

**JOHN TRENCHARD AND  
THOMAS GORDON,  
*A Collection of Tracts* (1751)  
Two Volumes in One**

A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
TRACTS.  
By the Late  
JOHN TRENCHARD, Esq;  
AND  
THOMAS GORDON, Esq;  
THE  
FIRST VOLUME.

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LONDON:  
Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle Temple  
Gate, in Fleet-street.*  
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A  
COLLECTION  
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TRACTS.  
By the Late  
JOHN TRENCHARD, Esq;  
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THOMAS GORDON, Esq;  
VOL. II.



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Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle Temple  
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This edition is made up of the Tracts contained in these two volumes. They contain a total of 40 tracts dated from 1697 to 1750, with 2 with no author given, 11 by Trenchard, and 27 by Gordon:

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A Collection of Tracts. By the late John Trenchard, Esq; and Thomas Gordon, Esq; The First Volume*. (London: Printed for F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate, in Fleet-street, 1751). 22 Tracts.

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A Collection of Tracts. By the Late John Trenchard, Esq; and Thomas Gordon, Esq; Vol. II*. (London: Printed for F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate, in Fleet-street; and T. Harris, in the Minories, 1751). 18 Tracts.

### *Editor's Introduction*

To make this edition useful to scholars and to make it more readable, I have done the following:

1. inserted and highlighted the page numbers of the original edition
  2. not split a word if it has been hyphenated across a new line or page (this will assist in making word searches)
  3. added unique paragraph IDs (which are used in the "citation tool" which is part of the "enhanced HTML" version of this text)
  4. retained the spaces which separate sections of the text
  5. created a "blocktext" for large quotations
  6. moved the Table of Contents to the beginning of the text
  7. placed the footnotes at the end of the book
  8. reformatted margin notes to float within the paragraph
  9. inserted Greek and Hebrew words as images
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A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.  
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MDCCLI.

[I-iii]

To *William Hippisley, Esq;* ↵

HOWEVER surprized you may be at this Dedication, the World would have been much more so, had I prefixed any other Name, than that of the Heir of the late Great Mr. *Trenchard*, who as he had appointed you the Successor to his Fortune, it would have been a Kind of Profanation to put his Works under any other Protection.

That I have annexed the detached Pieces of his Coadjutor, was to oblige [I-iv] such Gentlemen, as had their other Writings, which these Volumes will complete, and therefore hope you'll excuse the Liberty of adding them to His.

An Advantage which that Gentleman always gloried in, and which his Patron was so gracious to permit. It would be unjust to Mr. *Gordon*, not to say how much he acknowledged both his Fame and Fortune were founded on his Favour; and was indeed proud to proclaim, he was the Man whom Mr. *Trenchard* deigned to honour, and whose Interest he was pleased to promote.

Confident of your Pardon, Sir, I shall deviate from the Rule of Dedicators; by reciting the Praises of your late Relation, instead of dwelling on Your's; convinced you had rather deserve than receive them.

Nothing is more true than Mr. *Dryden's* Observation.

[I-v]

*On Adamant our Wrongs we all engrave, But write our Benefits upon the Wave.*

Otherwise what Cause can be assigned, that his Great and Disinterested Deeds; Great, as they were truly Disinterested, done at the Hazard of his Life and Fortune, should lie buried from the World, and in Danger of total Extinction.

For such was his Zeal in his Country's Service at the Revolution, to venture every Thing in Opposition to superior Odds, when to be vanquished was to become a Victim, and the Block must have put a Period to the Patriot.

Which Prospect did not however deter him from Assisting the Prince of *Orange* with all his Fortune, to the Amount of Forty Thousand Pounds, and also to borrow Twenty Thousand Pounds more, all which he lent him without any Advantage.

So vast a Sum, when Cash was so scarce, and consequently so much the [I-vi] more valuable, gave his Majesty such a powerful Proof of his Loyalty to his Country and Regard for him, that when it was moved in Council, by Lord *Hallifax*, soon after, to take him into Custody for writing the *History of Standing Armies*, the King put an End to the Affair, by saying: No Gentleman he was convinced had a sincerer Attachment to his Person, or wished more the Prosperity of the Kingdom. And therefore would not hear of the least Violence or Affront being offered to One for whom he had the highest Honour.

How precious ought his Memory then to be to Posterity; who stand so largely indebted to him for their Liberties.

It would swell this Address to a Volume, to recount all his noble Transactions. Suffice it therefore to observe, they all were of the same Tendency, deduced from the same Principle, and directed to the same glorious Purpose.

As You, Sir, early imbibed, pursue his Precepts, and emulate your great [I-vii] Preceptor, so shall you be honoured by all the eminently Good while here, and recorded in the Annals of Glory when gone. I am,

SIR,

*With Honour,  
Your Most Obliged, and  
Devoted Humble Servant,*

The Editor.



## To the PUBLIC. ↩

WE have annexed our Authorities for ascribing those Tracts to Mr. *Trenchard*, which are imputed to Him. Mr. *Collins*, who was intimate with both him and Mr. *Gordon*, has, in his Catalogue, ascertained most of the Pieces here inserted; as to the others, we appeal to their surviving Friends for the Truth of our asserting, *We know them to be so*.

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. <i>Argument against Standing Armies</i> , 1st Part,  | 1697 |
| 2. <i>Argument, &amp;c.</i> 2d Part   | 1697 |
| 3. <i>Answer to the Ballancing Letter, by the Author of the Argument, &amp;c.</i>   | 1697 |
| 4. <i>History of Standing Armies, &amp;c.</i>   | 1698 |
| All these acknowledged to be Mr. <i>Trenchard</i> 's, and several Times printed with his Name.  |      |
| 5. <i>Thoughts of a Member, &amp;c.</i>   | 1719 |
| 6. <i>Reflections on the Old Whig</i>   | 1719 |
| 7. <i>Comparison of the Proposals, &amp;c.</i>  | 1720 |
| 8. <i>Considerations on the Public Debts, &amp;c.</i>   | 1720 |
| 9. <i>The Natural History of Superstition</i>   | 1709 |
| For the Authority of these, see the Article <i>Trenchard</i> in the <i>General Dictionary</i> ; likewise <i>Collins</i> 's Catalogue 1st Part; and Mr. <i>Gordon</i> refers to No. 8 as Mr. <i>Trenchard</i> 's in one of his <i>Cato</i> 's Letters. |      |
| <i>A Letter of Thanks from the Author of the Comparison of the Proposals of the Bank</i>  |      |
| 10. <i>and South-sea Companies, to the Author of the Examination of the South-sea Scheme, &amp;c.</i>   |      |

This is likewise mentioned in the *General Dictionary* as Mr. *Trenchard*'s.

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## A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

[I-3]

***An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. By J. Trenchard, Esq; An. 1697.*** [↩](#)

### DEDICATION.

*To all those whom it may concern.*

*Qui capit, ille facit.*

*WHEN I consider your great Zeal to your Country, how much you have exposed yourselves for its Service, and how little you have improved your own Fortunes, I think it is but Justice to your Merits to make your Encomiums the Preface to the following Discourse. 'Tis you that have abated the Pride, and reduced the Luxury of the Kingdom: You have been the Physicians and Divines of the Common-wealth, by purging it of that Dross and Dung, which corrupts the Minds, and destroys the [I-4] Souls of Men. You have convinced us, that there is no Safety in Counsellors, nor Trust to be put in Ships under your Conduct.*

*You have cleared the Seas, not of Pirates, but of our own Merchants, and by that Means have made our Prisons as so many Storehouses to replenish your Troops. In fine, to use the Expression of the Psalmist, Your Hearts are unsearchable for Wisdom, and there is no finding out your Understanding. When I consider all this, and compare your Merits with your Preferments, how came you by them, and your Behaviour in them, I cannot but think a Standing Army, a Collateral Security to your Title to them, and therefore must commend your Policy in promoting it. For by these Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice. These will be our Magistrates, who will not bear the Sword in vain. These, like the Sons of Aaron, will wear their Urim and Thummim on their Backs and Breasts, and will be our Priests, who will hew the Sinners to pieces, as Samuel did Agag before the Lord in Gilgal. By these you will be able to teach us Passive Obedience, as Men having Authority, and not as the Scribes. You will have your Reasons in your Hands against resisting the higher Powers, and will prove your Jus Divinum by the Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon.*

Your Honours

*Most Obedient Slave and Vassal,*

A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

[I-5]

*WHEN I consider what a dismal Scene of Blood and Desolation hath appeared upon the Theatre of Europe during the Growth and Progress of the French Power, I cannot sufficiently applaud and admire our thrice happy Situation, by which we have long enjoy'd an uninterrupted Course of Peace and Prosperity, whilst our Neighbouring Nations have been miserably harassed by perpetual War: For lying open to continual Invasion, they can never enjoy Quiet and Security, nor take a sound Sleep, but Hercules like, with Clubs in their Hands: So that these Halcyon Days which we enjoy amidst such an universal Hurricane, must be solely attributed to our Tutelar God Neptune, who with a Guard of winged Coursers so strongly intrenches us, that we may be said to be *mediâ insuperabiles undâ*, and not unfitly compar'd to the Earth, which stands six'd and immoveable, and never to be shaken but by an internal Convulsion. And as Nature has been thus liberal to us in our Situation, so the Luxuriancy of our Soil makes it productive of numerous Commodities fit for Trade and*

Commerce: And as this Trade renders us Masters of the Silver and Gold of the East and West without our toiling in the Mine, so it breeds us Multitudes of able bodied and skilful Seamen to defend the Treasures they bring home, that even Luxury itself, which has been the Bane and Destruction of most Countries where [I-6] it has been predominant, may in some measure be esteemed our Preservation, by breeding up a Race of Men amongst us, whose Manner of Life will never suffer them to be debauched, or enervated with Ease or Idleness. But we have one thing more to boast of besides all these Felicities, and that is, of being Freemen and not Slaves in this unhappy Age, when an universal Deluge of Tyranny has overspread the Face of the whole Earth; so that this is the Ark out of which if the Dove be sent forth, she will find no Resting-place till her Return.

Our Constitution is a limited mix'd Monarchy, where the King enjoys all the Prerogatives necessary to the Support of his Dignity, and Protection of his People, and is only abridged from the Power of injuring his own Subjects: In short, the Man is loose, and the Beast only bound; and our Government may truly be called an Empire of Laws, and not of Men; for every Man has the same Right to what he can acquire by his Labour and Industry, as the King hath to his Crown, and the meanest Subject hath his Remedy against him in his Courts at *Westminster*: No Man can be imprisoned, unless he has transgressed a Law of his own making, nor be try'd but by his Neighbours; so that we enjoy a Liberty scarce known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

And lest the extraordinary Power intrusted in the Crown should lean towards Arbitrary Government, or the tumultuary Licentiousness of the People should encline towards a Democracy, the Wisdom of our Ancestors hath instituted a middle State, *viz.* of Nobility, whose Interest it is to trim this Boat of our Commonwealth, and to skreen the People against the Popularity of the Commons, since if either Extream prevail so far as to oppress the other, they are sure to be overwhelmed in their Ruin. And the Meeting of these three States in Parliament is what we call our Government: for without all their Consents no Law can be made, nor a Penny of Money levied upon the Subjects; so that the King's Necessities do often oblige him to summon this Court, which is the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, where the People speak boldly their Grievances, and [I-7] call to account overgrown Criminals, who are above the Reach of ordinary Justice: so that the Excellence of this Government consists in the due Ballance of the several constituent Parts of it, for if either one of them should be too hard for the other two, there is an actual Dissolution of the Constitution; but whilst we can continue in our present Condition, we may without Vanity reckon our selves the happiest People in the World.

But as there is no Degree of Human Happiness but is accompanied with some Defects, and the strongest Constitutions are most liable to certain Diseases; so the very Excellence of our Government betrays it to some Inconveniencies, the Wheels and Motions of it being so curious and delicate that it is often out of Order, and therefore we ought to apply our utmost Endeavours to rectify and preserve it: and I am afraid it is more owing to the Accident of our Situation, than to our own Wisdom, Integrity or Courage, that it has yet a Being; when we see most Nations in *Europe* over-run with Oppression and Slavery, where the Lives, Estates and Liberties of the People are subject to the lawless Fancy and Ambition of the Prince, and the Rapine and Insolence of his Officers; where the Nobility that were formerly the bold Assertors of their Country's Liberty, are now only the Ensigns and Ornaments of the Tyranny, and the People Beasts of Burden, and barely kept alive to support the Luxury and Prodigality of their Masters.

And if we enquire how these unhappy Nations have lost that precious Jewel *Liberty*, and we as yet preserved it, we shall find their Miseries and our Happiness proceed from this, That their Necessities or Indiscretion have permitted a Standing Army to be kept amongst them, and our Situation rather than our Prudence, hath as yet defended us from it, otherwise we had

long since lost what is the most valuable Thing under Heaven: For, as I said before, our Constitution depending upon a due Ballance between King, Lords and Commons, and that Ballance depending upon the mutual Occasions and Necessities they have of one another; if this Cement be once broke, there is an actual Dissolution of the Government. [I-8] Now this Ballance can never be preserved but by an Union of the natural and artificial Strength of the Kingdom, that is, by making the Militia to consist of the same Persons as have the Property; or otherwise the Government is violent and against Nature, and cannot possibly continue, but the Constitution must either break the Army, or the Army will destroy the Constitution: for it is universally true, that where-ever the Militia is, there is or will be the Government in a short Time; and therefore the Institutors of this *Gotbick* Ballance (which was established in all Parts of *Europe*) made the *Militia* to consist of the same Parts as the Government, where the King was General, the Lords by virtue of their Castles and Honours, the great Commanders, and the Freeholders by their Tenures the Body of the Army; so that it was next to impossible for an Army thus constituted to act to the Disadvantage of the Constitution, unless we could suppose them to be Felons *de se*. And here I will venture to assert, that upon no other Foundation than this, can any Nation long preserve its Freedom, unless some very particular Accidents contribute to it; and I hope I shall make it appear, that no Nation ever preserved its Liberty, that maintained an Army otherwise constituted within the Seat of their Government: And let us flatter ourselves as much as we please, what happened Yesterday, will come to pass again; and the same Causes will produce like Effects in all Ages.

And here I can't avoid taking Notice of some Gentlemen who a few Years since were the pretended Patriots of their Country, who had nothing in their Mouths but the sacred Name of *Liberty*, who in the late Reigns could hardly afford the King the Prerogative that was due to him, and which was absolutely necessary to put in motion this Machine of our Government, and to make the Springs and Wheels of it act naturally, and perform their Function: I say, these Gentlemen that could not with Patience hear of the King's ordinary Guards, can now discourse familiarly of twenty thousand Men to be maintained in Times of Peace; and the odious Excuse they give for this infamous Apostacy is, That if they should not gratify the Court in [I-9] this modest Request, another Party may be caressed who will grant this, or any thing else that is asked, and then they say Matters will be much worse; as if Arbitrary Government was a different Thing in their Hands, from what it is in others, or that the Lineaments and Features of Tyranny would become graceful and lovely when they are its *Valet de Chambres*. But let them not deceive themselves, for if they think to make their Court this Way, they will quickly find themselves outflattered by the Party they fear, who have been long the Darlings of Arbitrary Power, and whose Principles as well as Practices teach them to be Enemies to all the legal Rights, and just Liberties of their Native Country; and so these wretched Bunglers will be made use of only to bring together the Materials of Tyranny, and then must give Place to more expert Architects to finish the Building.

And though we are secure from any Attempts of this Kind during the Reign of a Prince who hath rescued us from a Captivity equal to what *Moses* redeemed the People of *Israel* from: A Prince whose Life is so necessary to the Preservation of *Europe*, that both Protestant and Popish Princes have forgot their ancient Maxims, and laid aside their innate Animosities, and made it their common Interest to chuse him their Patron and Protector: A Prince in whom we know no Vices but what have been esteemed Vertues in others, *viz.* his undeserved Clemency to his Enemies, and his exposing too much that Life upon which depends not only our Safety, but the Liberties of all *Europe*, and the Protestant Religion through the World: I say, was this most excellent Prince to be immortal (as his Great and Glorious Actions) we ought in common Prudence to abandon all Thoughts of Self-preservation, and wholly to rely on his Care and Conduct. But since no Vertue nor Pitch of Glory will exempt him from paying the common Debt to Nature, but Death hath a Scythe which cuts off the most noble Lives; we ought not to intrust any Power with him, which we don't think proper to be

continued to his Successors, and doubtless our great Benefactor will not regret this, or any thing else that can reasonably be demanded in order to compleat [I-10] that Deliverance so far advanced by his invincible Courage and Conduct; for to set us, like *Moses*, within View of the Promised Land, with a *ne plus ultra*, is the greatest of all Human Infelicities, and such I shall always take our Case to be, whilst a Standing Army must be kept up to prey upon our Entrails, and which must in the Hands of an ill Prince (which we have the Misfortune frequently to meet with) infallibly destroy our Constitution. And this is so evident and important a Truth, that no Legislator ever founded a free Government, but avoided this *Caribdis*, as a Rock against which his Commonwealth must certainly be shipwrack'd, as the *Israelites*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Achaians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Thebans*, *Samnites*, and *Romans*; none of which Nations whilst they kept their Liberty were ever known to maintain any Soldiers in constant Pay within their Cities, or ever suffered any of their Subjects to make War their Profession; well knowing that the Sword and Sovereignty always march Hand in Hand, and therefore they trained their own Citizens and the Territories about them perpetually in Arms, and their whole Commonwealths by this Means became so many several formed Militias: A general Exercise of the best of their People in the Use of Arms, was the only Bulwark of their Liberties; this was reckon'd the surest Way to preserve them both at home and abroad, the People being secured thereby as well against the Domestick Affronts of any of their own Citizens, as against the Foreign Invasions of ambitious and unruly Neighbours. Their Arms were never lodged in the Hands of any who had not an Interest in preserving the Public Peace, who fought *pro Aris & Focis*, and thought themselves sufficiently paid by repelling Invaders, that they might with Freedom return to their own Affairs. In those Days there was no Difference between the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman, for all promiscuously took Arms when the public Safety required it, and afterwards laid them down with more Alacrity than they took them up: So that we find amongst the *Romans* the best and bravest of their Generals came from the Plough, contentedly returning when the Work was over, and never demanded their Triumphs till they had laid down their Commands, [I-11] and reduced themselves to the State of private Men. Nor do we find that this famous Commonwealth ever permitted a Deposition of their Arms in any other Hands, till their Empire increasing, Necessity constrained them to erect a constant stipendiary Soldiery abroad in Foreign Parts, either for the holding or winning of Provinces: Then Luxury increasing with Dominion, the strict Rule and Discipline of Freedom soon abated, and Forces were kept at home, which soon prov'd of such dangerous Consequence, that the People were forced to make a Law to employ them at a convenient Distance; which was, that if any General marched over the River *Rubicon*, he should be declar'd a public Enemy; and in the Passage of that River this following Inscription was erected, *Imperator five miles, five Tyrannus armatus quisquis fistito, vexillumque armaque doponito, nec citra hunc amnem trajicito*: And this made *Cesar* when he had presumed to pass this River, to think of nothing but pressing on to the total Oppression of the Empire, which he shortly after obtained.

Nor, as I said before, did any Nation deviate from these Rules but they lost their Liberty; and of this kind there are infinite Examples, out of which I shall give a few in several Ages, which are most known, and occur to every one's Reading.

The first Example I shall give is of *Pisistratus*, who artificially prevailing with the *Athenians* to allow him fifty Guards for the Defence of his Person, he so improved that Number, that he seiz'd upon the Castle and Government, destroy'd the Commonwealth, and made himself Tyrant of *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* being in Apprehension of their Enemies, made a Decree for four hundred Men to be kept to defend their City, and gave *Tymophanes* the Command over them, who overturned their Government, cut off all the principal Citizens, and proclaim'd himself

King of *Corinth*.

*Agathocles* being the Captain-General of the *Syracusians*, got such an Interest in the Army, that he cut all the Senators to pieces, and the richest of the People, and made himself their King.

[I-12]

The *Romans* for fear of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, who like vast Inundations threatned their Empire, chose *Marius* their General, and, contrary to the Constitution of their Government, continued him five Years in his Command, which gave him such Opportunity to insinuate, and gain an Interest in their Army, that he oppressed their Liberty; and to this were owing all the Miseries, Massacres, and Ruins which that City suffered under him and *Sylla*, who made the best Blood in the World run like Water in the Streets of *Rome*, and turn'd the whole City into a Shambles of the Nobility, Gentry and People.

The same Thing enabled *Cesar* totally to overthrow that famous Commonwealth; for the Prolongation of his Commission in *Gaul* gave him an Opportunity to debauch his Army, and then upon a pretended Disgust he marched to *Rome*, drove out the Senators, seiz'd the Treasury, fought their Forces, and made himself perpetual Dictator.

*Olivarotto di Fermo* desired Leave of his Fellow-Citizens, that he might be admitted into their Town with a hundred Horse of his Companions; which being granted, he put to the Sword all the principal Citizens, and proclaim'd himself their Prince.

*Francis Sforza* being General of the *Milanese*, usurped upon them, and made himself Duke of *Milan*.

After *Christiern* the Second King of *Denmark* had conquer'd *Sweden*, he invited all the Senators and Nobility to a magnificent Entertainment, where after he had treated them highly for two Days, he most barbarously butcher'd them: None escaped this Massacre but the brave *Gustavus Ericson*, who was then a Prisoner; but he afterwards escaping through a thousand Difficulties, by his good Fortune, Courage and Conduct, drove the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, and restor'd the *Swedes* to their antient Kingdom. Nothing then was thought too great for their generous Deliverer, every Mouth was full of his Praises, and by the Universal Voice of the People he was chosen their King; and to consummate the last Testimony of their Gratitude, they trusted him with an Army: but they soon found their Mistake, for it cost them their Liberty; and having granted that [I-13] *unum magnum*, it was too late to dispute any thing else: His Successors having been pleased to take all the rest, and now they remain the miserable Examples of too credulous Generosity.

The Story of *Denmark* is so generally known, and so well related by a late excellent Author, that it would be Impertinence in me to repeat it; only this I will observe, that if the King had not had an Army at his Command, the Nobles had never delivered up their Government.

Our Countryman *Oliver Cromwel* turned out that Parliament under which he served, and who had got Immortal Honour through the whole World by their great Actions; and this he effected by the Assistance of an Army, which must be allowed to have had as much Virtue, Sobriety, and publick Spirit, as hath been known in the World since amongst that Sort of Men.

The last Instance I shall give, is of a *French* Colony, as I remember in the *West-Indies*, who having War with the neighbouring *Indians*, and being tired in their March with the Extremity of Heat, made their Slaves carry their Arms, who taking that Opportunity fell upon them, and cut them to Pieces: A just Punishment for their Folly. And this will always be the

Fate of those that trust their Arms out of their own Hands: For it is a ridiculous Imagination to conceive Men will be Servants, when they can be Masters. And as Mr. *Harrington*, judiciously observes, whatever Nation suffers their Servants to carry their Arms, their Servants will make them hold their Trenchers.

Some People object, that the Republicks of *Venice* and *Holland* are Instances to disprove my Assertion, who both keep great Armies, and yet have not lost their Liberty. I answer, that neither keep any standing Forces within the Seats of their Government, that is, within the City of *Venice*, or the great Towns of the *United Provinces*; but they defend these by their own Burghers, and quarter their Mercenaries in their conquered Countries, viz. the *Venetians*, in *Greece*, and the Continent of *Italy*, and the *Dutch* in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; and the Situation of these States makes their Armies, so posted, not dangerous to them; for the *Venetians* cannot be attacked without a Fleet, nor the *Dutch* be ever conquered by their own [I-14] Forces, their Country being so full of strong Towns, fortified both by Art and Nature, and defended by their own Citizens, that it would be a fruitless Attempt for their own Armies to invade them; for if they should march against any of their Cities, 'tis but shutting up their Gates, and the Design is spoiled.

But if we admit that an Army might be consistent with Freedom in a Commonwealth, yet it is otherwise in a free Monarchy; for in the former 'tis wholly in the Disposal of the People, who nominate, appoint, discard, and punish the Generals and Officers as they think fit, and 'tis certain Death to make any Attempt upon their Liberties; whereas in the latter, the King is perpetual General, may model the Army as he pleases, and it will be called High-treason to oppose him.

And though some Princes, as the Family of the *Medicis*, *Lewis* the XIth, and others laid the Foundation of their Tyrannies without the immediate Assistance of an Army, yet they all found an Army necessary to establish them; or otherwise a little Experience in the People or the Change of their Condition, would have made them disgorge in a Day, that ill-gotten Power they had been acquiring for an Age.

This Subject is so self-evident, that I am almost asham'd to prove it: For if we look through the World, we shall find in no Country, Liberty and an Army stand together; so that to know whether a People are Free or Slaves, it is necessary only to ask, whether there is an Army kept amongst them? And the Solution of that preliminary Question resolves the Doubt: As we see in *China*, *India*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, *Turkey*, *Morocco*, *Muscovy*, *Austria*, *France*, *Portugal*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Tuscany*, and all the little Principalities, of *Germany* and *Italy*, where the People live in the most abandoned Slavery; and in Countries where no Armies are kept within the Seat of their Government, the People are free, as *Poland*, *Biscay*, *Switzerland*, the *Grisons*, *Venice*, *Holland*, *Genoa*, *Geneva*, *Ragusa*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, all the free Towns in *Germany*, and *England* and *Scotland* before the late Reigns. This Truth is so obvious, that the most barefaced Advocates for an Army do not directly deny it, but qualify the Matter by telling us, that [I-15] a Number not exceeding fifteen or twenty thousand Men are a Handful to so populous a Nation as this: Now I think that Number will bring as certain Ruin upon us, as if they were as many Millions, and I will give my Reasons for it.

It is the Misfortune of all Countries, that they sometimes lie under an unhappy Necessity to defend themselves by Arms against the Ambition of their Governors, and to fight for what's their own; for if a Prince will rule us with a Rod of Iron, and invade our Laws and Liberties, and neither be prevailed upon by our Miseries, Supplications, or Tears, we have no Power upon Earth to appeal to, and therefore must patiently submit to our Bondage, or stand upon our own Defence; which if we are enabled to do, we shall never be put upon it, but our Swords may grow rusty in our Hands: For that Nation is surest to live in Peace, that is most

capable of making War; and a Man that hath a Sword by his Side, shall have least occasion to make use of it. Now I say, if the King hath twenty thousand Men before hand with us, or much less than half that Number, the People can make no Effort to defend their Liberties, without the Assistance of a Foreign Power, which is a Remedy most commonly as bad as the Disease; and if we have not a Power within ourselves to defend our Laws, we have no Government.

For *England* being a small Country, few strong Towns in it, and those in the King's Hands, the Nobility disarmed by the Destruction of Tenures, and the Militia not to be raised but by the King's Command, there can be no Force levied in any Part of *England*, but must be destroyed in its Infancy by a few Regiments: For what will three or four thousand naked and unarm'd Men signify against as many Troops of mercenary Soldiers? What if they should come into the Field, and say you must choose these and these Men your Representatives; where is your Choice? What if they should say, Parliaments are seditious and factious Assemblies, and therefore ought to be abolished; what is become of your Freedom? Or if they should encompass the Parliament-house, and threaten if they do not surrender up their Government, they will put them to the Sword; what is become of the [I-16] old *English* Constitution? These Things may be, and have been done in several Parts of the World: What is it that causeth the Tyranny of the *Turks* at this Day, but Servants in Arms? What is it that preserved the glorious Commonwealth of *Rome*, but Swords in the Hands of its Citizens?

And if besides this, we consider the great Prerogatives of the Crown, and the vast Interest the King has and may acquire by the Distribution of so many profitable Offices of the Houshold, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, and the Navy, together with the Assistance of a powerful Party, who have been always the fast and constant Friends to arbitrary Power, whose only Quarrel to his present Majesty is, that he has knocked off the Chains and Fetters they thought they had locked fast upon us; a Party, who hath once engaged us in an unhappy Quarrel amongst ourselves (the Consequence of which I dread to name) and since in a tedious and chargeable War, at the vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, to avoid that Captivity they had prepared for us: I say, if any one considers this, he will be convinced that we have enough to do to guard ourselves against the Power of the Court, without having an Army thrown into the Scale against us: And we have found oftner than once, by too fatal Experience the Truth of this; for if we look back to the late Reigns, we shall see this Nation brought to the Brink of Destruction, and Breathing out the last Gasp of their Liberty; and it is more owing to our good Fortune, than to any Effort we were able to make, that we escaped the fatal Blow.

And I believe no Man will deny, but if *Charles* the First had had five thousand Men before hand with us, the People had never struck a Stroke for their Liberties; or if the late King *James* would have been contented with Arbitrary Power without bringing in Popery, both he and his Black-Guards would have bound us Hand and Foot before this Time: But when their ill contrived Oppression came Home to their own Doors, they quickly shewed the World how different a Thing it was to suffer themselves, and to make other People suffer, and so we came by our Deliverance; and though the late King had the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, People, and his own Army [I-17] against him, and we had a very wise and courageous Prince nearly related to the Crown, and backed by a powerful State, for our Protector, yet we account this Revolution next to a Miracle.

I will add here, that most of the Nations I instanced before were enslaved by small Armies: *Oliver Cromwel* left behind him but 17000 Men; and the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was the Darling of the People, was suppressed with two thousand; nay, *Caesar* seized *Rome* itself with five thousand, and fought the Battle of *Pharsalia*, where the Fate of the World was decided, with twenty two thousand; and most of the Revolutions of the *Roman* and *Ottoman*



Empires since, were caused by the *Pretorian* Bands, and the Court Janizaries; the former of which never exceeded eight, nor the latter twelve thousand Men: And if no greater Numbers could make such Disturbances in those vast Empires, what will double the Force do with us? And they themselves confess it, when they argue for an Army; for they tell us we may be surprized with ten or fifteen thousand Men from *France*, and having no regular Force to oppose them, they will over-run the Kingdom. Now if so small a Force can oppose the King, the Militia, with the united Power of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, what will an equal Power do against the People, when supported by the Royal Authority, and a never failing Interest that will attend it, except when it acts for the publick Good?

But we are told this Army is not design'd to be made a Part of our Constitution, but to be kept only for a little Time, till the Circumstances of *Europe* will better permit us to be without them. But I would know of these Gentlemen, when they think that Time will be? Will it be during the Life of King *James*, or after his Death? Shall we have less to fear from the Youth and Vigour of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, than now from an unhappy Man sinking under the Load of Age and Misfortunes? Or will *France* be more capable of offending us just after this tedious and consumptive War, than hereafter, when it has had a breathing Time to repair the Calamities it has suffered by it? No: We can never disband our Army with so much Safety as at this Time; and this is well known by these Conspirators against their Country, who are satisfied [I-18] that a Continuation of them now, is an Establishment of them for ever: For whilst the Circumstances of *Europe* stand in the present Posture, the Argument will be equal to continue them; if the State of *Europe* should alter to the Advantage of *France*, the Reason will grow stronger, and we shall be told we must increase our Number: But if there should be such a Turn of Affairs in the World, that we were no longer in Apprehension of the *French* Power, they may be kept up without our Assistance; nay, the very Discontents they may create shall be made an Argument for the continuing of them. But if they should be kept from oppressing the People, in a little Time they will grow habitual to us, and almost become a Part of our Constitution, and by Degrees we shall be brought to believe them not only not dangerous, but necessary; for every Body sees, but few understand, and those few will never be able to persuade the Multitude that there is any Danger in those Men they have lived quietly with for some Years, especially when the disbanding them will (as they will be made believe) cost them more Money out of their own Pockets to maintain a Militia, and of this we have had already an unhappy Experience. For *Charles* the Second being connived at in keeping a few Guards (which were the first ever known to an *English* King besides his Pensioners, and his Beefeaters) he insensibly increased their Number, till he left a Body of Men to his Successor, great enough to tell the Parliament, he would be no longer bound by the Laws he had sworn to; and under the Shelter and Protection of these he raised an Army that had put a Period to our Government, if a Complication of Causes (which may never happen again) had not presented the Prince of *Orange* with a Conjuncture to assert his own and the Nation's Rights. And though we have so lately escaped this Precipice, yet Habit has made Soldiers so familiar to us, that some who pretend to be zealous for Liberty, speak of it as a Hardship to his present Majesty, to refuse him as many Men as his Predecessors, not considering that the raising them then was a Violation of our Laws, and that his Government is built upon the Destruction of theirs, and can no more stand upon the same Rubbish, than the Kingdom of Heaven be founded in Unrighteousness.

[I-19]

But the Conspirators say, we need be in no Apprehensions of Slavery, whilst we keep the Power of the Purse in our own Hands: Which is very true; but they do not tell us that he has the Power of raising Money, to whom no one dares refuse it.

*Arma tenenti  
Omniu dat qui justa negat.*

For 'tis as certain that an Army will raise Money, as that Money will raise an Army; but if this Course be too desperate, 'tis but shutting up the *Exchequer*, and disobligeing a few Tally-Jobbers (who have bought them for fifty *per Cent.* Discount) and there will be near three Millions a Year ready cut and dried for them: And whoever doubts whether such a Method as this is practicable, let him look back to the Reign of *Charles* the Second. And I am afraid the Officers of the *Exchequer* have not much reason to value themselves for their Payments in this Reign: At least the Purchasers of the Annuities are of that Opinion, and would be apt to entertain some unseasonable Suspicions, if they had not greater Security from his Majesty's Virtue, than the Justice of such Ministers. But if we could suppose (whatever is the Fate of other Countries) that our Courtiers design Nothing but the Publick Good, yet we ought not to hazard such unusual Virtue by leading it into Temptation, which is Part of our daily Duty to pray against. But I am afraid we do not live in an Age of Miracles, especially of that Sort; our Heroes are made of a coarser Allay, and have too much Dross mixed with their Constitutions for such refined Principles: For in the little Experience I have had in the World, I have observed most Men to do as much Mischief as lay in their Power, and therefore am for dealing with them as we do with Children and mad Men, that is take away all Weapons by which they may do either themselves or others an Injury: As I think the Sheep in *Boccaline* made a prudent Address to *Apollo*, when they desired, that for the future Wolves might have no Teeth.

When all other Arguments fail, they call to their Assistance the old Tyrant Necessity, and tell us the Power [I-20] of *France* is so great, that let the Consequence of an Army be what it will, we cannot be without one; and if we must be Slaves, we had better be so to a Protestant Prince than a Popish one, and the worst of all Popish ones the *F— — — King*. Now I am of Mr. *Johnson's* Opinion, that the putting an Epithet upon Tyranny is false Heraldry; for Protestant and Popish are both alike; and if I must be a Slave, it is very indifferent to me who is my Master, and therefore I shall never consent to be ruled by an Army, which is the worst that the most barbarous Conquest can impose upon me; which notwithstanding we have little reason to fear whilst we keep the Seas well guarded.

It is certain there is no Country so situated for Naval Power as *England*. The Sea is our Element, our Seamen have as much hardy Bravery, and our Ships are as numerous, and built of as good Materials as any in the World: Such a Force well applied, and managed, is able to give Laws to the Universe; and if we keep a competent Part of it well armed in Times of Peace, it is the most ridiculous Thing in Nature to believe any Prince will have Thoughts of invading us, unless he proposes to be superior to us in Naval Power: For the Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking will alarm all *Europe*, give both to us and our Confederates Time to arm, and put ourselves in a Posture of Defence. And whoever considers that the Prince of *Orange* with six hundred Ships, brought but fourteen thousand Men, and the mighty *Spanish* Armado (then the Terror of the World) imbarked but eighteen thousand, he will be assured that no Invasion can be so sudden upon us, but we shall have time to get ready our whole Fleet, bring some Forces from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and prepare our own Militia if there shall be Occasion for it; especially in Times of Peace, when we shall have the Liberty of all the Ports of *France*, and shall, or may, have Intelligence from every one of them.

But they tell us such a Wind may happen as may be favourable to our Enemy, and keep us within our own Ports; which I say, as *France* lies to *England*, is almost impossible: For if we lie about *Falmouth*, or the Land's End, no Fleet from *Brest*, or the Ocean, can escape us [I-21] without a Miracle; and if the Design be to invade us from any Port in the Channel, a very few Ships (which may safely lie at Anchor) will certainly prevent it: Nor is it to be

conceived that that cautious Prince will be at a vast Expence for the Contingency of such a critical Wind, or will send an Army into a Country where their Retreat is certainly cut off, when the failing in any Part of his Design will bring a new War upon him, which lately cost a third Part of his People, a great many large Countries, and strong Towns, with all the Honour he had heaped up by his former Victories, to get rid of.

And here I must confess, that the Misapplication of our Naval Force (which is our known Strength) for these last eight Years, is the strongest, as it is the most usual Argument against me: Which unriddles a Mystery I did not understand before, though I never was so foolish as to believe all the Errors of that Kind were the Effects of Chance or Ignorance, or that losing so many Opportunities of destroying the *French* Fleet had not some extraordinary, though occult Cause; and yet, notwithstanding the restless Attempts of our Enemies, and the paltry Politicks of our own wretched St— — —n, this Fleet triumphantly defended us, so that our Enemies in eight Years War, could not get one Opportunity of invading our Country.

