction, but on the contrary, to the establishing of Peace, Quiet, and Hope amongst Mankind, and propogating whatever may conduce towards rendering the Course of Life innocent, or easy.

WHITHER then must we now refer for the Cause of those Evils, which Reading and Experience shew, to have flow'd at least with the Current of Religion? Surely to the Priests; who throughout all Ages have had Revenues assign'd them, that they might the better attend the Service to which they were appointed, and who have as constantly employ'd those Revenues, and whatever Reverence their Character or their Arts could procure them, in meddling and gaining Authority in secular Affairs; either hoisting themselves into the Possession of all Power, as the *Magi* in *Persia**; or else bargaining for a Share with some Party in the State, to the Assistance of which they have prostituted the Dignity of their Profession; and as far as it was in their Power, the Honour of Heaven; as may be easily shewn from both *Latin* and *Greek* Historians, and appears too generally in the Stories of remoter Nations, whenever with any Fullness and Certainty they come to be known.

* Who set up one of themselves on the Death of K. *Cambyses*.

THE End for which Religion, and consequently Priests, have been established in every Nation, was undoubtedly to polish the Minds of the People; and by the Awe of the divine Being, however worship'd, to keep them from indulging their Passions, to the Ruin of Society; and to induce them to shewing certain Marks of Fear and Obedience, towards the Deity; from whom natural Reason must teach them, *they received* ALL. Now instead of promoting these Views so salutary to Mankind, and consequently so honourable to their own Order, which had they pursued them, they must certainly have been every where esteemed publick Benefactors; they have on the contrary, continually employed themselves in inventing ridiculous Fables, to raise their own Authority, by imposing on the Vulgar; placed the whole of Religion, in costly, often in inhuman Sacrifices, rich Ornaments, pompous Processions, and unintelligible Mysteries; leaving the main Business as to teaching, both of Faith and Morals, to other Hands, such as the Philosophers, or the meaner Persons of their own Order, not yet initiated into the deeper Secrets, and interior Maxims of Priestly Policy.

WHOEVER pleases to peruse the beginning of * Monsieur *Barbeyrac's* celebrated

* This Piece has been Translated and Published singly in a Twelve-Penny Pamphlet.

Preface to *Puffendorf*, will find this proved in a much fuller manner, than the Compass I have proposed in this Work will give me leave: Tho' I fancy what follows in the remaining Chapters, will shew that this is neither a groundless, nor malicious Charge; tho' it might be in some danger of passing for the latter, if we reflect on the hard usage, all who have thought freely, have constantly met with from the hands of the Priests. For my part, notwithstanding what has been said by my Correspondent before cited, and others, I cannot help placing * *Socrates* in the Calendar of Free-thinking Martyrs; and *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and many other great Men amongst the Antients, in the Number of the Confessors of the same Order; nay, even *Cato* himself, for his saying, *he wondered when two Augurs met, how they could refrain from laughing*, may be rank'd, in my Opinion, amongst that glorious Few, who have asserted the Cause of Truth and Liberty, against a prevailing Spirit of enthusiastick Error.

THAT my Readers may have a clear View of the Behaviour of these sacred Bigots, I have contentedly taken the trouble of turning over a very numerous Band of Authors †, from whom I have in as short and easy a manner as I could, extracted

* Vid. Mr. *C--ll--ns's* famous Account of *Free-Thinking*.

† Vid. *Archæologie Atticæ*, and its Supplement; with the other Authors mentioned hereafter.

the principal Branches of *Heathen*, *Jewish*, and *Christian* Priestcraft; beginning with those more known Climates of *Greece* and *Rome*, passing thro' the less apprehended Religions of the *East*, and ending with those it best becomes us to be acquainted with, the Behaviour of the Cl-gy of our own Country.



C H A P. III.

I Shall begin my Survey with *Greece*, or rather with *Athens*; for in remarking what Follies and Superstitions have been introduced by the Management of those who wait upon the Altar, it seems highly reasonable, to allow the first Rank to a People, otherwise famous both for Generosity and Virtue, and also for readines of Wit, and solid Understanding. If these then could be made the Dupes of Priests; if such a Nation, who with regard to the Body of the People, were equally addicted to Thinking and Speaking with Accuracy on all Subjects: I say, if such could be drawn to entertain monstrous, and ridiculous Opinions of the Divine Power; if they fell into silly, mean, and irrational Methods of Adoration

ration; if superstitious foolish Notions, by the help of Priestcraft, were inculcated into such a People; how readily may we forgive, what we still see practised thro' the World? which tho' often as senseless, is yet propagated with greater Authority. When we turn our Eyes towards their religious Opinions and Practices, we shall be scarce able to suppose them the same People, who both in Arts and Arms, in Wisdom, and in Prowess, have left behind them Marks, to which future Ages glory to have reached; and are solicitous only to be thought to have attained the same Height, without having Vanity enough to hope an Excelling. Yet their Priests persuaded these, 'twas their Duty to worship the Sun, and even to put to Death those who refused*; but there was some Colour perhaps for this, where no brighter Revelation of the Divinity was known, than what flowed from his Presence. But what can be said for Deifying † *Bread*, or for building Temples; and paying Adoration to the Passions? Nay, *Epimenides* outdid this, and erected in *Athens* an Altar to *Impudence*; which some perhaps would have thought, a Power of more modern Apotheosis: *Necessity*, and the *Fatal Sisters* also, Tales which hardly deserve the Attention of a sroward Child,

* Vid. *Plutarch* in his Life of *Pericles*.

† So *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets *Ceres*,

to whom his Nurse tells Stories to be quiet, passed, by the Mediation of the Priest, for found Divinity upon them, as did the Theogony or Descendants of their Gods, whom *Homer* perhaps did not exceed in his Reckoning, when he called them three thousand; and not contented with so round a Number, they induced them to set up an Altar, even to the Unknown God; and brought their Minds at last to so wretched a pitch of Superstition, that they were ready to embrace the Doctrine of any God they heard of: So that when *Paul* * preached to them *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*, they took this *Resurrection* for a Deity. In their worshipping they were as consistent; for having sacrificed part of the Victim, they eat the rest, giving a full loose to their Inclinations, and like Clowns at *Christmas*, stuffed, drank, roared and rattled with great Devotion. Their Oracles or Divine Responses are a stale Theme, often examined and detected, not only by later Enemies, but also by the *Greeks* themselves, † when Things were recent, and would have been justified, if the Priests had either had Truth on their side, or Art enough to have baffled the Accusation. But to give one Instance from many, of the destructive Consequences of their pious Frauds, to the States in which

* Acts xvii. 18. *Justin Martyr*.

† By *Demosthenes*, when he said they Phillipized.

they prevailed, I will just mention the Prosecution of *Alcibiades*, whose Misfortunes, tho' they ended in Death, were not greater with respect to himself, than fatal to his Country.

* He was a young Nobleman of *Athens*, of great Hopes and great Abilities, both for the Cabinet and the Camp: The *Athenians* having determined to invade *Sicily*, made choice of him (joined in Commission with two other more antient, and experienced Officers) for one of their Generals in this Expedition. A great Faction were his Enemies, and desirous to prevent his going; but the place he held in the People's Favour, render'd all their Endeavours vain; the superstitious Humour of the lower sort of the *Athenians*, was all the Resource they had. *Alcibiades* therefore they procured to be accused of having mocked certain *secret* Mysteries, and prophaned the Rites of the Goddess *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*. That this might make the greater Eclat, the Statues of *Mercury*, which were placed throughout the Lanes and Streets of *Athens*, were defaced in one Night's space, and this Impiety also laid to the charge of the General. The Plot took, the People were exceedingly inflamed: *Alcibiades* was very earnest to justify himself, and desired there-

* *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alcibiades*.

fore a speedy Trial ; his Enemies opposed it, and pretending the Exigence of Publick Affairs, would needs have him sail with the Forces under his Command, and leave this Prosecution to be determined when he came home. This being approved by the Publick, *Alcibiades* was forced to comply; which was what the Faction aimed at: for being gone to *Sicily*, they took all imaginable Pains to inflame the Minds of the People, as to this pretended Prophanation and Sacrilege. Numbers (as in such Cases often happens) were apprehended, and tho' the Witnessses produced to prove it, were guilty of apparent Perjury, in affirming they saw the Faces of those who broke the Statues, by Moon-light, when all the City knew the Night was dark: yet so flaming was their Zeal, that the Blood of many was shed before it could be quenched; and *Alcibiades*, like all popular Favourites, being less regarded now he was out of sight, the Charge was urged home against him, and his deriding the sacred Mysteries not only swelled into Blasphemy against Heaven, but also into a Conspiracy against the State. These specious Pretences had such an Effect on the Spirits of the superstitious *Athenians*, that they immediately sent a Galley to bring him home, in order to abide their Sentence; but he retiring from them into other Parts of *Greece*, they condemned him

him unheard to loss of Life, and forfeiture of Estate and Goods. Upon the News of which, *Alcibiades* said to one of his Friends, " Tho' they have condemned me to Death, yet they shall find that I am alive". And entering immediately into the Measures of their Enemies, fought from thence forward for nothing but Revenge: Which tho' it can never be justified, yet the *Athenians*, as if they intended to furnish him with the fullest Excuse, added to what they had already done against him, * by commanding their Priests and Priestesses to curse him with publick and bitter Execrations: which the pious Herd did accordingly, excepting only one Nun, who seem'd alone to have a just Notion of Religion, and the Duty of Sacred Orders; by answering, That her Function obliged her to Bless, not to Curse, and therefore absolutely refused it.

WE have now seen how far Religion, subservient to Faction, could carry things. Let us pursue this Tract a little farther, and observe the Consequence: *Alcibiades* wrought so many Evils in return of his Banishment, that the *Athenians* were every where overthrown, and their Nobles laying hold of this Opportunity, to seize the Government into their own Hands, even the

* The Resemblance between the Behaviour of this Faction, and some of later Date, may perhaps tempt some to think it a Parallel; but if they turn to *Plutarch*, they will be convinced.

City itself became in Danger. *Alcibiades* seeing the extream Necessity, to which his Country was reduced, relented, and joining their Fleet, did many great Actions in her Service, insomuch as her Affairs at last became again in a prosperous Condition. Upon which the giddy headed People, elevated with his Success, repealed the Proceedings against *Alcibiades*; and their Priests at command, to shew how free they can make with Heaven, take off their solemn Imprecations, and throw their written Prayers against him, into the Sea. But here also was another singular Dissenter, and as the *Nun* thought it incongruous with her Profession, to *Curse*; so the *Chief Priest* or * *Bishop*, on this occasion believed it inconsistent with his Office to *Absolve* him. However the old Leaven quickly fermented again, and as soon as *Alcibiades* was departed with his Fleet, the Mob influenced by an Accident which happen'd to one of his Commanders, again condemned him: on which followed in a few Years the total Ruin of their Affairs, and even the Reduction of *Athens*, under the Power of the *Lacedemonians*, who set up in it that Form of Government, since famous by the Name of the Thirty Tyrants.

BEHOLD the Effects of *Superstition* and *Priestcraft*! which too often occasion such

* I would not have the Word *Bishop* thought an unwarrantable Translation, since others have so render'd it before me.

great Revolutions ; which indeed scarce ever happen, but where the Cl--gy promote them, either in the Shape of *Actors* or of *Tools*. But we have dwelt long enough on the Affairs of *Greece*, to shew that there is no Nation, however learned or polite, but must be in danger, if their Subjects grow Superstitious, and have their Humours easily wrought on by their Cl--gy.



C H A P. IV.

THE Virtues of the antient *Romans* were so many, and so well known, that it were a superfluous Labour, in a Work like this, to dwell at all in relating them : However, even from the Institution of her State, *Priestcraft* had a much larger Share in the Direction of their Affairs, than one would imagine from the manner in which their Government is usually represented. * *Romulus* their Founder was himself an *Augur*, and like most of the antient Institutors of Governments, palmed himself upon the People, for one who easily could foretell the Decrees of Fate, an Artifice of

* *Plutarch's* Life of *Romulus*, *Livy*, and other Authors.

ingular Use, in building up, or in pulling down a State. Yet how much his Royal Skill in Fortune-telling availed him, is evident from his Death, or rather his Departure; for having assumed an absolute Power to himself, in prejudice to the Patricians or Nobles, they, when he enter'd the Council-Room, seized him, and after slaying him, carried away part of his Body under each of their long Robes, and prevented thereby the Possibility (at least) of an immediate Discovery. However, the People murmuring at so extraordinary an Accident as the Loss of their Prince, had recourse directly to Miracles and Priestcraft; for producing one *Proclus*, he swore, that *Romulus* appeared to him in a Dream, and told him, that being now a *God*, it would be expedient for his Subjects to worship him under the Name of *Quirinus*. *Numa* and his Institutions, have been already mentioned, and it would be both tedious and superfluous, to dwell longer on particular Points of their superstitious Follies; it is fitter that we observe in general, how the Colleges of * *Augurs* and † *Pontiffs* were possessed of Immunities, which speak the true Spirit of *Priestcraft*. The first, had an indelible Character, of which no Crime however flagrant could deprive them; the latter were inde-

* Alex. Gen. dier. l. 5. c. 19.

† Rosin. Antiq. l. 3. c. 22.

pendent of the State, and unaccountable for their Transactions even to the Senate. The *Augurs* also, on pretence of some Defect in the Ceremonies, or thro' want of an auspicious Token of their Creation, often took upon them to declare void the Election even of the highest Magistrates; which is so well known to every one who has read the *Roman* History, that Instances are needless. As to the Morals of their Priests, we find *Pontifica Cena*, which as it has the same Signification, had doubtless its Original from the same Cause with the old *English* saying, 'Tis a Feast for an Abbot, and is a good Authority for our modern P--sons having coming Stomachs. The Rites of the * *Bona Dea*, were an odd sort of Worship, as the Deity to whom they were sacred was an odd sort of Goddess; raised (as some Authors say) to this celæstial Dignity by *Fav-nus* her Husband in a tender Fit, for having whip'd her to Death with Rods of Myrtle, only for having caught her a little Topsy. † But the Priests and Ceremonies belonging to *Cybele*, give one a farther Idea of *Roman Priestcraft*, they play'd such scandalous Pranks under the Umbrage of Devotions for their Goddess, that it was one of the most infamous Terms of Reproach amongst the *Romans* to call any one a Servant of

* Alex. Gen. dier. l. 6. c. 8.

† Pom. Lat. de Sacerd. Rosin Antiq. l. 3. c. 27.

that Divinity. * Nay, their Priests could also mislead the Minds of these so magnanimous People, into yet more detestable Acts, and upon a sudden Expedition of their Enemies, persuaded them into offering up human Sacrifices, and that in the most cruel manner, viz. by burying the poor Wretches alive †. 'Tis a little extraordinary therefore, to hear some of the Christian, and even Protestant Cl-gy, urging that Respect paid by the *Romans* to their Priests, as a fit Precedent for our Behaviour towards them; when, as is shewn in the foregoing part of this Chapter, their whole Religion was a political Forgery, invented to curb the Minds of the People, and either to inflame or discourage them, as they found occasion; a plain Reason, why Patrioians or Noblemen assumed the sacerdotal Character, in order to keep those Mysteries absolutely from the Knowledge of the Commons; and we see they begun at last to be so well acquainted with its being their Design, that as soon as their Struggles gave them an Ingress to Offices, they intruded themselves also into the Priesthood. And to sum up all on this Head, I must remark to my Readers, that these ridiculous, lewd, and barbarous Methods of worshipping the supream Power, having stirr'd up many of the Philosophers

* *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Paulus Æmilius*. † A Discourse on the Institution, Dignities and Immunities of the Priesthood.

to treat the vulgar Religion with contempt, yet it is very unfair to charge them with Atheism, since there is so wide a Distance, between Superstition and Devotion, and the Notions of the more ordinary sort of People have been, and in many Places still are so gross, both with regard to the Nature and Manner of their Adoration of that infinite Being, that it is far more probable a Man should be disgusted with them, from a sublime Idea of the Almighty, than from a mean one: And in this I agree in my Sentiments, with a very great and learned * Writer of the Church of *England*, whose Works and whose Memory, do equal Honour to his Country, and his Order.



C H A P. V.

HAVING thus taken a View of † Priestcraft, in those two famous Governments, from whence the Palm of Empire was transferred to *Europe*; let us then, to compleat the Prospect, turn our Eyes towards *Asia*, and the *Indies*, and see the Reverence Priests received there; and the

* *Stillingfleet's Or. Sacr.* † Tho' much more might have been added, yet the View is however clear.

Ground

Ground on which such Reverence was founded. * Of all the Nations yet shrouded under the Dark Cloud of Paganism, *China* has least of Incongruity or Ridiculousness in their Sentiments of Religion. The Followers of *Confucius*, have not only excellent moral Precepts, for the Direction of their Lives, but they attain also to elevated and sublime Ideas of that almighty Power, in whom we live, and move, and have our Being. The *Bonzes* however, even here find amongst the Great, Vulgar, and the Small, a numerous Train of Disciples. These *Bonzes*, are Priests of the Idol *Fo*, and the main Article of their Doctrine is Transmigration; by a dextrous Management of which, they raise as much as the Popish Priests do from Purgatory: For possessing the Minds of their Votaries, that they are able to tell them, into what Animal their Soul shall at their Death pass: they next persuade them, that their Prayers are of such Efficacy, as to procure a Change, in case the Creature, they persuade them they are to animate, be displeasing to them: And these Petitions to their Divinity, they are sure to vend at a considerable Rate. Nay, they go farther than this; for if their Prince, or Patron, lose a beloved Mistress, immediately they

* *Le Compse*, and others.

pretend to inform him where her Soul animates a beautiful Slave, who, tho' at never so great a Distance, the Prince instantly dispatches somebody to purchase; and the sharp and discerning *Bonze*, meets both with Praise, and Reward. In *Japan*, their Priests, under the same Name of *Bonzes*, instil into the People a Notion of the Necessity of auricular Confession; and having a Temple situated on a Rock, they chuse the Edge or Descent of it, as the most proper Place for examining their Penitents; and if they in any degree doubt the Sincerity of their Confession, down they go headlong, *in terrorem*, to teach others the Art of speaking out for the future. They have a Custom also every new Moon, § to bring a Virgin into the Temple, which is splendidly adorned with Gold Lamps, the Lights of which, being suddenly put out, something in human Shape, comes in and embraces the Woman, who often goes away impregnated; but whether by the Deity, or his Priest, I must leave to the Conjecture of my Readers. The *Talapoins* of *Siam*, are, in all appearance, the best Set of Pagan Priests that are still existing: 'Tis true, they are strongly bent to Pride and Covetousness, two Sins that are deadly Foes to the Clergy; and which seem therefore in all

§ Such Rites are mentioned by Travellers in other Nations as well as in *Japan*.

Times, and in all Places, to have stuck close to their Order; but as to meddling in matters of State, searching Mens private Consciencs, or riding the People too hard, under pretence of Dues, or of Alms, these are matters, which I don't find they are ever taxed with *. They pretend however, to prodigious Sanctity, and in virtue of that to great Immunities, which are constantly allowed them by their Prince, tho' he keeps a strict Eye over them, because he conceives a great part of his Subjects might be induced to take up the same Life; considering the Laziness, in which, under pretence of minding only sacred Things, they live. For this reason he takes care to have them critically examined, as to their Knowledge of the *Baily* Language; in which, all that relates to their Religion is written: And if on such Examination, they are found ignorant, they are immediately dismissed from their Office, as *Talapoins*, † and obliged to get their Bread in some way or other, which they understand better. But perhaps we may meet with something more venerable in the *Bramins* §, who are indeed an antient and famous Sect, not of Priests only, but Philosophers; and one great Pillar of their Reputation is, some of them burning

* It is one of their Rules not to beg daily at the same House.
 † Sometimes 1000 at once have been dismissed. § Referred to by Parson *Betty*, in his Sermon.

themselves, before *Alexander* the Great, in order to fill a Place, whenever a Calendar shall be drawn up, in favour of the *Martyrs* to *Vanity*. The *Bramins*, of modern Date, preach to the People in an obscure mystical manner, macerate themselves with grievous Penances, and pretend to wonderful Trances, and Revelations *. I intended to have dropp'd my Disquisitions into the Oriental Priestcraft here, but reflecting on the profound Reverence paid to their Holy Men amongst the *Turks*, I thought it might not be amiss to take a short Sketch of their Religion also: And that I may in a few Words explain it, give me leave to borrow some Lines from † *Mr. Osborn* upon this Subject. " Their Priests, (says he) " like Juglers, carry the Coal of Zeal on- " ly in their Mouths, not being heated " themselves with what they go about to " inflame others; suffering their Threats " and Promises to rise no higher, nor fall " no lower, than suits with the politick " Reaches of their Prince." From whence this judicious Author, who both wrote as well as spoke, more like a *Free-Thinker* than any since, seems to have proved the Truth of his preceding Maxim, viz. " That a false Religion doth contribute " more to Safety than Atheism; and that a

* *Vid. Dr. Cogan's* Letter concerning them in *Philosophical Transactions*.

† *Osborn's* Work, p. 277. Ed. 1673.

“ Clergy is of excellent Concernment,
 “ provided they keep close in their Doc-
 “ trine, to Reasons of State, not to be
 “ brought about but through the Mediation
 “ of their own Interest, by nothing so easi-
 “ ly biassed, as good Livings, &c.” Such
 is truly the Principles, such the means of
 acquiring, the Veneration of the many in
 these Countries, and therefore 'tis betraying
 their own Interests, for our Cl--gy to
 preach up Doctrines which stand in need of
 such Examples. Do they pretend to such
 Gifts, as these Sun-burnt Parsons? will
 they endure the Torments the *Bonzes* put
 themselves to, in order to excite Admi-
 ration? will they undergo, the almost in-
 credible Penances, of the *Bramins* to beget
 Wonder? Nay should they do all this,
 they must superadd the *Mabometan* Policy,
 and found their high Pretensions, on at least
 an additional Revelation; for what they
 produce from the Gospel, affords but an in-
 different Title, even to the lowest of their
 Claims. Mr. *Bowman*, in his late celebra-
 ted Sermon, has insinuated that the pious
 Frauds, and bold Pretences of the Pagan
 Priesthood, kept up their Religion as long
 as it existed; but when that Proposition
 comes to be examined, I think it will prove
 the contrary; since nothing could give so
 great an Advantage to any design of de-
 stroying it, as a Detection of their sacer-
 dotal

dotal Impostures, which, whenever the State permitted to be freely examined, must of necessity happen, and consequently cure the Bulk of the People of their Superstition; and doubtless this sort of arguing was of great use to the Primitive Christians in all their Disputes against the Heathens.



C H A P. VI.

HITHERTO we have dealt only with feigned and sophisticated Revelations, let us now proceed to the Consideration, how far Priestcraft is capable of damaging a true Religion; and of weakening, or as the Scripture phraseth it, rendering of none Effect, Laws promulgated by the Almighty. The remaining part of the Letter, which I quoted in my first Chapter, will fully explain this, though the prejudice conceived by its Author, against the modern Free-Thinkers, is equally great and unreasonable.

“THE Disputes, which have, as you
 “ rightly observe, been kept up throughout
 “ all Ages, and in all Religions, between
 “ those who are for exalting Priests, into
 “ a lesser or inferiour kind of Deities,
 “ and those who would have them pass for

“ a

“ a Tribe of Spiritual Empiricks, and Ec-
 “ clestialical Juglers, is by no instance fo
 “ perfectly to be explained, as by compa-
 “ ring the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* a-
 “ mongst the *Jews* *, who were (without
 “ straining the modern Acceptation of the
 “ Words) the first Bigots, and the latter
 “ Deists; or, if you will, Free-Thinkers.
 “ But let me first premise to you, that
 “ God’s Mission by Prophets was closed,
 “ before these Sects appeared, who making
 “ use, as they termed it, of their Reason,
 “ took up the following opposite Opinions.
 “ The *Pharisee* defended the Traditions
 “ of the Elders, giving them at least an
 “ equal Authority with the written Law.
 “ They affected great Appearance of Sancti-
 “ ty, in Gesture, Garb, Speech, and Ap-
 “ pearance: And though there were Lay-
 “ men of that Persuasion, yet they were
 “ such as made the Church their chief Care,
 “ or at least took every Precaution to seem
 “ as if they did. They were extremely
 “ precise in the most trivial Points, wash’d
 “ themselves frequently, made long Pray-
 “ ers, and look’d on their Sect, as if they
 “ were a separate and chosen People. In
 “ a word, they held the Principles of the
 “ old Puritans, in respect of their private
 “ Character, and yet went as far as the old

* For this Account the Learned may compare it with *Cu-
 nanus*, or *Josephus*; or *Dr. Lewis’s* Republick of the *Hebrews*.

" Prelatists, with regard to Ceremonies in
 " the Church, as if in love with Superlatives,
 " and delighting only in Extreams. The
 " *Sadducees* again, whom our late (Free-
 " thinking) Authors express a great Esteem
 " for, were of a pliant Religion, which did
 " not much bridle their Passions: They
 " profess'd a Belief of the Five Books of
 " *Moses* only; they absolutely rejected all
 " Tradition; nay, even Consequences drawn
 " from Scripture; and therefore because the
 " Resurrection is not clearly taught in the
 " *Pentateuch*, they deny'd it, with all its
 " dependant Doctrines. These Sects, or
 " rather Heresies, long distracted the Jewish
 " Church, *Sadducees*, notwithstanding their
 " Opinions, arising even at the high Priest-
 " hood, which occasioned continual Heart-
 " burnings, and religious Differences, creating
 " then, as well as now, Parties in the Com-
 " monwealth, which never cease contending,
 " 'till one or both are brought to utter Ru-
 " in*." The closest Approaches to which
 " could not stifle these intestine Struggles in
 " the Jewish State. Our Author has indeed
 " shewn the Event of Priestly Tyranny, but
 " methinks his Draught of the Pharisee is a
 " little too much softned; give me leave there-
 " fore to add, that their usual way of passing
 " through the Streets, was with the Strut of

* As appears in the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

a *Spaniard*, and the Pace of an Elephant, that the People might imagine them in a deep Contemplation; shutting their Eyes, that they might not see a Woman; and now and then hitting themselves against a Post, 'till the Blood gushed; with a stiff Cap on, to prevent turning their Heads when they made use of their Eyesight, any way but strait forwards. Were not these vast Signs of Piety and infallible Marks of true Religion? and would not the Nick-Name of *Karaim*, (Biblers, or adhering only to Scriptures) given by way of Reproach to the Sadducees, be full as applicable from the Papists to the Followers of the Reformation, which is founded only on the sacred Writings, and relies not on Tradition?