It is objected, that the Officers of our Fleet may be corrupted, or that a Storm may arise which may destroy it all at once, and therefore we ought to have two Strings to our Bow. By which I perceive all their Fears lie one way, and that they do not care if they precipitate us into inevitable Ruin at Home, to prevent a distant Possibility of it from *France*. But I think this Phantom too may be laid by a well-trained Militia, and then all their Bugbears will vanish. This Word can be no sooner out, but there is a Volley of small Shot let fly at me: What must we trust our Safety to an undisciplined Mob, who never dreamt of fighting, when they undertook the Service; who are not inured to the Fatigue of a Camp, or ever saw the Face of an Enemy? And then they magnify mercenary Troops, as if there was an intrinsic Virtue in a Red-coat, or that a Raggamuffin from robbing of Henroosts, in two Campaigns could be cudgelled into a [I-22] Hero. Tho' I must confess the Conduct of the Court in industriously enervating this Force, does in some measure justify their Objections: For the detestable Policies of the last Reigns were with the utmost Art and Application to disarm the People, and make the Militia useless, to countenance a Standing Army in order to bring in Popery and Slavery; and if any Methods were proposed to make it more serviceable, the Court would never suffer them to be debated; and such Officers as were more zealous in exercising their Companies than others, were reprimanded, as if they design'd to raise a Rebellion. And now the worthy Patriots of this Reign are taking Advantage of the traitorous Neglect and infamous Policies of the last. But why may not a Militia be made useful? Why may not the Nobility, Gentry, and Freeholders of *England* be trusted with the Defence of their own Lives, Estates and Liberties, without having Guardians and Keepers assign'd them? And why may they not defend them with as much Vigour and Courage as Mercenaries who have nothing to lose, nor any other Tie to engage their Fidelity, than the inconsiderable Pay of Six-pence a-day, which they may have from the Conqueror?

Why may not the Laws for shooting in Crossbows be changed into Firelocks, and a competent Number of them be kept in every Parish for the young Men to exercise with on Holidays, and Rewards offered to the most expert, to stir up their Emulation?

Why may not the whole Militia of *England* be reduced to sixty thousand, and a third part of those kept by turns in constant Exercise?

Why may not a Man be listed in the Militia till he be discharged by his Master, as well as in the Army till he be discharged by his Captain? And why may not the same Horse be always sent forth, unless it can be made appear he is dead or maimed?

Why may not the private Soldiers of the Army, when they are dispersed in the several Parts of the Kingdom, be sent to the Militia? And why may not the inferior Officers of the Army in some proportion command them?

I say, these and other like Things may be done, and some of them are done in our own Plantations, and the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, as also in *Poland*, *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Grisons*; which are Nations much less considerable than *England*, have as formidable Neighbours, no Sea nor Fleet to defend them, nothing but a Militia to depend upon, and yet no one dares attack them: And we have seen as great Performances done formerly by the Apprentices of *London*, and in the late War by the *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, the *Miquelets* in *Catalonia*, and the Militia in *Ireland*, as can be parallel'd in History: And so it would be with us, if the Court would give their hearty Assistance in promoting this Design; if the King would appear in Person at the Head of them, and give Rewards and Honour to such as deserve them, we should quickly see the young Nobility and Gentry appear magnificent in Arms and Equipage, shew a generous Emulation in outvying one another in Military Exercises, and place a noble Ambition in making themselves serviceable to their Country; as anciently the *Achaians* and *Thebans* from being the most contemptible Nations in *Greece*, by the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, *Epamonidas*, and *Philopemen*, came to have the best disciplin'd Troops and most excellent Soldiers in the World.

They object, that such a Militia as this is a Standing Army, and will be as dangerous, and much more chargeable. I answer;

That there can be no Danger from an Army where the Nobility and chief Gentry of *England* are the Commanders, and the Body of it made up of the Freeholders, their Sons and Servants; unless we can conceive that the Nobility and Gentry will join in an unnatural Design to make void their own Titles to their Estates and Liberties: And if they could entertain so ridiculous a Proposition, they would never be obeyed by the Soldiers, who will have a Respect to those who send them forth and pay them, and to whom they must return again when their Time is expired. For if I send a Man, I will as surely choose one who shall fight for me, as a Mercenary Officer will choose one that shall fight against me; and the late Governments are Witnesses to the Truth [I-24] of this, who debauched the Militia more than ever I hope to see it again, and yet durst never rely upon them to assist their Arbitrary Designs; as we may remember in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion, their Officers durst not bring them near his Army for fear of a Revolt. Nay, the Pensioner-Parliament themselves turn'd short upon the Court, when they expected them to give the finishing Stroke to our Ruin.

To the last Part of the Objection, That this Militia will be more chargeable than an Army; I answer, That since (as I suppose) no Man proposes wholly to lay them aside; if we add the extraordinary Expence of maintaining twenty thousand Men to the ordinary Charge of the Militia, it is much more than sufficient to make the latter useful. But if this Objection were true, it ought not to enter into Competition with the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties; for it is better to give a third Part of my Estate, if it were necessary, than to have all taken from me.

And though it should be granted, that a Militia is not as serviceable as an Army kept to constant Discipline, yet I believe these Gentlemen themselves will confess, that sixty thousand of them trained as before, are as good as twenty thousand of their standing Troops, which is the Question; for it's impossible to have them both useful at the same Time, they being as incompatible as broad and clipt Money, never current together; and therefore the Court must depend wholly upon a Militia, or else they will not depend upon them at all. And this by the Way may silence that Objection, that we must keep our Army till the Militia be disciplin'd; for that will never be done whilst the Court has an Army: and the same Objection will be made seven Years hence as now; so that a small Army can be of no Use to us, but to make our Fleet neglected, to hinder the Militia from being trained, and enslave us at home;

for they are too few to defend us against an Invasion, and too many for the People to oppose.

I dare speak with the greater Assurance upon this Subject, having the Authority of as great Men as the World hath produced for my Justification. *Machiavel* spends several Chapters to prove, that no Prince or State ought [I-25] to suffer any of their Subjects to make War their Profession, and that no Nation can be secure with any other Forces than a settled Militia. My Lord *Bacon* in several Places bears his Testimony against a Standing Army, and particularly he tells us, that a Mercenary Army is fittest to invade a Country, but a Militia to defend it; because the first have Estates to get, and the latter to protect. Mr. *Harrington* hath founded his whole *Oceana* upon a trained Militia; and I have lately read a *French Book*, called a History of the Politicks of *France*, which says, *Enfin si on veut ruiner Les Anglois il suffit de les obliger a tenir des Troupes sur pied*. Nay, I believe no Author ever treated of a Free Government, that did not express his Abhorrence of an Army; for, as my Lord *Bacon* says, whoever does use them, though he may spread his Feathers for a Time, he will mew them soon after; and raise them with what Design you please, yet, like the *West-India Dogs*, in *Boccaline*, in a little Time they will certainly turn Sheep-biters.

Perhaps it will be said, that the Artillery of the World is changed since some of these wrote, and War is become more a Mystery, and therefore more Experience is necessary to make good Soldiers. But wherein does this Mystery consist? not in exercising a Company, and obeying a few Words of Command; these are Mysteries that the dullest Noddle will comprehend in a few Weeks. Nay, I have heard that the modern Exercise is much shorter and easier than the Antient. But the great Improvements in War are in regular Encampments, Fortification, Gunnery, skilful Engineering, &c. These are Arts not to be learned without much Labour, and Experience, and are as much gained in the Closet as in the Field; and I suppose no Man will say, that the keeping Standing Forces is necessary to make a good Engineer.

As to actual Experience in War, that is not essential either to a Standing Army or a Militia, as such; but the former may be without it, and the latter gain it according as they have Opportunities of Action. 'Tis true, at present the Army hath been trained up in a long War, and hath gained great Knowledge: But these Men will not be lost when they are disbanded, they will be still in *England*; and if the Parliament does give them a Gratuity [I-26] suitable to the Service they have done their Country, will be ready to resume their Arms whenever Occasion offers.

But I desire to know of these Patriots how comes an Army necessary to our Preservation now, and never since the Conquest before? Did ever the prevailing Party in the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster* attempt to keep up a Standing Army to support themselves? No: They had more Sense than to sacrifice their own Liberty, and more Honour than to enslave their Country, the more easily to carry on their own Faction. Were not the *Spaniards* as powerful, as good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies, as the *French* are now? Was not *Flanders* as near us as *France*? And the popish Interest in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time as strong as the *Jacobite* is now? And yet that most excellent Princess never dreamt of a Standing Army, but thought her surest Empire was to reign in the Hearts of her Subjects, which the following Story sufficiently testifies. When the Duke of *Alanson* came over to *England*, and for some Time had admired the Riches of the City, the Conduct of her Government, and the Magnificence of her Court, he asked her amidst so much Splendor where were her Guards? Which Question she resolved a few Days after as she took him in her Coach through the City, when pointing to the People, (who received her in Crowds with repeated Acclamations) These, said she, my Lord, are my Guards; These have their Hands, their Hearts, and their Purses always ready at my Command: And these were Guards indeed, who defended her thro' a long and successful Reign of forty four Years against all the Machinations of *Rome*, the Power of *Spain*, a disputed Title, and the perpetual Conspiracies of her own Popish

Subjects; a Security the *Roman* Emperors could not boast of, with their *Pretorian* Bands, and their *Eastern* and *Western* Armies.

Were not the *French* as powerful in *Charles* the Second and King *James's* Time, as they are after this long and destructive War, and a less Alliance to oppose them? And yet we then thought a much less Army, than is now contended for, a most insupportable Grievance; insomuch that in *Charles* the Second's Reign, the Grand-Jury presented them, and the Pensioner Parliament voted them to [I-27] be a Nuisance, sent Sir *Jos. Wil— —son* to the *Tower*, for saying, the King might keep Guards for the Defence of his Person, and addressed to have them disbanded. And now our Apostates would make their Court, by doing what the worst Parliament ever *England* saw, could not think of without Horror and Confusion. They say the King of *France* was in League with our late Kings, so he is with us; and he would have broke it then, if he had thought it safe, and for his Interest as much as now. But they say we have more disaffected Persons to join with him; which I must deny, for I believe no King of *England*, in any Age, had deservedly more Interest than the Present, and if during such an expensive War, in which we have consumed so much Blood and Treasure, paid such vast and unequal Taxes, lost so many thousand Ships, and bore a Shock by recoining our Money, which would have torn up another Nation from its Foundation, and reduced it to its ancient Chaos, when most Countries would have sunk under the Misfortune, and repined at their Deliverance, (as Men in Sickness commonly quarrel with their dearest Friends) I say, if at that Time he had so great and universal an Interest, there can be no doubt but in Times of Peace, when the People reap the Fruits of that Courage and Conduct he hath shewn in their Defence, he will be the most beloved and glorious Prince that ever filled the *English* Throne.

I will make one Assertion more, and then conclude this Discourse, *viz.* That the most likely Way of restoring King *James*, is maintaining a Standing Army to keep him out.

For the King's Safety stands upon a Rock, while it depends upon the solid Foundation of the Affections of the People, which is never to be shaken, till it is as evident as the Sun in the Firmament, that there is a formed Design to overthrow our Laws and Liberties; but if we keep a standing Army, all depends upon the uncertain and capricious Humours of the Soldiery, which in all Ages have produced more violent and sudden Revolutions, than ever have been known in unarmed Governments: For there is such a Chain of Dependance among them, that if two or three of the chief Officers should be disobliged, or have Intrigues with *Jacobite* Mistresses; [I-28] or if the King of *France* could once again buy his Pensioners into the Court or Army, or offer a better Market to some that are in already, we shall have another Rehearsal Revolution, and the People be only idle Spectators of their own Ruin. And whosoever considers the Composition of an Army, and doubts this, let him look back to the *Roman* Empire, where he will find out of twenty-six Emperors, sixteen deposed and murdered by their own Armies; nay, Half the History of the World is made up of Examples of this Kind: But we need not go any farther than our own Country, where we have but twice kept Armies in Times of Peace, and both Times they turned out their own Masters. The first under *Cromwell*, expelled that Parliament under which they had fought successfully for many Years; afterwards under General *Monk* they destroyed the Government they before set up, and brought back *Charles* the Second, and he afterwards disbanded them, left they might have turned him out again. The other Instance is fresh in every one's Memory, how King *James's* Army joined with the Prince of *Orange*, now our rightful and lawful King. And what could have been expected otherwise from Men of dissolute and debauched Principles, who call themselves Soldiers of Fortune? Who make Murder their Profession, and enquire no farther into the Justice of the Cause, than how they shall be paid; who must be false, rapacious, and cruel in their own Defence. For having no other Profession or Subsistence to depend upon, they are forced to stir up the Ambition of Princes, and engage them in perpetual Quarrels, that they may share of the Spoils they make. Such Men, like some Sort of

ravenous Fish, fare best in a Storm; and therefore we may reasonably suppose they will be better pleased with the Tyrannical Government of the late King, than the mild and gracious Administration of his present Majesty, who came over to *England* to rescue us from Oppression, and he has done it, and triumphs in it in Spight of his Enemies.

In this Discourse I have purposely omitted speaking of the lesser Inconveniences attending a Standing Army, such as frequent Quarrels, Murder, and Robberies; the Destruction of all the Game in the Country; the Quartering upon Publick, and sometimes private Houses; the Influencing Elections of Parliament, by an artificial Distribution [I-29] of Quarters; the rendering so many Men useless to Labour, and almost Propagation, together with a much greater Destruction of them, by taking them from a labourious Way of Living, to a loose idle Life; and besides this, the Insolence of the Officers, and the Debaucheries that are committed both by them, and their Soldiers in all the Towns they come in, to the Ruin of Multitudes of Women, Dishonour of their Families, and ill Example to others; and a numerous Train of Mischiefs besides, almost endless to enumerate. These are trivial as well as particular Grievances in respect of those I have treated about, which strike at the Heart's Blood of our Constitution, and therefore I thought these not considerable enough to bear a Part in a Discourse of this Nature: Besides, they often procure their own Remedy, working Miracles, and making some Men see that were born Blind, and impregnable against all the Artillery of Reason; for Experience is the only Mistress of Fools: A wise Man will know a Pike will bite, when he sees his Teeth, which another will not make Discovery of but by the Loss of a Finger.

What I have said here against Standing Armies, I would be understood of such as are the Instruments of Tyranny and their Country's Ruin, and therefore I need make no Apology to our own which was raised by the Consent of the Parliament, in this just and necessary War, and next under God and our Great and glorious Deliverer, have by their Bravery and Conduct preserxed our Liberties, and the Protestant Religion through *Europe*. For if in future Reigns any Designs should be levelled against our Laws, we may be assured these Men would be discarded, and others promoted in their Rooms, who are fit for such arbitrary Purposes.

Nor do I think it reasonable that our Army should be ruined by that Peace, which by their Courage and Fidelity they have procured for their Country; and I doubt not but the Generosity and Gratitude of the Parliament will give them a Donative equal to their Commissions, which, when the Foreigners are paid and sent Home, will amount to no extraordinary Sum; at most, 'tis but supposing the War to have six Months longer Continuance, which is an easy Composition for the Charge of [I-30] keeping them. But if there are any Gentlemen amongst them who think we can no otherwise express our Gratitude, by signing and sealing our own Ruin, I hope we shall disappoint their Expectations, and not give the World occasion to tell so foolish a Story of us, as that we turned to grass one of the most powerful Monarchs in the World for breaking our Laws, that we have maintained an eight Years War, at the Expence of forty Millions of Money, and the Blood of three hundred thousand Men, to justify the glorious Action we have done; that by it we preserved all *Europe* besides, and lost our own Liberties; at least I hope it shall not be said we consented to it.

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[I-31]

**The Second Part of an Argument, Shewing, that a Standing Army Is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy. With *Remarks* on the late published LIST of King *James's* Irish Forces in *France*.** ↩

Anno 1697.

[By J. Trenchard, *Esq*.;]

**PREFACE.**

*THE following Considerations were written, and designed to be published soon after the Argument against a Standing Army appeared. But a Report being given out, That the Advocates for a Standing Army would do Wonders on that Subject, 'twas thought convenient to expect Their Atchievements, that if their Success should prove in any measure answerable to their Confidence, the Publick might have been no farther importuned about the Matter. I think I may justly say, This Mountain, after all its Pangs and Convulsions, has brought forth nothing but a ridiculous Mouse. And therefore I shall submit to the Judgment of all impartial Englishmen, what is here said in Confirmation of the Argument: Which I hope will be of greater Weight, because taken from our own History.*

[I-32]

**PART II.**

WE have much Talk of a Standing Army which is to be in the Time of Peace, but no Body can tell us what they are to do: We know their usual Commission is to kill and slay; But where is the Enemy? Men talk of this with as much Certainty, as if they were already established. Which is yet the more surprising, if we reflect on one of the Articles of Charge against the late King *James*. It is plain therefore that all this is Practice, and that these bold Forestallers of Parliaments would fain enact without Doors, which from the Foundation of this Kingdom was never attempted within.

These Gentlemen are also pleased to affirm it necessary to have a vast Body of Forces continued on foot: Whereas the first Project we find for a Standing Army, in the Year 1629, requires only three thousand Foot in constant Pay, to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments; to over-awe the Parliament and Nation; to make Edicts to be Laws; to force upon the People vast Numbers of Excises; and in short, to overturn the whole Frame of this noble *English* Government. Whoever has a Mind to peruse that dangerous Scheme in *Rushworth's Appendix*, pag. 12. and what he says of it in his *History*, will see enough.

I marvel whose Advocates these Men are in this Matter: For I am satisfied none of those brave *Englishmen*, who have fought honourably abroad, ever meant, when the Service was over, to be a Charge, Burden and Terror at home to their own Country; nor to disfranchise [I-33] us of two of our Native Liberties, Freedom from Martial Law, and Billetting of Soldiers; and thereby directly to take away from themselves, as well as from their Fellow-subjects, one half of the Benefit of the *Petition of Right*, and in consequence the other half too, The Freedom of their Persons and Estates.

I shall therefore consider of a Standing Army, without minding who is for it, or who is against it in this Age, and only shew what are like to be the Consequences of it in future Reigns. And I have Reason to do thus, because if the Parliament give the best King a

Standing Army, the worst King shall hereafter claim and have it.

We have many Instances where Parliaments in a kind Fit, by one sudden Grant, have entailed a World of lasting Misery upon the Nation. I will mention but one; The Kingdom was newly delivered from a bitter Tyrant, I mean King *John*, and had likewise got rid of their perfidious Deliverer the Dauphin of *Frauce*; who after the *English* had accepted him for their King, had secretly vowed their Extirpation, which the [(a)] *Viscount of Melun*, a *Frenchman*, being at the Point of Death, disclosed; they were moreover blessed with a young Prince, of whom they conceived mighty Hopes, in the Hands of a very wise and honest Council. This was Life from the Dead, and a true Revolution. In the Transport of all this Happiness, about the 7th Year of this new King, *Henry* the Third, the Parliament granted him the Wardship of their Heirs, *Knighton*, p. 2430. records it thus; *Magnates Angliæ concesserunt Regi Henrico Wardas Hæredum & terrarum suarum, quod fuit initium multorum malorum in Anglia*. He says, this Grant was the Beginning of many Mischiefs in *England*. In the Year 1222 these Mischiefs had their Rise and Beginning; but where they ended, no old Chronicle could ever tell: For after this intolerable Bondage had continued above four hundred Years, the Nation at last ransomed themselves in our Time by giving the Excise. It is a Grief to all After ages to find a Parliament so miserably overseen, for they both mistook their Man; and the hopeful Prince proved as bad as if the very Soul of [I-34] his Father *John* had passed into him, which is the common Character given him by all the Antient Historians: And then they utterly mistook the Nature of the Grant, and did not foresee what a Misery and Vassalage it might prove to their Posterity. I appeal to all the Antient Nobility and Gentry, who know any thing of the Affairs of their own Families, whether it was so or not: And yet these were honest and brave Men, who would rather have died than have been the Authors of so much Mischiefs: but they were led by false Appearances, that by having the King Guardian of their Children, they could not be wronged; they would have the best Education at Court, stand fair for future Preferment, and that a happier Provision for their Posterity could not be made: Neither could it, for the very Learning which this instructive Passage has given to their late Posterity, countervails all the Mischiefs that are past.

But the Advocates for a Standing Army tell us, That though the Wards by being annexed to the Crown, and so becoming a Prerogative, could not be parted with, which was the Cause of the long Continuance of that Mischiefs, after it was known and felt to be so; yet all this is cured by making the Act Temporary, and settling a Standing Army only during his Majesty's Reign, or for Years, or they know not how. I find they have a great Mind to their Cucumber, for they are content to have it dressed and pickled any Way.

I answer, That succeeding Princes, if they find an Army, will keep it, and will not trouble themselves whether the Law be temporary or Perpetual. A plain Instance we have of this in the Customs: For tho' Tunnage and Poundage, and the other Impositions, are a Subsidy and free Gift, and the King's Answer to the Bill thanks the Subjects for their Good-wills. And though Parliaments have always used such Cautions and Limitations in those Grants, as might prevent any Claim, and heretofore limited them to a short Time, as for a Year or two; and if they were continued longer, they have directed a certain Space of Cessation, or Intermission, that so the Right of the Subject might be the more evident; at other times they have been granted upon Occasion of War for a certain Number of Years, with Proviso, [I-35] that if the War were ended in the mean time, then the Grant should cease; and of course they have been sequestred into the Hands of some Subjects for the guarding of the Seas:

Notwithstanding all this, though the Parliament so carefully guarded their Grants, yet King *Charles* the First took this Subsidy without any Grant at all, for sixteen Years together; tho' several Parliaments in the mean time forbad the Payment of it, and voted all those to be publick Enemies that did not refuse it. The like did his Son the late King *James* till his Parliament gave it him: and in his first Speech to them he demanded it as his own, by the

Name of my *Revenue*. And why then shall not another Prince come and say the same. Give me my Army, if he ever have a Parliament to ask? To limit a Prince with Laws where there is an Army, is to bind *Sampson* with his Locks on.

Having made appear, that an Army now will be an Army always, I come in the next Place to show, what the Consequences of it will be, both by the Experience of former Ages, and by the Nature of the Thing.

In all Ages and Parts of the World, a Standing Army has been the never-failing Instrument of enslaving a Nation; which *Richard* the Second, (*Walsing.* pag. 354.) compassing to do here in *England*, accordingly used the Means. For the Safety of his Person, he assembled together (*multos Malefactores*) a great Number of profligate Persons out of the County of *Chester*, who should keep Watch and Ward continually about him in their Turns. This Life-guard of his consisted of four thousand Archers; who committed such Outrages amongst the People, over awed the Parliament, and aided him in his Tyrannical Proceedings in such a manner, as could not be believed, if it were not witnessed by a whole Parliament, and his own Confession, [(b)] *Art.* the 5th.

[I-36]

In short, tho' many of those *Cheshire* Men plunder'd and lived upon Free-quarter; beat, wounded, killed and ravished where-ever they came: Yet because they enabled him to execute all his cruel and arbitrary Designs in Parliament, he countenanced them in all their Crimes, as confiding in them, and trusting in their Defence of him against all the Realm beside: For which Cause all the Lieges of his Realm had great Matter of Commotion and Indignation.

This Parliament was in the 21st of his Reign, and in it the Frame of this *English* Government was quite destroyed. I need not shew in what Particulars, for that is done already by *Bacon*, and many other Lawyers. But in short, the King was made absolute, and the whole Power of Parliament, which might remedy Things afterwards, was given up: For it was made Treason for any Man to endeavour to repeal any of the Arbitrary Constitutions that were then made.

I am even ashamed, when I observe former Princes so zealous for oppressing and wronging a Nation, and so bent upon it, to reflect how cold and remiss many Subjects have been at all Times, and how unconcerned to preserve their indispensable Rights, which are the very Being both of themselves and their Posterity: To see King *John* ready to pawn his Soul, and offer *Miramolim* the Emperor of *Morrocco* to turn *Turk*, and to make his Kingdom tributary to him only, to get his Assistance to enslave this Nation and Subjects to take no Care of their *English* Liberties, which certainly are proved to be worth keeping by the Eagerness of bad Princes to take them away.

But to return to our *Cheshire*-men, and to the Parliament which they had in Charge, *Sagittariis innumerabilibus* [I-37] *vallato*, walled about with an infinite number of Archers, as it is described *Artic.* 4. The Parliament was hereby so overawed, that in what they did were *Magis timore Regis ducti quam mentium ratione*, *Walsing.* led more by fear of the King than their Consciences; their Souls were not their own. And besides the Standing Awe and Terror which this Guard was to both Houses during their Session, their happened a Passage at last which put them all into a very great Fright: It is thus set down by *Stow*, p. 316.

'And then licence being had to depart, a great stir was made, as is used; Whereupon the King's Archers, in number 4000, compassed the Parliament House (thinking there had been in the House some Broil by fighting) with their Bows bent, their Arrows notched, and drawing ready to shoot, to the terror of all that were there; but the King herewith coming, pacified them.'

These Men did the King such acceptable Service, that he could do no less than make some return to his Implements, which he did in honouring *Cheshire* for their sakes. In this Session of Parliament he made it a Principality, *Cap. 9.* and himself Prince of *Cheshire*: And so as *Bacon* says, *Countries go up, and Kingdoms go down*: This had never risen again but by a happy Revolution, which followed in less than two Years. So much for the *Cheshire-men*.

But what signify the Proceedings of this villanous Crew to an Army, who are all of them Men of Honour, and perhaps in Parliament time shall be ordered a hundred Miles off? these cannot wall in, surround, begirt and beset a Parliament, nor consequently hinder it from being a Free Parliament. That I deny, for I hope such an Army may differ in Judgment, and can petition a Parliament at that distance; and we very well know that their Desires are always Commands. The Parliament in 41, long before there was any breach with the King, were in a fair way to have been petitioned out of doors by an Army 150 miles off, tho' there was the Clog of a Scotch Army at the heels of them, who upon the least Motion would certainly have followed. And if *Denzill Holles* had not locked the Doors, and communicated the Matter to the House, who immediately fell upon the Officers [I-38] that were Members, Colonel *Ashburnham*, *Willmot*, *Pollard*, &c. and quashed the Design, it had brought the whole Nation into great Confusion. The Petition of an Army is like that of the *Cornish-men* in *Henry* the Seventh's Time; it is always a strong Petition.

Nay, an Army could not go out in this humble way to over-rule a Parliament. If they are in being, they influence; and in *Cesar's* easy way they conquer, by looking on. The very Reputation of a Force to back them, will make all Court Proposals speak big, tho' never so contrary to the Interest of the Nation. For there is no debating nor disputing against Legions. It will tempt them to do many things they durst not otheawise think of: What is much out of our reach, rarely is the Object of our Thoughts; but the Facility of Execution is generally the first Motives to an Attempt. Now it is abundantly the Interest of Court-Flatterers to live under a corrupt Reign. Then Bribes and Confiscations fill their Coffers. No Man's Wife or Daughter is free from their Lust, or Estate from their Avarice. They extort Presents from the Nobility, Goods from the Tradesmen, and Labour from the Poor. In short, all is their own. And 'tis to be feared, these Gentlemen (unless they have more Vertue than usually falls to their Share) will put Princes upon such Counsels as promote their own Advantage. They will tell them how mean it is to be awed by a few Country Gentlemen, when all the Kings in *Europe* besides are got out of Pupilage, as *Lowis XI* called it. They will fill their heads with a thousand trifling Jealousies of Monsters, Commonwealths, and such like Bugbears: and it hath been difficult even for the wisest Princes to free themselves from this sort of Cattle. *False Prophets shall arise that shall deceive even the Elect.* Nothing but the Fear of Punishment, and the being made a Sacrifice to the People's just Revenge, can make such Men honest: But if they have an Army to protect them, all these Considerations are laid aside, and all Arguments are answered in a Word, *The King has an Army. The King has an Army*, stops all Mouts, and cuts off all Reply. It is as if it should be said, Set your hearts at rest, for the King has all Power in his hands, and you have none: He has all your Estates, Lives and Liberties, under his [I-39] Girdle: Slaves, and talk! The King has an Army, is a confuting Answer to every thing but a better Army, which Thanks be to God and his present Majesty we have found. But as we are not to live upon Miracles, so we are not to tempt Dangers.

I have stayed the longer upon this Point in shewing how inconsistent an Army is with the Freedom of Parliament, because they being the Keepers of our *English* Liberties, can ill perform that Office, when they have parted with their Power into other hands. They are the last Resort of the Subject for the Redress of their Grievances. But how shall they relieve the poor *Royston-men*, for instance, from the Oppression and Insolences of the Souldiery, when

perhaps they shall be subject to the like themselves? The Projectors are aware of this terrible Inconvenience, and therefore they propose an Expedient, That it shall be the King's Army, but the Parliament shall have the paying of them; whereby they shall be as much the Parliament's humble Servants as the Parliament their proper Masters.

Much at one I believe. For the Long Parliament had not such a King and Parliament Army as this, but an Army that was all their own, their Creatures, as the Court-word is; raised, listed, commissioned, and paid wholly by themselves, and not in Partnership; and that had manfully fought all their Battles: And yet upon the first Distaste they were pleased to take, they distressed their own Masters, and with a high hand forced them to banish eleven of their principal Members, *Denzil Holles*, *Sir Phillip Stapylton*, *Glyn*, and such other great Men. *Sir Phillip Stapylton* died in his Banishment. At another time they would not suffer near a hundred Members to enter into the House, whom they thought not well affected to the Business then in hand, and at the same time evil intreated and imprisoned about forty Members. This they called purging the House. After they had thus handled them at several times, in conclusion, the Officers came and reprimanded the House, bid take away that Fool's Bawbe the Mace, violently pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, drove out the Members, and locked up the Doors, and so good night to the Parliament. The Wisdom of that Parliament may have been very great, but it was [I-40] Nonsense for them to think, that an Army does not know its own Strength. For without dear-bought Experience any body may know beforehand what will be the natural Consequences of a Standing Army. From the Day you set them up, you set up your Masters; you put yourselves wholly into their hands, and are at their discretion. It is the Conquest of the Nation in the silentest, shortest, and surest way. They are able to dispose of your Lives and Estates at Will and Pleasure: And what can a foreign Conquer do more? If after this we live and possess any thing, 'tis because they let us: and how long that shall be, neither we, no nor they themselves know.

Nay, in many respects an authorized Standing Army is far worse than a foreign Invasion, and a Conquest from abroad. For there we have a chance for it; but this is a Conquest in cold Blood, which may not be resisted. And we lose the inseparable Rights of the Conquered, which is to rescue and deliver themselves, and throw off the Yoke as soon as they can. It is likewise a great Aggravation of our Misery, to be enslaved at our Cost and Charges: Be sides the bitter Resentments of Unkindness and Breach of Trust, if it be done by those who ought to protect us, and provide better for us; at least should not leave us in a worse Condition than they found us. But above all, if we contribute to our own Thralldom by our Folly, Flattery and little self-seeking; if the Destruction of us and our Posterity be of ourselves, that Reflection hereafter will have a Sting in it; and it will not be enough to say, Who would have thought it?

Now in being over-poweed and conquered by a Foreign Enemy we contract none of this Guilt, and suffer it as a bare Calamity. But there is no great fear of that, for the Duke *de Rohan* is our Guarantee that we cannot be conquered from abroad; who in a spiteful Description of *England* says, it is a great Animal that can be destroyed by nothing but itself. Every body must die when their time is come: And Empires as well as private Men must submit to Time and Fate; Governments have their Infancy, their Meridian and their Decay; and the Preludes to their Destruction are generally Luxury and Pride, Sloth, Prodigality, Cowardice, Irreligion, Self-interest, [I-41] and an universal Neglect of the Publick. God grant this be not the Condition of a Nation I know.

Well, 'tis all one; for let a Standing Army be what is will, still we must have it for this unanswerable Reason, *viz. The Defence of the Nation from a sudden Invasion: for unless, say they, you have an Army to lie leiger, you are liable to be overrun by a foreign Enemy e're you are aware; and you will shew less Wit than Æsop's Rhinocenos; you will have your Men to raise, and your Teeth to whet, when you should use them.* This Thought I confess is very natural and obvious, and therefore could not possibly escape our wise Forefathers; yet we

cannot learn that ever they put it in practice, which is a great sign they did not like it. No, we are all well assured that they would not have suffered a Mercenary Army to defend the Nation if they would have done it *gratis*. They would rather have mistrusted it would double the Invasion, and make it as big again as it was. I do not speak this by guess, but have it from the wise Sir *Robert Cotton*, who being consulted, 3 *Caroli*, in a difficult State of Affairs, amongst other things gave this Advice at the Council-Table: *Rushworth*, pag. 469. *There must be, to withstand a Foreign Invasion, a proportion of Sea and Land Forces. And it is to be considered, that no March by Land can be of that speed to make head against the landing of an Enemy: Then that follows, That there is no such Prevention as to be Master of the Sea.*

*For the Land Forces, if it were for an offensive War, the Men of less Livelihood were best spared; and we used formerly to make such Wars Purgamenta Reipublicæ, if we made no farther Purchase by it. But for the Safety of the Commonwealth, the Wisdom of all times did never intrust the Publick Cause to any other than to such as had a Portion in the Publick Adventure. And that we saw in eighty eight, when the Care of the Queen and of the Council did make the Body of that large Army no other than of the Trained Bands.*

In the same Advice to the King he lets him know how the People resented his keeping up an Army in the Winter, tho we were then in War both with *France* and *Spain*. The words are these:

[I-42]

*And the dangerous Distastes to the People are not a little improved by the unexampled Course, as they conceive, of retaining an Inland Army in Winter Season, when former Times of general Fear, as in eighty eight, produced none such; and makes them in their distracted Fears conjecture idly, it was raised wholly to subject their Fortunes to the Will of Power rather than of Law, and to make good some farther Breach upon their Liberties and Freedoms at Home, rather than defend us from any Force abroad.* And tells the King the Consequences of these Jealousies is worthy a prudent and preventing Care.

But what signify the Proceedings of former Ages to us? say the Projectors, *the World is strangely altered, and the Power of France is become so formidable, that it can never be opposed in the Elizabeth way.* They still keep up an Army of three or four hundred thousand Men, and how shall us defend ourselves against all those, without ten or fifteen thousand disciplined Troops?

I think the Author of the *Argument*, page 18. and 19, hath sufficiently shewed the Difficulty, of not Impossibility, of a Foreign Invasion, whilst we are superior at Sea; the great improbability the *French King* should engage in such a Design, and much greater he should succeed in it. But that we may for ever lay this Goblin, we will admit our Fleets to be kidnapp'd by an unlucky Wind, whilst the *French* land twenty thousand Men in our Country. To in gratitude for this Concession I hope my Adversaries will grant that their Fleet cannot get back again without our meeting with them, (since the same Wind that carries them home, will carry us out); or if they will not be so good-natur'd as to allow this, I will undertake for them (for we live in an undertaking Age) that they will agree we shall intercept their Supplies. Then the Case is thus, That twenty thousand Men, of which few can be Horse, are landed in *England*, without any humane probability of being supplied from abroad.

I say, this Army shall never march twenty miles into the Country; for they cannot put themselves in a marching Posture in less than a fortnight or three weeks; and by that time we may have 100000 Militia drawn down upon them, whereof ten thousand shall be Horse, and as [I-43] many Dragoons as we please: And if this Militia does nothing else but drive the Country, cut off their Foragers and Stragglers, possess themselves of the Defiles, and intercept Provisions, their Army must be destroyed in a small Time.

Of this Kind I could give many Instances out of History: But because antient Ones they say, will not fit our Purpose, I will give you a late one out of *Ireland*.

1st. I think it will be readily agreed, there are ten Men in *England*, for one in *Ireland*.

2dly. That King *William* had more *English* and *Scotch* to join with him in *Ireland*, than the *French* King hath Malecontents in *Ireland*.

3dly. That even our Militia have more Courage than *Irishmen*. And yet tho' we had eight thousand Horse and above thirty thousand Foot in *Ireland*, and a great Part of the Country in our Possession, yet we were more than four Years in conquering the Rest, and almost a Miracle we did it then. And I believe no Man will deny, if we could not have supplied our Army from *England*, but they had all there perished; such is the Advantage of fighting upon one's own Dunghill.

And to shew what Treatment the *French* are like to meet with in *England*, I will put you in Mind of the *Purbeck* Invasion, which was so private, that it was seen only by an old Man and a Boy: And yet though the Country thought the Government against them, we had above forty thousand Volunteers in Arms, in two or three Days Time, who came thither on their own Accord to give them the Meeting; and if they had been there, I doubt not would have given a good Account of them. Our Court when it was over shewed their Dislike of it, and questioned the Sheriff of *Dorsetshire* about it. And though we have forgot it, yet I believe the *French* will remember *Purbeck*; for it shewed the true Spirit and Genius of the *English* Nation.

To conclude, The whole Management of this Project is ridiculous; but the fatal Consequences of it require deeper Thought: For when we have fooled ourselves into the Bondage of a Standing Army, how shall we ever get out of it again? Not as the Nation freed themselves from the Court of Wards. We cannot buy it off for [I-44] two very good Reasons: No Money will be taken for it, and we shall have Nothing to give which is not theirs already: Our Estates, Lives and Liberties will be all at their Command. They will have the Keys of our Money, and the Titles to our Lands in their Power.

This last and irreparable Mischief and Misery the Projectors had prepared for us. But under a gracious King and a wise Parliament, I hope we shall never see it. His Majesty's Declaration is directly against a Standing Army, *As a Means to assist all Arbitrary Designs, and thereby enslave the Nation*; directly against all wicked Attempts of Conquest, and all Despotick Government; 'tis full of Liberty and Property in every Part: So that we are sure to be safe on that side. And this Declaration was so highly valued, and so wholly relied upon by the Parliament, that it is incorporated into our Laws as the only Redress of our past Grievances and Oppressions, and the best Foundation of our future Happiness: And with entire Confidence that his Majesty would continue to act in pursuance of that Declaration, the Parliament resolved that he should be, and be declared King. So that it is to be accounted the *Pacta Conventa* of this Government.