C H A P. VII.

WE are now come down to an *Æra* better known, and to times in which Opinions that more nearly concern us, were clearer; let us examine then the Progress of Priestcraft, (I mean the Craft of Priests to assume unreasonable Authority to themselves) since Men have been under the Dispensation of the Gospel. When we dip into the
 Book

Books, which contain the Principles of those numerous Congregations, who though they profess Faith in Christ, yet embrace Sentiments very different from one another; we shall immediately observe, that Primitive Belief, and Primitive Practices are still pretended, none caring to own their Doctrines new, but chusing rather to profess them as if revived. If then so great Deference is due to those early Ages of Christianity, how much more to the earliest, when the Church was alone directed by an infallible Guide, whose Life was without Sin, and his Precepts without Error? Yet what Tract can we perceive, what Foundation can we discover, by which the *Roman* Hierarchy of Pope, Cardinals, &c. should seem the Successors of Christ, and his Apostles; or the Opinions, Ceremonies, and Priviledges of the Papists, bear even a resemblance to the Faith taught by JESUS? Who, when they read that our Saviour refused the Title of Good, saying, there is none good but One, can bring himself to believe, that the Stile of Holiness, Vicar of God, nay, and even of God on Earth, can lawfully be given unto any Professor of Christianity. To expose, or but barely to mention all the Errors of Popery, would require a much larger Scope than the whole of my Book; it is necessary therefore,

It is apparent that nothing can be more opposite to Christianity than unnecessary Forms and Ceremonies.

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that

that I dwell on this particular Point, *viz.* that the *Behaviour* of the Clergy together, with their *Traditions*, had the worst Effect imaginable on the Popish Church, and was the Cause both of its Corruption, and that Diminution it received by the Reformation, as in the succeeding Chapter I shall shew, and that the same Causes (and probably no other) may be able to overturn that at present by Law established in these Kingdoms.

THE first Charge on this Priesthood is, that its Members have constantly affected Power, and Authority, things which their High Priest JESUS, in express Terms disclaimed: And for the Affectation of which, (together with Place and Prebeminency) he treats the Pharisee with so much Indignation. Nay, nothing appears more conspicuously, throughout the Gospel, than a Desire in Christ, of rooting out the Seeds of Pride and Ambition, which from the Frailty of human Nature, he saw springing up in the Breasts of his Disciples. Does he not tell them, that his Kingdom (and consequently their Endeavours) belong not to this World? and have we not seen a *Protestant* Bishop reviled, and ill treated, for affirming that he spoke Truth? Did he not instead of installing *Peter* (as the Papists pretend) absolutely condemn all disputing for Place amongst his Apostles? Did he not yield
Obedience

Obedience to the Civil Power, and even comply with the established Ceremonies of the Jewish Religion? How then came Episcopal Government into the Church? why certainly it was in compliance to the then Constitution of the State. Christ's Amity was propagated throughout the Dominions of an extensive Empire; the primitive Christians therefore, adopted, or rather imitated the Civil Policy, and set up Directors of the Church with like Jurisdiction: But when that Empire became Christian, the Bishops were ever contending for new Additions of Power, and higher Exaltations in Title; 'till the Emperor *Mauritius* gave the supreme Stile of *Universal Bishop*, to the then Bishop, * or (if you will) *Patriarch of Constantinople*. He of *Rome*, like an honest Man, declared such Pride Antichristian and Abominable. *Mauritius* was murdered first, and then succeeded by *Phocas*, in every Sense a Paracide: The Bishop of *Constantinople* (who was probably a Christian) detested the Fact; but the Successor of the beforementioned Bishop of *Rome*, abetted the Tyrant, and the Traitor; and from him received that Title, which his Predecessor, had declared Antichristian. Now to see into what goodly Hands this Power has fallen, one need but turn to that List of

* The Title of Patriarch was invented and bestowed on five Churches, and confirmed by a general Council.

Popes whom *Bellarmin* confesses to have gone in a long Train to the Devil. What Violence, what Wars, what Bloodshed the Papal Usurpations have cost Christendom, may be seen from every Branch of History that concerns it. And that this Power appears altogether unwarrantable, even to the Papists themselves, is evident from the Design of the *French* and *Spanish* Prelates in the Council of *Trent*; who endeavoured, by asserting the divine Right of Bishops, to restrain it: But the Pope pouring in a sufficient Number of titular *Italians* *, they (like the new made Lords) paid the Acknowledgment for their Dignities, by outvoting it.

As to the Administration of Government, when in the Hands of the Cl-gy, or even when they have but a Share in it, Reflection and Experience will soon give us a Taste on't. Did not the Priests conspire against our Saviour, did they not hire *Judas* to betray him, did they not afterwards inspire the Mob with Cruelty, and through their Mouths bellow out *Crucify*? Did not they load themselves with the Weight of the Blood of God? And when *Judas* repented, and brought again the Money, complaining they had seduced him into delivering Innocency to Slaughter, did they not

* *Vid.* History of the Council of *Trent*.

reply, What is that to us? Have not Christian Priests quarrell'd with, anathamiz'd, and excommunicated not only one another, but their Sovereigns? Did not the Council of *Constance*, to indulge their Thirst of Blood, * murder *John Hus*, tho' the publick Faith had been pledged for his Security? Even at this Day, Are not the two Dominions of *Rome* and *Malta*, the most wicked, profligate, and abandon'd parts of the Earth? And as to our own Island, doth not our Records shew, that it never fell into so deplorable a State of Iniquity, as when the Popish Clergy had most Power here; as at the time of the *Danish* Invasion, when they were in the Zenith of their Dominion, they employed themselves in Broils and Battles, with one another, being contaminated with all manner of Vices; and the poor People, in the mean while, were left so very ignorant, that they could not so much as say the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, in their Mother Tongue †. — But 'tis time to throw a Veil over so shocking a Scene; and if it were possible to bury it in Oblivion.

NEXT to the love of Power, was the love of Money conspicuous in the *Romish* Clergy. Indeed this seems to be of a very early Growth, and like a Tare, which was let fall in Seed time. The Apostles were so

* The History of the Council of *Constance*.

† *Antiq. Eccl. Britan.* p. 22.

cautious in this respect, that they instituted an Order (Deacons) for the due Care and Preservation of what was bestowed on the Church, which, it is agreed on all Hands, was distributed by the primitive Christians, with equal Charity, and Exactness: But so earnest were the Priests, in persuading their Hearers towards giving, that the Church of *Rome*, *A. D.* 220. became so very rich, that the Emperor *Decius*, was tempted to endeavour a Seizure; and the same Views, says the judicious Father *Paul**, excited the succeeding Emperors, to persecute the Christians, even 'till the Death of the Emperor *Commodus*. As the Churches became rich, the Clergy became so much more at ease; so that some of them, not contented with a Subsistence in common, began to affect living separate; and to have each their Allowance paid them in Money. But Disorders encreasing, the Bishops in a short time, thought fit to cease the usual Distribution to the Poor; and being possessed of the Gifts of the Faithful, reserved them wholly to their own Use. Triumphant thus in the Spoils of the Church, which by Usury they endeavoured to improve, and in all their Actions shewed the utmost Repugnancy to the Doctrines of Christ: Which is observed by *St. Cyprian*, and interpreted by him to be the Cause of

* Father *Paul's* Treatise of Benefices.

the *Decian* Persecution*. As yet however, no real Estates were given to the Church; but how soon after they also were acquired, is evident from their being confiscated, under the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*. And when Peace was again restored, the Clergy, far from desisting in their pursuit of Gain, were continually pressing Folks, by Terrors, or persuading them by fair Promises, to leave all to the Church, even to the prejudice of their Heirs and Families; a Practice St. *Augustin* fully declares against; though it has been notoriously continued even to this Day. As they were thus desirous to acquire, so they were as tenacious, in respect to whatever they possessed; and let the Exigencies of State be ever so urging, maintain'd they were, exempt from all Contributions; though they could not be ignorant, that the Exemption they pretended, arose only from the Revenues being formerly appropriated to the Poor; and consequently Levies upon them would have been unreasonable; as now that Cause was ceased, it became both lawful and reasonable to re-assume them. Things being in this State, every understanding Person must perceive, how little Charity there was in still adding to the Riches of the Church, or much more properly to the Riches of the

† *Vid.* History of the Council of *Trent*.

Clergy.

Clergy. *Philip de Comines* therefore, makes a very just Observation on the Bounty of *Lewis XI.* † when he says, *He gave much to the Church, but he had better have given less; for he took from the Poor, to give to those that had no need.* But alas! such Reasonings were not likely to prevail, when those who directed Mens Consciences, and for whom Veneration is impressed upon us from our Cradle, neglecting the proper Work of their Ministry, minded nothing but how to preach up the Necessity of bestowing largely on their Order; which they found a Thousand Pretences to do. And first as to Tythes, about the time of *Charlemaign*, the Clergy scarce mentioned any thing else in their Sermons: And as *Father Paul* tells us, they insisted not only on Predial Tythes, but on Personal also; as of Hunting, and the Soldiers Pay; Nay, the Canonists have gone yet farther, and affirmed that even the Poor ought to give the Tenth Penny of their Begging; and common Women the like part of their infamous Gain. These Tythes were assigned to the Ministers, in consideration of the Services they performed, in teaching the Word of God, and administering the Sacraments: Yet because some charitable Persons, having out of meer Bounty given at the Burials of

† In his Memoirs.

their Relations, and on the Administration of Sacraments, the Cl--gy soon took occasion to turn it into a Debt, and refused to perform the Functions of their Priesthood, without its being paid them†. Nor need we wonder at these, and Multitudes of other such like Instances, which might be produced to the same purpose, if we consider how far the Cl--gy were encouraged by their Superiours, in such Exactions; and especially by the Example of their Sovereign Infallible Lords the Popes, who not contented with those prodigious Revenues, which Prescription had at least given the Colour of Right to, were yet continually encroaching upon the Office; and especially upon the Power of bestowing Benefices to others. As no part of *Europe* suffered more deeply from these Exactions, it will not be amiss to mention one Instance from our own History, which will give us a just Idea of the righteous Infallibility of the *Roman* Pontiffs.

IN the Year 1253, Pope *Innocent IV.* commanded *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Man eminent for Purity of Life, and the regular Discharge of his Function, to confer a Benefice on a *Genoese* (one of his Holiness's Countrymen) contrary to the Canons. The Bishop wrote him a most respectful Answer to these Letters, representing in

† About the Year *A. D.* 800 these Disputes began.

the strongest, yet mildest Terms, how unjust and unreasonable a Demand it was, and why he would not comply with it. The Pope, at the Receipt of this Answer, flew in a violent Passion; he called the Bishop, an old doting presumptuous Tool, and swore by *St. Peter and Paul*, he had a mind to punish him so severely, that all the World might take warning by him. Cardinal *Agidius*, a *Spaniard*, representing to him how dangerous the Attempt might be, of such a Procedure, against a Prelate of so great and just a Reputation, the Pope paused a little, and began to think of a silent Revenge, when in the Interim the Bishop died, retaining his Opinions to the last. The Pope, on the News of his Decease, ordered a Process against him, to take him out of his Grave; and sent it to the King to execute it. But the Night following, the Bishop appeared to the Pope, dressed in his Pontifical Robes, and reproaching him for persecuting his Memory, struck him with his Cross on his Side, which awakened the Pope, with an excessive Pain, that continued upon him 'till his Death, (which happen'd not long after) never suffering him to enjoy Quiet, either Night or Day*.

THIS is the same Pope, who, on his Death Bed, observing his Relations and

* *Matth. Paris*, in the Life of *Henry III.*

Friends weeping and lamenting, said, * *Why complain ye? Do I not leave you all Rich? What would ye desire more? Behold the Value of Wealth in the Eye of an Infalible Pontiff!*

THE last Charge I shall mention here, against the *Romish Priesthood*, is, That for the sake of Power and Wealth, they have made use of pious Frauds, and adulterated that Gospel they would be thought to preach. To prove this, would be to transcribe the whole Doctrines and Practices of Popery: What uses have they not made of what is called, *the Power of the Keys*, in order to acquire Power to themselves, and triumph over the Civil Magistrate! What immense Sums has their Fable of *Purgatory* and the Pretence of *Masses* brought them in! and what excessive Gains did they acquire by *Crusadoes* and *Indulgencies*; 'till the Cheat became so gross, that *Luther* by detecting it shook the Basis of their Political Foundation, and by unraveling the Clue of Papal Iniquity, made way for reviving a *Worship* consisting only in Spirit and in Truth, and therefore properly enough called the REFORMATION!

* Quid plangitis miseri? Nonne vos omnes divites relinquo?
Quid amplius exigitis? *Matthew Paris.*



C H A P. VIII.

BEING arrived thus low, one would have thought the Progress of Priestcraft had well nigh reached its End; but the fairest Hopes have sometimes been disappointed: However, in the remaining Part of my Work, I shall stray as little from Home as possible, and with the utmost Impartiality trace the last Footsteps of my Subject.

'Tis questionless, that to a Priest, *viz.* *Cranmer*, we owe the first Countenance, and consequently the Establishment, of what is called the *Protestant Faith* in *England*; for 'tis morally certain, but for him, *Henry* the VIIIth would have been so far from shewing any favour to the Reformed, that he would have proceeded against them with the utmost Severity, agreeable both to the Vehemence of his Temper, and the Principles he had imbibed. The Constancy of that Prelate's Friendship for the Lord *Cromwell*, when in the worst Circumstances*; the hand he had in asserting the

* Memorial of ABp. *Cranmer*, Book 2. Chap. 1. P. 141.

King's Supremacy, in the Days of *Edward* the VIth; and the manner of his Death; may doubtless entitle him to the Character of a *Priest* without *Craft*.

THE Behaviour of the Cl--gy, under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was very tolerable; and if their Zeal against *Puritans* ran too high, 'tis certain they met with great Provocation. I am conscious some of our weak Brethren (I mean Free-Thinkers) will be displeas'd with this Concession, from an erroneous Opinion, that the *Puritans* maintained a Cause, nearly resembling their own; absolutely opposite to Priestcraft, and every way conformable to Reason. But what pity 'tis they are mistaken! Alas! the Puritans, and Kirk of *Scotland*, both assert a Divine Right in their Spiritual Affairs, in stronger Terms than the Bishops by half; and so prevalent is this Holy Craft among them, that to this Day they defend the Independency of the Kirk, upon the State, and have often been inflam'd to Rebellion, in favour of King *J-sus*. Nay so lofty were they grown in the time of King *James* the Ist, that before he left *Scotland*, they were much more Masters of his Kingdom than he; of which because it so strongly bespeaks their Spirit of Priestcraft, I cannot forbear mentioning one Instance.

It seems they had bellowed so loud from their Pulpits against the * *French* Embassadors, that their Excellencies thought it prudent to retire. The King desired the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to feast them before they returned, owning at the same time that himself durst not do it: The Magistrates dutifully complied with the King's Request, and appointed the Monday following for their Entertainment. The Ministry hereupon to shew their meek Spirit, proclaimed a Fast; and because the Magistrates and Nobility in obedience to their Sovereign, that Day attended the Embassadors, they pursued them with the Censures of the Church, and were hardly prevailed upon to refrain from thundering out the last, and severest Sentence of *Excommunication*. A Behaviour, as little to be justified, from the Language of the Gospel, or the Practice of the Apostles, as the furious Bulls and Antichristian Censures of the *Roman* Pope!

Priestcraft in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, raised its Head again; for tho' many of the Bishops in King *James's* Reign, and some even in that of his Son, retained humble and moderate Opinions; yet the Pedantry of the first, and the pertinacious Byass of the latter, towards aggran-

* B. Brumhall's *Fair Warning*, p. 27.

dizing the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, gave great Opportunities to Men of restless and aspiring Spirits, for endeavouring at a resumption of those Powers, which the *Reformation* made by the State in *England*, had wisely cut off from the Church. Such undoubtedly was the End proposed in the Vehemency of *Laud's* Proceedings against all who gainsay'd him, the Zeal of the Dignified Clergy for reviving Ceremonies, the Intemperance and Indiscretion of * Bishop *Wren*; as for instance, in churching a Man who had escaped tossing by a Cow, was directed with the same view of building up again the Walls of this spiritual *Jerico*: which, considering the Unnaturalness of the Attempt, upon Protestant Principles, and the general Aversion of the Times, human Prudence might easily have foreseen the Event. Yet the Confusions, which immediately followed, and that Ruin which the Cl--gy brought upon themselves, gave stronger Instances of the Danger of Priestcraft, than any that have happen'd before or since in this Island. The Effect that a pretence to Sanctity and Revelation, attended with a voluble Tongue, and insinuating Cant, has upon vulgar Minds and shallow Understandings, became now a Maxim commonly un-

* See the Articles exhibited against him by the House of Commons.

derstood,

derstood, and as commonly practised: under Colour of Religion, a general Enthusiasm prevailed, not only destructive of the Form and outward Appearance of a *Church*, but of * Morality also; and in fine, the Bulk of the Nation might very fitly be divided into two Parties, those who deluded under a Mask of Piety, and those who were led away by their Delusions. I know I speak in a new Language, but 'tis the Language of a *Free-Thinker*, who if he dislikes the Tyranny of Priests in La--n Sl--ves, abhors much more the same Subjection to a Soul-saving Butcher, who would be sure to preach unintelligible Doctrine, and treat in a severer manner (when in his Power) whoever should presume to differ from him, under a Pretence of Thinking freely.

THE Bulk of the Superior Cl--gy, during the long Reign of *Charles II.* were Men whom all sides confessed, to have had great Parts and Learning; however Priestcraft was not extinguished, the Government had Reasons for favouring the Power of Church-Men, and they in their turns preached up so unlimited an Obedience to the State, that the People apprehended them under a fort of Compact, to have shared the Civil Rights

* Vid. *Gangrene*, in two Parts, 4to. Written by *Thomas Edwards* Minister of the Gospel; and Printed A.D. 1646.

of the Subject between them. † However, in the next Reign, the *Priesthood* behaved in a manner so agreeable to the Christian Scheme, so becoming Protestant Preachers, and so consonant to the Principles of Free-Thinkers; that it would be Partiality in the highest Degree, to charge those with Priestcraft, who ventured *all*, and suffered *much*, for the sake of *Liberty*, and the *Constitution*. As to those *Prelates*, &c. who thought it inconsistent with their Consciences, to comply with the Form of *Government*, settled after the *Revolution*, tho' I cannot agree they thought right, yet I see not how it can be denied, but that they thought *Freely*; especially when we consider, how many *Thousands per Annum* their Free-Thinking cost them. For the Priestcraft of King *William's* B—ps, and Cl—gy I can say little; but it seems to have flourished extraordinarily, under the Auspice of his Successor, our late gracious Sovereign Lady Queen ANNE: We all know how much Noise the *Church* made in her Days, and what an Outcry there was of its Danger; what voluminous Pieces were daily usher'd into the World with pompous Titles, in favour of what was called the *Fus Divinum* of their Sacred Orders. But those At-

† See the History of the Desertion, 4to. By a Person of Quality. Printed 1689.

tempts, which occasioned great Tumults, and disturbed the Quiet of an easy and excellent Administration, very happily proved abortive: Which whether it did not redound more to the Service of the Clergy, than to the State, is not easy to be determined. For whenever, thro' the Bigottry, Indolence, or Policy of any succeeding Prince, the Cl—gy shall arrive at such a Stretch of Power and Authority (as many who know not the true Interest of their Order, seem to wish); I, tho' no Prophet, will venture to foretell, that as it will deserve, so it will draw on a *Second Reformation*; which probably may leave them in a much worse State, than at present they can possibly be said to be.

MY Discourse tending now to a Close, permit me, my Brethren! Ye who are *Free-Thinkers!* and Ye who *Think Freely!* to make some Reflections both on what has been said, and also on *Religion*, a thing which some imagine gives you great Uneasiness, because they see Ye so vehemently oppose it. In former Days indeed, it would have been dangerous to have engaged either in so bold, or so open and vigorous, an Opposition: * *Hobbs* was forced to write with

* Whoever has any Curiosity to see the Quintessence of many such like Pieces, may find them in *Sachewerell's Tryal*; the Doctor rightly conceiving, *Infidels* were *false Brethren* to the Cl—gy.

great Caution and Obscurity; *Spinoza*, whose small Tract of Political Divinity has been shred to so much Advantage, thro' the *Rights* of the *Christian Church*, and some other Books I could mention, remained long in great Privacy; while the Writings of *Servetus* shared the hard Fortune of their Author, and were doomed with the same Cruelty to Oblivion, as he was to Execution.

BUT thanks to the enterprizing Genius of the present Age, we have seen Religion attacked from all Quarters without Disguise; its Mysteries expos'd by the deeply learned Mr. *Tol-d*, its Cl-gy totally ruined in the Opinion of a mad *Q---k*, and a stupid *Se---t*, by that exquisite Performance, the *Independent Whig*; thro' which the Road being opened, and the Out-works stormed, its Foundation was next batter'd, by the celebrated *Grounds and Reasons, &c.* and as a *Coup d' Eclat*, the Person and Miracles of its Divine Author vilify'd and burlesqued in Mr. *W-ston's* never to be forgotten Discourses.

How great Success these vast Designs have met with, we may conjecture from the Number and Quality of our *Converts*, made up of *superannuated Physicians* and *Lawyers*, the lower Tribe of the *rakish Soldiery*, the whole Body of *intriguing Fops*,

Fops, a numerous Corps of those, who find Believing *no* Religion the best Opiate for the *Stings* of Conscience; a competent Number of *Smatterers*, who list themselves purely for the Vanity of passing for *Shrewd* Thinkers, *Country Squires* without Sense, *Poring Pedants* without Judgment, and here and there a *Disaffected Parson*, without (or with too *small*) Preferment: and all these against the utmost Efforts of the opposite Party, brought over by mere Dint of Reason, and Force of Argument: For it must be acknowledged (for our own Honour as well as the sake of Truth) that the Cl-gy have made a strenuous Resistance; for not to name those, who may be supposed to have had Reputation and Benefices in view, some of our Pre-tes have roused in Defence of Points, in which they have been grounded by Errors in Education, and shewn they were Chr-ans, when we took them but for B-ps: Nay the B-p of *Lon--n* outdid his Brethren, and three Things called *P--al L--rs*, each an humble Pamphlet, at so small a Price as Twelve Pence, has done us more Damage, and reclaimed more of our Profelites, than all the numerous Train of Demonstrations, Apologies or Justifications, that ever yet were Printed. However, since the *D--w--y* Sermon, I have gained fresh Hopes; and having strengthen'd all our

our former Arguments with this learned Disquisition of *Priestcraft*, I began in my Thoughts to anticipate a certain Victory: Upon which it next occurred to me, that supposing Things should fall out as we would have them, and that *Natural* (which seems to be the View of our Ingenious Brother the Auth-r of the *Fable of the Bees*) as well as *Revealed Religion*, should be exploded; what shall we set up in their Room? for tho' most Religions have produced *Priestcraft*, yet I never in my Reading, could hear of any Nation, that could support itself without a *Priesthood*. And upon farther Reflection, I perceived that the Laws of the Land could only keep Folks honest as to their Hands, but that Men might still be Rogues in their Hearts, in spite of them, tho' they should be contrived by a *P*—*y*, and executed by a *Ra*—*nd*.

WELL, not to keep you in Suspence, after mature Deliberation, I came to this Conclusion: That to preserve our Understandings from being imposed on by Ridiculous and absurd Notions, under Pretence of Revelation; our Properties, from being invaded thro' Mens want of Conscience, and our Minds from being disturbed, every time we think of *Death*, from our having nothing to hope in, or to trust to: The *Protestant Religion*, as by Law established in this Kingdom,

Kingdom, with its *Hierarchy* rightly understood, and free from Priestcraft, ought to be received, as consonant to Reason, and agreeable to Free-Thinking: But the Proof of this, as it will require a larger Space and different Language, I must, in the Words of the Country *Parson*, refer to another *Opportunity*.



THE



THE
 CONFESSIO
 N
 OF
 Parson B--W---N.

Says the Vicar of D-wsb-ry, Friends, pray draw near;
 I have something to say, you will smile when you
 In form you must know, I a Priest was ordain'd, (hear.
 But that Matter shall now be more fully explain'd;
 When the Bishop approach'd, and his Hands on me laid,
 (By whose Fingers I thought special Gifts were convey'd)
 O how I rejoic'd, for I then apprehended,
 That Ignorance fled, and Morals were mended;
 But alas! by Experience I now understand,
 'Twas a plain Imposition, and meer Slight of hand;
 For, to speak my mind freely, I've not one jot more
 Of Grace, or of Latin and Greek than before.
 Why then in the Church do they make such ado
 About Bishops, as if they're essential thereto?
 A Bishop! what is he? why stay — let me see,
 He's what I'm persuaded — I never shall be.
 Then since I'm not likely to have such a Call,
 I see no Necessity — for 'em at all.

That

That there must be some Mission, I readily own,
 And that there were Bishops at first 'tis well known;
 But yet I can shew in a manner most clever,
 That that Order was not to continue for ever.
 The good Kirk of Scotland to prove this I bring,
 With the English Dissenters, who have no such thing.
 Besides how could that (as some foolishly prate)
 Be fixt in Christ's Church which may endanger the State?
 That it may is most certain, because by the way,
 What was yesterday wholesome, is Poison to day.
 This is strict Demonstration, good People, I trow,
 It cannot be otherwise, — therefore 'tis so;
 To maintain which said Truth, to a Stake I'd be ty'd,
 And if that should e'er happen, then say B-w--n dy'd }
 A Martyr to Impudence, Nonsense and Pride. }

F I N I S.

Just Publish'd, (Price 1 s.)

Dedicated to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of OXFORD,

A Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the CHURCH
 of ENGLAND, against the new Reviv'd Calumnies of
 the Dissenters: Being a full Answer to a late Pamphlet called,
An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest,
In a Letter to a Dissenting Minister.

THE
REASONABLENESS

OF 375-10

Church *and* College Fines

ASSERTED.

AND THE

R I G H T S

WHICH

CHURCHES *and* COLLEGES

Have in their ESTATES defended.

SECOND EDITION.

In Answer to a late Book, Entituled:

An Enquiry into the Customary-Estates and Tenant-Rights of those who hold Lands of Church and other Foundations by the Tenure of Three Lives and Twenty One Years.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Author, and Sold by R. Montagu at the General Post-Office in *Great-Queen-Street* near *Drury-Lane.* 1731. (Price One Shilling.)