Here I know the Projectors will say, That the Army condemned by the Declaration, was the late King *James's* Army, kept up in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament; whereas this Standing Army is to be kept up with their Consent.

True it was so, and therefore it was a Riot and unlawful Assembly every Hour it stood; and having no Law for it, it might have been presented or indicted; to no Purpose indeed: But as an Invasion upon the Subject it might be resisted and pulled down as a Nuisance, whenever the Nation found themselves able. But suppose this Army had been made Part of the Constitution, and had obtained an Act of Parliament for it, which is as much as we can have for a King or a Queen; what then had become of us? They were Aids and Instruments of

Arbitrary Government before, but then they had been legal Instruments, and had enslaved us by Authority. In short we could not have relieved ourselves from them, nor any one else in our Behalf, because our own Act and Deed would have always been good against us. The delightful Notion [I-45] we know his Majesty by, is that of our Deliverer, which he was upon this Occasion. But these mischievous Projectors would turn it into such a Deliverance, as if we had been helped over a Ford, to be afterwards lost in the Sea. And as to the Parliament, we are safe on that Side, for a Reason, amongst others, which is in the *Declaration* in these Words: *And it cannot be imagined that those who have invited us, or those that have already come to assist us, will join in a wicked Design of Conquest, to make void their own Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests.*

***A POSTSCRIPT, With Remarks on a late published LIST of Irish Papists, now in the French King's Service.***

THE Advocates for a Standing Army having lately published a List of an Army of *Irish* and other Papists now in the *French King's* Service, which they say are ready when called for, I could not let that Paper go, without some Remarks; because it informs us of some things, that, if I mistake not, deserve the Consideration of all true *English* men, and are as followeth.

1. That there is in *France* an Army of eighteen thousand *Irish* and other Papists, with King *James* at the Head of them.
2. That they are ready to be transported hither when called for.
3. They give broad Hints that there is a Sort of Men amongst us, who will call for them.

[I-46]

4. That these *Irish* and their Correspondents will answer whatever has been or shall be written against a standing Army.

To the first I answer, that though the *Irish* are the best Troops in the World to plunder, murder, and massacre the innocent and defenceless People, yet they are the worst of all Soldiers when they meet with Resistance. The late War in *Ireland*, particularly the Siege of *London-derry*, and the routing of *Justin Maccarty*, one of their best Officers, who was at the Head of a considerable Army, by a small Number of the despised Militia, has abundantly demonstrated this Truth. And it deserves the Resentment of the *English* Nation, to find the Enemies of their Country endeavouring at last to fright them with that despicable Crew, when the Terror they would have given us of the *French* Armies has proved ineffectual. Besides, the *French* King is in Possession of these *Irish* Troops; they serve him, and are paid by him: And no Man but a publick *Boutefeu* would have the Confidence to say, He will lend them to King *James* to invade us: For what will that be less than declaring a new War? And they who think it in the Power of the *French* King to assist King *James* against us, without any Breach of the late Treaty, do in effect say, That due Care has not been taken of the Nation, than which there cannot be a more scandalous Reflection on his Majesty.

To the second and third of their Menaces I shall only say, that it is somewhat Extraordinary, that Men should dare publicly to avow their Correspondence with our Enemies, to own themselves acquainted with their Designs against us, to threaten the People with an Army of *Irish Banditti*, and to let us know that there are some amongst us ready to join them. But the Great Council of the Nation being now assembled, will undoubtedly make such Provision for our Safety, that neither they nor their Correspondents shall be able to hurt us.



In the last Place they tell us, that this is an Answer to *The Argument against a standing Army*, and to all that has or shall be written on that Subject. Here's thorough Work indeed: And it is Pity it should want a Place in the next Edition of the *Irish Wisdom*. Mr. Bayes's fighting [I-47] singly against whole Armies is nothing to it: For he like a modest Man, was only for routing such as should be raised, and never once dreamt of destroying them before they had a Being.

It is hoped therefore that this last Goblin will do us no more hurt than all the Rest, that have been industriously raised to terrify the People, and to disturb the Publick Peace.

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[I-48]

***A Letter from the Author of the Argument against a Standing Army, to the Author of the Ballancing Letter.*** ↩

[By J. Trenchard, *Esq;*]

*SIR,*

THO' the Journeymen Scribblers with all their Scurrility can't provoke me to give them an Answer, yet when I see myself levell'd at in such soft Language and Gentleman-like Behaviour, I am the more afraid; *Timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes.*

You have been pleas'd in your last Paragraph to own the Matter to be so nice and important, that it ought to be severely examin'd without false Colours and popular Rhetorick; and you are pleas'd to give yourself the Character of one zealous for Liberty, a great Adventurer for it, and to have a great Stake in it. If you are the Gentleman I guess you to be, I believe your Stake is now considerable; but you being a great Adventurer in getting it, it is not worth magnifying yourself for it: which gives me Occasion to say I am not of a desperate Fortune, and what Stake I have being provided for me by my Ancestors, I am more afraid of losing it than if it were my own Acquisition. And after this short Preface, I will proceed to examine into the Matter without false Colours or popular Rhetorick.

I think your Letter hath shew'd these three Things.

135.

1. What you would have.

136.

2. How long you would have it.

137.

3. For what Reasons.

138.

[I-49]

*First*, I perceive you would have us believe we have an Honourable Peace to the Wonder of the World, and that nothing can hurt us but Animosities and Jealousies amongst ourselves: And secondly, you would have a Land Force to maintain this Peace. Now, Sir, I must beg your Pardon if my Faith differs from your's; for I can't believe we have an Honourable Peace in case we are oblig'd to keep up a Standing Force to maintain it. Peace is a Cessation of the Exercise of the Use of Arms, that we may with Safety turn our Swords into Plough-shares, and Spears into Pruning-hooks; and the Prayers of the Church commanded by his Majesty for Thanksgiving for this Peace, have taken in that very Text: And if this our Peace will not answer this Character, it is not such a Peace as you would have us believe we are bless'd with. But since we have not such a Peace (for you know better than I) I will go on for Argument-sake with your's, to supply this Imperfection in it. You are pleas'd to say, *Page 3.* when you seem to prepare us to consider of the Necessity of a Land Force, you are far from the Thoughts of a *Standing Army*. Now I'll tell you, Sir, what I apprehend a *Standing Army* to be; Horse and Foot rais'd under Commission granted by the King, with Swords and Pistols, Pikes and Muskets, Powder and Ball to kill Men. If you by your Land Force mean none of all these, I am very impertinent in differing with you. But till you are pleas'd to distinguish your Land Force from this Description, I believe all Men will think you mean the same by a *Land Force*, as I do by a *Standing Army*; which if you do, then you have declar'd your Thoughts against it, and made yourself guilty of the most apparent Contradiction that ever I saw wrote

in so good a Stile.

The next Thing you shew is, How long you would have these *Land Forces* continue, and that is from Year to Year: Which put me in Mind of a Covenant us'd in conveying Lands in *Holland*, whereby the Seller warrants the Land to the Purchaser for a Year and a Day, which, according to their Law, is for ever; and so, I suppose, when you say from Year to Year, you mean *in secula seculorum*, as will appear by and by.

[I-50]

The third Thing is, for what Reasons you would have this. And, First, you abhor to give his Majesty a Jealousy of his People, as if he were not safe amongst them without Guards: But you say the Case at present is, Whether, considering the Circumstances that we and our Neighbours are now in, it may not be prudent and necessary for us to keep up a reasonable Force from Year to Year; and so you seem to lay a great Stress upon the Fashion of other Countries. You say *Pag. 4.* the whole World, more particularly our Neighbours, have now got into the mistaken Notion of keeping up a mighty Force; and the most powerful of these happens to be our next Neighbour, who will very probably keep up great Armies, and we may appear too inviting if we are in an unguarded Condition.

Now, Sir, as to the Fashion of other Countries. I remember that God having declared Laws to the *Israelites*, commanded them to keep them, and not to follow or hanker after the Fashions of other Nations, either in Worship or Government. And if we are in the Fashion of our Neighbours in having an Army, we must have their fashioned Government too. It is the Fashion of the *French King* to have a *Standing Army*, and it is the Fashion of his Subjects to be Slaves under that *Standing Army*. I observe Men that are addicted to Fashions, follow them in every Thing. Now to be Freemen under a *Standing Army* is not the Fashion of our Neighbours. And I am afraid we shall never think ourselves compleatly in the Fashion till we have got Wooden Shoes too.

But I see, Sir, you are not so much a Fop as to be in the Fashion, for Fashion Sake, but that you think there is a Necessity for it; for you are afraid of being invaded by our Neighbours, the next and greatest of whom will probably keep up great Armies. And here by the Way, before I forget it, I would put you in Mind of your Tenure from Year to Year; for I think by this Argument you would have our Land Force to continue as long as the *French King* is in a mistaken Notion of Keeping up great Armies, so that from Year to Year is already become a Phrase for ever. For my Part I should be unwilling [I-51] to stay for any Thing I wish for, till the *French King* disbands his Army. Therefore, Sir, do not draw Men into your Proposals, by sowing Pillows under them, by soft Language, of a Land Force, not *Standing Army*, from Year to Year, under the Consideration of Parliament. Let us have plain Words, and then your Proposals, according to your own Reasons, must be for a Standing Army in *England*, as long as the *French King*, or any of his Successors, keep up a Standing Army in *France*: you had as good open your Matter fairly at first, for every thing else is but flourish till you come to the Point.

Now, Sir, I confess I give as little Credit to the Words and Leagues of Princes as you do, and depend more upon their Interest than Integrity for the Performance of them, and therefore am not for leading them into Temptations to attack us, and would always have a Defence suitable to our Danger. Nature hath armed all Creatures with Weapons to oppose those that assault them, and the Policy of Man hath found out several artificial ones for himself. Now the sole Debate between us is, in whose Hands these Weapons should be put.

Of this Matter I have discoursed from the 18th to the 26th Page of my *Argument*, which you neither can or do pretend to answer, and therefore I refer you thither again: Indeed in your 9th, 10th, and 11th Pages, you tell us, that regular and disciplined Troops are far

superior to the best and strongest Militia in the World, admitting this Condition, that there are no regular or disciplined Troops in that Militia. But I will make bold to tell you, that a Militia may be as well disciplined as any Army; nay our own Army, if they were disbanded, will most of them be sent to the Militia; and I suppose calling them by a new Name, will not make them worse Soldiers. Now as to your Instances in History, I shall only make this small Objection to them all, that you are mistaken in every particular. For the *Persian* Army was made up of Standing Troops, kept up in the several Provinces of the Empire, and not of Militia, as you falsely insinuate: And with these Armies they conquered easily the several Principalities which made up their vast Empire, which were defended by Standing Armies; but when they came to [I-52] fight with the *Greek* Militia, all their mighty Armies came to Nothing. Of this we have the Instances of *Xenophon*, who with ten thousand *Greeks*, marched three thousand Miles through their Country, in spite of a numerous Army observing him. Afterwards of *Agesilaus*, who with a small *Spartan* Militia had put an End to the *Persian* Empire, if the Factions of *Greece* had not called him home. The mighty Army of *Xerxes* was destroyed by a *Greek* Militia. Nay the better Part of *Alexander's* Army was made up of a Militia taken out of the several Cities of *Greece*.

The Instance you give of the *Romans* makes as much against you; for they found more Difficulty in conquering a few little Commonwealths about them, who fought by Militias, than *Asia*, *Egypt*, and all the arbitrary Governments they conquered, which fought against them with standing Armies. Who will deny that *Cæsar's* Conquests over the *Gallick* Militia, were greater than *Pompey's* over the *Asiatick* standing Armies? And whereas you say, Page 11th, that nothing stood before the *Roman* Armies whilst they were kept under Discipline; but when all their Order was broke, and they became a Militia, the *Northern* Nations in *Europe*, as well as the *Saracens* in the East, over-run the *Roman* Empire, I must take leave to say, the just contrary to this is true: For whilst they fought by a Militia, they conquered the whole World; but afterwards, in the Time of the Emperors, when they kept up Standing Armies of three hundred and sixty thousand Men, as *Tacitus* reckons them, they were over-run by every barbarous Nation that invaded them.

Your Instance of *Hannibal* is Nothing to the Purpose, for the *Carthaginians* did not beat the *Romans*, but *Hannibal* the *Roman* Generals. He got no Victory but by his own single Conduct; and when the *Romans* fought against any other General, they were seldom unsuccessful.

The *Turks* also met with much more Trouble in subduing the *Hungarian* and *Epirot* Militia, than all their Empire besides. *Scanderbeg*, with a small Militia came off constantly successful in two and twenty Battles against their numerous Standing Armies. *Huniades* and his Son *Mathias*, fought always with Militias against the *Turkish* [I-53] Standing Armies, and performed such Actions as Posterity can hardly believe, and I am sure were never equalled by any other Force.

And whereas you say the Preservation of *England* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time was by Accident, and we must not always expect to live upon Miracles: I do not find but that excellent Princess, and her Court were of another Opinion. We do not find her, or her Creatures, after the *Spaniards* were defeated, to use this Cant to the Parliament. "Gentlemen, you see what a Danger you have lately escaped, we were preserved by Providence and Chance, but I hope you will not always expect Miracles: It is necessary to keep up a Standing Force, for I cannot depend upon the Defence of my People." She scorned such Trash, and would have caged any evil Counsellor, who durst give her such Advice: She thought herself safe in the Affection of her People, though this Gentleman, at above a hundred Years Distance, tells her the contrary.

But you seem very apprehensive of being surprized without Notice; and mention, *Page* 5th, the late Attempts from *la Hogue* and *Calais*; and that if in a Time of War and Jealousy we were so near being fatally over-run, without Warning or Intelligence, it is much more possible to see such Designs laid in Times of Sloth and Quiet, when we are under no Fears, and have no Notice of it. Sir, I have no better Opinion of our Intelligence, during the War, than you have. However the Business of *la Hogue* was the Talk of the *Exchange*, and in all the publick Prints, besides the *Gazette*, two Months before it happened: And as to that of *Calais*, His Majesty, by his extraordinary Care, surprized the Enemy with seventy Sail on their Coasts, which they never expected. And that our Notice should be more difficult in Peace than War, I cannot understand, since in the latter all Ports are shut, and Merchants stopt, and in the former the Ports are open, Travellers abroad, Merchants at Sea, and an Ambassador at their Court.

*Page* the 8th, You give a great Character of arbitrary Government, where Men are ruined that fail in performing what is expected from them, or in keeping the Secrets that are enjoined them, by which the Prince can execute [I-54] Things in other Manner, than can be conceived by those that live in free Governments. I am sure if Impunity of those who fail in performing their Duty, and in keeping our Secrets be the Character of a free Government, we are free with a witness. But I cannot see why the punishing of them should be, inconsistent with a free Government.

And after all, you seem to apprehend as ill Consequences from a *Standing Army* as I do, as *Page* the 14th, where speaking of the Dangers of it, you say, This is a large Field, and History is so full of Instances of this Kind, that it will be easy to open copiously on the Subject. From the *Pretorian Cohorts* down to our modern Armies, enough can be gathered to give a very frightful Represensation of a *Standing Army*. And afterwards *Page* the 15th, I do not deny but several Inconveniences may be apprehended from a *Standing Force*, and therefore I should not go about to persuade you to it, if the Thing did not seem indispensably Necessary. Now I suppose by indispensable Necessity, you mean, you are sure without this Army that our Neighbours will invade us, and that it is impossible our Fleets or Militia, however managed, can be able to defend us: Whether there is such a Necessity or not, I refer you to my Argument; and if there is not, you have given up the Question: For you, in effect, admit a certain Slavery on one Side, and if there is but contingent Ruin on the other, it is easy to determine of which side the Ballance lies. But you say that the Parliament shall overlook it, but will you be Security the Army shall not overlook the Parliament? O but that cannot be, if they are kept up from Year to Year! *Cæsar*, with all his Genius, could not work his Army to it in less than ten Years.

Sir, If that be the exact Time of corrupting an Army, pray consider that ours hath been kept up nine Years already. But I am as far from any Jealousy of his present Majesty as you are, and yet I am not afraid to say, that Army which can do no hurt, can do no good.

It is impossible to consider of a *Standing Force* which shall be sufficient to oppose a Foreign Power, without considering it at the same Time sufficient to suppress the [I-55] Subject at home: For they must beat those who you suppose can beat us; and I must confess I am unwilling to depend on their good Will.

Sir, *Page* 15, you seem to think me a jealous, melancholy and timorous Man, over-run with the Spleen; but I fancy myself as free from all this without a Place, as perhaps you are with one. Come don't fear your Stake, I dare give you Land Security that you will come off a Winner.

And as for the gallant Gentlemen of the Army, whom you fear will be Losers, I shall be as ready as you to recompense them for their Bravery. But to suppose our Fleets to be surprized and betrayed, and our Militia to be recreant, and all our Intelligence, Fidelity and Courage to be lodged in a Standing Army, I must confess is out of my Power.

In *Page* the 8th you say, you cannot see some Men grow all on a sudden such wonderful Patriots, so jealous of the Prerogative, such Zealots for publick Liberty, without remembering what their Behaviour was in the late Reigns. Now I must own to you, I am better pleased to see this, than to see some Men, who were such wonderful Patriots, &c. in the last Reigns, act the same Part now, as much as in them lies, as the others did formerly.

Before I have done I must take Notice of one Passage in your 10th *Page* You say whenever the fatal Time comes that this Nation grows weary of Liberty, and has neither the Virtue, the Wisdom, nor the Force to preserve its Constitution, it will deliver up all, let all the Laws possible, and all the Bars imaginable be put in the Way to it. It is no more possible to make a Government immortal, than to make a Man immortal. When I join this to the sensible Impressions you seem to have of the Danger of a Standing Army in the next Line, and an indispensable Necessity of keeping one, methinks you give broad Hints that you think our Time is come. But I doubt not but there is Virtue enough yet in *England*, to preserve our Constitution, though a wiser Head than yours designed its Ruin.

[I-56]

I will conclude in telling you we have a happy Government, where the King hath all the Power necessary to execute the Laws. All Title arises upon an equal Distribution of Power; and he that gets an Over-balance of Power (for you and I are a ballancing) takes away the Title from the Rest, and leaves them a Possession without a Right, which is a Tenure at the Will of the Lord.

Sir, in Hopes you will keep up your Correspondence, I conclude myself,

*Your most humble Servant.*

## A Short History of Standing Armies in England.↵

By J. TRENCHARD. Anno 1698.

### *The PREFACE.*

*THERE is nothing in which the Generality of Mankind are so much mistaken as when they talk of Government. The different Effects of it are obvious to every one, but few can trace its Causes—Most Men having indigested Ideas of the Nature of it, attribute all public Miscarriages to the Corruption of Mankind. They think the whole Mass is infected, that it is impossible to make any Reformation, and so submit patiently to their Country's Calamities, or else share in the Spoil: whereas Complaints of this Kind are as old as the World, and every Age has thought their own the worst. We have not only our own Experience, but the Example of all Times, to prove that Men in the same Circumstances will do the [I-58] same Things, call them what Names of Distinction you please. A Government is a mere Piece of Clockwork; and having such Springs and Wheels, must act after such a Manner: And therefore the Art is to constitute it so that it must move to the public Advantage. It is certain that every Man will act for his own Interest; and all wise Governments are founded upon that Principle: So that this whole Mystery is only to make the Interest of the Governors and Governed the same. In an absolute Monarchy, where the whole Power is in one Man, his Interest will be only regarded: In an Aristocracy the Interest of a few; and in a free Government the Interest of every one. This would be the Case of England if some Abuses that have lately crept into our Constitution were remov'd. The Freedom of this Kingdom depends upon the People's chusing the House of Commons, who are a Part of the Legislature, and have the sole Power of giving Money. Were this a true Representative, and free from external Force or private Bribery, nothing could pass there but what they thought was for the public Advantage. For their own Interest is so interwoven with the People's, that if they act for themselves (which every one of them will do as near as he can) they must act for the common Interest of England. And if a few among them should find it their Interest to abuse their Power, it will be the Interest of all the rest to punish them for it: and then our Governemene would act mechanically, and a Rogue will as naturally be hang'd as a Clock strike Twelve when the Hour is come. This is the Fountain-head from whence the People expect all their Happiness, and the Redress of their Grievances; and if we can preserve them free from Corruption, they will take Care to keep every Body else so. Our Constitution seems to have provided for it, by never suffering the King (till Charles the Second's Reign) to have a Mercenary Army to frighten them into a Compliance, nor Places or Revenues great enough to bribe them into it. The Places in the King's Gift were but few, and most of them Patent Places for Life, and the rest great Offices of State enjoy'd by single Persons, which seldom fell to the Share of the Commons, such as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Privy-Seal, Lord High-Admiral, &c. and when these Offices were possess'd by the Lords, the Commons were severe [I-59] Inquisitors into their Actions. Thus the Government of England continu'd from the Time that the Romans quitted the Island, to the Time of Charles the First, who was the first I have read of that made an Opposition to himself in the House of Commons the Road to Preferment; of which the Earl of Strafford and Noy were the most remarkable Instances, who from great Patriots became the chief Assertors of Despotic Power. But this serv'd only to exasperate the rest; for he had not Places enough for all that expected them, nor Money enough to bribe them. 'Tis true, he rais'd great Sums of Money upon the People; but it being without Authority of Parliament, and having no Army to back him, it met with such Difficulties in he raising, that it did him little Good, and ended at last in his Ruin, though by means of a long and miserable War, which brought us from one Tyranny to*

another; for the Army had got all Things into their Power, and govern'd the Nation by a Council of War, which made all Parties join in calling in Charles the Second: So that he came in with the general Applause of the People, who in a kind Fit gave him a vast Revenue for Life. By this he was enabled to raise an Army, and bribe the Parliament, which he did to the Purpose: but being a luxurious Prince, he could not part with great Sums at once. He only fed them from Hand to Mouth: So that they found it as necessary to keep him in a constant Dependence upon them, as they had upon him. They knew he would give them ready Money no longer than he had absolute Necessity for them, and he had not Places enough in his Disposal to secure a Majority in the House; for in those early Days the Art was not found out of splitting and multiplying Places; as instead of a Lord Treasurer to have Five Lords of the Treasury; instead of a Lord Admiral, to have Seven Lords of the Admiralty; to have Seven Commissioners of the Customs, Nine of the Excise, Fourteen of the Navy Office, Ten of the Stamp Office, Eight of the Prize Office, Sixteen of the Commissioners of Trade, Two of the Post Office, Four of the Transports, Four for Hackney Coaches, Four for Wine-Licences, Four for the Victualling Office, Multitudes of other Offices which are endless to enumerate. I believe the Gentlemen who have the good Fortune to be in some of these Employments, will think I complement them, [I-60] if I should say they have not been better executed since they were in some Hands, than when in fewer: and I must confess, I see no Reason why they may not be made twice as many, and so ad infinitum, unless the Number be ascertain'd by Parliament; and what Danger this may be to our Constitution, I think of with Horror. For if in Ages to come they should be all given to Parliament Men, what will become of our so much boasted Liberty? What shall be done when the Criminal becomes the Judge, and the Malefactors are left to try themselves? We may be sure their common Danger will unite them, and they will all stand by one another. I do not speak this by Guess; for I have read of a Country where there was a constant Series of Mismanagement for many Years together, and yet no Body was punish'd: And even in our own Country I believe, some Men now alive can remember the Time, when if the King had but twenty more Places in his Disposal, or disposed of those he had to the best Advantage, the Liberty of England had been at an End. I would not be understood quite to exclude Parliament men from having Places; for a Man may serve his Country in two Capacities: but I would not have it to be a Qualification for a Place, because a poor Borough thinks a Man fit to represent them, that therefore he must be a Statesman, a Lawyer, a Soldier, an Admiral, and what not? If this Method should be taken in a future Reign, the People must not expect to see Men of Ability or Integrity in any Places, while they hold them by no other Tenure than the Disservice they do their Country in the House of Commons, and are sure to be turned out upon every prevalent Faction on the other Side. They must then never expect to see the House of Commons act vigorously for the Interest either of King or People; but some will servilely comply with the Court to keep their Places, others will oppose it as unreasonably to get them: And those Gentlemen whose Designs are for their Country's Interest, will grow weary of the best Form of Government in the World, thinking by Mistake the Fault is in our Constitution. I have heard of a Country, where the Disputes about Offices to the Value of thirty thousand Pounds per Annum, have made six Millieus ineffectual; what by some Mens prostitute Compliance, and others openly clogging the Wheels, it has caus'd Want and Necessity [I-61] in all Kinds of Men, Bribery, Treachery, Profaneness, Atheism, Prodigality, Luxury, and all the Vices that attend a remiss and corrupt Administration, and a universal Neglect of the Public. It is natural to run from one Extreme to another; and this Policy will at last turn upon any Court that uses it; for if they should be resolv'd to give all Offices to Parliament-men, the People will think themselves under a Necessity to obtain a Law that they should give none, which has been more than once attempted in our own Time. Indeed, though there may be no great Inconvenience in suffering a few that have Places to be in that House, such as come in naturally, without any indirect Means, yet it will be fatal to us to have many: For all wise Governments endeavour as much as possible to keep the Legislative and Executive Parts



asunder, that they they may be a Check upon one another. Our Government trusts the King with no Part of the Legislative but a Negative Voice, which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Executive. One Part of the Duty of the House of Commons is to punish Offenders, and redress the Grievances occasion'd by the Executive Part of the Government; and how can that be done if they should happen to be the same Persons, unless they would be publick-spirited enough to hang or drown themselves?

But in my Opinion, in another Thing of no less Importance, we deviated in Charles the Second's Time from our Constitution; for though we were in a Capacity of punishing Offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. The Law has been always very tender of the Person of the King, and therefore has dispos'd the Executive Part of the Government in such proper Channels, that whatsoever lesser Excesses are committed, they are not imputed to him, but his Ministers are accountable for them: His Great Seal is kept by his Chancellor, his Revenue by his Treasurer, his Laws are executed by his Judges, his Fleet is manag'd by his Lord High Admiral, who are all accountable for their Misbehaviour. Formerly all Matters of State and Discretion were debated and resolv'd in the Privy Council, where every Man subscrib'd his Opinion, and was answerable for it. The late King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent Part of our Constitution, by settling a Cabal or Cabinet Council, where all [I-62] Matters of Consequence debated and resolved, and then brought to the Privy Council to be confirmed. The first Footsteps we have of this Council in any European Government were in Charles the Ninth's Time of France, when resolving to massacre the Protestants, he durst not trust his Council with it, but chose a few Men whom he call'd his Cabinet Council: And considering what a Genealogy it had, 'tis no Wonder it hath been so fatal both to King and People. To the King; for whereas our Constitution has provided Ministers in the several Parts of the Government to answer for Miscarriages, and to skreen him from the Hatred of the People; this on the contrary protects the Ministers, and exposes the King to all the Complaints of his Subjects. And 'tis as dangerous to the People; for whatever Miscarriages there are, no Body can be punish'd for them; for they justify themselves by a Sign Manual, or perhaps a private Direction from the King; and then we have run it so far, that we cannot follow it. The Consequence of this must be continual Heartburnings between King and People; and no one can ses the Event.

IF any Man doubts whether a Standing Army is Slavery, Popery, Mahometism, Paganism, Atheism, or any Thing which they please, let him read,

*First, The Story of Matho and Spendius at Carthage, and the Mamalukes of Egypt.*

*Secondly, The Histories of Strada and Bentivolio, where he will find what Work nine thousand Spaniards made in the Seventeen Provinces, though the Country was full of fortified Towns, possessed by the Low Country Lords, and they had Assistance from Germany, England and France.*

*Thirdly, The History of Philip de Commines, where he will find that Lewis the 11th inslaved the vast Country [I-63] of France with 25000 Men, and that the raising 500 Horse by Philip of Burgundy, surnamed the Good, was the Ruin of those Provinces.*

*Fourthly, Ludlow's Memoirs, where he will find that an Army raised to defend our Liberties, made Footballs of that Parliament, at whose Actions all Europe stood amazed, and in a few Years set up ten several Sorts of Government contrary to the Genius of the whole Nation, and the Opinion of Half their own Body: Such is the Influence of a General over an Army, that he can make them act like a Piece of Mechanism, whatever their private Opinions are.*

Lastly, Let him read the *Arguments against a Standing Army*, the *Discourse concerning Militias*, the *Militia Reform'd*, and the Answers to them: But lest all this should not satisfy him, I will here give a Short History of Standing Armies in *England*, I will trace this Mystery of Iniquity from the Beginning, and show the several Steps by which it has crept upon us.

The first Footsteps I find of a Standing Army in *England* since the *Romans* left the Island, were in *Richard* the Second's Time, who raised four thousand Archers in *Cheshire*, and suffered them to plunder, live upon Free Quarter, beat, wound, ravish and kill wherever they went; and afterwards he called a Parliament, encompassed them with his Archers, forced them to give up the whole Power of Parliaments, and make it Treason to endeavour to repeal any of the Arbitrary Constitutions that were then made; but being afterwards obliged to go to *Ireland* to suppress a Rebellion there, the People took Advantage of it, and dethron'd him.

The Nation had such a Specimen in this Reign of a Standing Army, that I do not find any King from him to *Charles* the First, that attempted keeping up any Forces in Time of Peace, except the Yeomen of the Guard, who were constituted by *Henry* the Seventh; and though there were several Armies raised in that Time for *French*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, other foreign and domestic Wars; yet they were constantly disbanded as soon as the Occasion was over. And in all the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, whatever Party prevailed, we do not find [I-64] they ever attempted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the virtue of those times, that they would rather run the hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Estates to the rage of the opposite Party, than certainly inslave their Country, tho' they themselves were to be the Tyrants.

Nor would they suffer our Kings to keep up an Army in *Ireland*, tho' there were frequent Rebellions there, and by that means their Subjection very precarious; as well knowing they would be in *England* when called for. In the first three hundred Years that the *English* had Possession of that Country, there were no Armies there but in times of War. The first Force that was establish'd was in the 14th of *Edward* the fourth, when 120 Archers on Horseback, 40 Horsemen, and 40 Pages were establish'd by Parliament there; which six Years after were reduc'd to 80 Archers, and 20 Spearmen on Horseback. Afterwards in *Henry* the Eighth's time, in the Year 1535, the Army in *Ireland* was 300; and in 1543, they were increased to 380 Horse and 160 Foot, which was the Establishment then. I speak this of times of Peace: for when the *Irish* were in Rebellion, which was very frequent, the Armies were much more considerable. In Queen *Mary*'s time the Standing Forces were about 1200. In most of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign the *Irish* were in open Rebellion; but when they were all suppress'd, the Army establish'd was between 1500 and 2000: about which number they continued till the Army rais'd by *Strafford*, the 15th of *Charles* the 1st.

In the Year 1602 dy'd Queen *Elizabeth*, and with her all the Virtue of the *Plantagenets*, and the *Tudors*. She made the *English* Glory sound thro' the whole Earth: She first taught her Country the Advantages of Trade; set bounds to the Ambition of *France* and *Spain*; assisted the *Dutch*, but would neither permit them or *France* to build any great Ships; kept the Keys of the Rivers *Maes* and *Scheld* in her own hands; and died with an uncontrol'd Dominion of the Seas, and Arbitress of Christendom. All this she did with a Revenue not exceeding 300000 pounds *per Annum*; and had but inconsiderable Taxes from her People.

[I-65]

No sooner was King *James* come to the Crown, but all the Reputation we had acquir'd in her glorious Reign was eclips'd, and we became the scorn of all Nations about us, contemned even by that State we had created, who insulted us at Sea, seiz'd *Amboyna*, *Poleroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the *East-Indies*, by which they ingross'd that most profitable Trade of Spices; fish'd upon our Coasts without paying the customary Tribute, and at the same time prevail'd with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*, *Ramekins*, and *Flushing*,

for a very small Consideration, tho' there were near six Millions Arrears. He squandered the public Treasure, discountenanc'd all the great Men who were rais'd in the glorious Reign of his Predecessor, cut off Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Head, advanced Favourites of his own, Men of no Merit, to the highest Preserment; and to maintain their Profuseness, he granted them Monopolies, infinite Projects, prostituted Honours for Money, rais'd Bevevolences and Loans without Authority of Parliament. And when these Grievances were complain'd of there, he committed many of the principal Members without Bail or Mainprise, as he did afterwards for presuming to address him against the *Spanish Match*. He pardon'd the Earl of *Somerset* and his Wife for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Murder, after he had imprecated all the Curses of Heaven upon himself and his Posterity; and it was generally thought because the Earl was Accessary to the poisoning Prince *Henry*. He permitted his Son-in-law to be ejected out of his Principalities, and the Protestant Interest to be run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he was bubbled nine Years together with the hopes of the *Spanish Match*, and a great Fortune. Aferwards he made a dishonourable Treaty of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papists Liberty of Conscience; and indeed, as he often declared, he was no otherwise an Enemy to Popery, than for their deposing of Kings, and King-killing Doctrine. In *Ireland* he gave them all the Incouragement he durst; which Policy has been follow'd by all his Successors since to this present Reign, and has serv'd 'em to two purposes: One is, by this they have had a pretence to keep up Standing Armies there to awe the Natives: and the other, that they might make use of the Natives [I-66] against their *English* Subjects. In this Reign that ridiculous Doctrine of Kings being *Jure Divino* was coined, never before heard of even in the Eastern Tyrannies. The other Parts of his Government had such a mixture of *Scharamuchi* and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be spoken of seriously; as Proclamations upon every Trifle, some against talking of News; Letters to the Parliament, telling them he was an old and wise King; that State Affairs were above their reach, therefore they must not meddle with them, and such like Trumpery. But our happiness was, that this Prince was a great Coward, and hated the sight of a Soldier; so that he could not do much against us by open force. At last he died (as many have believed) by Poison, to make room for his Son *Charles* the First.

This King was a great Bigot, which made him the Darling of the Clergy; but having no great reach of his own, and govern'd by the Priests (who have been always unfortunate when they have meddled with Politics) with a true Ecclesiastic Fury he drove on to the Destruction of all the Liberties of *England*. This King's whole Reign was one continued Act against the Laws. He dissolved his first Parliament for presuming to inquire into his Father's Death, tho' he lost a great Sum of Money by it, which they had voted him: He entred at the same time into a War with *France* and *Spain*, upon the private Piques of *Buckingham*, who managed them to the eternal Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Nation; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon *Cadiz* and the Isle of *Rhee*. He delivered *Pennington's* Fleet into the *French* hands, betrayed the poor *Rochellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in *France* to be quite extirpated. He raised Loans, Excises, Coat and Conduct-mony, Tunnage and Poundage, Knight-hood and Ship-money, without Authority of Parliament; imposed new Oaths on the Subjects, to discover the value of theit Estates; imprisoned great numbers of the most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes; some he sent beyond Sea, and the poorer sort he prest for Soldiers. He kept Soldiers upon free Quarter, and executed Martial Law upon them. He granted Monopolies without number, and broke the bounds of the Forests. [I-67] He erected Arbitrary Courts, and enlarged others, as the High Commission-Court, the Star-Chamber, Court of Honour, Court of Requests, &c. and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in them, even to Men of the first Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol* and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to come to Parliament; committed and prosecuted a great many of the most eminent Members of the House of Commons for what they did there, some for no cause at all, and would not let them have the benefit of *Habeas Corpus*; suspended and confin'd Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, because he would not license a Sermon that asserted Despotic Power, whatever other cause was pretended. He suspended the

Bishop of *Glocester*, for refusing to swear never to consent to alter the Government of the Church; supported all his Arbitrary Ministers against the Parliament, telling them that he wondred at the foolish Impudence of any one to think he would part with the meanest of his Servants upon their account: and indeed in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he treated them like his Footmen, calling them Undutiful, Seditious, and Vipers. He brought unheard of Innovations into the Church; preferred Men of Arbitrary Principles, and inclinable to Popery, especially those Firebrands, *Laud*, *Mountage*, and *Manwaring*, one of whom had been complained of in Parliament, another impeached for advancing Popery, and the third condemned in the House of Lords. He dispensed with the Laws against Papists, and both encouraged and preferred them. He called no Parliament for twelve years together, and in that time governed as arbitrarily as the Grand Seignior. He abetted the *Irish* Massacre, as appears by their producing a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, by the Letter of *Charles* the 2d in favour of the Marquess of *Antrim*, by his stopping the Succours that the Parliament sent to reduce *Ireland* six Months under the Walls of *Chester*, by his entering into a Treaty with the Rebels after he had engaged his Faith to the Parliament to the contrary, and bringing over many thousands of them to fight against his People. It is endless to enumerate all the Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious, and at last his ruin. Tho' he extorted great [I-68] Sums from the People, yet it was with so much difficulty, that it did him little good. Besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always behind-hand; yet he often attempted to raise an Army.