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Printed for the Author, and sold by R. Kincaid at
the General Post Office in Great-Britain near
St. Dunstons Church. 1721. (Price One Shilling)



T H E
REASONABLENESS
O F
Church *and* College Fines
A S S E R T E D, &c.

IF the Clergy's using their utmost Endeavours to defend and support the *common Rights and Liberties* of the Laity lays any Obligation upon *these* to defend and support the *common Rights and Liberties* of the Clergy, I am sure there never was a Time when the Clergy had more just reason to expect the Favour and Assistance of the Laity than they have
B at

at present. Since the Christian Religion was first planted in this Kingdom the Ministers of it have never shewn a freer Spirit, or exerted themselves more vigorously in Vindication of *Liberty of Conscience*, and the *common Rights* of the Lay-Subject, than they have of late Years; and I believe I may, without fear of being thought too partial, say, That that happy Constitution both in Church and State which we now enjoy, and that invaluable Security of our Religion and Laws, which is founded in the Establishment of the Protestant Succession in the *Hanover* Line is, not a little, owing to the vigorous Opposition that was made by the Clergy to the arbitrary Measures that were taken in the Reign of the late King *James*.

This then being the Case, it is hop'd that the Clergy may, as they have reason, with Safety rely on the Lay-part of the Legislature for their Protection
and

and Assistance in the Support of those Rights and Claims which are founded in Reason and Equity, and which, as they are so, they enjoy in common with others.

But in all great Bodies of Men, as there will always be some who will receive real Injuries, so will there always be others who will fancy themselves injur'd, and who, not having Reason on their Side, will endeavour to supply the Want of it by Noise and Cry. ---- I profess that I cannot but look upon the present loud Complaints against Church and College-Lessors to be of the latter kind. But every one ought to judge for himself; and since none can make an impartial Judgment without considering what may be said on both Sides, this has induc'd me to lay my Thoughts in favour of Church and College-Lessors before the Reader in the following Papers; and this I shall endeavour to do in as little

Compass, and as plain Words as possible; only begging of the Reader, that he would read with Patience and judge with Calmness.

PROPOSITION.

All those Complaints which, of late Years, have been made by Laymen against Church-men and Fellows of Colleges, upon account of the Leases which the former hold of the latter, and under a Pretence that *these* demand exorbitant *Fines* for the renewing of the said Leases; all these Complaints, I say, will appear to be highly unreasonable from the three following Considerations.

I. Because Church-men and Fellows of Colleges have always taken less *Fines* for the *Renewals* of the Leases held under them, than such *Renewals* were really worth.

The

The Value of a *Renewal* of 7 Years laps'd in a Lease of 21 Years, is worth very near 3 Years Rent. For, at this Rate, the whole Lease would be valu'd at about 13 Years Purchase; and so the Lessee would make 5 *l. per Cent.* both for the Money which he pays for his *Renewal* of 7 Years, and for his remaining Interest of 14 Years to come in his Lease. --- Supposing then that Money bore 5 *l. per Cent.* to give 13 Years Purchase for a Lease of 21 Years, or 3 Years Rent for renewing of 7 Years laps'd in such a Lease, would be placing Money out at 5 *l. per Cent.* and so in Proportion in Leases for Lives, considering *these* as equivalent to Leases of 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 Years, according to the Goodness of the Lives.

This is the Intrinsic Value of such Leases, and of the common *Renewals* of them; and it is built upon this plain Proposition, That if Money

bore 5 *l.* per Cent. 105 *l.* to be receiv'd at the Year's end would now be worth 100 *l.*

But Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have never come up any thing near to this Value.---- Of late Years some of them have taken 1 Year and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *reputed* Rent for renewing of 7 Years laps'd in a Lease of 21 Years; and so in proportion for putting in a Life into a Lease for Lives: And some of them do still, as they all, within our own Memory, did usually take but 1 Year for such a *Renewal*. What Reason then can Church and College-Lessees have to complain against their Lessors, since they do not in their highest *Fines* take so much as half of the real Value?

As to those Disputes that may have arisen concerning the Value of some particular Estates, upon Surveys lately made, no Objection can in Justice be brought from them against what

I have

I have advanc'd; because those Disputes are not concerning the Rate of *Fining*, but concerning the different Valuation of the Estates; and 'till *this* can be settled, no Argument can be drawn from hence in favour of either Side.

And I desire the Reader would observe here, That Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have rais'd their *Fines* only in *Specie*, but not in *real Value*. For to grant a Lease of Land for any Term of Years, is to grant away the *Fee* for so long. And therefore as the *real Value* of the whole *Fee* increases, the *real Value* of the Part granted upon Lease will also increase in proportion. But Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have not rais'd the *Value* of their *Fines*, for the Parts which they have granted upon Lease, in proportion to the advanc'd *real Value* of the *Fee* of their Estates. ---
 For instance, When Money was at 6l. per Cent. Free Land was worth
 B 4 17 Years

17 Years Purchase; as it is worth 25 Years Purchase *now* that Money is at 4*l.* per Cent. and the usual Rate of Church and College-Fines then was 1 Year's Rent for 7 Years laps'd. But 1 Year's Rent *then* was the 17th Part of the *real Value* of the whole Fee, whereas 1 Year's and $\frac{1}{4}$ Rent *now* is but the 20th Part of the *real Value* of the whole Fee; and consequently the *present Church and College Fines* of 1 Year and $\frac{1}{4}$ are as much less than the *former Fines* of only 1 Year, as $\frac{1}{20}$ is less than $\frac{1}{17}$.

The same Truth will also appear if we compare these different *Fines*, for the like Term of 7 Years, with the different *Values* of a Lease of 21 Years in the beginning of the last Century, and at present. ----* In the beginning of the last Century Money bore 10 per Cent. and according-

* The Interest of Money was reduced to 10 per Cent. by 13 Eliz. and to 8 per Cent. by 21 Jac. I.

ly a Lease of 21 Years was *then* worth almost 9 Years Purchase. So that a *Fine* of 1 Year's Rent, for renewing of 7 Years laps'd in such a Lease, was *then* worth about a 9th Part of the Value of the whole Lease. But *now* that a Lease of 21 Years is worth, by the *present* Rate of Interest, 14 Years Purchase, a *Fine* of one Year and $\frac{1}{4}$, for renewing of 7 Years laps'd, is worth but an 11th Part of the Value of the whole Lease.

Both these Computations agree in the same Point. And they, not only show the Reason why Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have rais'd, and should raise their *Fines*; but they are also a Demonstration that Church and College-Lessees are more favourably us'd in paying 1 Year's and $\frac{1}{4}$ Rent for a *Renewal* of 7 Years *now* that Land is worth 25 Years Purchase, than they were when they paid only 1 Year's Rent for a *Renewal* of

of a like Term, and Land was worth
17 Years Purchase.

II. A second Consideration which shows the Unreasonableness of the present Complaints of Church and College-Lessees is ; that Lay Lords have always taken greater *Fines* for renewing of the Leases held of them, both for Lives and for Years, than Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have ever taken of their Tenants, and yet in the former Case there have been no *such* Complaints, altho' the Point in Equity, *i. e.* the *real Value* of the Thing, is in both Cases exactly the same.

We have already taken a general View of the intrinsic Value of those Leases, about which we are now concern'd, and of the usual *Renewals* of them.---I don't say, that either Laymen or Church-men have *fin'd* their Tenants up to the intrinsic Value; but I must say, that Lay-men have always come nearer to the intrinsic Value

Value than Church-men. And, I believe, I may safely lay this down as a sure Position, that when Church-Lessors have usually taken 1 Year's *reputed* Rent for renewing of seven Years laps'd in a Lease of 21 Years, and 1 Year's and $\frac{1}{4}$ Rent for putting a Life into a Lease of Lives, Lay-Lessors have, as usually, taken the Rack-Rent of two Years for the *former*, and something more for the *latter*. And tho' Church-men have, of late Years, somewhat increas'd their *Fines*, yet they still are at much the same proportionable Distance from the usual Method of *fining*, which Lay-men observe one with another. Church and College-Lessees therefore will find no reason to complain of hard Usage from their Lessors, if they will but compare the Terms upon which they renew with those Terms upon which Lay-Lessees renew with their Lessors. --- It is indeed the usual Way of most Tenants
of

of all Kinds to complain against their Land-Lords. But where Complaints are great and loud one expects to find some particular and very reasonable Grounds for them. But this is so far from appearing to be the Case of Church and College-Lessees, that it will, upon Enquiry, be found, that they have great Reason to be thankful that they are us'd by their Lessors much more favourably than Lay-Lessees are by their Lessors.

III. A third Consideration which shews the Unreasonableness of the present Complaints of Church and College-Lessees is ; that, generally speaking, Church-men and Fellows of Colleges cannot in such Cases do any thing that is unjust to their Lessees. For they cannot alter the Bargains, which they or their Predecessors have made with them.---- If the Lessees hold by Lives it is not in the Power of the Lessors to enter upon
the

the Premises till the Lives are expir'd; and if they hold by a Lease of Years, not till those Years are run out. But if the Lessees have a mind to renew when a Life is fallen, or 7 Years are expir'd, *this* is entring into a new Covenant, which, in the Nature of things, is as distinct from the former Covenant as if they had never held under the aforesaid Lessors; and consequently both Parties are free to make the most of their respective Interests in the Estates. For after all that can be said, it must be allow'd that Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have in Right and Reason the same real Interest in their Estates for the Time being that Lay-Lessors, who are Tenants only for Life, have in theirs.---- There cannot possibly be imagin'd any Difference in Nature between *Church-Property* and *Lay-Property* of this Kind. An Estate of 100 *l. per Annum* is not worth so much to a Lay-man during his

his Life, and less to a Church-man during his Life. And therefore when such an Estate falls into the Hands of Spiritual or Collegiate-Persons, they must have the same Right that Lay-Lessors, who hold by the same Kind of Tenure, have, either to keep it in Hand, or let it out by the Year at the same yearly Rent, or upon a Lease of Lives or Years, for as many Years Purchase.

This Consideration is to be understood, as it is worded, only generally. It is possible that in some few and very rare Cases both Lay and Church Lessees may suffer Hardships. But tho' such Cases are Objections against an universal Proposition, they can be no Objection against a general One. And much less do they afford just Grounds to lay the whole Load of Complaint on the Clergy; since both Lay and Church-Lessees are equally liable to the same possible Grievances. And besides, I am
apt

apt to think, because I have known it in many Cases to be Fact, that the greatest Part of these are only pretended Hardships.---- The Case refers to Improvements made by the Lessee on the Premises.---- Now as to Buildings, the common Method of Churches and Colleges to encourage such Improvements is to take an easy Ground-Rent, and wholly to remit the *Fine* for the first *Renewal*. By which Means Building is encourag'd, and Builders find that building on Church or College-Ground turns to much better Account than building on Lay-Premises.----- As to Improvements of Land by Husbandry, the usual Method is for Church and College-Lessees to propose to their Lessors what Improvements they intend to make, and to secure a proportionable Allowance or Abatement for such Improvements, either before they begin to make them, or at their next *Renewal*.

And

And there is no doubt but such Promises, when made, ought to be religiously observ'd. But 'tis evident that this Case is liable to unfair Practices on both Sides. For as Churches and Colleges are flux Bodies, the *Major* Part of the Members of them may possibly be chang'd before the next *Renewal*; and then the new Members may possibly not be willing to make good the Promise of their Predecessors; or, which oftner happens, after such Changes the Lessees are apt to conceal the Allowances and Abatements which they have already receiv'd, and to plead for new Allowances and Abatements, under Pretence that they have made Improvements upon the Premises without any Considerations had or receiv'd from the Lessors. ----- However, in all common and general Cases, it is most evident that Church Lessors and Lessees have both of them their Remedy in their own Hands.

Hands. And so whether the Informations given of the *Value* of Estates be good or bad; whether right or wrong *Surveys* have been made, neither Party can be aggriev'd; since if they cannot concur and agree upon a new Bargain, they may nevertheless enjoy all the Advantages of their former Agreement.

The foregoing Proposition being, as I conceive, fully prov'd, I shall now draw three very important Corollaries from it: only premising, That as the *Fines* for *Renewals* and the Interest of Money have varied much of late Years, and there are very few Church-Lessees, but what were so when *Fines* were more settled, and Money was at *6 l. per Cent.* I shall use this Rate of Interest to make good the following Corollaries.

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C O.

C O R O L. I.

Those that have Church-Leases of 21 Years, and have been Church-Lessees for 29 Years have, within that Time, got clearly out of the Church-Estates Money enough to purchase their own Leases.

Suppose a Church-Lessee to have purchas'd a 21 Years Lease of a Church-Estate of 100 *l.* *per Annum* for 1200 *l.* and to have paid a *Fine* of 100 *l.* for every *Renewal* of 7 Years; it is evident that upon every such *Renewal* he got 140 *l.* For the Value of a *Renewal* of 7 Years is, in such a Case, to the Value of the whole Lease as 1 is to 5. If then the Money got upon every such *Renewal*, and the Interest of this Money be put together, it will appear by the Calculation annext that in 29 Years the Lessee gets clearly out of the Estate

Estate Money enough to purchase his own Lease.