Upon pretence of the *Spanish* and *French* War he raised many thousand Men, who lived upon free Quarter, and robb'd and destroyed wherever they came. But being unsuccessful in his Wars abroad, and prest by the Clamours of the People at home, he was forced to dishand them. In 1627 he sent over 30000 *l.* to *Holland* to raise 3000 *German* Horse, to force his arbitrary Taxes; but this matter taking Wind, and being examined by the Parliament, Orders were sent to countermand them. In the 15th Year of his Reign he gave a Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish* to be brought into *England*: but before they could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*, which forcing him to call a Parliament, prevented that design, and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he raised an Army in *England* to oppose the *Scots*, and tampered with them to march to *London*, and dissolve the Parliament: But this Army being composed for the most part of the Militia, and the matter being communicated to the House, who immediately fell on the Officers that were Members, *Ashburnham*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, &c. the design came to nothing. After this there was a Pacification between the King and the *Scots*; and in pursuance of it both Armies were disbanded. Then he went to *Scotland*, and endeavoured to prevail with them to invade *England*; but that not doing, he sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring their concurrence in the raising 3000 *Irish* to be lent to the King of *Spain*; to which the the Parliament refused to consent, believing he would make another use of them. When he came back to *London*, he picked out 3 or 400 dissolute Fellows out of Taverns, gaming and brothel Houses, kept a Table for them; and with this goodly Guard all armed he entred the House of Commons, sat down in the Speaker's Chair, demanding the delivery of 5 Members: But the Citizens coming down by Land and Water with Musquets upon their Shoulders to defend the Parliament, he attempted [I-69] no further. This so enraged the House, that they chose a Guard to defend themselves against future Insults, and the King soon after left *London*. Some time before this began the *Irish* Rebellion, where the *Irish* pretended the King's Authority, and shewed the Great Seal to justify themselves; which whether true, or false, raised such a jealousy in the People, that he was forced to consent to leave the Management of that War to the Parliament: Yet he afterwards sent a Message to them, telling them he would go to *Ireland* in Person; and acquainted them, that he had issued out Commissions for raising 2000 Foot and 200 Horse in *Cheshire* for his Guard, which they protested against, and prevented it. By this we may see what Force was thought sufficient in his Reign to enslave the Nation, and the frequent Attempts to get it.

Then the Civil Wars broke out between him and his People, in which many bloody Battels were fought; two of the most considerable were those of *Newbury*, both won by new Soldiers, the first by the *London* Militia, and the latter by an unexperienced Army, which the King used to call in derision the *New Nodel*. And some years after, the Battle of *Worcester* was in a great measure won by the Country Militia, for which *Cromwel* discharged them with anger and contempt, as knowing them Instruments unfit to promote his Tyrannical Designs. At last by the fate of the War the King became a Prisoner, and the Parliament treated with him while in that condition, and at the same time voted that some part of the Army should be disbanded, and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that Kingdom; upon which the Army chose Agitators among themselves who presented a Petition to both Houses, that they would proceed to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that no part of the Army should be disbanded till that was done. But finding their Petition resented, they sent and seized the King's Person from the Parliaments Commissioners, drew up a Charge of High Treason against eleven principal Members for endeavouring to disband the Army, entred into a private Treaty with the King: But he not complying with their demands, they seized *London*; and notwithstanding the Parliament had voted the King's concession a ground for a future Settlement, they resolved to put him to Death, and in [I-70] order thereto purged the House, as they called it, that is, placed Guards upon them, and excluded all Members that were for agreeing with the King; and then cut off his Head.

After this they let the Parliament govern for five Years, who made their Name famous thro' the whole Earth, conquered their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; reduced the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms; recovered our Reputation at Sea; overcame the *Dutch* in several famous Battles; secured our Trade and managed the public Expences with so much frugality, that no Estates were gained by private Men upon the public Miseries; and at last were passing an Act for their own Dissolution, and settling the Nation in a free and impartial Commonwealth; of which the Army being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them, and accordingly *Cromwel* next Day called two Files of Musqueteers into the House, and pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, behaving himself like a Madman, vilifying the Members, and calling one a Whoremaster, another a Drunkard, bidding the Soldiers take away that Fool's bauble the Mace; and so good-night to the Parliament.

When they had done this Act of violence, the Council of Officers set up a new form of Government, and chose a certain number of Persons out of every County and City of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: and these they invested with the Supreme Power, but soon after expelled them, and then *Cromwel* set up himself, and framed a new Instrument of Government by a Protector and a House of Commons, in pursuance of which he called a Parliament. But they not answering his Expectations, he excluded all that would not subscribe his Instrument; and those that remained, not proving for his Purpose neither, he dissolved them with a great deal of opprobrious Language. He then divided *England* into several Districts or Divisions, and placed Major Generals or Intendants over them, who governed like so many Bashaws, decimating the Cavaliers, and raising Taxes at their Pleasure. Then forsooth he had a mind to make himself King, and called another Parliament to that purpose, after his usual manner secluding such Members as he did not like. To this Assembly he offered another Instrument [I-71] of Government, which was by a Representative of the People, a 2d House composed of 70 Members in the Nature of a House of Lords, and a single Person; and left a Blank for what name he should be called, which this worthy Assembly filled up with that of King, addressed to *Cromwel* that he would be pleased to accept it, and gave him power to nominate the Members of the Other House. This the great Officers of the Army resented, for it destroyed all their hopes of being Tyrants in their turn, and therefore addressed the Parliament against the Power and Government of a King, which made *Cromwel* decline that Title, and content himself with a greater Power under the name of Protector. Afterwards he named the *Other House*, as it was called, for the most part out of the

Officers of the Army; but even this Parliament not pleasing him, he dissolved them in a fury, and governed the Nation without any Parliament at all till he died.

After his death the Army set up his Son *Richard*, who called a new Parliament; but their proceedings being not agreeable to the humour of the Soldiery they forced the Protector to dissolve them: then they deposed him, and took the Power into their own hands; but being unable to wield it, they restored the Commonwealth, and soon after expelled them again, because they would not settle the Military Sword independent of the Civil: Then they governed the Nation by a Council of War at *Wallingford-House*, and chose a Committee of Safety for the executive part of the Government; but that Whim lasted but a little time before they chose Conservators of Liberty; and that not doing neither, they agreed that every Regiment should choose two Representatives, and this worthy Council should settle the Nation; when they met, sometimes they were for calling a new Parliament, sometimes for restoring the old, which was at last done. By this means all things fell into Confusion, which gave *Monk* an opportunity of marching into *England*, where he acted his part so dexterously, that he restored the King with part of that Army which had cut off his Father's Head.

This is a true and lively Example of a Government with an Army; an Army that was raised in the Cause, [I-72] and for the sake of Liberty; composed for the most part of Men of Religion and Sobriety. If this Army could commit such violences upon a Parliament always successful, that had acquired so much Reputation both at home and abroad, at a time when the whole People were trained in Arms, and the Pulse of the Nation beat high for Liberty; what are we to expect if in a future Age an ambitious Prince should arise with a dissolute and debauched Army, a flattering Clergy, a prostitute Ministry, a Bankrupt House of L— — —ds, a Pensioner House of C— — —ns, and a slavish and corrupted Nation?

By this means came in *Charles* the Second, a luxurious effeminate Prince, a deep Dissembler, and if not a Papist himself, yet a great favourer of them: But the People had suffered so much from the Army, that he was received with the utmost Joy and Transport. The Parliament in the Honymoon passed what Laws he pleased, gave a vast Revenue for Life, being three times as much as any of his Predecessors ever enjoyed, and several Millions besides to be spent in his Pleasures. This made him conceive vaster hopes of Arbitrary Power than any that went before him; and in order to it he debauched and enervated the whole Kingdom: His Court was a scene of Adulteries, Drunkenness, and Irreligion, appearing more like Stews, or the Feasts of *Bacchus*, than the Family of a Chief Magistrate: And in a little time the Contagion spread thro' the whole Nation, that it was out of the Fashion not to be leud, and scandalous not to be a public Enemy: Which has been the occasion of all the Miseries that have since happened, and I am afraid will not be extinguished but by our ruin. He was no sooner warm in his Seat but he rejected an advantageous Treaty of Commerce which *Oliver* made with *France*, as done by an Usurper; suffered the *French* to lay Impositions upon all our Goods, which amounted to a Prohibition, insomuch that they got a Million a Year from us in the overbalance of Trade. He sold that important Fortress of *Dunkirk*, let the *French* seize *St. Christophers* and other places in *North America*

He began a foolish and unjust War with the *Dutch*; and tho' the Parliament gave him vast Sums to maintain it, yet he spent so much upon his Vices, that they got [I-73] great advantages of us, and burnt our Fleet at *Chatham*. At last he made as dishonourable a Peace with them, as he had done a War; perpetual reproach to our Country, that our Reputation at Sea should be sunk to so low an ebb as to be baffled by that Nation, who but a few Years before had sent a blank Paper to the Parliament, to prescribe to them what Laws they pleased. During this War the City of *London* was fired, not without violent suspicions that the Fireballs were prepared at *Whitehall*. Soon after this he entred into the Triple Alliance to oppose the growing greatness of *France*, and received a great Sum from the Parliament to maintain it, which he made use of to break the same League; sent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden* to

dissolve it; and entred into a strict Alliance with *France*, which was sealed with his Sister's Blood. In Conjunction with them he made a new War upon *Holland*, to extirpate Liberty, and the Protestant Religion; but knowing the Parliament were averse to the War, and would not support him in it, he attempted before any War declared to seize their *Smyrna* Fleet, shut up the Exchequer, and became so mean as to be a Pensioner to *France*, from whence his Predecessors with Swords in their Hands had so often exacted Tribute. He not only suffered, but assisted them to arrive at that pitch of Greatness, which all *Europe* since hath sufficiently felt and lamented. He sent over ten thousand Men to assist in subduing *Flanders* and *Germany*, by whose help they did several considerable Actions. He sent them Timber, Seamen, Ship Carpenters, and Models, contrary to the Policy of all Nations; which raised their Naval Force to a degree almost equal to our own: And for their exercise, he suffered them to take multitudes of *English* Ships by their Privateers, without so much as demanding satisfaction.

During this War he issued out a Declaration suspending the Penal Laws, which appears to be designed in favour of the Papists, by his directing a Bill afterwards to be stolen away out of the House of Lords, for indulging Protestant Dissenters, whom he persecuted violently most of his Reign, while he both countenanced and preferred Papists broke the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, restored them to their Estates, issued forth a Proclamation [I-74] giving the Papists liberty to inhabit in Corporations, and married the Duke of *York* not only to a Papist, but one in the *French* Interest, notwithstanding the repeated Addresses of the Parliament to the contrary. It was in this Reign that that cursed and detestable Policy was much improved of bribing Parliaments, by distributing all the great Employments in *England* among them, and supplying the Want of Places with Grants of Lands and Money. No Man could be preferred to any Employment in Church or State, till he had declared himself an open Enemy to our Constitution, by asserting Despotic Power under that nonsensical Phrase of *Passive Obedience*, which was more preach'd up than all the Laws of God and Man. The Hellish Popish Plot was stifled, proved since too true by fatal Experience; and in the Room of it Protestant ones were forg'd, and Men trapann'd into others, as the *Meal-Tub*, *Fitz Harris's*, the *Rye-House*, *Newmarket*, and *Black-Heath* Plots; and by these Pretences, and the Help of Packt Judges and Juries, they butchered some of the best Men in *England*, set immoderate Fines upon others, gave probable Suspicion of cutting the Lord *Essex's* Throat; and to finish our Destruction, they took away the Charters, as fast as they were able, of all the Corporations in *England*, that would not choose the Members prescribed them.

But he durst not have dreamt of all these Violations if he had not had an Army to justify them. He had thoughts at first of keeping up the Parliament-Army, which was several times in Debate. But Chancellor *Hyde* prevailed upon him by this Argument, that they were a Body of Men that had cut off his Father's Head; that they had set up and pulled down ten several Sorts of Government; and that it might be his own Turn next. So that his Fears prevailing over his Ambition, he consented to disband them; but soon found how vain and abortive a Thing Arbitrary Power would prove without an Army. He therefore try'd all ways to get one; and first he attempted it in *Scotland*, and by means of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, got an Act passed there, whereby the Kingdom of *Scotland* was obliged to raise 20000 Foot and 2000 Horse at his Majesty's Call, to march into any Part of his Dominions; and this Law is in [I-75] Being at this Day. Much about the same Time he raised Guards in *England* (a Thing unheard of before in our *English* Constitution) and by Degrees increas'd them, till they became a formidable Army; for first they were but very few, but by adding insensibly more Men to a Troop or Company, and then more Troops or Companies to a Regiment, before the second *Dutch* War he had multiplied them to near 5000 Men. He then began that War in Conjunction with *France*, and the Parliament gave him two Millions and a half to maintain it, with Part of which Money he rais'd about 12000 Men, which were called the *Black-Heath Army* (appointing Marshal *Shomberg* to be their General, and *Fitz Gerald*, an *Irish* Papist,

their Lieutenant-General) and pretended he rais'd them to attack *Holland*; but instead of using them to that purpose, he kept them encamped upon *Black-Heath*, hovering over the City of *London*, which put both the Parliament and City in such Confusion, that the King was forced at last to disband them. But there were several Accidents contributed to it: First, the ill Success he had in the War with the *Dutch*, such Gallantries being not to be attempted but in the highest Raptures of Fortune: Next, the never to be forgotten Generosity of that great Man General *Shomberg*, whose mighty Genius scorn'd so ignoble an Action as to put Chains upon a free People; and last of all, the Army themselves mutinied for want of Pay; which added to the ill Humours that were then in the Nation, made the King willing to disband them. But at the same time, contrary to the Articles of Peace with the *Dutch*, he continu'd ten thousand Men in the *French* Service, for the most part under Popish Officers, to be season'd there in slavish Principles, that they might be ready to execute any Commands when they were sent for over. The Parliament never met, but they address'd the King to recall these Forces out of *France*, and disband them; and several times prepar'd Bills to that purpose, which the King always prevented by a Prorogation; but at last was prevail'd upon to issue forth a Proclamation to recall them, yet at the same time supplied them with Recruits, encourag'd some to go voluntarily into that Service, and press'd, imprison'd, and carried over others [I-76] by main Force; besides, he only disbanded the new rais'd Regiments, and not all of them neither, for he kept up in *England* five thousand eight hundred and ninety private Men, besides Officers, which was his Establishment in 1673.

The King having two great designs to carry on together, *viz.* Popery and Arbitrary Power, thought this Force not enough to do his Business effectually; and therefore cast about how to get a new Army, and took the most plausible way, which was pretending to entet into a War with *France*; and to that purpose sent Mr. *Thyn* to *Holland*, who made a strict League with the States: And immediately upon it the King called the Parliament, who gave him 1200000 Pounds to enter into an actual War, with which Money he raised an Army of between twenty and thirty thousand Men within less than forty Days, and sent part of them to *Flanders*. At the same time he continued his Forces in *France*, and took a Sum of Money from that King to assist him in making a private Peace with *Holland*: So that instead of a War with *France*, the Parliament had given a great Sum to raise an Army to enslave themselves. But it happened about this time that the Popish Plot broke out, which put the Nation into such a Ferment, that there was no stemming the Tide: So that he was forced to call the Parliament which met the 23d of *October* 78, who immediately fell upon the Popish Plot and the Land Army. Besides there were discovered 57 Commissions granted to Papists to raise Men, countersigned *J. Will— —son*; for which, and saying that the King might keep Guards if he could pay them, he was committed to the *Tower*. This so enrag'd the Parliament, that they immediately proceeded to the disbanding of the Army, and passed an Act that all raised since the 29th of *September* 77 should be disbanded, and gave the King 693388 pounds to pay off their Arrears, which he made use of to keep them up, and dissolved the Parliament; but soon after called another, which pursued the same Counsels, and passed a second Act to disband the Army, gave a new Sum for doing it, directed it to be paid into the Chamber of *London*, appointed Commissioners of their own, and passed a Vote, *That the continuance of any Standing Forces in this [I-77] Nation other than the Militia, was illegal, and a great Grievance and Vexation to the People*; so that Army was disbanded. Besides this, they complain'd of the Forces that were in *France*, and addressed the King again to recall them, which had some Effect; for he sent over no more Recruits, but suffered them to wear out by degrees. The Establishment upon the Dissolution of this Army, which was in the Year 1679-80, were 5600 private Soldiers, besides Officers. From this time he never agreed with his People, but dissolved three Parliaments following for enquiring into the Popish Plot; and in the three last Years of his Reign called none at all. And to crown the work, *Tangier* is demolished, and the Garrison brought over, and placed in the most considerable Ports in *England*; which made the Establishment in 1683-4, 848z private Men, besides Officers. It is



observable in this King's Reign, that there was not one Sessions but his Guards were attacked, and never could get the least Countenance from Parliament; but to be even with them the Court as much discountenanced the Militia and never would suffer it to be made useful. Thus we see the King husbanded a few Guards so well, that in a small Number of Years they grew to a formidable Army, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Parliament to the contrary; so difficult it is to prevent the growing of an Evil, that does not receive a check in the beginning.

He increased the Establishment in *Ireland* to 7700 Men, Officers included; whereas they never exceeded in any former Reign 2000, when there was more occasion for them: The *Irish* not long before having been entirely reduced by *Cromwell*, and could never have held up their Heads again without his Countenance. But the Truth of it was, his Army was to support the *Irish*, and the fear of the *Irish* was to support his Army.

Towards the latter end of this King's Reign the Nation had so entirely lost all sense of Liberty, that they grew fond of their Chains; and if his Brother would have suffered him to have lived longer, or had followed his Example, by this time we had been as great Slaves as in *France*. But it was God's great Mercy to us that he was made in another Mold, Imperious, Obstinate, and a Bigot, pushed on by the Counsels of *France* and *Rome*, and the [I-78] violence of his own Nature; so that he quickly run himself out of breath. As soon as he came to the Crown, he seized the Customs and Excise without Authority of Parliament: He picked out the Scum and Scandals of the Law to make Judges upon the Bench; and turned out all that would not sacrifice their Oaths to his Ambition, by which he discharged the Lords out of the *Tower*, inflicted those barbarous Punishments on Dr. *Oates*, Mr. *Johnson*, &c. butchered many hundreds of Men in the *West*, after they had been trapped into a Confession by promise of Pardon, murdered *Cornish*, got the Dispensing Power to be declared in *Westminster-hall*, turned the Fellows of *Magdalen-college* out of their Freeholds, to make way for a Seminary of Priests, and hanged Soldiers for running away from their Colours. He erected the ecclesiastical Commission, suspended the Bishop of *London*, because he would not inflict the same Punishment upon Dr. *Sharp*, for preaching against Popery. He closetted the Nobility and Gentry, turned all out of Employment that would not promise to repeal the Test, put in Popish Privy-Counsellors, Judges, Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of Peace; and to get all this confirmed by the shew of Parliament, he prosecuted the Work his Brother had begun in taking away Charters, and new modelled the Corporations, by a sort of Vermin called Regulators. He received a Nuntio from *Rome*, and sent an Ambassador thither. He erected a Popish Seminary at the *Savoy* to pervert Youth, suffered the Priests to go about in their Habits, made *Tyrconnel* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, turned all the Protestants out of the Army and most of the Civil Employments there, and made *Fitton* (a Papist, and one detected for Perjury) Chancellor of that Kingdom. He issued out a Proclamation in *Scotland*, wherein he asserted his Absolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without reserve; a Prerogative, I think, never claimed by the Great *Turk*, or the *Mogul*. He issued out a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, ordered it to be read in all Churches, and imprisoned and tried the seven Bishops, because they humbly offered their Reasons in a Petition against it: And to consummate all, that we might have no Hopes of retrieving our Misfortunes, [I-79] he imposed a counterfeit Prince of *Wales* upon the Nation.

Soon after he came to the Crown, the Duke of *Monmouth* landed, and in a few Weeks got together six or seven thousand Men: But they having neither Arms or Provisions, were easily defeated by not many more than 2000 of the King's Troops. Which leaves a sad Prospect of the Consequence of a Standing Army: For here was a Prince, the Darling of the common People, fighting against a bigotted Papist, that was hated and abhorred by them, and yet defeated by so small a Number of Men, and many of them too his Friends; such is the Force of Authority. King *James* took occasion from hence to increase his Army to between fifteen

and sixteen thousand Men, and then unmasked himself, called his Parliament, and in a haughty Speech told them, He had increased his Army, put in Officers not qualified by the Test, and that he would not part with them. He asked a Supply, and let them know he expected their compliance. This was very unexpected to those Loyal Gentlemen, who had given him such a vast Revenue for Life, who refused to take any Security but his Majesty's never-failing Word for the Protestant Religion, and indeed had done for him whatever he asked; which yet was not very extraordinary, since he had the choosing of most of them himself. But even this Parliament turned short upon an Army; which puts me in mind of a saying of *Machiavel*, viz. *That it is as hard a matter for a Man to be perfectly bad as perfectly good*; though if he had lived at this Time, I believe he had changed his Opinion. The Court laboured the matter very much; and to shew that good Wits jump, they told us that *France* was grown formidable, that the *Dutch* Forces were much increased, that we must be strong in proportion for the preservation of ourselves and *Flanders*, and that there was no Dependence upon the Militia. But this shallow Rhetoric would not pass upon them. They answered, that we had defended ourselves for above a thousand Years without an Army; that a King's truest Strength is the Love of his People; that they would make the Militia useful, and ordered a Bill to be brought in to that Purpose. But all this served only to fulfil their Iniquity; for they had done their own [I-80] Business before, and now he would keep an Army up in spite of them: So he prorogued them, and called no other Parliament during his reign; but to frighten the City of *London*, kept his Army encamped at *Hounslowheath*, when the Season would permit, which put not only them but the whole Nation into the utmost Terror and Confusion. Towards the latter End of his Reign he had increased his Army in *England* to above twenty thousand Men, and in *Ireland* to eight thousand seven hundred and odd.

This King committed two fatal Errors in his Politicks, The first was his falling out with his old Cronies the Priests, who brought him to the Crown in spite of his Religion, and would have supported him in Arbitrary Government to the utmost; nay, Popery (especially the worst Part of it, viz. the Domination of the Church) was not so formidable a Thing to them, but with a little Cookery it might have been rendered palatable. But he had Priests of another sort that were to rise upon their Ruins; and he thought to play an easier Game by caressing the Dissenters, employing them, and giving them Liberty of Conscience: Which Kindness looked so preposterous, that the wise and sober Men among them could never heartily believe it, and when the Prince of *Orange* landed, turned against him.

His second Error was the disobliging his own Army, by bring over Regiments from *Ireland*, and ordering every Company to take in so many *Irish* Papists; by which they plainly saw he was reforming his Army, and would cashire them all as fast as he could get Papists to supply their room. So that he violated the Rights of the People, fell out with the Church of *England*, made uncertain Friends of the Dissenters, and disobliged his own Army; by which means they all united against him, and invited the Prince of *Orange* to assist them: Which Invitation he accepted, and landed at *Torbay* the 5th of *November*, 1688, publishing a Declaration, which set forth all the Oppressions of the last Reign [but the keeping up a Standing Army] declared for a free Parliament, in which things were to be so settled that there should be no danger of falling again into Slavery, and promised to [I-81] send back all his foreign Forces as soon as this was done.

When the News of his Landing was spread through *England*, he was welcomed by the universal Acclamations of the People. He had the Hands, the Hearts, and the Prayers of all honest Men in the Nation: Every one thought the long wished for time of their Deliverance was come. King *James* was deserted by his own Family, his Court, and his Army. The Ground he stood upon mouldred under him; so that he sent his Queen and Foundling to *France* before him, and himself followed soon after. When the Prince came to *London*, he

disbanded most of those Regiments that were raised from the time he landed; and King *James's* Army that were disbanded by *Feversham*, were ordered to repair all again to their Colours: Which was thought by some a false step, believing it would have been more our Interest to have kept those Regiments which came in upon the Principle on which this Revolution is founded, that Forces that were raised in violation of the Laws, and to support a tyrannical Government: Besides, the miserable Condition of *Ireland* required our speedy Assistance, and these Men might have been trusted to do that work.

Within a few days after he came to Town, he summoned the Lords, and no long after the Members of the three last Parliaments of King *Charlis* the Second, and was addressed to by both Houses to take upon him the Administration of the Government, to take into his particular care the then present Condition of *Ireland*, and to issue forth Circulatory Letters for the choosing a Convention of Estates. All this time *Ireland* lay bleeding, and *Tyrconnel* was raising an Army, disarming the Protestants, and dispossessing them of all the Places they held in *Lanster*, *Munster* and *Connaught*, which occasioned frequent Applications here for Relief, though it was to send them but one or two Regiments; and it that could not be done, to send them Arms and Commission, which in all probability would have made the Reduction of that Kingdom very easy. Yet though the Prince's and King *James's* Army were both in *England*, no relief was sent, by which means the *Irish* got possession of the whole Kingdom, but *Londonderry* and *Inniskilling*, the former [I-82] of which Towns shut up its Gates the ninth of *December*, declaring for the Prince of *Orange*, and addressed for immediate Relief, yet could neither get Arms or Ammunition till the 20th of *March*; and the Forces that were sent with *Cunningham* and *Richards* arrived not there till the 15th of *April*, and immediately after deserted the Service, and came back again, bringing *Lundy* the Governor before appointed by his Majesty with them, and alledged for their Excuse, that it was impossible to defend the Town. But notwithstanding this Treachery, such was the resolution of the besieged, that they continued to defend themselves with the utmost Bravery, and sent again for Relief, which under *Kirk* came not to them till the 7th of *June*, nor were these poor Creatures actually relieved till the 30th of *July*, though there appears no reason why he might not have done it when he first came into the Harbour, which was more than seven Weeks before. Thus we see the Resolution of these poor Men wearied out all their Disappointments.

When the Convention met, they resolved upon twenty eight Articles, as the Preliminaries upon which they would dispose the Crown; but this Design dwindled into a Declaration of our Rights, which was in thirteen Articles, and the most considerable, viz, *That the raising and keeping up a Standing Army in times of Peace is contrary to Law*, had tagg'd to it these Words, *without Authority of Parliament*, as if the consent of the Parliament would not have made it legal without those words, or that their Consent would make it less dangerous. This made the *Jacobites* say in those early Days, that some evil Counsellors designed to play the same game again of a *Standing Army*, and attributed unjustly the neglect of *Ireland* to the same Cause, because by that omission it was made necessary to raise a greater Army to reduce it, with which the King acquainted the Parliament the 8th of *March*, when speaking of the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, he declared he thought it not adviseable to attempt the reducing it with less than 20000 Horse and Foot. This was a bitter Pill to the Parliament, who thought they might have managed their Share of the War with *France* at Sea; but there was no Remedy, a greater Army must be raised, or *Ireland* lost; and to gild [I-83] it, all the Courtiers ushered in their Speeches with this Declaration, that they would have been the first for disbanding them when the War was over; and this Declaration has been made as often as an Army has been debated since during the War, and I suppose punctually observ'd last Sessions. At last the Thing was consented to, and the King issu'd forth Commissions for the raising of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons. In this Army very few Gentlemen of Estates in *Ireland* could get Employments, though they were in a miserable Condition here, and made their utmost Application for them; it being a common Objection by some Colonels, that a Man had

an Estate there, which in all likelihood wou'd have made him more vigorous in reducing the Kingdom. It was long after this Army was rais'd, before they could be ready to be transported; and even then it was commonly said, that *Shomberg* found many Things out of Order; and when they were at last transported, which was about the middle of *August*, they were not in a Condition to fight the Enemy, though lately baffled before *Londonderry*, especially their Carriages not coming to them till the 24th of *September*, when it was high time to go into Winter Quarters. By this means the *Irish* got Strength and Courage, and three fourths of our Army perish'd at the Camp at *Dundalk*.

But though our Army could do nothing, yet the Militia of the Country, almost without Arms or Cloaths, performed Miracles, witness that memorable Siege of *Londonderry*, the Defeat of General *Mackarty*, who was intrench'd in a Bog with ten thousand regular Troops, and attack'd by fifteen hundred *Inniskilling* Men, defeated, himself made a Prisoner, and three thousand of his Men kill'd; and a great many other gallant Actions they perform'd, for which they were dismissed by *Kirk* with Scorn and Ignominy, and most of their Officers left to starve. Thus the War in *Ireland* was nurs'd up either through Chance, Inadvertency, or the Necessity of our Affairs (for I am willing to think it was Design) till at last it was grown so big, that nothing less than his Majesty's great Genius, and the usual Success that has always attended his Conduct, could have overcome it.

[I-84]

When the Parliament met that Winter, they fell upon the examination of the *Irish* Affairs; and finding Commissary *Shales* was the cause of a great part of the Miscarriages, they addressed his Majesty that he would be pleased to acquaint the House who it was that advised the employing him, which his Majesty did not remember. They then addressed, that he would be pleased to order him to be taken into Custody, and it was done accordingly; upon which *Shales* sent a Letter to the Speaker, desiring he might be brought over to *England*, where he would vindicate himself, and justify what he had done. Then the House addressed his Majesty again, that he might be brought over with all convenient speed; and the King was pleased to answer, that he had given such Orders already. Then the House referred the matter to a private Committee; but before any Report made, or *Shales* could be brought to *England*, the Parliament was prorogued, and after dissolved; and soon after he fell sick and died.

The neglect of *Ireland* this Year made it necessary to raise more Forces, and increase our Establishment, which afterwards upon pretence of invading *France* was advanced to eighty seven thousand six hundred ninety eight Men. At last by our great Armies and Fleets, and the constant expence of maintaining them, we were too hard for the Oeconomy, Skill, and Policy of *France*; and notwithstanding all our Difficulties, brought them to Terms both Safe and Honourable.

It not being to the purpose of this Discourse, I shall omit giving any account of the Conduct of our Fleet during this War, how few Advantages we reaped by it, and how many Opportunities we lost in destroying the *French*. Only thus much I will observe, that tho' a great part of it may be attributed to the Negligence, Ignorance, or Treachery of inferior Officers, yet it could not so universally happen thro' the whole course of the War, and unpunished too, notwithstanding the clamours of the Merchants, and repeated complaints in Parliament, unless the cause had laid deeper: What that is, I shall not presume to enquire; but I am sure there has been a very ill Argument drawn from it, viz. *That a Fleet is no security to us*.

As soon as the Peace was made, his Majesty discharged a great part of the foreign Forces; and an Advertisement [I-85] was published in the *Gazette*, that ten Regiments should be forthwith disbanded; and we were told, as soon as it was done, that more should follow their example. But these Resolutions, it seems, were altered, and the modish Language was, that we must keep up a Standing Army. Their Arguments were turned topsy turvy: For as during the War the People were prevailed upon to keep up the Army in hopes of a Peace; so now we must keep them up for fear of a War. The Condition of *France*, which they had been decrying for many Years, was now magnified: We are told, that it was doubtful whether the *French* King would deliver up any of the Towns; that he was preparing a valt Fleet upon the Lord knows what Design; that it was impossible to make a Militia useful; that the warlike King *Jemmy* had an Army of eighteen thousand *Irish* Heroes in *France*, who would be ready when called for; and that the King of *Spain* was dying. The Members of Parliament were discoursed with as they came to Town; 'twas whispered about, that the Whigs would be all turned out of Employments: A new Plot was said to be discovered for murdering the King, and searches were made at Midnight thro' the whole City to the discovery of Plenty of Fornicators but no Traitors. The Placemongers consulted among themselves, and found by a wonderful Sympathy they were all of one Opinion; and if by any means they could get a few more to be of the same, the day was their own: So they were positive of success, and very sure they should carry it by above a hundred Voices.

The House had not sat a Week, but this matter came to be debated; and the Question in the Committee was, *Whether all Forces raised since the Year 80 should be disbanded?* Which was carried in the Affirmative, the Court being not able to bring it to a division; and the next Day when it was reported, they did not attempt to set aside the Vote, but to recommit it, upon pretence it tied the King to the old Tory Regiments, (tho' by the way, none of those Regiments have been since disbanded) and some said they thought the Forces in 80 too many. I can safely say, tho' I had frequent discourse with many of them, yet I never heard any one of them at that time pretend to be for a greater force than this Vote left the [I-86] King: But let what will be their Reasons, it was carried against them by a Majority of 37, the Affirmatives being 185, and the Negatives 148. I will not here take Notice of what some People have said, *viz. That of the 148 who were for recommitting the Vote, 116 had Places*, because I doubt the fact; nor do I believe their Places would bias them.

This was a thorow Victory, and required great Skill and address to retrieve. The fears of *France* were again multiplied; 'twas said there was a private Article that King *James* was to leave *France*, which the *French* refused to perform; that *Boufflers* and the Earl of *Portland* had given one another the Life; that some of the latter's Retinue had been killed; that the *French* Ambassador was stopped, the King of *Spain* dead, and abundance more to this purpose. The Club was set up at the R—, great Applications made, the Commission of the Excise was declared to be broke (by which nine Commissioners Places were to be disposed of, and above 40 Persons named for them) and many of the Country Gentlemen were gone home. Thus recruited, they were ready for a new Encounter: and since by the Rules of the House they could not set aside the former Vote directly, they would try to do it by a side Wind; which was by moving, that directions might be given to the Committee of Ways and Means to consider of a supply for Guards and Garisons: But the other side, to obviate this, offered these Words as an Amendment, *viz. According to the Vote of the 11th of December*. This matter was much laboured, and the Gentlemen that were against the Army explained themselves, and declared they were not for obliging the King to the Regiments in 80, but that they insisted only on the Number, and he might choose what Regiments he pleased. By this Means they carried it, but not without great opposition, (tho' I presume from none of those Gentlemen who declared in all Places they were for recommitting the former Vote only for the Reasons before given) besides, they were forced to explain themselves out of a considerable part of it, for they allowed the King the *Dutch* Regiments, and the *Tangeriners*;

which in my Opinion could not be well understood by the former Vote, the meaning of which seems to be that the [I-87] King should have all the Forces that *Charles the 2d* had in 80 in *England*, and these were not then here; the *Holland* Regiments being paid by the States, and their Soldiers; and the others 500 Leagues off at *Tangier*. But all this advantage would not satisfy the Army-Gentlemen: For in the Committee they endeavoured again to set aside the Vote, by moving for a Sum of 500000 Pounds *per Annum* for Guards and Garrisons, without naming any certain Number (which would have maintained above 20000) but this could not be carried; therefore they came to a sort of Composition, to have but 10000, whereof a great number were to be Horse and Dragoons; and the Sum given to maintain them was 350000 Pounds; But notwithstanding this they moved afterwards for 3000 Marines (allegding that these were not a Land-Force, but a Water-Force) which was carried.

Here I will beg leave to observe one thing, that nothing would satisfy the Courtiers at the beginning of the Winter but to have the Forces established by the Parliament, and upon other Terms they would not accept them; and in all Companys said, that any Minister that advised the King to keep them up otherwise, or any Officers that continued his Commission ought to be attainted of High Treason: About which I shall not differ with these Gentlemen, nor do I arraign them for altering their Opinion; for perhaps they may conceive that a Vote to give 350000 Pounds for Guards and Garrisons, is a sufficient Authority against Law to quarter Soldiers in all parts of *England*, as well out of Garisons, as in them, and as well at a distance from the King's Person, as about it.

Thus what our Courts for above a thousand Years together had never Effrontery enough to ask; what the Pensioner Parliament could not think of without Astonishment; what King *James's* Parliament (that almost chosen by himself) could not hear debated with Patience, we are likely to have the honour of establishing in our own Age, even under a Deliverance.

Now we will examine how far they have complied with the Resolutions of the House of Commons. Having so far gained upon the first Vote by the means before related, 'twas not easy to be imagined but they would nicely perform [I-88] the rest, without any art or evasion: But instead of this, they formed a certain number of Men out of every Troop and Company, and kept up all the Officers, who are the most essential and chargeable part of an Army, the private Soldiers being to be raised again in a few Days whenever they please. This is such a disbanding as every Officer would have made in his Company for his private advantage, and always did in *Charles the 2d's* time, and even in this Reign when they were not in Action: So that all the effect of such a Reform is to hinder the Officers from false Musters, and save the pay of a few common Soldiers.

But this would not satisfy the People, and therefore they dishanded some Regiments of Horse, Foot and Dragoons, and thought of that profound Expedient of sending a great many more to *Ireland*; as if our grievance was not the fear of being enslaved by them, but lest they should spend their Money among us. I am sorry the Nation is grown so contemptible in these Gentlemens Opinions, as to think that they can remove our fears of a Standing Army by sending them threescore Miles off, from whence they may recall them upon a few Days notice. Nay an Army kept in *Ireland*, is more dangerous to us than at home: For here by perpetual converse with their Relations and Acquaintance, some few of them perhaps may warp towards their Country; whereas in *Ireland* they are kept as it were in a Garison, where they are shut up from the communication of their Countrymen, and may be nursed up in another Interest. This is true, that 'tis a common Policy among Arbitrary Princes often to shift their Soldiers Quarters, lest they should contract friendship among the Natives, and by degrees fall into their Interest.

It may be said perhaps, That the People of *Ireland* will pay them; which makes the matter so much the worse, for they are less likely to have any regard to their Country. Besides if we consider the Lords Justices Speech to that Parliament, wherein they are let know that his Majesty *Expects* that they will continue the Subsistence to the disbanded Officers, and support the present Establishment (which by the way is near three times as great as *Charles* [I-89] the Second's) and this without any other Ceremony or qualification of Time (with which his Majesty was pleased to express himself to his *English* and *Scotch* Parliaments) we may be convinced that they are not in a Condition to dispute this matter; especially at a time when they apprehend Hardships will be put upon them in relation to their Trade: And therefore we may be sure they will gratify the Court to the utmost of their Power, in hopes, if they cannot prevent the passing a Law against them, to obtain a connivance in the execution. We may add; by this means they will keep their Money in their own Country, a great part whereof came formerly to *England*, and have an opportunity of returning the Compliment we designed them last Year, if we don't prevent it by dishanding the Army there, as *Strafford's* Army in *Ireland* was formerly in the 15th of *Charles* the first, and lately another in 1678 by our *English* Parliaments.

I cannot avoid taking notice here, how different the modish Sentiments are in *Ireland* and *England*: For there the Language is, We must comply with the Court, in keeping up the Army, or otherwise the Woollen Manufacture is gone; and here the Men in fashion tell us, that an Army must be kept in *Ireland* to destroy the Woollen Manufacture, and execute the Laws we make against them; and in order to it the People of *Ireland* are to pay them.

This project of sending Men to *Ireland* was so transparent, that they durst not rely upon it; and therefore they told us, that as fast as Money could be got, they would disband more Regiments. The People were in great Expectation when it would be done, and several times it was taken notice of in Parliament; and the Courtiers always assured them that nothing hindred it but the want of Money to pay them off. 'Twas confidently said in all publick places, that eighteen Regiments more would be disbanded, and the Regiments were named; and I have heard it with great Assurance affirmed by the Agents and Officers themselves, that the King had signed it in Council. Thus the Session was worn out, till the House of Commons, tired with Expectation, addressed his Majesty, *That he would be pleased to give order that a List be laid before the House of the Army disbanded, and intended to be* [I-90] *disbanded, and of the Officers Names who are to have half pay;* and his Majesty was pleased to answer, *That he would comply with the desires of the House, as soon as conveniently be could:* But the Parliament sitting not above a Month afterwards, his Majesty sent them no farther answer.

At last the Parliament rose, and instead of disbanding they brought over a great many foreign Regiments, and sent them to *Ireland*, as well as three more *English* ones. But even all this would not bring their Army in *England* down to ten thousand Men; so that they made another Reform, and since have incorporated the Officers of the disbanded Regiments in *Ireland* into the Standing Troops, by which means they have got an Army of Officers: Whereas if these Gentlemen design their Army to defend us against a sudden Invasion, or to be in readiness against the King of *Spain's* Death, in my poor Opinion they should have kept up the private Soldiers, and disbanded all the Officers but such as are just necessary to exercise them; for Officers will be always ready to accept good Employments, whereas the private Soldiers will be very difficulty listed again in a new War, though we all know they are easily to be got together, when they are only to insult their Countrymen.

One good effect of this Army has already appeared; for I presume every Body has heard how prevailing an Argument it was in the late Elections, *That if we choose such a Man, we shall be free from Quarters:* And I wish this Argument does not every day grow stronger. Nay, who knows but in another Reign the Corporations may be told that his Majesty *expects*

they will choose the Officers of the Army, and the Parliament be told that he *expects* they will maintain them?

But to set this matter in a full view, I will here put down the Establishment of King *Charles the Second* in 88, which was the foundation of the Vote of the 11th of *December*, as also his present Majesty's: And in this, as well as my other Computations, I do not pretend but I may be mistaken in many Particulars, though I have taken what care I could not to be so; nor is it material to my purpose, so that the variation from Truth is not considerable.

[I-91]

I shall also set down King *William's* Establishment as the Regiments were before the Reform, because all the Officers still remain, and a great part of the private Soldiers, which I take to be in effect full Regiments; the rest being to be raised again in a few days, if they are designed for home Service, but, as I said before, the hardest to be got if they are designed for *Spain* or *Flanders*. But herein if any Man differs from me, he may make his own deductions.

*The Establishment of Charles the Second in England in the Year Eighty.*

214. 215.

	<i>Troops, &amp; Comp.</i>	<i>Com. Offic.</i>	<i>Non Com. Of.</i>	<i>Private Men.</i>	<i>Total Numb.</i>
Troops of Guards	3	48	15	600	663
The Royal Regiment of Horse	8	34	40	400	474
A Troop of Dragoons raised in July, 1680.	1	4	8	40	52
Total Horse and Dragoons	12	86	63	1040	1189
Gentlemen Pensioners		1	6	0	46
Yeomen of the Guard		1	7	0	107
The First Regiment of Foot-Guards		24	75	192	1707
The <i>Coldstream</i> Regiment		12	39	96	855
The Duke of <i>York's</i> Regiment		12	39	96	765
The <i>Holland</i> Regiment		12	39	96	735
Independent Companies		26	78	208	1546
Total Foot in <i>England</i>		88	283	688	5761

[I-92]

*King Charles the Second's Establishment in Ireland in the Year Eighty.*

Troops of Horse	24	96	196	1080	1372
Yeomen of the Guard	1	3	0	60	63
A Regiment of Guards	12	40	99	1120	1259
Single Companies	74	222	444	4440	5166
Total Foot in <i>Ireland</i>	87	265	543	5620	6428

I have not here put down the Garrison of *Tangier* which was about three thousand Men, because that Place is now lost, and consequently wants no Garrison.

I will now set down his present Majesty's Establishment, and then compare them both together.



Three Troops of Horse Guards	3	48	15	600	663
One Troop of <i>Dutch</i> Guards	1	15	5	200	220
One Troop of Horse Grenadiers	1	11	20	180	211
Lord <i>Oxford's</i> Regiment	9	40	45	531	616
Lord <i>Portlaud's</i> Horse <i>Dutch</i> Regiment	9	42	54	603	699
<i>Lumley's</i> Regiment	9	40	45	531	616
<i>Wood's</i> Regiment	6	28	36	354	412
<i>Arran's</i> Regiment	6	28	36	354	412
<i>Windham's</i> Regiment	6	28	36	354	412
<i>Shomberg's</i> Regiment	6	28	36	354	412
<i>Macclesfield's</i> Regiment	6	28	36	354	412
<i>Raby's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
<i>Flood's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Lord <i>Essex's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Total Horse and Drag. in <i>Eng.</i>	86	447	580	4855	6876

[I-93]

Gentlemen Pensioners	1	6	0	40	46
Yeomen of the Guard	1	7	0	100	107
Lord <i>Rumney's</i> four Battalions	28	99	222	2240	2563
Lord <i>Cutt's</i> two Battalions	14	51	112	1120	1283
The Blue Guards a <i>Dutch</i> Regiment, four Battalions	26	96	208	2366	2670
E. of <i>Orkney's</i> a <i>Scotch</i> Reg.	26	88	208	1560	1656
<i>Selwin's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Churchil's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Trelawny's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Earle's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Seymour's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Colt's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Mordant's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
Sir <i>David Collier's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
Sir <i>C. Here's</i> Fusileers in <i>Jersey</i>	13	46	104	780	930
<i>Collingwood's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
A Company at <i>Upnor</i> Castle	1	2	6	50	58
Total Foot in <i>England</i>	227	793	1796	15276	17865

<i>Luson's</i> Regiment	6	42	30	354	412
<i>Langston's</i> Regiment	6	42	30	354	412
Lord <i>Gallaway's</i> a <i>French</i> Reg.	9	113	45	531	689
<i>Ross's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
<i>Ecklins's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
<i>Cunningham's</i> Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
<i>Mermon's</i> a <i>French</i> Regiment	8	74	144	480	698
Total Horse and Drag. in <i>Irel.</i>	53	338	465	3159	3962

[I-94]

<i>Fairfax's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Collumbine's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Webb's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Granvill's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Brewer's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Jacob's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>How's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Steward's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Hanmore's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Titcomb's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Stanley's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Bridges's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Fr. Hamilton's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Ingolsby's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Pisar's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Bellafis's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Gufflavus Hamilton's Reg.</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Tiffany's Regiment</i>	13	66	104	780	950
<i>Martoon's a French Reg.</i>	13	83	104	780	967
<i>Lamellioneer's a French Reg.</i>	13	83	104	780	967
<i>Belcastle's a French Reg.</i>	13	83	104	780	967
<i>Holt's Reg. in W. Ind. which is not upon the Irish Est.</i>	13	44	104	780	928
Total Foot in <i>Ireland</i>	286	1481	2288	17160	20929

*I will now compare both Establishments together.*

<i>Charles the Second's Horse in Eighty in England</i>	12	86	63	1040	1189
His Foot in <i>England</i>	88	283	688	4790	5791
His Horse & Foot in <i>Eng.</i>	100	369	751	3830	6950

[I-95]

His Horse in <i>Ireland</i>	24	96	196	1080	1372
His Foot in <i>Ireland</i>	87	265	243	5620	6428
His Horse & Foot in <i>Irel.</i>	111	361	739	6700	7809
His Horse in <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	36	183	259	2120	2561
His Foot in <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	175	548	1231	10410	12189
All his Army in <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	211	730	1490	12539	14750
His Horse in <i>England</i>	86	441	580	5855	6876
His Foot in <i>England</i>	227	793	1796	15276	17865
All his Forces in <i>England</i>	313	1234	2376	21131	24741
His Horse in <i>Ireland</i>	53	338	465	3159	3962
His Foot in <i>Ireland</i>	286	1481	2288	17160	20929
All his Forces in <i>Ireland</i>	339	1819	2753	20319	24891
His Horse and Dragoons in <i>Eng.</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	139	779	1045	9014	10838
His Foot in <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	513	2274	4084	32436	38794
All his Army in <i>England</i> and <i>Ireland</i>	652	3053	5129	41450	49632

[I-96]

So that his present Majesty in *England* and *Ireland* alone has above three times as many Troops and Companies as *Charles* the Second in the Year Eighty, almost five times as many

Commission Officers, near four times as many Non-Commission Officers; and when the Commanders shall have Orders to recruit their Companies, will have more than three times the Number of common Soldiers, besides the disbanded Officers which are not incorporated into other Regiments; and upon the Establishment they now stand, are as much Creatures to the Court, as if their Regiments were in Being.

*His Majesty's Forces in Scotland, which in the Year Eighty consisted of 2806 Men.*

The Troops of Guards	1	15	5	120	140
The Royal Reg of Dragoons	8	37	72	320	429
<i>Jedborough's</i> Dragoons	6	27	54	240	321
The Royal Reg. of Foot Guards	16	51	128	912	1091
<i>Rew's</i> Fusileers	16	51	128	640	819
<i>Collier or Hamilton's</i> Drag.	16	51	128	640	819
<i>Maitland's</i> Dragoons	16	51	128	640	819
In Garrisons	4	12	24	295	331
All his Forces in <i>Scotland</i>	83	295	667	3807	4769

These Forces are as they are now reduc'd and allowed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, for Reasons best known to themselves; which without doubt must be very good ones, and 'tis commonly said, that ten Privy Counsellors of that Kingdom, who appear'd against the Army, are turn'd out of the Council; which, if true, I presume will be a sufficient Warning to our Gentlemen at home.

However, there is this Use in the *Scotch* Army, that if the Parliament of *England* shall be prevail'd on to think any Forces necessary, a lesser Number will be sufficient.

[I-97]

<i>Lawder's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>William Collins's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Murray's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Ferguson's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
<i>Stranaver's</i> Regiment	13	44	104	780	928
	13	44	104	780	928
All the Forces in <i>Holland</i>	78	264	624	4680	5568
S O that his Majesty's whole Army consists of	813	3612	6420	49937	59969

Of these seven thousand, eight hundred, and seventy seven, are Foreigners, which is the first foreign Army that ever set Foot in *England*, but as Enemies.

Since the writing of this I am informed, that *Brudenall's* Regiment is in Being, and that *Eppinger's* Dragoons are in *English* Pay, which if true, will make the whole Army sixty odd thousand Men; but in this as well as many other Parts of the List I may be mistaken, for which I hope I shall be excused, when I acquaint the Reader that I was forced to pick it out from accidental Discourses with Officers, having applied to my Lord *R—*'s Office without Success, though I made such Interest for it as upon another Occasion would not have been refused.

If the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration, instead of telling us that we should be settled upon such a Foundation that there should be no Danger of our falling again into Slavery, and that he would send back all his Forces as soon as that was done, had promis'd us that after an eight Years War (which should leave us in Debt near twenty Millions) we should have a Standing Army established, a great many of which should be Foreigners, I believe few Men would have thought such a Revolution worth the Hazard of their Lives and Estates; but his

[I-98] mighty Soul was above such object thoughts as these; his Declaration was his own, these paltry Designs are our Undertakers, who would shelter their own Oppressions under his Sacred Name.

I would willingly know whether the late King *James* could have enslaved us but by an Army, and whether there is any way of securing us from falling again into Slavery but by disbanding them. It was in that sense I understood his Majesty's Declaration, and therefore did early take up Arms for him, as I shall be always ready to do. It was this alone which made his assistance necessary to us, otherwise we had wanted none but the Hangman's.

I will venture to say, that if this Army does not make us Slaves, we are the only People upon Earth in such Circumstances that ever escaped it, with the 4th part of their number. It is a greater force than *Alexander* conquered the East with, than *Cæsar* had in his Conquest of *Gaul*, or indeed the whole *Roman* Empire; double the number that any of our Ancestors ever invaded *France* with, *Agesilaus* the *Persians*, or *Huniades* and *Scanderbeg* the *Turkish* Empire; as many again as was in any battle between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* in forty Years War, or betwixt the King and Parliament in *England*; four times as many as the Prince of *Orange* landed with in *England*; and in short, as many as have been on both sides in nine Battles of ten that were ever sought in the World. If this Army does not enslave us, it is barely because we have a virtuous Prince that will not attempt it; and it is a most miserable thing to have no other Security for our Liberty, than the Will of a Man, though the most just Man living: For that is not a free Government where there is a good Prince (for even the most arbitrary Governments have had sometimes a Relaxation of their Miseries) but where it is so constituted, that no one can be a Tyrant if he would. *Cicero* says, though a Master does not tyrannize, yet it is a lamentable consideration that it is in his Power to do so; and therefore such a Power is to be trusted to none, which if it does not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one; and if not him, to be sure a Successor.

[I-99]

If any one during the Reign of *Charles* the Second, when those that were called *Whigs*, with a noble Spirit of Liberty, both in the Parliament House and in private Companies, opposed a few Guards as Badges of Tyranny, a Destruction to our Constitution, and the Foundations of a Standing Army: I say, if any should have told them that a Deliverer should come and rescue them from the Oppressions under which they then laboured; that *France* by a tedious and consumptive War should be reduced to half the Power it then had; and even at that time they should not only be passive, but use their utmost Interest, and distort their Reason to find out Arguments for keeping up so vast an Army, and make the Abuses of which they had been all their lives complaining, Precedents to justify those Proceedings; whoever would have told them this, must have been very regardless of his Reputation, and been thought to have had a great deal of ill-nature, But the truth is, we have lived in an Age of Miracles, and there is nothing so extravagant that we may not expect to see, when surly Patriots grow servile Flatterers, old Commonwealthsmen declare for the Prerogative, and Admirals against the Fleet.

But I wonder what Arguments in Nature our Hirelings will think of for keeping up an Army this Year. Good Reasons lie within a narrow Compass, and might be guessed at; but nonsense is infinite. The Arguments they chiefly insisted upon last year were, That it was uncertain whether the *French* King would deliver up any of his Towns if we disbanded our Army; that King *James* had 18000 Men at his devotion kept by the King of *France*; that a great Fleet was preparing there upon some unknown Design; that the King of *Spain* was dying; that there was no Militia settled; and that they would keep them up only for a year to see how the World went. This with a few Lies about my Lord *Portland*'s and *Bouffler*'s quarrelling, and some Prophecies of our being invaded in six Months, was the substance of

what was said or printed.

Now in fact the *French* King has delivered up *Giron, Roses, Belver, Barcelona*, and a great Part of the Province of *Catalonia*: The Town and Province of *Luxemburg*, and the County of *Chiny*; the Towns of *Mons*, [I-100] *Charleroy, Courtray*, and *Acth* in the *Spanish* Provinces, to the King of *Spain*.

The Town of *Dinant* to the Bishop of *Liege*.

The Towns of *Pignerol, Casal, Susa, Montmelian, Nice, Villa Franca*, all *Savoy*, and part of *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Cities of *Treves, Germensheim*, and the *Palatinate*; the County of *Spanheim, Veldentz*, and Dutchy of *Deuxponts*; the County of *Mombelliand*, and some Possessions of *Burgundy*; the Forts of *Kiel, Fribourgh, St. Peterfort, Destoile*, the Town of *Philipsburgh*, and most of *Alsace, Eberenburg*, and the Dutchy of *Lorraine* to the Empire: Has demolished *Hunningen, Montroyal, and Kernburg*.

He has delivered up the Principality of *Orange* to the King of *England*.

These are vast Countries, and contain in bigness as much ground as the Kingdom of *England*, and maintain'd the King of *France* above 100000 Men; besides he had laid out vast Sums in the Fortifications he delivered up and demolished. Add to this, his Kingdom is miserably impoverished and depopulated by this War; his Manufactures much impaired; great Numbers of Offices have been erected, which like Leeches draw away the People's Blood; prodigious Debts contracted, and a most beneficial Trade with *England* lost. These things being considered, there can be little danger of their shewing overmuch wantonness, especially for some years; and yet still we must be bullied by the name of *France*, and the Fear of it must do what their Power could never yet effect: which is a little too gross, considering they were enslaved by the same means. For in *Lewis* the XIth's Time, the *French* gave up their Liberties for fear of *England*, and now we must give up ours for fear of *France*.

*Secondly*, Most of King *James's* *English* and *Irish* forces which we have been so often threatned with, are disbanded; and he is said to subsist upon his Majesty's Charity, which will be a sufficient Caution for his good behaviour.

*Thirdly*, The *French* Fleet, which was another Bugbear, exceeded not this year 20 Sail, nor attempted any Thing, though we had no Fleet out to oppose them:

[I-101]

*Fourthly*, The King of *Spain* is not dead, nor in a more dangerous Condition than he has been for some years; and we are not without hopes that his Majesty by his extraordinary Prudence has taken such care as to prevent a new War, in case he should die.

*Fifthly*, As to the Militia, I suppose every Man is now satisfied that we must never expect to see it made useful till we have disbanded the Army. I would not be here understood to throw the whole Odium of that Matter upon the Court; for there are several other Parties in *England*, that are not over-zealous for a Militia. First, those who are for restoring King *James's* trumpery, and would have the Army disbanded, and no Force settled in the room of it. Next, there are a mungrel sort of Men who are not direct Enemies to the King, yet because their fancied merit is not rewarded at their own price, they are so shagreen that they will not let him have the Reputation of so noble an Establishment. Besides these, there are others that having no Notion of any Militia but our own, and being utterly unacquainted with ancient and modern History, think it impracticable: And some wretched things are against it because of the Charge; whereas if their Mothers had taught them to cast accompts, they would have

found out that 52000 Men for a Month, will be but the same charge to the Subject as four thousand for a year, supposing the pay to be the same; and reckoning it to be a third part greater, it will be equivalent to the charge of 6000: And if we should allow them to be out a fortnight longer than was designed by the last Bill for exercising in lesser Bodies, then the utmost Charge of such a Militia will be no more than to keep up 9000 Men the year round. None of the Parties I mentioned will openly oppose a Militia, though they would be all glad to drop it: And I believe nobody will be so hardy as to deny, but if the Court would shew as much Vigour in prosecuting it, as they did last year to keep up a Standing Army, that a Bill would pass; which they will certainly do if we disband the Army, and they think it necessary; and if they do not, we have no reason to think an Army so. When they tell us we may be invaded in the mean time, they are not in earnest; for we all know if the King of *France* has any [I-102] Designs, they look another Way: Besides, he has provided no Transports, nor is in any readiness to make an Invasion; and if he was, we have a Fleet to hinder him; nay, even the Militia we have in *London* and some other Counties, are moderately exercis'd: and I believe those who speak most contemptibly of them will allow them to have natural Courage, and as good Limbs as other People; and if they will allow nothing else, then here is an Army of an hundred or six score thousand Men, ready listed, regimented, horsed and armed; and if there should be any Occasion, his Majesty can put what Officers he pleases of the old Army over them, and the Parliament will be sitting to give him what Powers shall be necessary. We may add to this, that the disbanded Soldiers in all probability will be part of this Body; and then what fear can there be of a scrambling Invasion of a few Men?

I have avoided in this place discoursing of the Nature of Militia's, that Subject having been so fully handled already; only thus much I will observe, that a Standing Army in Peace will grow more effeminate by living dissolutely in Quarters, than a Militia that for the most part will be exercised with hard labour. So that upon the whole matter, a Standing Army in Peace will be worse than a Militia; and in War a Militia will soon be come a disciplined Army.

*Sixthly*, the Army has been kept up for a Year; which is all was pretended to; and notwithstanding their Prophecies, we have had no Invasion, nor danger of one.

*Lastly*, the Earl of *Portland* and Marshal *Boufflers* were so far from quarrelling, that perhaps no *English* Ambassador was ever received in *France* with more Honour.

But further, there is a Crisis in all Affairs, which when once lost, is never to be retrieved. Several Accidents concur to make the disbanding the Army practicable now, which may not happen again. We have a new Parliament, uncorrupted by the Intrigues of the Courtiers: Besides, the Soldiers themselves hitherto have known little but the Fatigues of a War, and have been so paid since, that the private Men would be glad to be distanded; and the Officers would not be very uneasy at [I-103] it, considering they are to have half Pay, which we must not expect them hereafter when they have lived in Riot and Luxury. Add to this, we have a good Prince, whose Inclinations as well as Circumstances will oblige him to comply with the reasonable Desires of his People. But let us not flatter ourselves, this will not be always so. If the Army should be continued a few Years, they will be accounted part of the Prerogative, and 'twill be thought as great a violation to attempt the disbanding them, as the Guards in *Charles* the Second's time; it shall be interpreted a design to dethrone the King, and be made an Argument for the keeping them up.

But there are other Reasons yet: The public Necessities call upon us to contract our Charge, that we may be the sooner out of Debt and in a Condition to make a new War; and 'tis not the keeping great Armies on foot that will enable us to do so, but putting ourselves in a Capacity to pay them. We have had the experience of this in eight Years War; for we have not been successful against *France* in one Battle, and yet we have weighed it down by meer

natural Strength, as I have seen a heavy Country Booby sometimes do a nimble Wrestler: And by the same Method (for our Policy, Oeconomy, or Conduct) we must encounter them hereafter, and in order to it should put ourselves in such Circumstances, that our Enemies may dread a new Quarrel, which can be no otherwise done, but by lessening our Expences, and paying off the public Engagements as fast as we are able. 'Tis a miserable thing to consider that we pay near 4000000 *l.* a Year upon the account of Funds, no part whereof can be applied to the public Service, un less they design to shut up the *Exchequer*; which would not be very prudent to own. I would therefore ask some of our Men of Management; suppose there should be a new War, how they propose to maintain it? For we all now know the End of our Line, we have nothing left but a Land Tax, a Poll, and some few Excises, if the Parliament can be prevailed upon to consent to them. And for once I will, suppose, that all together, with what will fall in a Twelvemonth, will amount to 3000000 *l.* and a half, which is not probable; and we will complement them, by supposing they shall not in case [I-104] of a new War give above fourteen or fifteen *per cent.* for Premiums and Interest, then the Remainder will be 3000000 *l.* I believe I may venture to say, they will not be very fond of lessening the Civil List, and lose their Salaries and Pensions. Then if we deduct 700000 Pound *per Annum*, upon that account there will be 2300000 pound *per Annum*, for the use of the War, if the People pay the utmost Penny they are able; so that the Question will not be as in the last War, how we shall carry it on against *France* at large, but how 2300000 Pound shall be disposed of to the greatest advantage; which I presume every one will believe ought to be in a good Fleet.

This leads me to consider what will be the best, if not the only way of managing a new War in case the King of *Spain's* Death, and a new Rupture with *France*; and I will suppose the Nation to be as perfectly free from all incumbrances as before the War. Most Men at this time of Day, I believe, will agree with me that 'tis not our business to throw Squibs in *Flanders*, send out vast Sums of Money to have our Men play at bopeep with the *French*, and at best to have their Brains beat out against stone Walls: But if a War is necessary there, 'tis our Interest to let the *Dutch* and *Germans* manage it, which is proper for their Situation, and let our Province be to undertake the Sea; yet if we have not Wit and honesty enough to make such a bargain with them, but that we bring ourselves again to a necessity of maintaining Armies there, we may hire Men from *Germany* for half the price we can raise them here, and they will be sooner ready than they can be transported from hence, that Country being full of Men, all Soldiers inured to Fatigue, and serving for much less pay than we give our own: Besides, we shall carry on the War at the expence of others Blood, and save our own People, which are the strength and riches of all Governments; we shall save the charge of providing for the Officers when the War is done, and not meet with such difficulties in dishanding them.

There are some Gentlemen that have started a new method of making War with *France*, and tell us it will be necessary to send Forces to *Spain* to hinder the *French* from possessing that Country; and therefore we must [I-105] keep them up here to be ready for that Service: Which by the Way is acknowledging the Horse ought to be disbanded, since I presume they don't design to send them to *Spain*. But to give this a full Answer, I believe it is every ones Opinion that there ought to be a strong Fleet kept up at *Cales*, or in the *Mediterranean*, superior to the *French*; and then 'twill be easier and cheaper to bring the Emperor's Forces by the way of *Final* to *Spain*, than to send Men from hence; and they are more likely to be acceptable there, being of the same Religion, and Subjects to the House of *Austria*; whereas 'tis to be feared our Men would be in as much Danger from that begotting Nation as from the *French*: Besides, the King of *Portugal* is arming for his own defence, and a sum of Money well disposed there, will enable him to raise double the Forces upon the Spot as can be sent from hence with the same Charge.

But for once I will admit it necessary we should send Forces both to *Flanders* and *Spain*; yet 'tis no consequence that we must keep up a Standing Army in *England* till that Time comes. We may remember *Charles* the Second rais'd between 20 and 30000 Men to fight against *France* in less than forty Days; and the Regiments this King raised the first Year of his Reign were compleated in a very short Time; for my own part, I am of opinion, that a new Army may be raised, before Ships and Provisions will be ready for their Transportation, at least if the Management is no better than it was once upon a Time; and perhaps it may happen that the King of *Spain* may die in the Summer-time, and then we shall have the Winter before us. We may add to this, that the King of *France* has disbanded a great many Men, that his Country now lies open in a great many Places; that the *Germans* and *Dutch* keep great Numbers of Men in constant Pay; and in all probability there will be a Peace with the *Turks*: That *Portugal* and the *Italian* Princes must enter into the Confederacy in their own Defence; and that the *French* will lie under an equal Necessity to raise Forces with a much less Country than in the former War, to oppose such a mighty Union of Princes, who will attack him upon the first Attempt he makes upon *Spain*.

[I-106]

And after all, what's the mighty Advantage we propose by keeping this Force? Why forsooth, having a small Number of Men more (for the Officers will always be ready, and now a great part of the private Soldiers are to be rais'd in case of a new War) ready six Weeks sooner to attack *France*. And I durst almost appeal to these Gentlemen themselves, whether so small a Balance against *France* is equivalent to the Hazard of our Liberties, Destruction of our Constitution, and the constant Expence of keeping them up, to expect when the King of *Spain* will be pleased to die.

If these Gentlemen are really afraid of a new War, and don't use it as a Bugbear to fright us out of our Liberties, and to gain their little Party-Ends, the Way to bring the People into it heartily, is to shew them that all their Actions tend to the public Advantage, to lessen the national Expences, to manage the Revenue with the greatest Frugality, to postpone part of their Salaries, and not grow rich while their Country grows poor, to give their hearty Assistance for appropriating the *Irish* Lands gain'd by the People's Blood and Sweat to the public Service, as was promis'd by his Majesty, and not to shew an unhappy Wit in punishing some Men, and excusing others for the same Fault, and spend three Months in Intrigues how to keep up a Standing Army to the Dread of the greatest Part of the Nation; for let them fancy what they please, the People will never consent to the raising a new Army till they are satisfied they shall be rid of them when the War is done; and there is no Way of convincing them of that, but the disbanding these with Willingness. When we see this done, we shall believe they are in earnest, and the People will join unanimously in a new War; otherwise there will always be a considerable Part of the Nation (whatever personal Honour they have for his Majesty, or Fears of *France*) that will lie upon the Wheels with all their Weight, and do them more harm than their Army will do them good.

To conclude, we have a wise and virtuous Prince, who has always endeavour'd to please his People by taking those Men into his Councils, which they have recommended [I-107] to him by their own Choice; and when their Interest has declin'd, he has gratified the Nation by turning them out. I would therefore give this seasonable Advice to those who were once called Whigs, that the way to preserve their Interest with his Majesty is to keep it with the People; that their old Friends will not desert them till they desert their Country, which when they do, they will be left to their own proper Merits; and though I am not much given to believing Prophecies, yet I dare be a Prophet for once, and foretell that then they will meet with the Fate of King *Physician* and King *Usher* in the Rehearsal, *Their new Masters will turn them off, and no Body else will take them.*





*The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in Relation to a Project for restraining and limiting the Power of the Crown in the future Creation of Peers. By J. Trenchard, Esq.* ↪

Anno 1719.

AS I have not the Honour to be a Member of the Upper House of Parliament, so I do not presume to know what is doing there; but claim the Privilege of a free born *Englishman* to speak or write my Mind impartially and openly, upon which my own or my Country's Liberties are concerned, whilst there is no Law to forbid me: and much more to, when what I have to say is in vindication of the Laws and Constitution in being.

The common Subject of popular Discourse, is concerning a Project said to be in Agitation, which is to give the King Power to create twenty-five *Scotch* Peers to sit in their own Right in Parliament, in lieu of the Sixteen who are to be elected by the Peerage there; and after the Creation of Six more for *Great Britain*, the Prerogative of making any further Creations is to be taken [I-108] from the Crown, unless upon the Extinction of the Families in Possession of the Peerage.

Now I am free to own, that I think a Law would be fatal to the Monarchy, and the Liberties of the People, and make our Government Aristocratical, without the outward Appearances of it, or the Regulations which are peculiar and essential to that Sort of Dominion; and consequently it will reduce us to the worst Sort of Oligarchy.

Our present Constitution consists of the King, the Peers who act in their own Right, and the Representatives of the People. In the Union and Agreement of these Constituent Parts consists our Government: If they differ irreconcilably, there is an actual Dissolution of it without any Remedy but the last. And since it is impossible, in the Nature of human Things, but Mens Opinions and Interests will often vary and clash; therefore the Institutors of this Species of Monarchy have contrived so proper a Ballance of Power between the several Parts of it, that each State can give some Check to both the other; and two concurring, have always their Power to bring the third to Reason without recurring to Force, which dissolves the Government.

If the King had the Prerogative of raising Money, and could protect the Instruments of unlawful Power, it's evident the Monarchy would be absolute; but the Privilege remaining in the People, the Crown must often recur to their Assistance, and then they always have it in their power to do themselves right: Which keeps the Ministry in perpetual Dependance and Apprehension.

On the other side, if the House of Commons was fixed and indissolvable, the Government would soon devolve into an ill-contrived Democracy, and the Crown would have no Remedy but Acquiescence or Force. Such a Body of Men would soon find and feel their own Strength, and always think it laudable to encrease it: And there are so many Emergencies happen in all States, that there can never be wanting favourable Opportunities to do it; when the Ambition of some, the Resentment of others, and the Appearance of Publick Good, spur them on; till at last by insensible and unobserved Degrees, even to themselves, they would engross and possess the whole [I-109] Power of the State. There has been but one Instance since the Institution of this Monarchy, when the Commons have been trusted with such a Power; and if a noble Historian is to be believed, that House consisted of Men as incorrupt, of as much Wisdom and publick Virtue, as ever sat within those Walls: Yet the Lust of Dominion soon got the better of all their Virtues, and they first garbled their own House, by expelling their refractory Members; then deposed the King, and at last the House

of Lords; and assumed a greater Tyranny to themselves, than they opposed in the Crown.

The effectual Remedy our Constitution has provided against this Evil, is a Dissolution, which breaks all Cabals and Conspiracies, and gives the People (who can never have any Interest in publick Disturbances) and Opportunity to chuse others in their room, more calm, of less violent Dispositions, and not engaged in such Attempts; which Power always hanging over their Heads, must be a constant Restraint upon their Actions.

But the Circumstances of Publick Affairs often not admitting of this Remedy without the extremest Necessity, the Lords are always at hand to skreen the Crown, whose Honours and Dignities flow from it, and are protected by it; and whilst kept in a proper Dependance, must ever support that Power which supports themselves: Yet never can have an Interest to make it arbitrary, which would render themselves useless to it, and level them again with the People.

There is not a more certain Maxim in Politicks, than that a Monarchy must subsist by an Army of Nobility; the first makes it despotick, and the latter a free Government. I presume none of those noble Personages themselves, who have the Honour to make up that Illustrious Body, do believe they are so distinguished and advanced above their Fellow-Subjects for their own sakes: They know well they are intended the Guardians as well as Ornaments of the Monarchy, and essential Prerogative of which it must be to add to, and augment their Numbers in such proportion, as to render them a proper Ballance against the Democratical part of our Constitution, without being formidable to the Monarchy itself, the Support of which is the Reason of their Institution.

[I-110]

Without this Power in the Crown they must be dangerous to it, and be able to impose what Conditions of Government they please. It is the only Resourse the King and People have against any Exorbitances and Combinations of their Body. Whilst such a Prerogative remains in the Crown, there can seldom or never be an occasion to make use of it. Their Lordships are too much concerned in the Preservation of their own Dignities, to provoke the Crown to a Remedy that is always at hand; and the Crown cannot debase the Nobility, and make it cheap, without lessening its own Splendour and Power. And this seems to be the only Limitation the Nature of the thing will admit of, without dissolving this Species of Government.

If this prerogative is taken away, the House of Lords will be a fixed independent Body, not to be called to an account like a Ministry, nor to be dissolved or changed like a House of Commons: The same Men will meet again with the same Resolutions, and probably heightened by Disappointment, and nothing can stand before them. If their Lordships should take it into their Thoughts to dislike the Ministry, and commit them them to Prison, I would willingly know who would fetch them out. Or, if the House of Commons should be so unwary as to give them Offence, and their Lordships think fit to declare they could act no longer in concert with a Body of Men who had used them ill, it's evident the Crown must exert its Authority to chuse another more to their Lordships Fancy, and afterwards use its utmost Efforts to keep them in a becoming Complaisance to their Betters. If they should resolve to have all the great Employments of *Englana* in themselves and Families; or should take a Conceit to be like the Nobles of some other Conuntries, to pay no Taxes themselves, and yet receive the greatest part of what is paid by others in Salaries and Pensions; I would ask the Advocates for such a Law, what resourse the Crown and People have? and I shrewdly suspect they will propose no other than what the Commons of *Denmark* made use of upon the very same Occasion.

The Lords have already all the Property of *Great-Britain* under their Jurisdiction; and I think no one will say that there is any Difference in Nature between the last [I-111] Appeal without being accountable, and a Power of Legislation, but what consists in the Moderation of the Judges: And if this exceeding great Power must irrevocably be vested in the very same Persons, I see nothing the Commons have left to desire, but to entitle themselves to their Favour and Protection, by wearing their Badges as formerly.

But as their Lordships are too wise and virtuous to attempt any such Actions of Knight Errantry as are abovementioned, so they will be under no necessity to do it; for there is an easier and gentler way of attaining the same Ends. There are so many Emergencies, Difficulties, and Factions arise in all States, the Crown will be often so necessitous, and the Commons divided, that a fixed and powerful Body, always determined to their own advantage, by a dexterous Management of such Events, must soon possess themselves of all they desire; and 'twill be in vain to oppose with one View what will be often given them with another.

I will not presume to judge whether their Lordships Judicature was always what it now is; but every Day's Experience shews in lesser Instances what a Body of Men, united in the same Interest, are capable of doing. We have oftner than once seen a Number of Merchant's incorporated prove a Match for the whole Kingdom, and I fear shall too often see it again. History tells us how the Priesthood by being an united and regular Body, always lying upon the Catch, and acting with the same Views, from living upon the Charity and Benevolence of their Hearers, in a few Ages became the Lords and Masters of Mankind, and in defiance of that Religion they professed to teach.

It is true, this Prerogative of the Crown is liable to be abused, and has been so in a late glaring Instance; but if that is a sufficient Reason to take it away, I doubt there will be few remain. The King neither has or can have any Prerogative but what the People are interested in: It is a Trust for the Pnblick Good, which in the Nature of it is capable of being betrayed; but the proper Remedy is to punish the Authors and Advisers of the Abuse, and not destroy the whole Constitution for an Enormicy of one Part of it.

#### [I-112]

It is a proper Object of the Legislative Power to consider whether any Men ought to enjoy the highest Privileges and Honours in a Commonwealth, as a Reward for their endeavouring to destroy it; but with all the Clamour this Grievance has justly produced, has there been any thing like this attempted? No, on the contrary, the grand Criminal sits triumphant, glories in his Wickedness, and carries off the Price of it; and his Rivil in Guilt and Power, even now presumes to expect an Act of the Legislature to indemnify him, and sanctify his Villainy, and I doubt not but both expect once more to give Laws to the Kingdom.

It is urged that it is safer to trust this Power with the Lords than an unlimited one with the Crown, to make what Creations it pleases, though to serve the vilest Purposes. But the Nature of Power is very little understood by those who own this Opinion, which can never be truly dreadful, but when it is unaccountable and irretrievable. The Crown must often apply to the People for their Assistance, and the People as often have the Oppertunity to represent their Grievances, and punish the Authors of them, which must necessarily keep the Ministry within some Bounds; but there can be no Limitation to the House of Peers, if such an Act passes, but what flows from their Lordships Justice, Moderation and Satiety of Power.

Even that daring Minister durst not have ventured upon such an Act of it, if he had not had a House of Commons to support him, and hoped to cover all his Crimes in a Revolution. I am persuaded he never once dreamed under a just Government to find the Impunity and

Indulgence he has since been favoured with, and even from the very Persons who make those Crimes the Pretence for such an Attempt: But if nothing else was intended by it, unless to prevent the like Grievance, there is an easy and ready way to do it, by providing that no Peer shall give his Vote within a limited time after his Creation, without the Consent of the House. To obtain this, there would be no need of Court-Intrigues, Sollicitations, or keeping the Secret till the latter End of the Sessions, when the Country Members are at their Seats, and the Lawyers in their Circuits.