First 7 Years Renewal l.
140

Second 7 Years Renewal 140
 140 l. become by Interest
 of 7 Years 210

350

Third 7 Years Renewal 140
 350 l. become by Interest
 of 7 Years 525

665

Fourth 7 Years Renewal 140
 665 l. become by Interest
 of 7 Years 997

1137

COROL. II.

Those that have Church-Leases of 21 Years, and have been Lessees for 34 Years, have, within that Time, got clearly out of the Church-Estates Money enough to purchase the Fee-Simple of them.

A Free Estate of 100 l. per Annum, Money being at the Rate of 6 per Cent. is worth 16 Years and $\frac{2}{3}$ Purchase. Now if we carry on the foregoing Calculation, it will appear that in four Renewals of 7 Years, and one of 6 Years, the Lessee gets clear 1711 l. which will purchase a Free Estate of 100 l. per Annum; the Interest of Money being as before.

First Renewal of 6 Years	120
1137 become by Interest	
of 6 Years	1591
	<hr/>
	1711
	CO-

C O R O L L. III.

Those that have Church-Leases of 21 Years, and have been Lessees for 63 Years, or ever since the *Restoration*, have, within that Time, got clearly out of the Church-Estates Money enough to purchase each of them their own Lease, and besides a *Free-Estate* of the same yearly Value.

As this Corollary is only the Sum of the two foregoing, it does not stand in need of a distinct Proof.

The same Truths will proportionably appear in Leases for Lives, and at other Rates of Interest and *fining*. And therefore, upon the Whole, I put it to the Conscience of the *antient Tenants* of the Church to determine with themselves, whether the Violences and Oppressions that are complain'd of lie on the Side of the Church Lessors or of the Church Lessees.

WHAT I have already said is, I presume, sufficient to prove the Proposition which I had advanc'd, but as *this* will receive farther Strength by removing the Objections that may be made against it, I shall now proceed to consider *these*, as I find them laid before me in a late Performance, Entitled: *An Enquiry into the Customary-Estates and Tenant-Rights of those who hold Lands of Church and other Foundations by the Tenure of three Lives, and twenty one Years.*

It is necessary I should premise here that what the Author of the *Enquiry* has offer'd on this Subject falls properly under the Head only of my third Consideration. For his main Design is to prove a *renewable Right* in favour of Church and College-Lessees. Whereas my third Consideration is built upon the Supposition that they have no *such* Right. But as these Things are connected together they easily run into one another.

another. However I shall endeavour to keep them as distinct as possible.

I. The *Enquirer* begins by asserting that there is a *difference between Lay and Ecclesiastical Estates*. Page 5, 8. And he apprehends this Difference to be so great that he confesseth they seem to him to be *in no one Point and Quality alike, with respect to the Property and Interest which appertains to each*. Page 23.

The first 30 Pages of the *Enquiry* (which make almost one third part of it) are spent upon this Subject. And yet the Author has not produc'd one single Difference that comes up to the Point.----- He supposes that the Point to be prov'd is, that there is a *Difference between Lay and Ecclesiastical Estates*. But this is stating the Case in too general Terms, with no other View, that I can see, but to perplex the Cause and deceive the Reader. For the Point to

be made out by him is not, that there is a Difference between Lay and Ecclesiastical Estates ; for that there is a Difference between them, when consider'd so generally, is a Thing which was never denied : But the true and only Point to be prov'd by him is ; *That there is such a Difference between the Tenures of Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons and those of Lay-Lessors, who are Tenants only for Life, as that the former have not the same Interest in their Estates during their Lives, that Lay-Lessors are allow'd to have during their Lives.*---

I insist upon it, that the stating of the Case in any other manner is running from the Point : And the stating of it in this manner evidently shows, that all those Particulars in which the *Enquirer* has plac'd a Difference between Lay and Ecclesiastical Estates are quite foreign to the Purpose. For they may all be allow'd to be true, and yet nothing will follow from such Concessions
that

that will any Way prove that Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have not, for their time, as full an Interest in their Estates, as Lay-Lessors for Life have for their time.

Lay-Fees, it is said, are pure, absolute, and unconditional Estates in the Owners. --- But there is as wide a Difference between *these* and Lay-Tenants for Life, as there is between the *former* and Church-Possessors. --- Again; it is urg'd, That Lay-Tenants come into their Estates by Purchase or Descent; whereas Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons come in by *free Gift*. --- But Lay-Possessors, whether in *Fee*, or only for Life, do not always come into their Estates by Purchase or Descent. *These* are sometimes as *free Gifts* to them, as Church-Preferments are to Church-men. And besides, it makes no Alteration in the present Case, whether a Tenant for Life come in by *Purchase, Descent, or Free Gift*. If he comes in by a good Title (as *Purchase, Descent, and free*

free Gift must be allow'd to be good Titles) he will still have for his Term the same Interest in the Estate, whether he be Church or Lay-man. It is farther said, That Tenants of Lay-Fees are unaccountable for the Profits they make of their Estates, but Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons are accountable. --- But this may be either allow'd or deny'd according to what the Author meant. If the Author meant that Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons are accountable for such a Part of the Profits of their Estates as will answer the Incumbrances laid upon them by their Founders, *this* will be allow'd; but then it may equally affect Lay-Possessors, whether in *Fee*, or only for *Life*; for their Estates may possibly be charg'd with Incumbrances, as well as those of Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons. In which Case the Lay-Possessors will be accountable to those Persons, in whose Favour the Incumbrances are laid upon their Estates.

Estates. But if the Author meant, That after these Incumbrances are satisfied, Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons are accountable for that Share of the Profits of their Estates which comes to them, *this* will be denied. For they are as absolutely unaccountable for their respective Dividends, or Profits, as if *these* arose from pure and absolute *Fee* Estates. ---- Lastly, It is advanc'd, and as well prov'd as it is universally undenied, That Church-Lands were given to the Church on the *Special Trust* that they should be applied to the good Purposes of Charity, and the Maintenance of the Clergy. But this Design of religious Donations makes no manner of Alteration in the Tenure of Church and College-Lessors. The Uses to which the Produces of their Estates are to be applied (whether they arise from *reserved Rents*, or *Fines*) is directed by the Statutes of the respective Foundations. If they

they are not so applied, I readily own that a Fraud is thereby committed, and the original Intent of the Donors perverted. And I would farther consent to have all those Penalties inflicted on the Doers of this, which the Law directs. But what is all this to the Tenure of Church and College-Lessors? Or what Advantage does it make out for the Lessees? whose Condition in this respect remains the same, whether the Trust repos'd in the Lessors by the Donors, be conscientiously discharg'd by them, or not.

And here I think my self dispens'd from following the *Enquirer* thro' that *short View* which he takes of the *Original Nature, Trust and Design of Donations to the Church*, and which in twenty Pages, and no more, he deduces from *Constantine*, thro' the *Council of Trent*, down to *Queen Elizabeth*. We are agreed upon the Truth of these Facts, and differ only

ly about the Applications of and Consequences from them, which, with some Men, are very slight things. I think the *Enquirer* might have spar'd himself the trouble of making Collections, which could serve no other Purpose but to fill twenty Pages. But perhaps this Trouble was already over, and the Collections lay ready in the Common-Place Book. If the Case was so, we need not ask the Reason why the *Enquirer* * declares he *could not avoid saying thus much*. --- But, as I propose to put the Reader to as little Expence as possible, I must proceed to consider that Part of the *Enquiry* that carries some Argument with it, and conclude the present Head with this Determination, *viz.* That the *Enquirer* has not made out any such Difference between Lay and Ecclesiastical Estates as comes up to the Point,

* Page 24.

and consequently, That he has not prov'd his Preliminary Position.

II. From that Part of the *Enquiry* which has been already consider'd, an Objection may be form'd against what I have asserted concerning the Unreasonableness of the Complaints that are rais'd against the *Fines* set by Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons. For it may be said, That since the Estates which they enjoy are religious *Donations*, and the Intent of the *Donors* was, that their Endowments should be applied to charitable Uses, Church-men and Fellows of Colleges ought to be more easy with their Tenants than Lay-Lessors are with theirs.

This Objection consists of two Particulars: And

I. With relation to the first, *viz.* The Supposition that Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons are not so easy with

with their Tenants as Lay-Lessors are with theirs, I confidently assert, because I think I have sufficiently prov'd it, that the Fact is and has been quite otherwise ever since the time when Money bore 10 *per Cent.* and it never was more evident than it has been of late Years, that Spiritual and Collegiate-Lessors are more easy with their Tenants than Lay-Lessors are with theirs, when yet the popular Cry against them has been greatest. For my own Part, I cannot help thinking that a principal Cause of the Clamours that have been rais'd against Church-men proceeds from their having renew'd with their Tenants upon very easy Terms, and not having kept up with Lay-Lessors in the Rate of *Fining*, which *these* observe. It is certain that Men may be good Scholars, and good Christians, and so good Church men, without being deeply skill'd in Numbers and Calculations, and without knowing

knowing the real Value of *Leases* and of the *Renewals* of them. Now the *Lessees* under them, observing this, have made it a Practice upon *Renewals*, to exclaim against the Exorbitancy of the *Fines* demanded; not that they really thought them so, but in hopes of obtaining by Noise and Clamour, what they well knew they had no reason to expect in Justice and Equity.

2. As to the Second Particular in the Objection, *viz.* That Spiritual and Collegiate-Lessors ought to be more easy with their Tenants than Lay-Lessors are with theirs, because the Intent of the religious *Donors* was, that their Endowments should be applied to charitable Uses, I answer---- That the Application of Church-Revenues is entirely distinct from the manner in which those Revenues are rais'd. There is no doubt but that Church-Revenues ought to be

cipal Objects of their Charity. For most Church-Leases have now got into the Hands of Persons, who, generally speaking, are richer than the Church-men under whom they hold, and so more able to consider Church-men as Objects of their Charity, than the Reverse. --- So that religious Endowments cannot be applied more contrary to the original Design of the *Donors*, than by alienating any Part of the Value of them, and appropriating *this* to the Lessees.

III. We are now come to the grand Position of the *Enquiry*, viz.

That the Lessees of Lands holden of the Church by the Tenure of 3 Lives or 21 Years, and their Assigns, have, by the Laws and Usages of this Realm, a Right to renew their Leases at the usual Time of Renewal, on Payment of a reasonable Fine.

In this indeed the Merit of the Cause does consist. And this is what the *Enquirer* pursues from *Pag. 30.* to *Pag. 69.*

If the Reader is pleas'd to take up with the bare Authority, or rather Sound of great Names, he will be here fully satisfied. For in every Page he will meet with *Bracton*, or *Spelman*, or *Coke*, or *Littleton*, or some other Worthy. For my own Part, I profess to have as great Respect for these Names, as they are the Names of Men of great Sense, as the *Enquirer* himself has. But I am very sensible that the Writings of Men of the greatest Sense may be so applied as that they shall have no Sense. --- The *Enquirer* had undoubtedly made large Collections under the Words *Custom*, *Copy*, and *Feud*; and for this reason he could no more avoid saying thus much under this Head, than under a former Head he could avoid filling 20 Pages with a

short View of the original Nature, Trust and Design of Donations to the Church, which was nothing to the Purpose. However, since the *Enquirer* intended to exhaust his Common-Place Book, I wish he had disposed his Collections into such an Order as would have given his Reader a distinct View of his Arguments: for in their present State they lie more confus'd than they probably did in their original *Archive*. But for the Reader's sake I will endeavour to separate them, and keep them as distinct as possible. And the best Method I can think of to dispose what the *Enquirer* has advanc'd, to *his* Advantage, is thus, *viz.*

That the Lessees of Lands holden of the Church by the Tenure of 3 Lives or 21 Years, have a *Right* to renew their Leases.

I. Because *long Possession* implies *Right*.

II. Because

II. Because a *Renewal* is a *Renewal* of *Possession*.

III. Because *Custom* carries a *renewable Right*.

IV. Because the *Law* gives them this *Right*.

I. It is said, That Church-Lessees have a Right of Renewing, (a) because *long Possession* implies *Right*. --- The ancient, acknowledg'd and common Customs of the Realm are indeed the Common Law of the Realm; and (b) *Bracton* very justly says, that *Longa Possessio parit jus possidendi*. But *Bracton's Longa Possessio* is not a Possession of 21 Years, or of 3 joint Lives, but as (c) he himself, and (d) *Littleton* after him explains it, such as goes *beyond the Memory of Man*. For such a length of Time ought,

(a) Pag. 31. &c.

(b) Lib. 1. c. 3.

(c) Longum Tempus, & longus Usus qui excedit Memoriam hominum, sufficit pro Jure. *Ibid.*

(d) Ten. S. 170.

as the (a) *Civilians* speak, to be held for *infinite*.

II. It is said, That Church-Lessees have a Right of Renewing, because (b) a *Renewal* is a *Renewal of Possession*. --- But to this I answer, That a *Renewal* is a repurchasing or reacquiring of a *Possession*, which would otherwise have expired. This is what the Word *Renewal* properly and strictly means. And this is the Sense also in which the Law understands it: for *Renovatio Possessionis* does strictly give the Tenant no more *Right of Possession* than he enjoy'd before his former Term was expired. And therefore it cannot, as the *Enquirer* would have it, signify in general, to purchase, continue and perpetuate a *successive Possession in the Lands*; for where the first *Possession* was not a

(a) *Tempus Memoriam excedens pro infinito habetur.* Grot. de Jure B. atque P.