[I-113]

Having, as I conceive, amply shewn that a Law of this kind would totally overturn our Constitution, and change it into an Oligarchy; I should think it frivolous to descend to lower Considerations, did not we too often see Men affected with Arguments which regard themselves and Families, whilst they are insensible of what they suffer in common with the whole Nation: And therefore I shall offer some of the lesser Objections to it.

It is a most violent and outrageous Breach of the Union, and dispossesses one of the States of *Scotland* of the most valuable Part of their Peerage, and of that Right which they expressly stipulated to be reserved to them when they consented to part with the rest, by which means they will be in a worse Condition than the meanest Subject in the Kingdom; they will neither be capable of sitting in the House of Lords or Commons, or giving their Votes for either; and in consequence will be the only Subjects in *Great Britain*, not represented, or capable of being represented in Parliament: And this Disability and severe Punishment is inflicted upon them without any Crime done, or pretended to be done by them, and even without any Pretence of publick Necessity, but on the contrary there is a visible Danger in doing it; and I doubt not but in proper time it will be made a pregnant Argument for keeping up standing Troops to oblige their Submission to it.

It is giving a Power, without Reproach or Clamour, to add such a number to the Upper House, as must, without uncommon Virtue in their Lordships, lay all things waste, and at the mercy of the Ministry, without the possibility of their being called to an account; for if the making but twelve Peers at once, to serve a Court-Purpose, was such a Blow upon our Liberties, what are we not to fear from the creating one and thirty; and to do it by the Continuance, if not Direction of an Act of Parliament, which takes off all that Odium, and Load of Scandal, which the former Abuse justly occasioned?

If it may be lawful to suppose so unlikely a thing, as that the Ministry are capable of acting against the Publick Good; or if, for our Sins, the Nation was punished with the loss of the present Set, and Tories could work themselves into their Places, and form a Scheme for their own [I-114] Security which may entail a Civil War upon the Nation; what may not be apprehended from such a Power trusted with them?

It takes away from the King the brightest Jewel of his Crown, which is the Distribution of Honours, and in effect of Office too, which must then be at the mercy of that House. It deprives the Commons of *England* of the Means of attaining those Honours which ought to be the Rewards of virtuous Actions, and the Motives of doing them. I presume no one will suggest that all the Merit is exhausted by their present Lordships; and therefore what imaginary Reason can be given, why any number of Men, who enjoy themselves the Highest Dignities and Privileges in a Commonwealth, should shut the Door upon all others who may have equal Birth, Desert, and Fortune?

As it makes the King and Ministry entirely at the mercy of the Lords, so it makes the Commons more dependent on the Crown; for when the Advantages of the Nobility are so great, and the means of attaining them so difficult, what Applications and Sollicitations must be made to the Ministry upon the least Appearance of a Vacancy? which must keep the most

considerable Members of the Lower House in a perpetual Dependance, and give the Ministry much more Trouble than they affect to avoid.

But amidst all the numerous Objections to this worthy Scheme, I am free to own there is one thing in it which deserves Commendation; for it has producud a never-before-known Unanimity amongst our Great Men: It has yoked the Lion with the Lamb, the Whigs with the Tories, Men in Power with those they have turned out of it: Ministers of State are become Patriots, complain of their own Power, and join with their professed Enemies in lessening that Prerogative they have so often occasion for.

I confess, such Phænomena's and uncommon Appearances, like Comets or Eclipses, are apt to fright ignorant People, and make them expect some great Event at hand: But as those who are more familiar with the Stars, know the latter are only the common and regular Productions of Nature; so such who have more narrowly observed the Virtues of our great Men, especially during [I-115] this last Session of Parliament, are well assur'd they intend nothing but to serve their Country. However, I think they will both judge right, upon such great Occasions, to scatter their lesser Conjurers abroad, and disperse the malign Influence such Constellations and unusual Conjunctions may have upon weak Minds.

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*Some Reflections upon a Pamphlet, called, The Old Whig. By J. Trenchard, Esq;* ↪

Anno 1719.

SINCE the publishing of *The Thoughts*, the Town has been informed by two Pamphlets on the other Side; one intituled, *Considerations*, &c. and the other, *The Old Whig*. The last Gentleman seems to be sensible of his Defect in point of Length, and so promises another; which puts me in mind of a Country Girl who offer'd her Service to a *Belle Lady*. This Lady being over-nice, observed to the Wench that she made her Courtesies but very awkwardly: To which the other replied, *Indeed, Madam, I make them very ill, but you shall have the more of them, the more of them, the more of them:* And so she duck'd for half an Hour together.

However, to do Justice to this Author, I acknowledge he has unanswerably shewn the great Inconveniences which will happen to the Crown and People, if the Lords are multiplied too fast: and I was in great hopes he had convinced those who set him to work, of the Unreasonableness of Creating One and Thirty; or, if he will have it so, but Fifteen at once; when he gives us such shrewd Hints that we have too many already. But upon Perusal of his Performance the second time, I find that is not the Thing aimed at. We have a very [I-116] good Ministry at present, which God bless; and the Author seems to be of my Opinion, that we shall never have such another: And therefore it is wise to secure them during their own Time, and let those who come next look to themselves.

I find this Gentleman is of the Opinion of the Law-Books, That the Crown is always in its Infancy; and therefore it is proper to take away from it all Knives, Scissars, &c. by which it might cut its Fingers. He thinks it is no safer to trust it with any Prerogative for its own Good, than for that of the People: Whereas I was weak enough to believe, the Weapons for its own Preservation could not be placed in better Hands than its own.

It's evidently the Interest of the Crown to make Lords enough to keep the Ballance of the Government even; and yet not so many, as to make them terrible to itself. It's as plain, in the Opinion of the Projectors themselves, that the Crown has never yet committed an Excess in the latter; since there were never so many Lords as there are now, and yet by their intending to make more, they confess they have not enough already. But why they should Prophecy that for the future the Crown and all other subsequent Ministers shall conspire against themselves as well as their Country, if such a Law does not pass, I can't imagine. As for my part, I should think a Man stark mad, if he called out in the Streets *Help! Help!* that the Neighbours might come in, and hinder him from killing himself.

These Considerations, I am persuaded, would have some weight with our Author, if he did not think we were blessed with so foreseeing and virtuous a Ministry, as could minutely hit the just Proportion and Ballance of Power which will exactly suit the several Parts of our Constitution at present, and in all Generations to come, and that they will make no ill Use of any Power they are trusted with; to which I confess myself unable to give any Answer.

I agree also with our Author in several other useful Discoveries dispersed throughout his Pamphlet: As, that Men of great Estates had rather be Lords than Commoners, [I-117] and that the more of them which are taken out of the House of Commons, the fewer will remain behind; that Commoners for the most part have more Wit than — — — — —; That Lords have not always been made for Merit; that the more of them are, the more Privileges there will be; (I don't say, with the Author, the more Mischief:) That any Prerogative in the Crown against the Publick Interest will do more Harm than Good; that Ministers will do their own Business, whatever becomes of the King or People; that the Negative Power is useful to the

Crown; that an ill King, if he has no more Wit, may throw his Troop of Horse into the House of Lords; (I pray God keep them out of the House of Commons!) With several other reasonable and important Maxims in Politicks, very necessary to be well understood in this Controversy.

And so having done him all the Justice due from a fair Adversary, in owning every thing which is material in his Pamphlet; I shall just hint at one or two things that I think are not so, and in which I cannot agree with him.

He says, though I admit with him that our present Government consists of three States, yet by the Reasoning of my Pamphlet I make them but two; and this seems to be his own Opinion: And the Reason is, according to his own Emphatical Way of Expression, that the King may add a Troop of Horse to the Lords, and then in all likelihood he may get a Majority. But notwithstanding this pregnant Objection, I can't help thinking the Lords are one State with a Witness. They have an equal Power in making all Laws, and the Execution of them all in the last Instance, when they are made, without being accountable. They have the sole Possession of all Honours; their Persons are like Holy Ground, Sacred, and not to be profan'd or touched with Lay-hands; and whatever they think fit to do, we must say nothing of it at the peril of *Scan' Mag'*. If they should commit High Treason or Felony, they can't be punished unless they have a Mind to it: And as for any Judgment that can be given against them in other Courts for Crimes which are not Capital, they can appeal to themselves, [I-118] and so cannot fail of equal Justice. There was once upon a Time a General Council of Ecclesiasticks, (who sure must be more Holy than any Laymen) who made a Canon that the Evidence of a Layman should not be valid against a Clergyman.

There is another thing in which this Author has express'd himself so cautiously, that I cannot tell whether we are agreed or not. He says, "the three States should be entirely separate and distinct from each other, so that no one of them may lie too much under the Influence and Controul of either of the Collateral Branches." If he means by these significant Words *too much*, not at all, I beg leave to differ from him; and appeal to the Reader, whether he has not formed a State of War instead of a Civil State. But if he means they ought to have such an Influence and Controul upon one another, as to prevent coming to Extremes, I don't see but we are well agreed and I beg of him to read over my Pamphlet once more.

However, there is one Point in which I must beg leave to differ altogether from him, and which indeed is the only thing he has offered against my Pamphlet; *viz.* If you trust a wise Body of Men with such Power, they will never play Paw-pay Tricks with it. But since we Authors for the most part have more Wit than Money, which may happen to be the Case of my present Brother; I doubt he will not be able to give good City-Security for it. And therefore I recommend to his Consideration, that in the Paper he has promised he will propose a Remedy, how we shall help ourselves if it happens otherwise.

So I conclude, with due Deference to his Performance; which I confess has said not only all the Subject will admit of, but a great deal more.



[I-119]

***A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni, Governor to King Philip, a Minor, and universal Curate of the whole Spanish Monarchy; the whole being a short, but unanswerable Defence of Priestcraft, and a New Confutation of the Bishop of Bangor.*** By T. Gordon, Esq; [↪](#)

Anno 1719.

**PREFACE.**

*AS the Characters and Descriptions in this little Treatise are intended for a Picture of one Set of Men only, who have distinguished themselves as much by their uncommon Practices and Positions, as I have done by this uncommon Apology, I may reasonably hope that none will rail at it, who are not hit by it. Therefore if any Gentlemen please to take it ill that I have published their Portraitsures, I am ready to thank them: Their Anger will be my Defence; and it will be sufficient, for the Justification of my Copy, that there are really such Originals. They have long sat for their Picture, and the Features are so strong and obvious, that it was scarce possible to miss them. If they appear frightful, now they are drawn, the Fault is not in me.*

*How amiable is the Character of a Clergyman, when it is not stained by the Wearer! And every good Man will honour that Minister who does not dishonour himself That there are still many such, is my Pleasure, that there are not more, is my Concern.*

*I added an Explanation of this Kind by way of Postscript to the second Edition, and have prefixed it as a Preface to the others. It may be necessary to the Wilful and the Weak.*

*The Guesses which have been made about the Author, give me Occasion to declare to the World, that my Name never yet was in Print.*

[I-120]

IT is surprizing what sublime Consequences are produced by the humblest Instruments. One would think that Brass is a Metal void of Comliness and Merit, either in Colour or Smell; and yet a suitable Portion of it, placed conveniently upon the *Forehead*, does frequently entitle *the Bearer* to the highest Stations in Church and State. It often makes a *bold Figure* at the Head of a Regiment, and often *commands* Attention at the Council-Table. In *Westminster-Hall* it is loud, and *therefore successful*; and, in Parliament popular and persuasive, *for the same Reason*. And then again, if you take it in another Capacity, it still carries all before it. *Thomas a Becket* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as have been since several other good Doctors of *equal* Meekness and Merit, whom my fear of giving *Offence* keeps me from mentioning; and at this very Time, a certain *Apostolical* Gentleman, who shall also be nameless, is *Cardinal* of a great Church betwixt *Newgate* and *Tyburn*.

O Catholick Brass, manifold are thy Virtues! I admire thy Interest, though I never felt thy Friendship; an obstinate Fellow, one *Modesty* by Name, never suffering me to take Acquaintance with thee. Thou fortunate Favourite of the Court and the Cassocks, many a fair Lady hast thou won, and many a fair Post enjoyed! Powerful also is thy Force in Argument: How invincibly hast thou supported the Divine Right of Kings and Clergy, their *unbroken* Succession, and *unlimited* Power, to the utter Confusion of *common* Sense, and the *Bishop of Bangor*.

But to proceed with the mighty Events that arise from *contemptible* Causes; every Body has heard that the famous Sir *John Whittington*, at his first setting out into the World, had no greater Cargo than a homely *Tabby Cat*, and she too, like other *mortal* Merchandize, subject to *Tare* and *Tret*. But she proved a *mighty Hunter*, and, by her Teeth and Reputation, promoted her *Fellow Traveller* to the *chief* Post in the *chief* City. And thus to draw a Moral from the Story, *The Destruction of Rats became the Generation of a Knight and a Lord Mayor*.

I have heard, in foreign Countries, of a fleshy headed *Chamber-Maid*, who from *pinning her Misress's Rump*, got astride *three Nations*, and rode them almost out of [I-121] *Breath*; for she was *Corpulent*, and, for the most part, had a *Spur in her Head*.

Even the great *Virgil* became a Courtier by being a Farrier; and a *lapster* has been the Elements of an *Ambassador*.

Arts and Sciences themselves have had their Birth from trivial Chance. Musick, as sweet a Girl as she is, had a dirty Anvil for her Mother, and a base born Hammer for her Father, and was midwifed into the World by a sooty Blacksmith. And Astrology derives its Genealogy from Cow-keeping, the *Chaldæan* Herdsmen having, while they looked after their Flocks, *grown familiar with the Stars*. Thus *Venus* had her Water first watched by Rusticks, who, one would think, could have neither *sufficient Breeding, nor Capacity* for Pimping— — — but the *most elegant Arts* were rude in their Beginnings.

A *Friar*, whilst he was boiling up a Balsam for a broken Shin, stumbled upon the Generation of Gunpowder, which was therefore conceived in the *Womb* of a Gallipot, made *pregnant* by a *Priest*.

The great *Pope Sixtus* the Fifth owed his triple Crown to the keeping of Pigs, and from a mean Swineherd mounted till he came to be Chief of *another Herd*, still preserving an *Analogy between his first and last Employment*.

The great *Tompion* had never made Watches, had he not first made Hob-nails.

All this *Waste* of Learning, which, *in other Hands*, might fill many Books, may serve to introduce the Manner and Motive by which I came to be an Author. Know then, *Curious Reader*, that a Stationer in the City having, last Week, *trusted me* with an *Inkhorn* and the Appurtenances, I began immediately to make Use of it, and upon a Trial of my Genius, I found I could make as good a Figure in print as some other famous Writers, whose Merit is *best known to themselves*.

My first Attempt was upon the Witty and Voluminous Mr. *Mist*, the Journalist, because I would begin with *something signal* at my first setting out. I found his Paper, after much search, in a blind Ale house, near *Hockley in the Hole*. Having met my Rival for Fame, instantly I *drew my Pen*, and by several *bold Strokes* upon his [I-122] *Margin*, discovered plainly, that *Sense and Modesty* were not *his Seconds*, for they both proved *mine*. But for all this dreadful Enmity between us, I will candidly own that the *Jews*, for whom he lately drew up an *inimitable* Petition, have almost as good a Title as himself to *one sort of Advancement in a Christian Commonwealth*. My Antagonist would certainly fill a particular *tall Post*, which is empty *oftener than it should be*, with *becoming Merit and Justice*. But see, how these Parsons run away with *Preferments* from the Laity! This very Post is, I am told, conferred, *for the present*, upon a *genuine Son of the Church*, who has *conscientiously deserved* it.

Behold, *kind Reader*, A true and full Account of the *Origination* of this admirable Pamphlet. If Heaven spare me my Life and my Inkhorn, it is likely I may swell into Volumes, as divers and sundry *useful Writers* have done for no better Reason.

Having thus succeeded beyond Expectation in my first Essay, I am emboldened thereby to an Undertaking equal, if possible, to my last, and from the Defence of Mr. *Mist*, I intend to pass, perhaps naturally enough, to an Apology for the Reverend Parson *Alberoni*, who by the high Station he enjoys, of *Viceroy over the King of Spain*, is become the Mark of much unreasonable Envy. This Task of mine will lead me to open and justify the Grounds and commendable Aims of the *flourishing Trade of Priestcraft*, for which I promise myself the pious Thanks of the Convocation, *the next Time it sits*.

I hope I shall need no Excuse for the sharp Things which my Zeal for the *Church* and the *Cardinal* will tempt me to utter.

As to the trifling Charge against *my Client*, that he has *commanded his Pupil*, to break through Faith and Treaties, and surprize his Neighbours, though it be very true there is *Nothing at all in it*. I behold with Shame the Ignorance of Mankind as *to what passes daily among us*. Do not all know that Oaths and Obligations, when they are so saucy as to fetter the *Catholick Pleasure* or *Profit* of the Clergy, are ever broken through by *the whole Body*, with great *Fortitude and Unanimity*. Nor is there any Malignity in this *convenient Piece* of Wickedness; for the most damnable Sin ceases to be so, *as soon as the Priest has unchristen'd* [I-123] *it*, and sucked out its Venom with a *Salvo*: When he has done this, as a goodly Casuist finely observes, *Licet ante peccaverint, jam non peccant*: That is, *The most gross Sinners are now innocent, being undamnea by the Priest*.

This ought to be meant of the Laity; for as to the Clergy, who are the *avowed Porters of Heaven*, and *Comptrollers* of its Power and Keys, and *Treasurers* of its Wrath and Mercies, I can't conceive they should be at any Time in an unsanctified State, *let them do what they will*. To us indeed, who being Laymen, and only the *Beasts of the People*, see no further than the Externals of Things, a Parson may appear a *very sad Fellow*, and tainted with that which, *in one of another Cloth*, might seem great Lewdness. But alas! they have an *indelible Character* which consecrates all their Actions, and is the *spiritual Salt that keeps the Corruptions of the Clergy from stinking*.

It may perhaps not be unbecoming my present Design, to inquire into what Nook or Quarter of the Priest this *indelible Character*, convey'd by Ordination, lurks; and I think it is evident it cannot lodge in the Cassock or Habit, since the same has been often worn by *Lay-Girls*, who being only Companions to the *holy Priests in their Labours and Exercises*, could not pretend to take Orders, to be ever *instituted and inducted*.

Nor can this *essential and unalterable Spot* reside in the Carcass of the Priest. For when a Levite has been *maliciously tossed off a Beam*, and expir'd *for want of footing*, or *died a natural Death of Debauchery*, or in any other manner *worthy of himself*, it has never been known that the said Carcass *forgave Sins*, or executed any *other Branch* of the *Ecclesiastical Office*. For it is remarkable, that, *when a Parson is dead*, he lies as quiet and peaceable as *another Body*, which is a Confutation of a Point generally believ'd, namely, That a Priest is *never a good Neighbour*.

I would not have it alledged that the abovenamed *Stain of Priesthood*, sticks like Bird-lime, to the Soul of the Doctor, when the same has given his Body the Slip, or that he keeps *his Orders when he has lost his Organs*. Profane Wits will make a Jest of a *Ghost in Orders*, and, [I-124] *looking upwards*, be surpriz'd to find a *Priest in a Place where no one would expect him*. But let such a Scoffer be answerable for his own Mirth, I am sure I have a *very good Meaning*.

However, though this *indelible Character* must for ever remain a *profound Mystery to me, who am but an uncircumcis'd Layman*, and though I am in *Duty bound to know what I cannot understand*; I have still something further to say in Defence of my favourite *Cardinal*, his leaping over Oaths, which, as I have already prov'd, *cannot tie down a Churchman*.

Archbishop *Laud*, besides his taking and tendering Oaths with an *&c.* which *some weak fanatical Ministers* would not swallow, and were therefore, like silly Fellows, unworthy of *their Cloth and Order*, undone because they would not be forsworn; I say, besides this Essay of his Perjury for the Good of himself and the Church, *He and the King* obliged the Clergy of *Scotland* to swear to a *Canonical Conformity* to a Liturgy, a Year before it was made. And I have read of a Monarch, a *Glorious Churchman*, for whom, *once a Year*, many godly Revilings and Falshoods are utter'd, and many Handkerchiefs wet, who, besides *many* other Instances of his Sincerity and Devotion, swore to the Espousals of one Lady, while he was engag'd by *Heart and Hand* to another whom he afterwards married.

What I would from hence infer in favour of my Client, is, that if a Popish Prince and a Popish Priest have as good a Right to be forsworn as an *English Catholick Prince, and an English Catholick Priest*, the Cardinal and his Pupil stand justified.

You must own, Reader, a Monopoly of Perjury is not publick spirited — I do not indeed envy any of our own Clergy *their full Share*, who may have been *trading that Way*; but to engross the *whole Community* would be *unfair Trafficking*.

But to go on with my Apology, — — — *Kings are accountaile to none bat God, and the Priests to none but themselves*. As this Principle is exactly agreeable to the Pretensions and Practices of the *Church* in all Ages, I would be glad to see the daring Infidel who calls it in Question. The *Lay-World* may make Oaths, and take [I-125] them, but so long as their Force depends upon the Pleasure and Explications of the Clergy, they will be but of small Service to Mankind. I will vouch for the Priests, that they always scorn'd to be barr'd by the trifling Regards of Conscience and Swearing, from the *more catholick Pursuits of their Pleasure and Power*; and History, both Antient and Modern, will vouch for *me*. I will give Instances.

When the Prince is hard-hearted enough to humour the Church-Men, by oppressing and plundering the Laity, and Politick enough to divide the Spoils with *them*, then it is Damnation to resist him, because he has a Divine Right to be Mischievous to all Men but themselves: But if his Majesty is so ill advised, as to provoke their Rage by his Benevolence to Mankind; or, if by a schismatical Adherence to Truth and Liberty, he frustrate their Hopes of making him a *good Church-Man*, the Church grows presently in imminent Danger from Virtue and Moderation, who are *notorious Dissenters from Orthodoxy*, then it is little better than Damnation not to resist him, *and Woes are denounced against the fearful Heart and the weak Hand*.

As to his present Majesty, there are those of the Clergy, who have *forsworn* to be true and faithful to him, over and over, and yet do not so much as pretend they mean any such Matter. They say they must swear or starve, which is a Confession that they would rather be damned than fast. What a Tribe of Simpletons were the Martyrs in all Ages! their *heterodox Notions* made them erroneously prefer their Souls to their Bellies, and even to their Lives — — — And yet they had a stronger Plea for conforming to Idolatry and Perjury; as Death and Tortures are somewhat more frightful than bare Deprivation — — — But now a-Days, by *universal Consent*, Tithes bear a higher Price than Conscience *in any Market in England*.

In *Edward* the Sixth's Time, the Clergy, to shew themselves true Conformists, forsook their Harlots and the Mass, and were, to appearance, reconcil'd to *one Woman*, and the New Testament. In Queen *Mary's* Reign they abandoned the Gospel and their Wives, and re-became *Orthodox Catholicks*, and to prove it, grew [I-126] godly Burners of all that had

either a Conscience or a Bible. Upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Accession to the Throne, they once more, like *conformable Friends to themselves*, forswore and complied, and afterwards plotted and rebelled. But her Reign proved long and glorious. And indeed some, who have not that Reverence for the Gown, which they ought to have, are of Opinion, it is a certain Symptom of happy Times, when the Priests run mad and cabal; for, say they, while the People are suffered to enjoy their own, the Clergy can have no Plunder; whereas, in a general Oppression, the Prince and Priests generally divide Stakes— — — They add, that Wolves and Ravens never fare *best* but where there are most Carcasses. But these Things ought not to be spoken, and,

I wonder how any Man in his Senses dare say such disrespectful Things of the *Officers of God Almighty's Revenue*, who also are a Board of Commissioners for managing his Power, or rather their own Power, by *his Ministration*.

In the Business of Excommunication, for Instance, do we not see their Maker is *made* little better than their Executioner? He is *oblig'd* not only to ratify their Sentence, but to deliver the Person excommunicate into the safe Custody of Satan, their Goaler in *Comitatu Hell*. The Prisoner the while, not finding himself a bit restrained by his *crediting* Landlord, *the Devil*, goes to the Court and for a little Money is absolved, be his Crime what it will, and this Sentence also *must* be ratified in Heaven, and the former unratified; and the great God, as if he were the Constable of the Court, *must* take the Prisoner out of a Goal, where he never was, and from the Custody of a Goaler, whom he never saw, and reinstate him in a Church which perhaps he never owned. Thus is the Creator of all things, and the Giver of all Good, made the Instrument of their Anger and Avarice, and a Property to bring them Reverence and Money.

These Things are not at all aggravated here, and yet the bare mention of them may seem to expose them; but I mean no more by it than to shew the *wonderful and inconceivable Power of the Priesthood*, who are as *implicitly obeyed in Heaven, as they ought to be on Earth*, and have the upper and infernal Worlds as much in their Gift, [I-127] as he has, who is the Maker of both; nay much more, for, as a Reverend Doctor of *our Church* has it, *he has given them his Commission to dispose of them, and he cannot contradict himself*. They will not allow the King of Kings the *common Prerogative* of pardoning a *poor Felon*, once in a Sessions, without *their* consent, and then he *must not* be Punished. How great and awful must these Men be, who are thus *absolute over the Absolute, and Kings of the King of Kings!* This may perhaps seem to represent them as no Friends to Monarchy, but this cannot be imagined, since they themselves are Monarchs of God and Men.

After all this Omnipotence which I have proved to be in the Clergy, where is the need of believing in any *other* God, or of living as if there was one? No, no, if you would be *absolved and saved, believe in the Priest, and live in the fear of the Cassock*. What can be more handy than our having a Forgiver, and a Saviour in every Parish, besides *Deputy-Pardonners*, and *Journey-men-Saviours?*

There is indeed an antient Treatise named *Scripture*, which, *if we give any Credit to it*, would be apt to stagger this our Faith in the Clergy. It was of great Repute at the Reformation by a few Doctors, who, not knowing their own Power, basely sacrificed the Interest of the Surplice to that of Christianity. But their Successors, wiser than these old Fellows, and better *Church-Men*, finding that the said Book was pragmatistical, and would be opposing the Policy and Proceedings of their Society, translated all the Reverence, which was formerly paid to that venerable old Book, to a Book of Canons, composed on purpose, as a *Rival* to bring the other under disgrace, insomuch that it is now for the most part condemned to the mean Office of teaching Children to read. A certain *modern Bishop* has indeed done his *malicious part* to restore it to its *pristine* Regard and Dignity, but as he is *zealously* opposed by all the *truly*

*Orthodox*, it is hoped *by many* he will not succeed.

Commend me to the *German Monk* whom I have seen mentioned somewhere, I think by Monsieur *Le Clerc*. This *genuine Priest*, faithful to the Interest of his Order, told his Penitents, in the godliness of his Zeal, That [I-128] *there was a certain Book writ in Greek, called the New Testament, which was full of Heresies; and another certain Book, writ in Hebrew, called the Old Testament, which, if they believed it, would make them all Jews.*

I would recommend the Example of this Monk to our *own Monks*, but they have saved me the trouble.

There is an Outcry in the Mouths of too many of the Laity against the Clergy, which I think is very unreasonable; they accuse them of an implacable Enmity to Knowledge and Illumination; which is very true and yet very just. How often must these perverse Men be told, that *Learning and Eyes* in the Laity are the greatest Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy? Why should we be inquiring into Points which ought only to be believed thoroughly, but never understood nor conceived? It ought to suffice us to know that the Priests know all Things. This might at first have prevented Dissenters, and ought now to reclaim them. If we did but humbly and lazily follow our Guides, it would save us much Trouble, and yet put them to *none*.

Besides, this Charge is too general; for they are always willing we should read and understand *those few Texts* that speak civilly of the Priesthood, and wish, no doubt, there were more of them. Nay, now and then they are so courteous as to split a Verse in the Bible with us, and, keeping one half to themselves, give us generously the other. For Example, *Be wise as Serpents, and innocent as Doves*, in a Text they seem very ready to divide with us. The Harmlessness of the Pidgeon is at our Service, but we must not pretend to rob them of the *Serpent*.

The cunningest Serpent that ever was, I mean the Devil in *Milton*, compassed the Earth by Night, and could not endure the *enlightned Side* of the Globe.

*The Space of seven continued Nights he rode  
In Darkness— — —*

How agreeable the Policy of the *Arch-Fiend* is to the *other Gentlemen in Black*, I need not explain.—Without Doubt the *Wisdom and good Parts*, even of the Devil, are imitable. Who can blame them for hiding Deformities [I-129] and cloven Feet? Should Knowledge and the Scriptures be let loose against the Clergy, what dreadful Havock would they make. These *merciless Informers* would make their Reputation to be only *Daub and Varnish*; and their Wealth, only *Booty and Plunder*: For what would not two such *hold Lihertines* swear? Can we blame Men for warding against their mortal Foes.

For the Safety therefore of the Parsons, in their Fortunes and Characters, I will consult my *intimate Friends the two Houses*, about stopping the Mouth of the Bible, and the Bishop of *Bangor*. This, I hope, my *Friends* will comply with, for I know they love to *do popular Things*, and will be proud to *please the Convocation*.

I have been long thinking of a Project to reconcile Religion and the Church to each other. They were *originally intimate Friends*, but at present they live *at mortal Odds*.

I would not say one Word, upon any Consideration, to persuade the Clergy to give Christianity the upper hand of their Interest, for I love them too well to affront them; neither would I have them affright themselves with my *reconciling Design* above mentioned, for I have given it over as *utterly impracticable*; but as I am their Friend and Apologist, I beg

leave to recommend to them the Removal of unpopular Qualities and Practices, of which they are fond. And

First, I would advise them to conceal that *unprofitable* Propensity which is in them, to burn or strangle Dissenters. Persecution is certainly a laudable Calling, *when any thing is to be got by it*; and in such a Case, I am not for robbing the Clergy of *their Dues*, but at present there is neither Gain nor Credit in it: And therefore I beseech them, as they love themselves which is the strongest Motive my Invention can dictate, to banish this *Pennyless-Spirit*: The Malignity of the Times has deprived them of the Power of doing *Catholick Mischief and Murder for the Welfare of the Church*.

In order to persuade them effectually to close with this my Advice, I pray the Clergy not to judge of other Men's Consciences by their own. It would be really whimsical, in a few Men, *who are void of Hearing*, to set up for *adjusting or restraining the Laws of Harmony*. The Pleasure [I-130] of Procuration is Greek and Hebrew to an *Eunuch*; and indeed to a *Creature that is gelt*, *Liberty of Cod-piece must have a very odd Sound*.

Another Point which seems wrong in them, is their stiling themselves the *Ambassadors of a great Potentate*, who, I am afraid, *will not own them*. We all know *their Instructions*, as *mystical as they would keep them*, and I fear me, were they examined by them, like many *other Statesmen*, they would be found *too great to be good*. Should the late Earl of *Mar*, who hath given some shrewd Suspicions of his being for the Pretender, take it in his Head to call himself *King George's Ambassador*, would not his Practices, *in some small Measure*, bring in Question his Professions? The Application is easy; it is only supposing the Devil a Pretender to the Kingdom of Heaven.

There is, in a certain Diocess in this Nation, a Living worth about Six Hundred Pounds a Year. This, and two or three more Preferments, maintain *the Doctor* in *becoming Ease and Corpulancy*. He keeps a Chariot in Town, and a Journey-Man in the Country; and his Curate and his Coach-Horses are his *equal Drudges*, saving that the *four Legged Cattle* are better fed, and have *sleeker Cassocks* than his *Spiritual Dray-Horse*. The Doctor goes down once a Year to *sheer his Flock*, and fill his Pockets, or, in other Words, to receive *the Wages of his Embassy*; and then, sometimes in an Afternoon, if his Belly do not happen to be too full, he vouchsafes to mount the Pulpit, and to instruct his People in the Greatness of his Character and his Dulness. This composes the whole Parish to *Rest*; but the Doctor one Day denouncing himself the *Lord's Ambassador* with greater Fire and Loudness than could have been reasonably expected from *him*, it roused a Clown of the Congregation, who waked his next Neighbour, with — — *Do'st hear, Tom, dost hear?* Ay, says *Tom*, yawning, what does he say? *Say*, answered the other, *He says a plaguy Lye to be sure; he says as how he is the Lord's Humbassandor*; But I think he is more rather *the Lord's Receiver-General*, for he never comes but to take Money.

Six Hundred Pounds a Year is *modestly Speaking*, a competent Fee for lulling the largest Congregation in *England* asleep once in a Twelve-Month. — — — Such Tithes are [I-131] the *Price of Napping*, and such mighty Odds there are between a *Curtain-Lecture* and a *Cushion-Lecture*.

The next Piece of Counsel I would give *my Friends in Black*, is, that when they are caught in a small Crime, or so, they would not always be throwing the Blame upon a Couple of civil Persons and good Neighbours, called *Flesh and Blood*; it is not satisfactory. A Bear when he is hungry, may eat up a good Christian, and give as *strong* a Reason for it. — No, let them Sin as they Preach, and scorn to tell us *why or wherefore*.

Their Ambition, of being such *near Kinsmen* to the *Apostles*, has likewise done them a Diskindness. A Priest may be a boon Companion, and an *admirable Church-man*, and yet not be a Bit like *his Cousin St. Paul*. It is therefore for the Honour of the Clergy, that I would have them drop their Alliance with the Saints: People will be making *shameful Comparisons*, in which the Gown, I doubt, will suffer; for know all Men, *by these Presents*, the Railing at the Government, and Undermining it, and the Contempt of Temperance, and Oaths, with other Modes that are now Orthodox, were not *Apostolical Virtues* in *Former Days*: And whereas Humility, Meekness, Patience, brotherly Love and Charity, are, at this Day, every Mother's Son of them, *Dissenters and Schismatics*, the same were in some small Repute many Hundred Years ago. But what is that to our *present Apostles*?

I often amuse myself with considering the Greatness and Multiplicity of the Characters belonging to the *Orthodox* Clergy. The meanest Reader of them is a Kinsman to the Apostles and our Saviour's Lieutenant, and Door-Keeper of Heaven and Hell, and the Creator of Christians, and the Forgiver of Sins, and a Trumpeter, and a Watchman, and a Journey-man, and—(I am out of Breath) an Ambassador.

But as great Men as they are, it is hard, methinks, that an honest Lay-Man, when he dies, cannot step *up Stairs*, without a Ticket from an Ambassador, who is perhaps a Bed, or out of Humour, or taking his Bottle or *his Girl*, and the like.

My Friends, the Ambassadors have another Custom too, which savours not so much of the *Serpent as it ought [I-132] to do*. A Man cannot grow eminent for his Knowledge and Writings, but forth with the Ambassadors grow fearful of him, and cry *Atheist* at him. This I would pray them to forbear. I own I have my own Ends in giving them this wholesome Admonition; for, to tell it to my *dear Friend, the World*, as a Secret, which I desire may go no further, I begin myself to be *more* than apprehensive of the Charge of *Atheism* against me.

The Church-Men have, moreover, found it for their Interest, Time out of Mind, that most of their Foes should drink a Bumper to *Beelzebub* next their Heart every Morning. Now, I declare I am not at all acquainted with the Devil, and I desire the Ambassadors, if he should tell them the contrary, not to credit him for, whatever they may think of it, he's a sad lying Fellow.

Mr. *Lock* I grant, gave them sufficient Cause to abuse him, by his *speaking well of human Understanding*, and *explaining the Scriptures*. But for myself, I vow and protest, *upon the Word of an Author*, I never yet did the Clergy the *least ill Office*, by teaching Mankind either Reason or Religion: I confess, I love them both well enough to merit the *Character of an Infidel*, but I keep my Affection to Piety and Truth, to myself, for fear of provoking the *Ambassadors; they being engaged in another Interest*.

I who am their Apologist, must own, it is not without Reason they look asquint upon Humanity, and useful Knowledge, and Moderation, and the like *Lay-Vertues*. A Man that *wants Legs*, would certainly think himself insulted and reproached, should a pragmatistical Fellow take it in his Head to *be dancing and cutting Capers before him*. Folks that *have no Teeth, do not love Crust*.

But notwithstanding all these friendly Concessions of mine in Favour of the *Ambassadors*, I must still pray them, for the future, to keep *their Atheism* to themselves, tho' *they may have a great deal of it to spare*. For, while there are yet a *few* left, who make bold to believe there is *another God besides the Clergy*, an Adherence to Scripture and common Sense will not fail to be approved by *many*, and would be by *more*, were it thought consistent with the *Dignity and Designs* of the Ambassadors, to *permit* the common People to return to their Senses.



But this, alas, is not to be expected, so long as Judgment and Understanding are so apparently opposite to the *Rights of the Church*.

The *Roman* Clergy are justified in keeping the Laity in Subjection and Ignorance, by a bold Pretence to Infallibility: Whereas our Priests, equally bold, but less reasonable, would make us Slaves and Blockheads, and yet *cannot give us Reason for it*. It is confessed they have a certain hard Word, one *Orthodox*, which is their Friend at a pinch, and serves them on all Occasions, for a ready Answer to every Objection. But this same *Orthodox*, tho' it *fully convinces many good Church-Men*, yet *bath lost its Original meaning*, and, for many Ages, signified either every Thing, or nothing. Indeed, when the Church hath her Hands *unbound*, *Orthodox* is a Word of high Importance, and constantly signifies the Pillory and Whipping-Post, and the Church that has these *reforming Engines* of its Side, is, *of course*, the *most Apostolical*.

This *Orthodox* has likewise been *compelled to mean* several *other Meanings*, upon several Occasions. Sometimes it is an Altar, and sometimes a Book of Canons; sometimes a Convocation, and sometimes a Mob; it is this Minute a Bishop *in his Throne*, and the next, a Tithe-Pig. Now and then it is Slavery and unlimited Loyalty, and presently it is Sedition and Rebellion, *without reserve*. It is a Tyrant when a Master, and an Incendiary when a Servant, and either plotting Mischief or acting it. When it is a Doctor, it argues by strong Hand, and, as ill as it likes the Bible, it would keep it all to itself. When it is in Adversity, it snatches up the first Remedy that comes to its Hand, lawful or unlawful; but to others in the same Circumstances it recommends *Prayers and Tears*, especially when they are to no purpose: If you give it all it asks, it will perhaps *seem* contented; but if you shew its hated Foe, *Moderation*, the least Countenance, it will spit in your Face, and call you Son of a Whore: For, whatever Disguise it appears in, it is very apt to be in a Passion, and call Names; nay, if its Hands are not tied, it will bite and scratch, and kick, and fling, and bounce and bellow, and knock down all [I-134] that come near it, unless they swear a bloody Oath, *they are for the Church*.

But as useful as this *Orthodox* is to the Clergy, it will never justify them, in the Opinion of impartial Judges, for marking the best and most elevated Spirits with the Brand of Atheism. Virtue, Learning, and Humanity, will find Friends in spite of Orthodoxy, and many of the Laity will live in the Fear of God, let the Clergy take it ever so ill; and others will be Lovers of Truth and Mankind, at the hazard of being hated by the Church.

I must now have some Talk with my Friends, the Ambassadors, upon another Point, and that is their Claim of Divine Right to every Thing which they have a Mind to call *theirs*.

It is certain the Monks acquired most of their Possessions by such Means and Arts as would have been scandalous and diabolical, had they been practised by *Lay-Men*. But *Clerks only* have the sacred Privilege of tricking and playing the Devil for the Prosperity of the Church. Now these Possessions of the Monks, tho' forfeited to the Crown by the Law, for having been fraudulently got, and unjustly kept, to maintain Laziness and Debauchery, are to this Hour claimed by our *present Monks*, as the undoubted Successors of the *other* bald Vermin, *in Purity of Doctrine and of Manners*. Thus aiming in every Point to resemble these their pious Predecessors, they would willingly hold their Lands by *Roguary and Divine Right*.

The antient Monks were much more generous and reasonable than the *present Set*; for they gave their Bubbles an *Equivalent* for their Wealth — — — They would at any time Jockey away a small Tenement in *Abraham's Bosom* for a rich Manor in *England*; whereas our *modern Monks*, notwithstanding their avowed Authority over their Maker, and his

Dominions *above*, are so far from *dealing* like Chapmen, that, in Exchange for our Possessions, they do not so much as offer us a little *Bargain* in Paradise. If the *Propriety of that Ground be theirs*, they might at least tender a *future Cottage* for a *present Palace*, and the rather, because by Experience we know, that when we are at their Mercy, they allow us, *in this Life*, little else but Dungeons, Whips and Chains, and [I-135] the *like Inducements*, to reverence the Priesthood, who, for the *Good of our Souls*, use our Bodies *bloody ill*. And it cannot be denied, when the *Ambassadors* are let loose, they act as if they were, in Truth, *the Scourges of God, by divine Right*.

Now, I their Apologist, do earnestly persuade the Ambassadors to drop their Claim. All the Laicks who read the Bible know there is nothing of it in that Book, and they do not see that the Clergy live in so good an Understanding and *Conformity* with their Maker, as to merit from him a Grant of all the Lands in *England by Word of Mouth*.

What they have by *human Right* let them keep, and make much of it; nay, (to please them) let them wrangle and go to Law about it as much and as often as they will — — — But this is a Hint they do not want. A Parson's Bull and his Grey Pad feed on Tithe-Hay and Corn, which is the Provender of these Brutes by *Divine Right*, and yet I never observed they grew fatter upon this *divine Food* than a *Lay-Bull and a Lay-Stone-Horse*, or were less addicted to Carnality and Lewdness.

I shall say nothing here of the *Divine Right* which doubtless the Ambassadors have to *Pluralities and Non-Residence*: Only by the by, suppose the Earl of *Stair* should desire his Majesty to make him Ambassador to half a dozen Courts beside that of *France*, and undertake to execute all these Employments by his *Footmen*, I fancy his Excellency would be roundly told, that Discharging an Embassy by a *Curate* is such a Solœcism in Politicks as a *Lay-Minister* must not be guilty of.

I now proceed to another *Catholick* Topick which is run into *prodigious* Luxuriancy and Irregularity; I mean the good *Art of Lying* for the Church. I do not intend to debar the *Ambassadors* from their most righteous and most antient Practice of martyring their Conscience to their Cassock, and venturing their precious Souls against the dangerous and fanatical Encroachments of their old Foe, *Truth*, which was never a Friend to the *Trade* of the Tippet. It is to be wished, however, that their laudable Zeal for this venerable *Usage* were a *little* limited; and therefore that it may not grow useless by being altogether boundless, *as it is at this Day*, I, the [I-136] Apologist for the Church, prompted by pure Affection, will make bold to lay down *two Rules* to be observed by the *Ambassadors, who are Liars for the good of it*, as well as Sir *Henry Wootton* was for the good of the State.

And First, I implore them, as they love their *precious Livings*, not to *fib* out of the Bible. I know it is the hardest Thing in the World to break Men of a *long and strong Habit*, particularly when they *much* delight in it; but I pray them to consider that the Bible is the most aukward Creature under the Sun at fathering a Lie. You may easily know when *he* is quoted for a Falshood, for if you ask him, he will deal uprightly with you and tell you the naked Truth. It was a malicious Thing of our Ancestors, and great Blow upon the *Ambassadors*, to teach *this Foreigner* our Language; for ever since he has been *naturalized*, and taught *English*, he blabs out every Thing he knows.

Good Doctors, take Warning from the *wretched Fate* of a *Brother Doctor*, who in a furious Fit of Zeal, to destroy his Country, and *save* the Church, took a Passage or two out of the Bible, that were not in it. Upon this some *unleavened Laymen*, who had a singular Affection for Scripture, but were bitter Enemies to the Church, went and consulted their *old Friend* the Bible, who told them frankly, and like a Neighbour, that this *Saviour* of the Church had *belied him*; and, after spending some Moments in Admiration of the Doctor's

want of Memory, added, that *the Doctor and he had never been, in the least, acquainted in all their Lives.*

A *sore Stroke* this upon our *Ambassador*, but it did not rest here. These hard-hearted Laymen, preferring the Reputation of an *obsolete Treatise* to that of a *modish Ambassador*, hung up the Story at *Westminster-hall*, and then published it to all the World. Which dreadful Usage did so provoke the *meeke Ambassador*, that from that Hour to this he could never endure Law, or Gospel, or Truth, or good Manners; but, being now both distracted and hardened to a Degree, he swears and rails, and lies more or less every Day in the Week, but *most terribly on Sundays.*

Behold the Damage which accrues to the Church from the aptness of the Bible to tell Tales.

This Boldness in us *Lay-Animals*, or, as a *great Church Man* loves to call us, *The Beasts of the People*, to *meddle [I-137]* with Knowledge, and study the *Word of God*, is undoubtedly a shameful Insult upon the *Ambassadors*, and a manifest Impropriation of their Rights and Profits. But there is no Help for it, the Laity will, *against all Reason*, be exercising their Reason, and judging in Thing which, though *plain and necessary*, ought to remain a *profound Mystery*. All this is the more intolerable, for that both the Prophets and Apostles give a very harsh and unkind Character of our *present Orthodox Clergy*. It is well for these *Calumniators* and *Low Churchmen*, that they are dead.

Having now shewed the *Ambassadors* that it is by no Means safe, even when the Church is in the greatest Danger, to lie for its preservation out of the *Holy Scriptures*, which are ever *backward* to own and vindicate the Cause of the *Cassock*; I proceed to give them a Rule to lie by, when they fetch their Falshoods out of their own Heads— — — And it is only this, *to lie with Probability*. How many a glorious *Catholick Forgery* has been murdered by making it too *Catholick*, that is, *too monstrous*. What Pity it is there should be any Excess in Piety, and *good Works*.

In the Time of the late Rebellion I dined by Accident at a Gentleman's House in the *West*, who made no secret of his being a Jacobite, or, as he explained it, *a true Churchman*. The *Parson*, I found, was gone to the next Village to cater for News, and, being impatiently expected by the Squire, arrived just as we were sitting down to Dinner. *Well*, Doctor, says his Worship, *What is the Word?* Mar, Mar, *Sir*, replied the Doctor, *What should it be?* Here all the Family chuckled, perceiving the *good Man* had got a Packet that pleased him. However, before he broached his *best News*, he let us know that King *George* (to whom he gave *another Name*) had got a Guard about him, consisting of *five thousand Turks*, and *ten thousand Presbyterian Parsons*. These *ill Tidings* made Madam sigh for the Church, and therefore the Doctor hastened to tell her *better*. *Come*, Madam, says he, *hold up, Day dawns in the North, the brave Mar has two hundred thousand Highlanders well armed and principled, to serve your Ladyship and the Church; and three hundred and fourscore great French Ships of War, were [I-138] this Morning seen making towards Portsmouth.* The Lady thanked God with an Ejaculation, and his *Ambassador* with a Glass of Sherry. He then proceeded to assure us, *That the Duke of Argyle's Army had deserted to a Man, and that his Grace, himself, was fled in a poor fishing Boat, to Greenland, or somewhere far away; that his Majesty had stole away from St. James's, and was not to be found high nor low; and that the Duke of Marlborough bit his Thumbs, and looked as pale as Ashes.* This great News procured the *Ambassador* the other Glass of Sherry, and Madam clapped the other Custard upon his Plate. He then assured us, of his own Knowledge, that the *Duke of Berwick, had on some Occasion or other given the Earl of Stair a terrible Box on the Ear, and ordered him to leave the Kingdom in three Hours, on pain of being put in the Stocks.* A *brave Man* this *Duke of Berwick*, says a Booby at the *Parson's Elbow*, the *Squire's eldest Son*. Ay, says the *Parson*,

and

*Here is to Berwick the bold,  
And may his Grace live to grow old.*

He went on in this Wantonness of Fancy, and lied and rhimed beyond all Bounds. The Squire squeezed him by the Hand, and put his Health round, and I saw nothing but Mirth and Gaiety. For myself, I laughed with the rest, and owned the *Ambassador's* News to be *wonderful strange*. He was afterwards very Arch upon a brace of *Turks*, and a Garden of Turnips that he had planted in his Majesty's Bed-chamber. But as he was going on in his News and Calumny, and *just shipping off the Royal Family*, for whom he had provided a Lodging somewhere in *Holland*, an honest Gentleman came in with the printed Account of both the *Battle of Preston*, and that of *Dumblain*; for, living far from a Post Town he had his Letters but once a Week. The *Ambassador* was instantly taken with an Occasion to make Water, and left both his News and his Custard unfinished. But I told the Gentleman the Wonders the Doctor had told *us*, and he shewed us the monstrous impossibility of them; which had so good an Effect, that tho' he continues his Trade to this Day, and lies as *fervently* as ever, especially [I-139] from his *wooden Sanctuary*, yet the perverse People *uncharitably* refuse to be any longer his Rogues and Zealots; whereas before this his unhappy Detection he could set them a Railing and Swearing, and Mobbing at his *Christian Pleasure*. It is true, *many of the good Women*, are still his Believers and *Conformists*; but this is ascribed to a *Cause not quite so spiritual*.

Take Warning, O *Reverend Ambassadors*, from the forlorn Miscarriage of this your *blundering Brother*, who, transported with *Orthodox Zeal*, carried a *well-meaning Lye* beyond the Bounds of Likelihood, and has *thereby* utterly disabled himself from serving the *Church* and *his Order*, as long as he lives — — Better, oh better he had been a Bed that inauspicious Day, though with his *Handmaid* as usual.

*Not so* the artful and eloquent Father *Francis*, who holds forth a Lye, and weeps over a Lye, with a praiseworthy Cunning and Dexterity. He dresses up the pretty Puppit so amiably, all at the Cost and Charges of *his own Fancy*, and laments over it so movingly, that there is not a dry Eye, nor a dry Handkerchief, in the whole Congregation. The Tears and Rage of his Hearers are equally in his Power; the whole Order would no doubt envy him, were he not, though greatly lewd *an excellent Churchman*.

He was once raising the Pity of his Hearers for a *hopeful, unfortunate* young Gentleman, who, though born to *three great Estates*, was so ill used, and *persecuted*, that he had not a Hovel to put his *Catholick Head* in. In short, he described the poor Lad's Circumstances so artfully, and lamented him so pathetically, that I thrust my Hand into my Pocket, and, had *the Pretender* been within three Pews of me, I should infallibly have reached him half a Crown; a larger Charity than I give to *every poor Body*. I perceived the same Sympathy and Commiseration in the Looks of the whole Church.

On every Thirtieth of *January*, how many *Butchers* does he send Home, calling for their *Cleavers*, to hew in Pieces all the *Presbyterian Demons*, that had a Hand in the *Slaughter* of the *Martyr*! For it is a standing Maxim and *Resolve* amongst *the Ambassadors*, that all the Dissenters, who ever lived, or shall live, to the end of the [I-140] World, *must be the individual Men that murdered King Charles the First, with their own Hands*. Another Time he gave us a frightful Image and Description of *Oliver Cromwell's Time*; but he threw so many *Modern Incidents* into the Character, that the whole Congregation *mistook* him to mean the *present Reign*, and I, like a Booby amongst the rest, was of the same Opinion; and he put me so out of Humour with the Court and the Ministry, that I snatched up my Hat and Cane, and went directly to *expostulate* with a *Secretary of State*, upon the *dreadful Doings* and

*Mismanagements* which *Friar Francis* had pointed at: I likewise intended to admonish the *Courtiers to be ruled by the Clergy, if they expected to prosper*. But when I came to *St. James's*, I found that Things had quite *another Face there*, than when they came out of the Mouth of *Friar Francis*. So I kept my Business to myself, and sneaked off, warned however to trust no more to the Representations of this *Reverend Father in Guile*.

But, I hope, for the sake of *the Ambassadors*, no Body else will take the same Pains to be untaught *the Apostolical Forgeries*, which *their Excellencies* may find it *convenient* to broach from Time to Time.— — — Such a rash Proceeding would utterly destroy the Credit of the Cassock throughout this Land. But my *honorable Friends* know themselves very safe in the *conformable Credulity* of their Hearers: And yet I must still praise that wary *Doctor most* who lies *best*, that is, like *Friar Francis*, *most artfully*. He well knows, that *the pious Art of Falshood* is the *only Engine* they have left to defend the Reputation of the *Crape*, and to wound that of their great *Rival for Power* the GOVERNMENT. He therefore manages with Care and Art this *last Shift*.

I have already given a *Reason sufficient*, why Oaths ought not to Hamstring the *Ambassadors*, to which I will here add, in Defence of the *innocent Sin of Perjury*, that if *their* universal Custom and Practice in all Ages, be of any Force, as sometimes Custom alone creates Law, then here is an Apology, in a few Words, for such *Genuine Clergymen* as have *forsworn* to his present Majesty for the Preservation of their Cupboards and *Tithes*, of which *the Holy-Church hath made them Overseers*. It is not, therefore, without *valuable Considerations*, that the *conscientious* [I-141] *Priests* have reconciled themselves to this *innocent Sin*, and made Perjury the *easiest Task* under the Sun. Not but that the *conformable*, good Creatures can abstain from it (as much as they are used to it) when there is *more got* by NONJURING.

I knew the *Ambassador of a Parish* near the *Bath*, who had for many Years sworn and prayed with *constant Conformity*, and enjoyed his *Living* and his *October*, without the least Tumult in his Conscience, till the beginning of the *late Rebellion*; but this same Conscience of his (being something of a *Time server*) no sooner heard the *High-landers* were risen, but it began to rise too, and gave the *Doctor* several Hints, which he thought were *just* and *reasonable*. In short it drew up a remonstrance to him by which it appeared, that if he did but handle the present Opportunity *well*, *he might bid fair to get something, without losing any thing*. The *Doctor* was ready to follow the Advice of so *rational* a Conscience, and so *pretended* to quit his Parish, because as he told the People in a doleful Discourse at *parting*, he could not *with any Conscience, pray for a Prince who had no Right*, and so forth. Thus the *Doctor seemed* to risk a small Living for the good of his *poor Soul*, and a *Deanery*: And *only seemed*, for being as *cautious* as he was *Conscientious*, he had his Church supplied with a *Deputy Ambassador*, vulgarly called a *Curate*. However, the *Doctor* enjoyed the Honour and Character of a *Confessor* for a few Weeks, and then the Defeats of *Mar* and *Foster* gave him such *convincing Proofs of his Majesty's Right*, that his courteous *Conscience*, the best natured *yielding* Thing alive, made him and Perjury *cordial Friends* once more. He took the Oaths, and kept his Parish, and prays now for the Government *with the same Sincerity as ever*.

Before I have done, I must have a little Chat with my Friends, the *Ambassadors*, upon the Head of *Politicks*; and I cannot but conceive they are somewhat too fickle and changing in their *Friendship* and *Enmity to Princes and States*; and Inconstancy in Schemes is an essential Error in *Statesmen*.

The *Ambassadors* were, for some Time, exceeding fond of the late *French King*, who indeed took *prevailing Methods* to please them. In the first Place he exerted the [I-142] *full Prerogative of a Monarch by Divine Right*, upon his *Lay-Subjects*, and treated them as *Slaves, born to breath but for his Pleasure*. Secondly, He strove gloriously, by Frauds and

Violence, to destroy the most powerful and most *obnoxious Nest of Republicans* in the World, dull *Dutch-men*, that will be for *Trade and Liberty of Conscience*, let our *Clergy* say *what they will to the contrary*— . Thirdly (O glorious Article!) He *exercised such wholesome Severities on Dissenters*, that every *true Church-man* ought to *Worship* him to all Eternity. And yet, after all this complicated Merit, they withdrew *their Protection* from him, as soon as he grew Friends with *King William*. But he quickly merited their Smiles; for he bravely broke his Faith, and fell a murdering the D—d *Dutch* again: And during the whole Course of the War, they continued to grieve for his Losses, and to curse the *Duke of Marlborough* for stopping the Course of *his most Christian Cruelties*. But still they grumbled at his Slowness in lending them a few *Ships and Troops* to do a certain *Jobb* which they had *much at Heart*, because it would have changed the *ill-contrived Model* of our Laws and Religion into a *Form more pleasing to them*.

The *Regent* too was *honoured* with their *good Graces*, while he was suspected of aiding the *Rebellion for the Church*; but, now it appears he has no Spight against their Country and Constitution, they have taken a mortal *one* at him.

*Sweden* was once the only Object of their Affection and their Prayers, whilst its King was expected with a Fleet and Army to rescue the *Church*, by *Fire, and Sword, and Popery* from the Danger of a *Protestant Government*. But *Sweden* failed them, and presently.

The *Czar of Muscovy* got into their Favour, and it was strongly hoped, that that *meek Monarch* would set Fire to the Nation, and help the *Church*; and though he balked them, the *Ambassadors* are still fond of him, he having, by *Humanity to his Son, and several others*, shewn that he *knows the use of wholesome Severities*; besides, 'tis thought he has *no Good-Will for England*.

The *Turk* was at one Time a *very popular Church-Man*, for he was at War with the Christians, and *therefore* — — — great Things were expected from him by the *Ambassadors* [I-143] for the *Prosperity of the Church*: But *Prince Eugene*, who is *not a good Church-Man*, drove their *Mahometan Friend* back to his *Whore-House* again — — —

Even the *Emperor* himself, when he was reported he had given his Sister to the *Pretender*, was *honoured* with the *Character of a Well-wisher to the Church of England*; but *that Lye not proving true*, his *Imperial Majesty* lost Ground amongst the *Ambassadors*, and is at present in such Disgrace with them, that nothing, but *his going to Mass*, makes them keep Measures with him.

The *Dutch* were ever the Objects of their Indignation and utter Aversion, but at this present Time, even *these Republicans, and No-Christians*, by their *Slowness in signing the Quadruple-Alliance*, have won the Hearts of our *Ambassadors*, and the *Hogan Mogans* have now the good Fortune to be deemed *judicious and moderate Schismatics*; but I am in great Dread, that they will *very shortly* anger the *Church* again.

But *Parson Alberoni, my Client*, is, of all the *Potentates in Europe, the Pope himself* not excepted, their *present Favourite and Darling*, as I, though unworthy, expect soon to be, for penning this *unanswerable Encomium* upon *Him and Them*.

Their Love of this Potent, *High Church-Man*, who, like another *Cardinal Laud*, leads his *Pupil* by the Nose, and the Purse-Strings, can proceed from nothing but their Fondness for *Works of Charity*, to which, it seems, my *Client* shews a strong Inclination, particularly, *in an Instance or two that cannot but please the Church*.

We all know there are several worthy *English Gentlemen, the good Friends of our Ambassadors, and loyal Sufferers for the Church*, who live like Vagrants in *Italy*, and are fed with *Crumbs from the Pope's Table*. Now the *loving Cardinal* has, in his *Royal Bounty*, invited these *pious Protestants* into his *Kingdom*, offering them a Morsel, and a Bed, though it is feared the present *Parliament* hath taken such *uncatholick Resolutions* as may put the *Cardinal's Majesty* out of Humour, and tempt him to change his Mind.

Sir *George Bing* too is never to be forgiven by any Man who wishes well to the *Church* and *Uniformity*, for creating such a *dangerous Schism* in the *Cardinal's Fleet*, who [I-144] were too *Orthodox Catholicks* to digest the *dreadful Heresy* of *Protestant Powder and Ball*.

It was rude in *St. George* to break the Heads of so many *civil Spaniards*, who were Men of *peaceable Behaviour*, and *no-wise addicted to Fighting*. It is true they afterwards behaved themselves like *Heroes*, when they refought the *English* in the *Marquis de Beretti Landi's Papers*, where his Excellency has made them shew the true *Spanish Bravery*, by beating Sir *George* bravely, and running away from him bloodily. And it is plain to all the World, that they shewed, by a *bold Flight*, they scorned to die to please that *merciless Heretick*.

I could add many Particulars to illustrate the Worth of my *eminent Client Parson Alberoni*, whose great Capacity to rule his Master is visible to Mankind. I could likewise insist that he has as good a Right as any other Priest or Vicar whatsoever, to act as becomes his Order, by nourishing War and Desolation.

But I will wave the Detail of these Points, tho' there is a *great deal* in them, having a *grand Thing* to urge in his Behalf, which renders him singularly Dear to all true Church-Men — — — Reader, a Word in your Ear; Parson *Alberoni* intends, if King *George* would but let him, to restore — — — and the *Church-Lands*;

*O Sanctum, festumq; diem!* — — —

Having left this *important* Whisper upon the Reader's Memory, I shall say no more.

*N. B.* Not one of the *numerous* Answers which will be made to this *Apology*, will be worth reading, But, at the *earnest Report* of my *Bookseller*, I design to write and publish a *Reply to myself*, which I desire every Body to Buy.

*An Apology for the Danger of the Church, Proving, that the Church is, and ought to be always in Danger; and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of Danger. Being a Second Part of the Apology for Parson Alberoni. By T. Gordon, Esq;* ↩

Anno 1719.

THE Prospect of doing great and useful Actions, or the Consideration of having done them, must needs be Matter of Pleasure and Triumph to a Mind honestly ambitious. It is therefore no little Joy to me to reflect, that I have been a Person of notable Moment and Significancy this Winter; by my strenuous Defence of High-Church, *and the Trade thereof*. I have placed its true Sons and Overseers in a true Light, in which every one may behold them, and *bow down with his Face to the Earth*.

As all pious Deeds meet with some Reward, either in the internal Satisfaction of the Mind, or from the Monuments of Praise erected by Mankind to the *Doer*, I have no Reason to say that my late *Apology* went without its Recompence; since by it I have gain'd, what I sincerely aim'd at, to the *Genuine Priesthood* all due Honour, and to myself — — —. But it becomes me who am but a *private Gentleman*, to serve my Country *for nothing*.

There is, however, some good Fortune generally attending the *brave Man* who draws in Defence of the Church. She is a lucky old Body, and few find Cause to repent of having done her a good Turn. I myself, her weak tho' voluntary Champion, am two Pair of Shoes and a Beaver the richer, for wearing out three Pens, and exhausting a Halfp' worth of Ink in her Service. I still [I-146] want a Sword-knot, and a Tooth-pick-case, which I make no Question of earning in a few Days from the *Steeple*. I have for that Purpose, at this very Juncture, seventeen Pamphlets in my Head, all carved out into proper Method and Paragraphs, and ten of them are already sold to my Bookseller, who purchases my Brains at so much a Sheet. I would willingly sell him the other seven, and throw two or three little ones into the Bargain; but he shakes his Ears, and seems to say, *he has ventur'd enough already*.

In this Manner is my pregnant Head become an Office of Wit and Manuscripts, to be employ'd wholly in the Interest of the *Sacred Brood of Aaron*.

Pursuant to this I have a Project now on Foot, which, if duly encouraged, will tend to the universal Credit and Emolument of this *distress'd Church*. In short, it is my Purpose to expose my Head, and the Furniture thereof, to Sale by Auction, at *St. Paul's* Chapter-house, on the 30th of *May* next; at which Time and Place, I do hereby humbly hope and beg, the Presence and Encouragement of all the Reverend Zealots within this Realm. The Particulars are as follows.

#### A CATALOGUE

Of unborn Pamphlets, and Satires, to be publish'd as soon as they are brought forth, for the Benefit of our *Mother-Church*, and her hopeful Boys, the Parsons.

*Imprimis*, The Nature and Necessity of an Ecclesiastical Delirium, or the Art of holy Foaming. Written in the Stile of the eloquent Dr. *Sacheverel*.

2. The holy Monopoly; or a new Conveyance of an old Grant, sign'd and seal'd *above*; proving the Clergy to be the natural Lords of all the Women and Land in *Great Britain*, and the *rightful Occupiers* of both, in Spite of all Lay — — — and Rent-Rolls whatsoever. — — —



A valuable Pamphlet!

3. The Tribe of *Issachar*; or an Argument to prove that the Laity have a Right to no Liberty, but that of being Slaves to the Clergy. To which is added, An Appendix, proving, that the Parsons ought to govern the World.

[I-147]

4. The Modern Paradox; or a Demonstration that Ungodliness may be orthodox, and a good Life damnable. The whole being intended for a Defence of the Rev. Dr. *Sacheverel*, and a Reproof to Mr. *Whiston*.

5. The Truth of Contradiction; or Church-Arithmetick, demonstrating, *That three is one, and one is three*.

6. The Unreasonableness of understanding the Scripture.

7. The absolute Necessity of understanding our Duty to the Clergy.

8. The Innocence of Perjury and Rebellion, *on one Side*.

9. A plain Proof that Laymen may lawfully commit Sin, if they will pay for it, and kneel for Pardon to the Clergy.

There are several more MSS. of the like Nature and Tendency, which may be seen at the Place of Sale, with the Price mark'd upon them.

I have already confessed, that my humble Attempts to serve the Church have not altogether missed their Recompence; and if the late *blessed Martyr*, Jemmy Shepherd, with some other *orthodox Gentlemen*, who fought and were hang'd for the Church, did not fare so merrily, it was because the Clergy were not consulted and obey'd, as questionless they ought to have been. But thus it will ever be, while the King and Parliament are *suffer'd* to act *independently on the Convocation*.

Since therefore I have succeeded in my honest Endeavours, to set up the Parsons as the Idols of the Universe, I cannot, in Gratitude to them and myself, forbear pursuing my Blow, till I have satiated their holy Leachery, and Mr. *Leslie's* Prophecy, by persuading Mankind, *to fall down before them, with their Faces to the Earth, and lick up the Dust of their Feet*. And when I have once oblig'd the *Lay Gibeonites* to be as *respectful and miserable* as becomes them, the Clergy and I will sit down together, and sacrifice to Wine and Tobacco.

In the mean while it shall be my present Task to confound Gainsayers, by proving, *That the Church is, and [I-148] ought to be in Danger, and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of Danger*.

But before I proceed, I must, for my own Security from Cavillers, and for the greater Clearness of my Discourse, settle the Idea which I and all Men ought to have of the *Church*, by defining the Word. *The Church then, is a sable Society of Gentlemen, wearing broad Hats and deep Garments; who possess great Part of the Wealth and Power of the World, and would have All, as a Reward for keeping Mankind in decent Ignorance and Bondage*.

And now I enter upon my Design, with great Alacrity of Heart.

I own the Gospel makes this Story of the Church's Danger a meer Fable; but be it also known, that tho' our Saviour says the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, *our Parsons* will not take his Word for it. I am sorry with all my Heart, for the great Misunderstanding and Difference which there are between Jesus Christ and his Ambassadors, almost in every

Point of Belief and Practice; and, I confess, it is very odd, that they who pretend all their Power to be from him, should not credit his most solemn Promises; but I see no Remedy for these Things.

I that am a Layman, find great Comfort in being a Christian and a Believer; and particularly I am so much of a Heretick, as to think, that when our Saviour said, his Father was greater than he, he did not tell a Word of a Lie; I know his Ambassadors are of another Opinion; but I have Faith in Christ Jesus.

The Danger of the Church comes from divers Causes, the principal of which I shall reckon up.

And first, common Sense and Sobriety are great Enemies to the Church. While Folks are sober and rational, they can see about them, and want that large Competency of Blindness which so eminently qualifies a Man for a good Churchman. So long as they are destitute of that *Title to Orthodoxy*, they will be attending to the Means of their own Interest and Safety, than which no greater Rubs can be thrown in the Priesthood's Way.

[I-149]

Not many Years ago, when we were beating our Enemies, and defending ourselves and *Europe* from Chains; when Success and Reputation attended us abroad, and we flourish'd in Peace and Security at home; an ignorant Person would think we were a happy People, and indeed we were so: But what then? Our Happiness, Virtue, and Concord, were not only utterly inconsistent with the Welfare of the Church; but put it into terrible Danger: And therefore all her true Sons bent their whole Might and Zeal to relieve her by distracting the Nation; and their pious and fiery Endeavours, at last, made the People mad, and the Church safe. Its strongest Votaries, the ingenious Vulgar, drank away their Reason and Humanity, and committed Bloodshed and Blasphemy, every where, for the Church, with vast Zeal and Success; and the Church gather'd most Strength when Religion and Reason had least. As for those Fanatical sober Rogues, that kept their Senses, they were devoutly knock'd down by those who were so orthodox as to have none. At this *blessed Juncture* the Clergy had the Happiness to see more Blood and Beer drawn for the Church, than ever had been before on any Occasion whatsoever. And it is always an infallible Sign of the Church's Health and Prosperity, when the Business of Excisemen and Surgeons increases beyond measure.

It will fall *naturally* under *this Head*, to observe who are the Church's best and stanchest Friends.

And in the first Place, there are many Noble Lords, who are *born Friends to the Church*, and live and die in that Friendship. There is the little *Lord Apemore*, who has bestow'd his whole Heart upon Parsons and Race-Horses. He knows nothing else, and, happily for the Church, cares for nothing else. He seems, with St. *Francis*, to be an implacable Foe to all human Knowledge and Charity; but he can say the *Athanasian Creed*, drink Damnation to the Whigs, and is upon the whole a compleat Churchman. *Lord Apemore* was once Drinking a Health to his Horse *Frederick*, and among those who heard it, it went round; but when it came to the Turn of a Whig in Company to drink, he being thick of Hearing, mistook, and, throwing up his Hat [I-150] with loyal Noise and Affection, drank *Prince Frederick*. Upon which the Peer, rising from his Seat, *Dam me, Sir, what d'ye mean, Sir? Dam me, Sir, d'ye know where you are, Sir? Dam me, Sir, we know no Prince Frederick here, Sir; and Dam me, Sir, we are drinking a better Man's Health, Sir.* This excellent Speech has gain'd his Lordship the Reputation of a Wit, and a brave Man, among all the Parsons and 'Squires round the Country.

*Corpulus* is another right Honourable Person, who has been a true Churchman *from his Cradle*. To a *Concussion in that Machine* it is thought he is indebted for his *Orthodox Principles*, and his Security from the dangerous Influence of human Reason. I could give ample Proofs of this, but his Lordship through the whole Course of his Life has done it to my Hand. He makes a Joke of the King's Title, and of his own Oath to maintain it; he is as honourably ignorant as becomes a Great Personage and a true Churchman, and he never goes to Bed without swallowing eight Quarts, and as many Thousand Oaths. Let the World judge if this Man be not a cordial and approved Friend to the Hierarchy.

The *Lord Syntax* is past Forty, and has all the Rules of Grammar by Heart; but notwithstanding this great Accomplishment, *the Cawl is not yet taken off his Face*, and he is still a *Minor*. But being a *Babe* in common Sense, he is consequently a resolute High Churchman.

*Lord Gemini* does likewise demand honourable Mention on this Occasion. Nature was very negligent when she made this Great Man, for he is an *unfinish'd Piece of brown Earth*, and his Mind (if he has one) tallies exactly to his Outside. He cannot shut his Mouth, nor hold his Tongue. However, half made as he is, he is full of bright Zeal; and, when he is *in the House*, he seems to mean several Speeches for the Church, but no Mortal is so well bred as to hear him: And yet, his Mouth, as I said, being always ready open, he proceeds eternally.

I confess, that *Earl Tahnan*, though he is a Churchman, wants two essential Qualifications for that Character: [I-151] He has Sense, and he is never drunk. But, quoth *Cato*, who had not a due Respect for *Priesthood and Tyranny: Solus Cæsar ad evertendam Rempublicam sobrius advenit*. To be just to *Earl Talman*, I grant he was twice a Whig upon *valuable Considerations*, and once out of a Pique. But at present he is a great Churchman, because he has not a *proper Reason* to be otherwise.

*Lord Bowling-Green* is no Fool neither, nay he was a Wit and a Writer during the Life of a great Poet, whose Death had such an Effect upon him, that he has not writ a Line since. But, though the Peer has Sense, yet it happens so oddly, that he is a true Churchman. But malicious People pretend to give you a Reason for it, by alledging that he leans towards Infidelity. If this be true, the Thing is not at all strange.

I was going on with my Characters of this Sort, but I must remember that I have not now Time to write a *Folio*.

From what has been said, I hope it is evident, why most of our Rural Squires and Pursuers of Foxes are excellent High Churchmen. These *married Minors* are all under the Dominion of their Wives and the Parsons, who regale one another with Caudle and Orthodoxy, *and so forth*, and govern these simple Vehicles of Worship and Nonsense, and mould their Hearts and *their Heads* into what Faith and *Figure* they please. And it must be acknowledged, to the Honour of these *genuine Gentlemen*, that they have an admirable Knack at *Planting Orthodoxy in all its Branches*, where ever they come.

*Andrew la Fool*, Esq; keeps special Beer, and has a Wife who loves the Church and *all its Tackle*. *Andrew* never dines without seven Parsons at his Elbow.

*Squire Toby* lived in a married State nine Years without Issue; he at length took a Chaplain into his House, and now his Wife is with Child. *See*, says *Toby*, *the Blessing that attends the keeping of a Clergyman in one's House! And yet, but to please my Wife, I had not done it*.

I am far from being surpriz'd that our Rural Members vote on all Occasions for the Church. Is not *filial Duty* a potent Reason? And is there no Gratitude, nor Affection, due to the good Men who brought them probably [I-152] into World, and certainly into *the House*: For, our Country Candidates have an Agent, to be sure, *if not a Father*, in every Parish in the County, who carries all the Votes in the Village *under his Girdle*.

Nor are these Sons of the Cassock, last mentioned, any more rebellious in their Capacity than in their Inclinations. Their pious and convenient Ignorance is a certain Pledge for their Zeal, and these two are perpetually of a Size.

As to the Behaviour and Practice of these Levitical Cubs, it is the easiest Task in the World; *Their whole Business is to be drunk and Orthodox*.

Having now shewn why so many Lords and Commons are true Church-men, I need say nothing of the Rabble, since they are so for the same Reason, and therefore 'tis no wonder the Church has such a Majority amongst them. The Church if the Mob forsake it, is undone.

Hence it is that for good and pious Ends I have, as Council for the Clergy, drawn the following Deed of Conveyance, which, I do not doubt, will be readily signed and sealed by the Parties concerned. The Purport of it is to enrich the Church-Interest with a Multitude of Persons whom the Whigs may well spare.

“Whereas there are divers and sundry well-meaning ignorant Persons in this Land, who call themselves *Whigs*, and yet want the necessary Marks and Qualifications belonging to *that Character*, which is maintained *by a good Understanding, and by a powerful Love for Truth and Liberty, and, in general, by a just Sense of Things*; And whereas the aforesaid good and senseless Persons do originally and *naturally* belong to the Class of *true Church-men*, whose Cause has from the beginning been supported by *Number and Nonsense*; We therefore whose Names are hereunto subscribed, taking into our tender Consideration the Interest of the Clergy, do as Representatives of the whole Body of Whigs in *Great Britain*, by these Presents renounce, release, and for ever quit our Claim, to all Boobies, and Idiots who may have run blindly into our Party; And we do hereby freely, and of our own meet Motion, resign and make over the said Fools and Naturals unto the High Church of *England*, whose [I-153] proper Goods and Chattles they are, the said Church knowing full well how to apply the Blindness and Stupidity of them the said Asses to admirable and Orthodox Ends and Purposes, Witness our Hands. &c.”