(b) Pag. 70. &c.

perpetual

perpetual and *successive Possession*, the renewing of *this* cannot thereby become *perpetual* and *successive*. --- And this is the common Case of Church and College-Lessees. Their present Tenure does not imply or give them any Right to *continue* and *perpetuate* their *Possession*, and therefore their future *Renovation* or *Renewal* of the same Tenure can never give them such a Right. --- A Power of renewing is a very considerable Advantage on the side of the Lessee, and therefore never to be understood to be granted, unless it be express'd in the Terms of the Covenant, or annex'd to the Nature of the Tenure, in virtue of some plain Law.

III. It is said, That Church-Lessees have a Right of renewing, because *Custom* carries a *renewable Right*.

This Topick is pursued from Page 31 to Page 43, and from Page 55 to Page 60, &c. --- But, before I

speak concerning the Force of *Custom*,
 it is necessary I should observe, That
 the *Enquirer*, in some of the Pages
 here refer'd to, *viz.* Pag. 34 -- 40,
 endeavours to perplex the Cause, to
 confound Copyholds and Leaseholds,
 and make his Reader believe that
 the customary Leases held of Spirit-
 ual Persons are the same with Te-
 nures by *Copy*. Whereas it is very
 evident they are not. Both these
 kinds of Tenure remain entirely di-
 stinct in the Hands of all Lords.
 And it may with as much Truth be
 said, that Copyholds are free Estates,
 as that Leaseholds are Copyholds.---
 I should be very unwilling to impute
 to an Author any Design which does
 not evidently appear from what he
 has advanc'd; but in the present Case
 I cannot but say, that I take this
 to have been his Design, because I
 do not see that he could have any
 other, and because he again endea-
 vours to lead his Reader into the
 same

same Confusion, Page 64, 5. where he says that Church-Leases are “com-
 “ par’d to, and spoken of by learn-
 “ ed Writers as of Copyholds, and
 “ in the Law of *England*, there is
 “ now no difference between them
 “ in this respect; that in pleading
 “ or making Title both the Copy-
 “ hold and the Leasehold Title are,
 “ and always may be alledg’d as
 “ Grants, and at this Day have di-
 “ vers other Properties in common.
 But,

Because Copyholds and Leaseholds have divers *other* Properties in common, does it therefore follow that they have the Property of a *renewable Right* in common?

Because they are compar’d to, and spoken of by learned Writers *as* of Copyholds, are they *therefore* Copyholds?

Because Copyhold and Leasehold Titles may be alledg’d as Grants, do therefore the *same* Rights and Privileges

leges go with, and belong to all Grants?

I presume the *Enquirer* will not answer affirmatively to any of these Queries when they are thus distinctly put to him.

Father *Simon*, and others, may have compar'd the Customary Leases held of Spiritual Persons to Tenures by *Copy*. But he never intended to mean thereby that they were *one* and the *same* Kind of Tenure, any more than * My Lord *Coke* in comparing Ecclesiastical Corporations to Tenants in Dower intended to mean that they both held by the *same* Kind of Tenure. There is as wide a Difference between *those* as the † *Enquirer* himself owns there is between *these*. The Intent of such Comparisons is only to make Things that are not understood to be apprehended, by shewing that they bear some Simili-

* 2 Inst. 627.

† Page 9.

tude or Analogy with Things that are suppos'd to be better understood.

That there are Customary Rights belonging to Leasehold Tenures is readily allow'd; but that a *Right* of *renewing* is one of those Customary Rights is and will be still denied.----- All the Learning, which the Author of the *Enquiry* has produc'd upon the Subject, and Force of *Custom*, will never prove this Point. For it may be allow'd to be *all* true, and yet it will never follow from hence that Church and College-Lessees have a *renewable Right* inherent or annex to their Tenure.----- *Custom* has great Force; but not Force enough to give or support a Right in Cases to which such *Custom* does not belong. It is essentially necessary to *this* that it be known and understood by the Parties concern'd that such *Custom* does create, give, convey or maintain such and such Rights.----- The
Te-

Tenures by *Knights Service*, *Soccage* or *Copy* were founded in, and supported by *Custom*, because it was generally known and understood by the Lords and Tenants that such and such respective *Rights* and *Services* were by *Custom* inherent to Tenures by *Knights Service*, *Soccage* or *Copy*. And therefore the Lords of, and Tenants under Manors, in which any of the aforefaid *Customs* prevail'd, might plead their *respective Rights* by the Law of *Custom*. ----- But more they could not do. For tho' the Manors, in which the Tenures by *Knights Service*, *Soccage* or *Copy* prevail'd, had some *Rights* and *Services* that were general and common, yet had they also some that were proper and peculiar to particular Manors. So that these particular *Rights* and *Services* might be pleaded in those Manors in which *Custom* was known to have establish'd them, but not in those in which
Custom

Custom was not known to have establish'd them. Which evidently shews that tho' *Custom* has Force in Law, and does give and convey *Rights* with and by Tenures, yet this is and can be only in such Cases, as *Custom* is generally known, understood and acknowledg'd to give and convey such *Rights* with and by such Tenures.

The same may be observ'd in the Case of *Mortuaries*. These are due to the Clergy by *Custom* only; *ubi Mortuarium dari consuevit*. So the Statute *Circumspecte agatis*. So the Statute 21. H. 8. and so is the constant Course of pleading in Cases of *Mortuaries*: Claim being always laid to them as due by *Custom*. The aforesaid Statute 21. H. 8. has settled the *Rate and Form* after which they are to be paid. But before this Statute very different *Mortuaries* were due in different Places according to the particular *Custom* of these

these Places. And the Clergy could only demand them in Virtue of such particular *Custom*. ----- So that *Custom*, in order to be Law, or give a legal Right, must be a *Custom* which is known and understood to convey a *Right*.

It has been, Time out of Mind, a *Custom* for Landlords, in letting their Lands, to prefer an Old Tenant to a New one. And besides *Custom* there is also *Reason* for this. And yet it was never thought that the *Customary Preference* of an Old Tenant gave him a *Customary Right* of being continu'd: Because a *Customary Preference* was not known and understood to contain or convey such a *Right*. Now this Case is exactly parallel with that of Church and College-Lessees. It has been, Time out of Mind, a *Custom* for Church and College-Lessors to renew with their Old Lessees. But it cannot be thought that this *Customary Preference*

rence of Old Lessees gives *these* a *Customary Right* of *renewing* any more than in the former Case the *Customary Preference* of Old Tenants gives them a *Customary Right* of being continued. And it is, and must in all Cases be universally true, that no *Custom* is a Foundation of any *Rights*, excepting in those Cases in which *Custom* is known and understood to convey such *Rights*.

I desire the Reader would take particular Notice of what I have just now said, *viz.* that the *Customary Preference* which Church-Lessors give to their Old Lessees, is exactly parallel to the *Customary Preference* which all Landlords give to their Old Tenants. For this is an Observation that will decide every thing that has or can be said in favour of the pretended *Customary renewable Right* of Church-Lessees. And that the Case really is as I have represented it, appears to a Demonstration from the

Con-

Concurrent Leases which Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons have granted from Time to Time to New Lessees, when they could not agree with their Old ones.----- The Practice of granting such Leases is founded in and confirm'd by Law, and is as antient as the Tenures themselves. The Law Books of Reports have many Cases that have arisen upon the Grants of *Concurrent* Leases to New Lessees. And in none of *these*, so far as I can find, was the pretended *renewable Right* of the Old Lessees ever pleaded in Bar to the Entrance of the New ones.

If then recourse is had to *Custom* it will be found to run against the Lessees having a *renewable Right*. I leave it therefore with the Reader to judge with how little Truth the *Enquirer* has made his Conclusion on this Head, *viz.* “ That in *England*
 “ there has been a *Custom* Time out
 “ of Mind to grant the Temporal
 “ Estates

“ Estates of the Church to Tenants
 “ by the Tenure, or for the Terms
 “ of 3 Lives and 21 Years, and
 “ that for all the Time aforesaid, those
 “ Tenants, their Heirs, Representa-
 “ tives or Assigns have been admit-
 “ ted to renew their respective Pos-
 “ sessions according to such Custom.

IV. And Lastly, it is said that
 the Law gives a *renewable Right* to
 Church-Lessees. *They, says the En-
 quirer, and their Assigns have by the
 Laws of this Realm a Right to renew
 their Leases, Page 30. The King and
 Parliament have asserted their renewa-
 ble Right in Words at Length, Page
 64. By the Laws of this Realm those
 Tenants have a renewable Right, and
 the Grantors and their Successors are
 compellable to renew. Page 68.*

When an Author has express'd
 himself in such determinate and
 strong Terms the Reader has just
 Reason to expect very clear and full

Evidence. But *Montes parturiunt*, and nothing is produc'd to support this Position but some Acts and Proceedings of Parliament which only show the laudable Care it took of the Church consider'd as a successive Body, a favourable Recommendation of Sir *Thomas Woodcock* to the Bishop of *Chichester*, and certain recommendatory MSS. Orders *penes J. Spere-man Armigerum* issued to some Bishops to continue their *ancient Tenants*.

The Acts of Parliament which relate to Leases held under Spiritual and Collegiate Persons are but few. They are all very plain. And they, none of them, mention, or any Way regard the pretended *renewable Right* of the Lessees. There is no Act of Parliament in being which obliges Church-men and Fellows of Colleges to *renew* with their Old Tenants. Nay, there is no Act of Parliament that obliges them at all to let out their Estates upon Leases.----

ses. --- The 32. H. 8. restrains only the inferior Clergy. The Archbishops and Bishops gain'd a considerable Privilege by it. For this Statute is understood to enable them to grant Leases for 3 Lives or 21 Years without Confirmation of Dean and Chapter, and to leave them their former Privilege of granting Leases for any Term with Confirmation of Dean and Chapter; as it was adjudg'd in the Case of *Fox and Collier. Moore. 107.* The 1st *Eliz.* indeed restrains Archbishops and Bishops to the same Terms of 21 Years or 3 Lives with the inferior Clergy; but it still leaves them their Privilege of granting Leases with Confirmation of Dean and Chapter in all other respects as it stood before the 32. H. 8. --- The 13th *Eliz.* is a Confirmation of the 32. H. 8. excepting that Archbishops and Bishops are not mention'd therein; and the 18th *Eliz.* rehearses and confirms the 13th.

Eliz. and enables the Persons therein mention'd to grant *Concurrent* Leases at the Expiration of 18 Years of the 21 Years Leases.

These are the main enabling and restraining Statutes relating to Church and College-Leases. And it is very evident that none of them lay any Obligation on Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons to *renew* with their Old Tenants, or even so much as to lease out their Estates. They only say that if Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons *do* grant out their Estates upon Leases they shall grant them out for no *longer Terms*, and upon no *other Conditions* but what are mention'd in *these* Statutes.

For my own Part, I am so far from thinking that the Law gives a *renewable Right* to Church-Lessees that I cannot but think it out of the Power of Church-men to grant Leases of their Estates with such a *Right*. Because such a Grant would be an
Assu-

Assurance of a Perpetuity, a Conveyance of a Right for ever, which is an Alienation. The Statutes 1 *Eliz.* c. 19. and 1 *Jac.* c. 3. are in the Letter of them express against all such *Alienations, Grants, Assurances* and *Conveyances* even to the *King* himself: And the Reason and Intent of all these Acts must, I think, take in the whole Body of the Clergy.

The first Proceeding in Parliament relating to this Subject, which the *Enquirer* * produces, is an Application that was made in *Feb.* 1661. to the House of Commons by the Bishop of *Ely*, and *Elizabeth, Barbara* and *Frances Barker* to confirm a Lease made by the said Bishop unto the said *Mrs. Barkers* of the *King's Head Tavern* in *Chancery Lane* for the Terms of 40 Years with Covenant of their New-building the House. Upon which the House

* Page 49.

Ordered, That Mr. *Asburnham* &c. do attend the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and desire him from this House to make Mrs. *Barker* a Lease of the said House for 3 Lives, and that his Lordship would take Consideration of the Covenant for New-building the House, and use Mrs. *Barker* reasonably.

Upon this Case I beg Leave to make the following Observations.

I. That there is nothing in it either asserted or so much as hinted concerning a *renewable Right* belonging to Church-Lessees. It does not appear whether Mrs. *Barkers* were old or new Tenants. And nothing is laid before the House but a Bill to enable the Bishop of *Ely* to grant them a 40 Years Lease.

II. That the Bishop in this intended only the Advantage of Mrs. *Barkers*. To encourage them to build he was willing to have a Lease
of

of 40 Years granted to them. But as he could not, of himself, by the Laws then in force, grant them any other Lease then for 21 Years or 3 Lives, which is not so good a building Lease as one for 40 Years, he therefore join'd with them to obtain an enabling Act for this Purpose. And the Bishop was so far dispos'd to consider the Covenant of New-building the House as a Reason to use Mrs. *Barkers* reasonably, that if the Bill could have pass'd he would not have taken a greater Fine than what was esteem'd moderate even for a Lease of only 3 Lives.

III. That the House of Commons refus'd to pass the Bill, not as the *Enquirer* suggests, that they might not thereby make a Precedent that might soon grow up to the Sub-*version* of all the customary freehold Estates holden of the Church for 3 Lives; but because it was contrary to the Laws in be-

ing, and it is not prudent in the Legislature to make Laws upon *slight* Reasons, or repeal them without *sufficient* Reasons.----- In this the House of Commons shew'd a laudable Concern for the Good of the successive Body of the Church. And this very Instance is a *Precedent* which strongly recommends itself to all future Houses of Commons, to engage them to use that *Trust* which is repos'd in them for the Good of the Church in general, rather than for the private Advantage of Church-Lessees.

The next Proceeding in Parliament, which the *Enquirer* * produces upon this Subject relates less to it than the former. I must therefore wholly pass over it, and proceed to consider the † Case of Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, which the *Enquirer* seems to have much at heart.

* Page 51. † Page 53.

In *March 1661*, *Sir Thomas Woodcock* presented a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth that he was interested in a Lease for 3 Lives of a Farm belonging to the Bishoprick of *Chichester*, upon which above 1000 *l.* had been laid out in Building and Improvements, and that two of the Lives in the Lease died in the Time of the War, and the third in *Feb. 1659*, and that he thereupon did make Application to the Bishop as soon as he was in a Capacity to renew the said Lease, but he refus'd so to do having granted the same to his Son. Upon which the House

Ordered, *That the Case of Sir Thomas Woodcock be recommended from this House to his Majesty's Commissioners appointed in this behalf, to treat between the Lord Bishop of Chichester and Sir Thomas Woodcock, and reconcile and settle the Difference between them if they can; if not, to report*

port their Opinion therein to the House: And it is also recommended to the said Bishop from this House to renew the Lease of the Farm in question to Sir Thomas Woodcock, at a moderate Fine, according to ancient Use. Upon this Case, I beg Leave to make the following Observations.

I. That it relates to a Time which was attended by very particular Circumstances, and therefore ought not to be made general, and applied to Times which are not attended by any such particular Circumstances. Many honest and worthy Church-Lessees had run out their Leases, spent their Estates, and lost their Lives in the Service of the King; and therefore upon the *Restoration* it was highly proper and just for the King and Parliament to interpose and obtain for them, or their Representatives such Relief as the Circumstances of their respective Cases requir'd.-----

The

The Cause was publick; and as such it call'd for a publick Consideration.----- But if Men, who have their Remedy in their own Hands, and can do themselves Justice, will nevertheless make their private Differences the Subject of publick Complaint, we must never hope to see quiet Days.----- Society will become a State of War, and our Confusions will be as endless as our Passions are great.

II. If the Church-Lessee had a *renewable Right*, here was a most favourable Opportunity for Sir *Thomas Woodcock* to plead it, and for the Parliament to assert it.----- But not one Word of this is mention'd throughout the whole Proceeding. Which profound Silence is to me a Demonstration that Sir *Thomas Woodcock* was conscious that a Church-Lessee could plead no such Right, and the Parliament, that they could not

not assert it. On the contrary, Recourse is had to the amicable Way of *Recommendation* and *Treaty*.-----

The Case of Sir *Thomas* is recommended by the House to his Majesty's Commissioners then specially appointed for such Purposes, to treat between the Lord Bishop of *Chichester* and Sir *Thomas*, and it is also recommended to the said Bishop from the House to renew the Lease, &c.-----

This is the true State of Sir *Thomas Woodcock's* Case as it stands upon the Face of the *Order*. And I am not at all concern'd to know what Answer was made to the *Recommendation* of the House of Commons.-----

I presume with the *Enquirer* that a satisfactory Answer was given. But whether this was affirmative or negative, still the Parliament's recommending to the Bishop to renew was not obliging him to renew: Which was the only Point the *Enquirer* had undertaken to prove, and the only

Purpose for which the Case of Sir Thomas Woodcock was allעד' d.

The last kind of Proceedings * produc'd by the *Enquirer* on this Subject is the *recommendatory MSS. Orders* that were issued (by the King and Council I suppose) to certain Bishops to *continue their ancient Tenants, their Heirs and Representatives in their Estates, upon the usual and customary Terms, not to advance their Fines, and to use them moderately.*

As this Proceeding is of the same Nature with the foregoing, it will therefore require but a short Answer.

I could wish indeed that the *Enquirer* had produc'd his Friends *MSS. Orders* at length, that we might have seen the full Import of them.---

It is plain he has suppress'd the *Preamble* of them, which, no doubt, rehears'd the Grievances of the Complainants, and also the *Verb* in which

the Energy and Force of an *Order* does consist. ----- However the *Order* produc'd, as it stands in his own Representation of it, contains sufficient Evidence to prove the Reverse of what is intended to be prov'd by it. For

If the *antient Tenants* or their Representatives, mention'd in the *Order*, had had a *renewable Right*, this might have been pleaded in the Courts of Judicature, without having Recourse to any *Orders*: Which very Recourse is a Proof that those Tenants, in favour of whom the *Order* is produc'd, were conscious they had no such *renewable Right*. Nay, the *Orders* themselves being, by the *Enquirers* own Representation of them, only *recommendatory*, this manifestly shews that those who issued them, *i. e.* the King and Council, were also sensible that tho' there might be *Reason* to *recommend* the *antient Tenants* to the Lessors, yet there

was no *Law* in being to *compel* these to renew.

I have now gone through all the Evidence which the *Enquirer* has produc'd to make good the pretended *renewable Right* of Church-Lessees. And by what I have said I trust the Reader will conclude that, for any thing which the *Enquirer* has advanc'd, *Church-Lessees and their Assigns have not by the Laws of this Realm a Right to renew their Leases.*---- That the *King and Parliament have not asserted their renewable Right in Words at Length, or in any Words.*---- And that by the *Laws of this Realm, neither the Grantors nor their Successors are compellable to renew.*---- And tho' the *Enquirer* has advanc'd the contrary Assertions with great Confidence, and has made a Shew of great Authorities, yet I am apt to think he was conscious that the Evidence given did not answer the Demands of the Cause, and that his
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Arguments did not make good his Premises. For after all his Contention for the *Certainty* of the Fact, he concludes only for the *Possibility* of it. "All I contend for, * says he, " is that if the Ecclesiastical Tenants " by *Copy*, have acquir'd by *Usage* " and *Length* of Time a *renewable* " *Right* on Descent or Surrenders, " besides many other Advantages, " the *same* Usage and Length of " Time *may* give to the other Te- " nants by Lease a *renewable* *Right* " only."---- But such Evasions are no ways to be allow'd. There will be no End of disputing if Disputants are allow'd to set out with one Position, and to conclude with another. ---- In such Cases a Reader cannot but think himself impos'd upon and injur'd. And the *Enquirer* may be assur'd that Light and Darknes are not more distinct from one another

than this Assertion, *that a thing certainly is*, is from this other *that it may possibly be*.

I shall not now follow the *Enquirer* any farther. ----- The main Point about which I am concern'd is now over. And if there is any Truth in what I have already said, it is needless to consider *whether Fines ought to be impos'd or assess'd by those that are interested therein or not*, and much more needless is it to *offer Considerations to settle Church-Fines*. ---- In all other Affairs of Life of the like Nature Men are allow'd to know their own Interest and the Way of the World well enough, not to part with their Money without receiving what they esteem an Equivalent in return. And it would, in my Opinion, be as improper for the Legislature to settle Church-Fines upon an invariable footing, as it would be to settle what Rents common Tenants should for ever pay to their Land-
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Lords. For there is no Reason to fear, but that Church-men and Fellows of Colleges will always be ready to accept of reasonable Fines. Their Interest leads them to this, and the Nature of their Tenure (which is only for Life) places the greatest Danger and Loss of not renewing on their Side.

But there are some Things, relating to the Clergy in general, dispers'd thro' the *Enquiry*, which the great Value I have for the Author forces me to take notice of: Not indeed to answer them, but only to express my sincere Wish that they had never fallen from his Pen. * I refer to them in the Margin; and am so far from intending to transcribe them that, were it possible to be done, I should take as much Pleasure in striking them out of the *Enquiry* as the Reader will perhaps

* Page 3, 4, 7, 57, 69. &c.

think the Author took in putting them in.----- This indeed is writing with a *free Pen* and a *free Tongue*. But 'tis not enough barely to write with a *free Pen* and a *free Tongue*, as this Author * professes to do. The principal Thing that makes a good Writer is a *free Mind*; which if the *Enquirer* had had, I am persuaded he would not have represented the whole Body of the Clergy in so disadvantageous a Light.----- *Free Things* are easily said and easily written: But the great Difficulty in Controversy is to keep ones *Temper*.----- Few or no Readers can be so favourable to the Author as to think that his *free Representations* of the Clergy proceed from that † *pure Affection to the Church and its Orders* which he professes to entertain. For my own Part, if I really thought there was any thing of Argument in all this I

* Page 5.

† Page 107.

these, and these only are competent Judges in an Affair of this Nature. And they, I am perswaded, will, upon Examination, find that all those Murmurings and Complaints, that are said to run thro' the Kingdom against the strict and rigorous Proceedings of Church-men with their Tenants, are rais'd by such of their Tenants only as cannot bring them down to their own low Terms, and so would endeavour to obtain by Noise and Clamour what they are conscious they cannot by Right and Reason.

Lay-men have no Reason to envy Spiritual and Collegiate-Persons.--- What Prospect can Church-men and Fellows of Colleges have of growing rich?----- Dignitaries, generally speaking, have but very moderate Shares of the Profits of their Estates to bring Home and spend in their Families, after the necessary Repairs and Service of their Churches are paid,

paid, the Pensions and Alms which their Statutes oblige them to be discharg'd, and the Expences of Residence are satisfied. --- And as to Fellows of Colleges, unless they are Senior Fellows of great Colleges, who are but few in Number, I do aver, upon my own Knowledge, that, as Things now stand, none of them can decently subsist upon the bare Income of their Fellowships, but are forc'd to make out a Subsistence by taking Pupils, or serving neighbouring Curacies.

Church and College-Lessees have all manner of Reason to be contented and easy under their present Tenure. Their Condition is not hard in any respect. They have purchas'd for a Term; and within *this* Term they cannot be molested by their Lessors. --- But to say that they have purchas'd a *Right of renewing*, and that they are, at the same Time, entirely in the Hands of their Lessors,

as to what Fines they shall pay, this indeed is *making* their Condition hard.

— If any, it is the Clergy, that have reason to complain, and think themselves hardly dealt with. For let them act either Way, they are sure of meeting with Reproaches. — If in Justice to themselves and Families they advance their *Fines* moderately, still keeping far beneath the *real Value*, then they are accus'd by their Lessees of *Violence* and *Oppression*. But if in Charity and Compassion to their Tenants they keep to the old low *Fines*, then they are accus'd by understanding and disinterested Men of preferring their *private Interest* to the *Good* of their *Society*, and granting away the *Right* of their *Successors* for almost nothing.

The World has always lov'd Noise.
 — This is the common Spring that leads or rather misleads the greatest Part of Mankind. — I wish to God
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we could once be brought to love Sense ; and then all Noise would cease, and all our Differences would be easily and amicably terminated.--- We ought to be very unwilling, because it would be a Reproach to us, to think that the Representatives of the Nation in Parliament want either Sense or Honesty. Let then the Charges of Violence, of Exorbitancy and of Oppression that may be laid against any Order of Men be ever so great, it is still to be hop'd that our Legislators will distinguish between real and pretended Injuries, and that, as their *Sense* will lead them to discover *Truth*, so their *Honesty* will direct them to follow *Justice*.

The Vigilancy of the Legislature has hitherto exerted itself in restraining Church-men from granting long Leases for their own Good, consider'd as a *successive Body*. But the ascertaining of *Fines*, and allowing a *renewable Right* to Church-Lessees

is to take away from them what they have hitherto enjoy'd by a long Possession, to give it to the Lay-Tenants, contrary to the Intent of the Donors, contrary to Law, and contrary to Reason.

In Matters of Property all Distinction of Orders ought to be laid aside in Civil Society. ----- There is no one Advantage of this Kind but what one Subject ought to enjoy in common with all other Subjects. This is agreeable to Reason and Equity. And as this is the Foundation upon which our present Constitution and Happiness subsist, it is hop'd that none will ever attempt to alter it. ----- Sure I am that such an Attempt would be very prejudicial to the common National Interest; since it would affect, not only the present Dignitaries of the Church, but all those also that have Hopes of becoming such, *i. e.* the whole Body of the Clergy, not only the present

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Members of Colleges but the State of Learning itself, which is preserv'd in a flourishing Condition by those Endowments, which both Lay and Spiritual Benefactors have bestow'd upon Colleges.----- And as long as we have an *establish'd Religion*, this must be supported by an establish'd competent Maintenance for the Ministers of it. And as Matters now stand, it cannot well be conceiv'd, how any Maintenance less than the present can be call'd a *competent Maintenance*.---- The Clergy cannot purchase the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life at an easier Rate than the Laity.----- They bear an equal Share of the common Burthen of the Nation: And besides this, there are several heavy Incumbrances peculiar to their Preferments.--- And whatever we may think of the *Call*, upon which Clergy men go into Orders, we shall find that if they, by being in such a State,

State, are not, in Matters of Property, allow'd the *common Rights* of Subjects, all understanding Men will, for the Time to come, apply themselves to other Professions; and none of them will spend a good Part of their Substance in giving their Children a liberal Education, and fitting them for a Priesthood which will thenceforth become vile and contemptible.----- Let us add to all this, that an Attempt to fix the *Fines* of Church and College-Leases at the present, or at any unvaried Rate, can never be more unadvisable than in the present Juncture, when the lower'd Interest of Money, and the advanc'd Price of Land make it most evident, that such a Stint would be very unreasonable.

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