*A. B. cum Sociis suis.*

I have but one Scruple upon my Conscience in relation to this Grant of mine in behalf of the Church. I doubt it will obstruct *the Bill for Preventing the Growth of Peerage*, if ever it should come in again: And, on the contrary, make many new Creations necessary to fill up the Vacancies it will occasion. But let our Superiors look to that. The Church in the mean while ought to pray servently for Success to such a Bill; for if it pass, I will be bold to prophesy, that fifty Years hence the *whole House*, at least a great Majority, will *be genuine Church-men*; unless the same be first rendered *intirely empty* by a rigorous Execution of this my Conveyance.

Another traiterous Enemy to the Church hath been the Weather.

When that *remarkable Phenomenon* appeared about three Years since, every one that had *Orthodox Eyes* saw Armies and Champions in the Air, brandishing their Broad Swords, and threatning present Death and Destruction to all Fanaticks and Low Church-men; yet so it shamefully happens, that that Caravan of *Tory-Clouds* has neither brought over the Pretender, nor struck any *other* Blow on the Church's side.

The Wind likewise plaid the Truant from the Church, and in spite of the Prophecies and Prayers of all the Parsons and *other* old Women in the Nation, Sir *George Bing's* Fleet was not sunk. One would naturally take the Sea, by *its Noise and Roaring*, to be an Orthodox Person; but, by its late great Civilities to our Ships, it seems to have quite deserted the Church-Interest, and tacked about to the Whigs.

I happened to be down in *Essex* about the time when Sir *John Norris* was sent into the *Baltick* to detain the moderate and pious King of *Sweden* from that Expedition, from which our Church expected *great Salvation*, as the Reverend Mr. *T*— — zealously phras'd it, and on [I-154] *Sunday* I went to Church. Our Parson, after taking his Text, and making a Flourish or two about the Meaning of it, told us, that tho' the Doom denounced against the Ships of *Tarshish* and the *ISLES*, was an old Prophecy, it might probably, nay it did certainly extend much further, and we were encouraged to hope great Effects from it, *in this our Day. You shall see*, says he, *and I speak it from the Mouth of Inspiration itself, you shall suddenly see the Wonders of the Lord in the Deep. Can the Almighty prosper those Ships that are the Bulwarks of Usurpation, Commonwealths and Schism? No, he cannot, he must not, if he be true to his own Word, if he has any Regard for his own Church and People.* His whole Sermon was to the like Purpose, and he seemed to have strong and *Christian Hopes* that our Navy would perish. But notwithstanding that he preached and foamed with *wonderful Zeal*, and vented great Eloquence and Spittle; and notwithstanding that he threatened the Lord, if he did not grant a Tempest; and the People, if they did not pray for it; yet neither God nor the Weather obey'd him, and Sir *John* and his Squadron went in Safety.

In short, there has not been a Blast of Wind, or a Shower of Rain these five Years, but what has been drawn, Head over Heels, into the Party and Interest of the Church. It thundered for the Church, and snowed for the Church, and froze for the Church. And yet the Whigs who have got all the Money in the Nation, have so bribed the Elements, that they have quite forsook the Catholick Cause. We had last Summer, very hot Weather, when in the Opinion of all the Orthodox, boded nothing less to the Nation, than a general Famine and Pestilence, for the *Martyrdom of the blessed Martyr*, and the keeping out of the Pretender. But these *pestilential Friends of the Church*, though earnestly wished for, and positively foretold, have not done the Church the least Service, by laying waste their native Country. How often was the King's Army to have been frozen up in *Scotland*, during the late Rebellion, and most of the Parsons in the Kingdom had pawn'd their Word and Faith upon it. But in the Issue, neither the Frost nor the Snow help'd the Church and the Pretender.

[I-155]

In last Autumn Word was brought to the Parson of a certain Parish, that such a Boy in the Village was just then killed with Thunder and Lightning. *Is he?* says the Parson, *it is what I always foretold, that that Boy would come to a dismal End, for he went constantly to a fanatick Conventicle; and neither I nor his School-master could dissuade him from it.* Ay, but Sir, replied the Messenger, who brought the Doctor these glad Tidings, *Gaffer Pitchfork is murder'd too, with thick same toady Clap of Thunder, and you do know, Sir, he was a Main Man for the Church, and fought bravely for putting up the Maypole.* At this the Doctor scratch'd his Head, and said, *It is appointed to all Men once to die.*

My Landlady at *Hartly Row*, who is a good Church-woman, and very great with the Parson of the Parish, is well assured, that *the late Meteor is a visible Judgment upon us, for our putting down the Convocation*, as she calls it. I hope, when his Majesty hears this, he will summon the Parsons again to save us from Comets and Lightning, and to rebuke the Nation once more for Infidelity, in not believing in them, and also to convince the Bishop of *Bangor*, by censuring him.

What Pity is this, that neither the Clouds, nor the Sun, nor the Moon, nor the Stars, *nor any Thing above them*, can be brought to favour the Cause of the Church!

Providence is likewise, I fear, become an Enemy to High-Church; for it disappoints her on all Occasions.

At a Time when her Foundations seem'd to be laid deep, and her Designs ripe for Execution, on an unlucky First of *August*, the Church's Nurse died, and the Babe fainted. All the holy Treachery and Violence, used then by the Church's Friends, and all their seasonable Violations of Treaties and Oaths, were for that Bout utterly lost, and their Conscience and Honesty thrown away to no Purpose.

This was an unkind Discourtesy, which I fear they will never forgive, and yet in *about a Year's Time afterwards*, the Church was play'd another slippery Trick, as bad as the former, by the removing out of this mortal Life a Monarch who was Champion and *Gladiator in chief* for our *Orthodox Clergy*.

#### [I-156]

Relying on the Faith of Treaties abroad, and the Obligation of Oaths at home, we were quite destitute of Forces, when the late Earl of *Mar* by rebelling against his Maker and his King, in Favour of Popery and the Church, became the Darling of our *genuine Parsons*, who presently voted him a *righteous* Iustrument in the Hand of *Providence*, to bring in the Pretender, and rescue them from the insupportable Ties of Faith and Morality, *a Burthen which neither they nor their Predecessors ever would bear*, and it must be owned, they had then a tempting Opportunity to avow publicly their long and constant Perjury and Expectations, without any apparent Danger of temporal Loss (a Consideration always uppermost with them) and yet they were so cautious as only to mutter their Hopes privately to all the World.

The same French Forces which had so long contended the Prize with all *Europe*, had now nothing else to do but to break the Peace, and please the Parsons, and replant Tyranny and Roman Orthodoxy amongst us.

Here was now a pleasing Prospect for the Church, *Mar* had a large Army of *invincible Highlanders*; a formidable Invasion from abroad daily threatened us; we had Tumults, Madness, Confusion and Disaffection in every Parish in the Nation, and in every County a Rising was feared and expected; and in short things, were running into a total Dissolution. So much had our *peaceful Clergy* done, and so much had they to hope from their own Doings. The Church was very cock-a-hoop, and held up its Head and crowed. By their Behaviour and Assurance, I dare pronounce that these *pious Peace-makers and Ambassadors of the meek Jesus*, would not have taken a Composition of three Parts of the Church-Lands for their Hopes of the Pretender and the whole. They were even sure of their Point.

There is a Parson in *Somersetshire* (to name no more) who from the Revolution had raved every *Sunday* with great Zeal and Devotion against Foreigners. He had sworn to King *William*, and hated him, and spread the same Hatred through the whole Parish, every one of whom he had debauched with Drunkenness and Disloyalty. Upon his Majesty's Accession, he likewise swore to him and abused him, renewing with greater Virulence than [I-157] ever his Imprecations upon Foreigners. In one of his Sermons he had this Expression; *Suppose the Time should come when we shall have a King that does not understand the Common Prayer what think we will become of the poor Church?* This excellent Christian, when he thought the Invasion and Desolation, which he had long wished to his native Country, were at hand, began to tell his People, *that there was a wide Difference between some Foreigners and others, and that as they ought to abhor, and even destroy, such of them as were the open or*

*secret Enemies of the Church, so it was their Duty to honour and entertain, and even to divide their Substance with such Foreigners as came to save it.* This was Hint enough, and the Doctrine was so clear, that a pretty young Girl asked her Mother, who had as much Knowledge as her self, *Whether these brave Outlandish Men would marry with us poor English Volks?*

With such sort of Management it is no wonder that the poor Orthodox Vulgar are worked up into the greatest Credulity and Rage. I have met with some of them who thought it no Sin to murder the *Hanoverians*, so that they said, they were Men-Eaters: And when I asked them how they came to know so much of the *Hanoverians*, they answered, *Oh, our Parson has told us enough of they.* Nay, some of them believe that his Majesty eat up all the Children he ever had, except the Prince, and they pretend to tell you how His Royal Highness was saved from the same Fate.

To some of the Clergy alone appertains the sacred Right of doing well by deceiving, and of promoting Ruin, Ignorance and War for the Prosperity of the Church; and such are the Men whom the Nation pays to propagate Truth and Morality, and maintain Peace.

I will not here pretend to make an exact Computation and Comparison between the Number of the well affected and ill affected Parts of the Clergy; but I am not at all apprized that I wrong them, if I venture to say, that not one in seven of these conscientious Pastors opened his Mouth against the late Rebellion in the Western Counties.

In the Pulpit they either say nothing of his present Majesty or that which is much worse than nothing; whereas in the late Reign they were so blasphemously loyal, that [I-158] they seemed to have forgot Jesus Christ, to preach up the Q— — — n.

But I was saying, that at *one Juncture*, I mean during the Rebellion, the Hopes and Views of our *Genuine Clergy* were in a promising Posture, and very near fulfilling, and many of them were so discerning as to see the Finger of God in the Rebellion, and they became Sureties every where for Providence, that it would go through with the Work which *they* had begun. But Providence had deserted them and has never returned since.

And thus Providence refuses to aid, though so often commanded, the Interest of Perjury and Rebellion, though they are both so evidently for the Good of the Church.

I do not know whether they may not, in their private Junto's and Cabals, have come to a Resolution, that Providence is a Schismatick; and the more, because it is plain that both Providence, and the Author of Providence, are irreclaimable Dissenters from the Principles and Practises of High-church. They seem to be so sensible of this, that they have long since displaced the Almighty, as much as in them lies, from any Power or Concernment in this World, or the other, having dubbed themselves Gods and Forgivers; and exercising with Authority all the great Offices of Omnipotence.

The Bishop of *Bangor* too, is the Occasion of no small Terror to the Church, and in Confederacy with her mortal Foes, marching, as he does, at the Head of Truth, Reason, Scripture and Sincerity, and the like fanatical Fellows, who have the Heresy and Impudence to espouse an Interest diametrically opposite to that of the Convocation.

This ill advised Bishop is so romantick and froward, as to think, that the Clergy ought to depart from several Points, which, though they are bloody Antagonists to the Spirit of the Gospel, yet do evidently tend to the Glory of the Church. His Lordship ridiculously believes that when a Man is a good Man, though *in this Particular* he differs widely from the Parsons, yet God will have Mercy upon him. But, to silence this perverse Writer for ever, let him know that *these Clergy* have endeavoured to pluck God's own Keys out of his Hands, and to

hinder him from shewing Mercy, or opening [I-159] Paradise, if he would. They like *Sine Cures* so well that they have a Mind to make the Almighty's Government a *Sine Cure* too. Are not *such Priests* brave Fellows who would make their Maker a Minor, and themselves his Directors and Guardians? When his Lordship is informed of this, I hope he will drop the Controversy.

The Bishop is also grievously deceived in another Instance; He is of Opinion that the Clergy ought to be the Propagators and Defenders of Liberty and the Gospel. See here the Ignorance of a Father of the Church! He does not know that Christianity may be at the last Gasp, and yet the Church in a most flourishing Condition.

I could mention many more Mistakes of the Bishop's; and particularly he is so ill a Churchman, as to think there is some Force in Oaths, and that they who take them should not altogether break them. But as his Lordship is out-voted, upon this Article, by a vast Majority of most Orthodox Teachers, I take it he deserves no other Confutation: Besides, this is a sort of Reasoning which he is used to.

There is no doubt a very good Reason to be given, why these Reverend Examples of Truth and Piety play with Oaths, and call upon the tremendous Name of God to a Lie. They themselves say it is for Bread, though some others think it is for Drink. However that be, it is plain Perjury is but a small Fault, if any. Now suppose His Majesty, taught by the Church, should break his Oath, and seize its Possessions, I know the Parsons are so reasonable a Sort of People, that they would never upbraid His Majesty for walking in their Steps, and being forsworn. But I doubt his Majesty is so much of a King, and a Christian, that he will never be brought to follow his Clergy in this Path.

Before I have done with this Head, I must give the Parsons one Caution. I beg them for the Time to come, never to upbraid any Body with the Practice of Occasional Conformity; since probably some bitter Presbyterian, who does not honour the Cloth, may give them to understand, *that it is almost as innocent to take the Church-Sacrament for a Place, as it is to be forsworn for a Living.*

The Happiness of Mankind is moreover a great and powerful Antagonist to the Church.

#### [I-160]

Here in *England* we enjoy such a shameful Share of Wealth and Liberty, that it is no Wonder at all our Clergy are perpetually grumbling. If we were but so reasonable and orthodox as to part with all our Substance and Privileges *to them*, it is almost probable, that these our good Guides to Misery and Salvation, would grow content and easy, which it is impossible for Men of their Spirit and Pretensions to be; so long as we are so saucy and heterodox as to be rich and free.

In the Territories of the Church abroad, the Priests enjoy the great good Fortune of having never a happy Layman under their Dominion; and having beside, the Power of Fire and Sword, there is not a single Schismatick, nor the Appearance of Heresy and Knowledge amongst them; but Church Affairs go on in a blessed Course of Tyranny, Sodomy, and Stupidity, without Rub or Disturbance. Can any one wonder that our zealous Clergy are tempted to an Imitation of such a pious Pattern of *genuine Church Power and Plenty*, where the Bible is locked up, and the Laity starve?

The Nature of our Government and Constitution, brings also no *small Danger to the Church.*



In this Country the *Orthodox Clergy* cannot excommunicate and damn a Man, but presently the *Heterodox Law* grants him a Replevin. Besides, we have several other Bars to the Felicity of the *Church*; We have a Parliament, and we have Trade, and, which is worse than all, the Convocation cannot do what they please, and the King will not part with his Prerogative to prorogue them. So that the Law on one Side, and the Prerogative on the other, *grind the poor Church between the upper and the nether Millstone*, as Mr. Leslie emphatically complains.

There is one Instance particularly, in which the Prerogative bears hard upon the *Church*. The Parsons, you must know, to prove themselves a well-born People, go for their Parentage seventeen hundred Years backwards, and father themselves upon the *Apostles*. Now not being able to prove this, either by Record, or *Resemblance*, they have given Occasion to some *prophane Folks* to alledge, that the Priests must needs be Bastards, *because their Parents utterly disown them, and they are kept by the Parish*. But they, on the other hand, scorning to part with their [I-161] *Apostolick Birth*, have *forged* out a vast Chain, long enough to hold ten Millions of Foxes, and this they call the *Chain of Succession*; one End of which is tied to the *Apostles*, and the other to *themselves*; and it reaches from *Jerusalem* to *Lambeth*, taking *Rome* in its Way. This is an important, and even *miraculous* Chain; for, though it has frequently been broke, and there are Gaps in it seventy Years long, yet it has never been *once interrupted* to this Day. It is like *Milton's* Bridge, built by *Sin* and *Death*, over the Chaos, *wonderful* and *invisible*. It is pity this Cable-rope of Succession should lie thus *incog.* when in the Opinion of *High-Church*, the whole Hierarchy *hangs* by it. It is therefore no wonder they maintain it with most *Apostolick Wrath and Obstinacy*.

But even here now, in the momentous Point of Succession, the Prerogative breaks in upon the Cassock, and the King, who is but a Layman, creates Bishops, and, by this Act of his, does, as it were, beget *Sons and Heirs to the Apostles*. This is a sad Encroachment upon the Privileges of the Parsons, who have doubtless a *Divine Right to breed each other*. I know they pretend they still choose their Bishops, and, on that Occasion mock God with Prayers, as if they really did. Thus an Apothecary's Boy, or an old Woman, by order of the Doctor, administers a Clyster; and, if a Cure ensues, the Boy or the old Woman was the Physician.

There are many other Faults in our Laws, in Relation to the *Church*, of which the *Priesthood* have just Reason to complain. *Smithfield* is turned into a *meer* Market, where *Bullocks* are butchered *instead of Hereticks*, and the Clergy are never again like to be complimented with a *Burnt Offering* from thence; and a Dissenter may now be so saucy as to worship God, and the Parson cannot punish him for it; and the Laity are suffered to believe, that the revealed Will of God is not hid; and there is a dangerous Opinion prevailing among us, that *the Almighty will not tumble us into Hell, for Sincerity and Well-meaning*. And, to add no more, the Clergy have not the Government of all Things.

The next Thing I shall mention, which has administered great Grief and *Danger* to the *Church*, is the *High Duty upon French Wine and Brandy*. This Grievance is [I-162] sufficient to make all the *genuine Parsons* in England Male-contented. For, though they drink Malt Liquor in great Quantities, and though *that* be of a windy Nature, and is a great Help to Zeal, yet a Dram is the *Life of Orthodoxy*, and Claret is *clear Wit* to use their own waggish Stile. I know a Parson who drinks nothing but Small-beer, and he is a Whig, as one may easily imagine, and unless he change his Liquor in order to change his Principles, he is like to continue a Whig till Doomsday. So much does the *Church* lose by a *sober Son*.

Another Cause from which the *genuine Churchmen* are in great Danger, is a Reformation of Manners, which would strip them of many pretty Liberties, and force upon them the *Bitterness of Morality*, which is too strong Meat for *these Babes*. As *Orthodoxy* and *Lewdness* are often the lovingest Neighbours in the World, it must needs go to their Heart to

be parted.

In Popish Countries, for Example, where the Clergy often fall into such *Carnal Crimes and Copulations*, as *our spotless Society of Saints here at home* do abhor; Would it not be a heavy Judgment upon a *pious Priest* to be stripp'd at once of his *Whore* and his *Altar*? And then, Would not an Embargo on *Topping*, in the same Countries, have an Aspect every Bit as terrible towards the Church? For, there are, beyond Sea, such *Monsters* as *drunken Priests*; though my Countrymen, who never see such Sights here in *England*, may imagine I talk wildly. And now for an honest tipping *Priest*, who would as freely suffer Death as Thirst, to be thus reformed out of his Bottle, and divorced from his croney Barrel, would be *downright Persecution*, and *wound the Church through his Sides*.

A Reformation is likewise so tyrannical and hard-hearted, as to oblige the Clergy to live as if there was really something in Religion, beside *Farce* and *Tithes*; and it expects too that these spiritual Militia, should be, at least, now and then upon Duty, and not live idle above fix Days in seven, and upon the seventh, not above nineteen Hours in four and twenty.

Besides, a Reformation would be for reviving the Force of Scripture Laws, which bear wondrous hard upon the Clergy. I remember particularly, the third Chapter to [I-163] *Timothy* lays such intolerable Injunctions and Restraints upon them, as must needs be as far from the Liking of the *genuine Parsons*, as I am sure they are from their Practice; for the aforesaid Chapter expects they should be *no Brawlers, nor Strikers, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, nor given to Wine; nor lifted up with Pride; but, on the contrary, that they should be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good Behaviour, and apt to teach*; and I know not how many more Impossibilities.

A Gentleman in this City, whose Heart is set upon a Reformation of Manners, gave me not long ago, the Perusal of his Creed, out of which I drew the following dangerous Positions, and now I publish them, that the *genuine* Clergy may guard against them.

1. He believes that a Man may be saved by adhering to *naked Truth and plain Religion*.
2. That it is not damnable, not to believe what we cannot believe.
3. That Christianity is as good a Man as Orthodoxy, *saving the Judgment of the Clergy*.
4. That it is possible for a Pastor to have Grace in his Heart, though he has ne'er a Rose in his Hat, and that he may tell Truth, and instruct the People, though he be not wrapped up in twenty Ells of Holland.
5. That an innocent Infant may be saved, without a Parson's dropping Water upon its Face.
6. That a well disposed Person may eat Bread, and drink Wine, in Remembrance of our Saviour's Death, without the Priest's Form of Words, which yet *do not change the Elements*, which yet are a *proper Sacrifice*, which yet is *not Flesh and Blood*.
7. That God may possibly pardon a repenting Sinner, though the *Parson* do not absolutely *give his Consent*, and *order him so to do*.
8. That a Man may venture to understand the *understandable* Parts of Scripture.
9. That there is such a Thing as a scrupulous Conscience; *With Submission to the Parsons*.
10. That a Man may keep his Oath to King *George*, and yet not be damned for it; *again saving the Opinion and Practice of High-Church*.

11. That the Clergy as well as others, would be better, if they had fewer Faults.

12. That Dissenters are our Fellow-Creatures.

13. That Religion is a *Rational Thing*.

My Acquaintance (above-mentioned) holds all these and more such heretical Notions, which, were they tolerated, would bring no small Danger to the Church. But I hope, her *genuine Sons* will continue their Zeal, and defend her against them all.

Among many other Causes which I could assign for the Danger of the Church, I shall mention but two; and these are two *Holy Days*, the 30th of January, and the 29th of May; a Couple of Days that send many a pious Priest to meet his Fate. Then it is that our *Orthodox Parsons* exerts their Wrath and Eloquence with huge Might and Success. They demolish the Whigs, and then kill themselves with Joy and Drinking. Cups and Carousals, succeed to Zeal and Scolding, and many an able-bodied Levite sacrifices his Sobriety and his Tabernacle, to the Health and Confusion of the Church and Low-Church-Men. They send Dissenters to the Devil, but go first themselves, to tell him they are coming.

Thus half the *genuine Clergy* lay Hands upon themselves, and pour their own Deaths down their Throats. Some of them depart spiced with *right Nantz*, others sows'd in *October*, some pickled in *Florence*, and many steep'd in *Oxford-Ale*. *Ah these drunken Holydays!* (says my witty Friend, Dr. *Byfield*) *no Body gets by them but Lucifer and the Excisemen. They have turned the whole Year into an idle Jubilee, and the Common-Prayer Book into an Almanack. I hate their superstitious Trumpery—It is only the Whore of Babylon in an English Vizor, and the Pope in a Periwig. Remember the Time, when we neither minded Surplices nor Saints Days; and then! Drunkenness was sent to the Stocks, and Whoring to the House of Correction. But now! the Priests are gone astray, and the People follow them.*

I am acquainted with a *Rosicrucian* in this Town, who holds a Correspondence with the *other World*, and in it with *Hugh Peters* particularly, from whom he lately received the following Epistle, a Copy of which he gave me. As it is the *newest* and best *Apology* that ever was [I-165] made for Drunkenness, I cheerfully publish it, for the *peculiar Service* of my *Ecclesiastical Clients*.

*To the truly illuminate, and sublimate by the Symphony of the Spirit of Essence, bright above Brightness, and Blossom of invisible Knowledge, Jacob Fitz Behmen, living in the World; Hugh Peters, a visionary Elect, wisheth Perpetuity of Permanence.*

“You tell me that your Friend, the *Doctor*, drinks and decays apace, and that we Ghosts may soon expect his Company, he being already almost *one of us*. I am glad of the News, and shall be pleased to see him. But I cannot with you condemn him for swallowing so much Brandy and Wine: On the contrary, I applaud him, for his artful Seasoning of himself, with hot Liquors for his Removal into this *warm Climate*, where, let me tell you, 'tis *Dog-days* all the Year.

“It was for want of this *extreme Unction*, that *Julius Caesar* (the soberest Tyrant and Whoremaster in the World) was plagued with the *dry Gripes* half a Century after his Arrival on this side the Grave. *Alexander the Great*, by Report, was wiser, for 'tis a Tradition here, that his Ghost came reeking from a drunken Feast, like a Butterfly preserved in Spirit of Wine.

“Many *great Men*, and *Judges of the Earth*, have tried the same Expedient with comfortable Success: But above all other Species of Mortals the Reverend the Clergy, my *Brother-Trade*, who understand their Interest in the *upper World*,

the best of all other Characters of *Crafts* whatsoever, are not wanting in Foresight and Sagacity to fortify themselves with hot Liquors and *hot Sermons*, against the Influence of this hot Region. You know while they are in *your World*, they are great Monopolizers of Fire and Brimstone and when they come hither we do not grudge them *their own Commodity*.

“It is from this Tribe of Men chiefly we have an Account of what is doing on the *funny Side* of the Globe; for, being all *profess'd Politicians* and Newsmongers, we find them the best Intelligencers imaginable. Besides, they are *constantly coming*, and by that Means, we never want Advices. So that whenever we spy a [I-166] *black Ghost* stalking towards the Ferry, we all cry out, with one Mouth, *a Mail from Mankind!*

“At *all Seasons* of the Year we have them *pretty thick*; but it is incredible what Gluts of them arrive *a few Days* after the *30th of January*, and the *29th of May*. And the Reason is obvious; for — — —

Here Friend *Hugh* falls into the same Observations which I have already made, and shews, beyond Contradiction, how his *Brother-Trade*, as he calls them, kill themselves with Preaching and Debauchery, at *these High-Church Tides*. Nothing so quickly destroys the Constitution, *and the Understanding*, as Brandy, and Tobacco, *and Zeal*.

I have now, I may *modestly boast*, fully proved the Danger of the Church; and, by assigning the *true Causes* of that Danger, I am the only Advocate she has, who have not *lyed* upon *this Occasion*, seeing all the *numerous* Assertors of her *holy Peril*, who went before me, do, in the Account they give thereof *fib most outrageously*; though I, who am not of *their Order*, dare by no Means say so. *These Men* lay all the Blame of this Matter upon *Infidels* and *profane Persons*; but I can never join with them in such an unreasonable Charge; for I cannot think it at all likely that *the Clergy* would wilfully *murder their own Mother*, and so be guilty of *Manslaughter*.

My next Task is to prove, *that the Church ought to be in Danger*, and this I shall do by shewing, *that she gets by it*.

Pity is a potent Passion, and whoever has the Art of gaining it, seldom fails to draw our Affections along with it. Now the Church having *no other Way* of being beloved but to be pitied, she must, in Order to *that*, appear exceeding miserable and woful.

Misery is often the *greatest*, and sometimes, the *only* Merit, which attends Persons and Things. For Proof of this, I never saw a *Rogue* going to be hanged, though ever so *wicked* and *ugly*, but he was first *pitied*, and then *praised*; especially by the Women, who have a *strange Biass* to *weeping* and *being deceived*.

[I-167]

Hence it proceeded that when the Doctor and his High-Church were both thought in a hopeful Way to the Gallows, our Orthodox Compassion got the better of our Heretical Reason, and the Champion merited our Mercy meerly by meriting a Halter.

The Church, therefore, if she would be safe, must be always in Danger; while she is so, our Concern for the *old Woman* in Distress, will throw Dust in the Eyes of our Understanding, and effectually prevent a Discovery of *her Nakedness and Wrinkles*.

And now to conclude, what remains but that the Danger of the Church, which is grown so necessary to her well being, be established by a Canon, and made the *thirty tenth Article of her Faith*, to be believed on *Pain of Damnation*? In the mean while, let me assume to myself the just Glory of having started the Design of such an Article, by shewing its *Reasonableness*.

Lastly, *loving Reader*, let me acquaint thee in a few Words, with my own Usefulness and Importance, which makes me, indeed, a little proud, but *not a Bit vain*.

And in the first Place, I have written a matchless Defence of *Priestcraft*, a Task never attempted before. And yet the *Masters* and *Guardians* of that *noble Science*, have proved but unthankful Clients, and even railed at *me, their Apologist*, most unmercifully, and indeed *unanswerably*. But I have always observed, that *Orthodoxy has admirable Talents for selling of Oysters*. I am, in particular, beholden to a great *Doctor*, famous for Paunch and Principles, who preached a whole Sermon against me, in which he foamed and reviled, beyond a Possibility of Reply. Lord love him, *if possible*, it is the only Way of Reasoning he knows.

I have likewise been most *christianly cursed* in many other Pulpits, with the same Force of Bitterness and Lungs. Bless me, that my loving *priestly Friends* will not be taught more Wit! I had been rallying a Sort of Men who are very sad Fellows, and shameful Enemies to Conscience, Truth, and their Country; and presently up start the Lord's Ambassadors, and cry, *we are the Men, damn the Author*. At such odds are they with common Sense, and *the Mercy of God?*

[I-168]

Secondly, I have convinced several Laymen, *that there is another God besides the Clergy*, though they had lived long in Ignorance as to that Point. And I have Advice from divers Counties in *England*, that when the Parsons cock their Beavers, and gives themselves Airs, the Country Folks cut them down with a *Text* out of *Parson Alberoni*. When a Vicar in *Kent* the other Day, sent his Clerk to a sensible Clown in the Parish, to demand his *Easter-Dues* on *Pain of Excommunication*. *What*, says *Ralph* to *Sternhold*, *I warrant ye, you come Ambussador now from the Lord's Receiver General, don't you?* And the chief Inhabitants of a Parish in *Surry*, have sent a Letter to their Docter here in Town, begging him, *if his Belly be not too full*, to come down and preach among them, and not to affront them any longer with his *Journey-man*.

Thirdly, I have conferred Reputation upon six and fifty Authors, every one of whom was graciously pleased to write *my Book* after it was in Print, and they are heartily welcome. All their *other Works*, when once they got into the Corner of a Bookseller's Shop *grew rickety* for *want of handling*, and so could never travel over the Counter, till a *Grocer's Prentice* carried away the *helpless Creatures* in a *charitable Wheel-barrow*. Seven of these worthy Gentlemen, and one of them a grave Counsellor in the *Temple*, confessed to me that they were the Authors of the *Apology*, but modestly begged me not to discover them. I must however thank the bountiful Mr. *P—H—*, for his uncommon Goodness in adopting my poor *fatherless Child*, as soon as it was brought forth into the public. I fear it is more than ever I shall be able to do for one *of his*.

I am told that one of these Fathers of *my Pamphlet*, threatens to break Squares with the Court, because they have not yet rewarded him with a thousand Pounds a Year. But, I doubt, this ingenious Pelferer of *my Parts* and *Performance*, is too hasty, Why, *even I*, who have written full four Half Sheets, for the Good of my self and my Country, am not yet Lord High Admiral, nor have so much as the Proffer of a *Blue Garter*; which so discontents me, that I will write no more these three Days; but then I will set about my *Apology for great Men*, in which I will [I-169] prove them to be the civillest Creatures breathing to *their own publick Persons*. Reader, *Adieu, for a Fortnight*.

P. S. *I acknowledge the former Part of this Book has been laid at the Door of a Gentleman or two, whose Names do me Honour. I wish they may be as well pleased on this Occasion as I am.*



*A Dedication to a Great Man, concerning Dedications: discovering amongst other wonderful Secrets, what will be the present Posture of Affairs a Thousands Years hence. By T. Gordon, Esq; ↵*

**PREFACE.**

*A Passage or two in this little Essay having been liable to Exceptions, without my foreseeing it, I am very ready to explain them. By the Jewish Pretender is meant Absolom; and what is said about the Bible, is so far from any Satire on that Sacred Book, that it is manifestly and only, one upon them who make but little or no Use of it.*

*As to the Characters and Inscriptions at the End, I still them so Just, that I am not like to repent of them; which may serve to shew me as much a Friend to well-grounded Panegyrick, as I ever shall be a Foe to all false Colouring. There is no such Thing as Praise and Blame, where they are not applied; and as I take upon me to expose the one, I think I need ask no Pardon for attempting to practice the other.*

*My Lord,*

YOUR Lordship and I are not at all acquainted, I therefore take Leave to be very familiar with you, and to desire you to be my Patron, because you do not know me nor I you: Nor can this Manner of Address seem strange to your Lordship, whilst it is warranted by [I-170] such numerous Precedents. I have known an Author praise an Earl for twenty Pages together, though he knew nothing of him, but that he had Money to spare. He made him Wise, Just and Religious, for no Reason in the World, but in Hopes to find him *Charitable*; and gave him a most bountiful Heart, because he himself had a most empty Stomach. This Practice being general, it is a very easy Matter to guess, by the Size of the Panegyrick, how wealthy the Patron may be, or how hungry the Author; if it exceeds three Pages, you may pawnall the Blood in your Body upon it, the Writer has fasted three Days; and that his Lordship, among all his other good Parts, has at least ten thousand Pounds a Year.

From all this we may learn, that a Great Man's Fortune is as easily known from a Dedication to him, as from the Rent-Roll of his Estate; and that his Bounty to the Author, is only Wages for publishing his Wealth to the World.

It is likewise evident, that no Lord of a low Fortune must expect an humble Admirer amongst us Wits and Writers, unless he bargain with us at a set Price, and give us so much a piece for every good Quality he has Occasion for.

We must not therefore judge of the *High and Mighty* as they are described in the Frontispiece of Books and Poems. Your *Dedicators* are a Sort of *Intellectual Taylors*, that cut out Cloaths for a Great Man's Mind, without ever taking Measure of it. They have indeed two Rules from which they never depart: First, The Dress must be *Gaudy*; and Secondly, It must *never fit*. Their Business is to make it of a vast Dimension, and to cover it all over with *Tinsel*. If the Suit be bulky and shining, the Poet has the Reputation of a skilful *Tradesman*, for the *Stuff* and the *Exactness* are never consulted.

I would upon this Occasion, congratulate the Quality upon the Advantage which it is to them, to have their Characters drawn by such as either do not, or dare not, know them; and consequently will be sure not to put their Graces, and Lordships, and Ladyships, out of Countenance— — — A convenient Piece of good Breeding! for which, I hope, they are thankful.

[I-171]

For myself, when I see a long Drift of Excellencies and Talents crammed down a Nobleman's Throat, who has no Relish of them or Right to them, I am not at all surprized, because I am sure it is not meant as an Encomium upon his Honour, but merely as a Declaration of the Author's Wants, and a heavy Complaint of Nakedness and Hunger.

Some may reckon a Dependance on a Great Man the best Reason and Foundation for *dedicating* to him; but I am not of their Opinion. For my Part, I have no Manner of Dependance on any *Star and Garter* in *Great-Britain*, as any one may observe from the Cheerfulness of my Looks, and the Integrity of my Life. I own, that setting up for a Writer, I judged it convenient to me, and my Book, to call in your Lordship for an Assistant, but no farther than just to set off and honour my Title-Page. I at first, indeed, intended to let the whole Credit of the Thing remain with you, by entitling my Pamphlet, *An Essay of a Man of Quality*: But my Bookseller who is a smoaky Fellow, and understands the Pulse of the People perfectly well, fell into a great Rage, and asked me for the five Shillings again, which he had advanced to me, by Way of Encouragement, a Week before. He told me, he had neither Pleasure nor Profit in selling *waste Paper* to the Grocers at two Pence a Pound. Why, says he, the famous *Dassy* might as rationally have writ *Aqua Fortis* upon his Elixir: *An Essay of a Man of Quality*, If I were to chain the Book to my Counter, it would not make it a more everlasting Shop-keeper than this very Title: It is as bad as a Spell; and the most adventurous Reader will not presume to open the Book that is fortified with it. — — No, no; if you must have the Front of your Book embellished with something of *Title*, you may call it, *A Letter to a great Man*: Since you do not name him, People will naturally imagine there is something in it exceeding saucy and satirical; and that very Thought will make your Pamphlet popular. — — I have followed his Advice, and am t'other five Shillings the richer for it.

But, as I was telling your Lordship, Reliance on a great Man is not a good Reason for *dedicating* to him; for either he will receive the Present of your Praise as a just [I-172] Tribute for such your Dependance; (and then where is your Pay, and the due Hire of your Sweat and Invention?) or else he will reward you with a Sort of Coin, called *Promises*, stamped with his Honour, but never current amongst Shop-keepers and Victuallers. Alas! Who will give you an Ell of Cloth, or a Cut of Beef upon it? It is a lamentable Thing the World should be arrived to such a Pitch of ill Breeding, that now a Days a great Man's Word and Honour are as little minded by the rest of the World as by himself.

And so I will proceed to assert, That the only proper Patron for an Author to inscribe his Works to, is one to whom he is an utter Stranger, who having had no Manner of Commerce with the aforesaid Author, can understand his Dedication to be nothing else but an elegant Demand for such a Sum of Ready Money. Dedications are therefore Bills of Exchange, drawn by the Witty upon the Great, and payable at Sight. But, left the worthy Offering should not be understood, or recompensed as it ought to be, through the deplorable Ignorance of the Quality, whose high Characters place them far above the Reach of Knowledge and the Impulses of Humanity, I have for the Benefit of my worthy Companions in the Labours of the Standish, drawn up the following Form, with which I would have all Dedications to conclude.



	<i>£. s. d.</i>
<i>Imprimis</i> , For a large Stock of Learning very much wanted	02 10 00
<i>Item</i> , For a Barrel of rare Eloquence, admir'd by all the World, but never yet used	05 00 00
<i>Item</i> , For as much Justice and Honour as a Great Man has occasion for	00 01 01½
<i>Item</i> , For a Hogshead of Courage that never saw the Sun	10 00 00
<i>Item</i> , For half a Pound of Wit and Humour, being all I had to spare, but very good in then Kind, and Dog-cheap	01 00 00
<i>Item</i> , For several Thimble-fulls of Generosity, a scarce Commodity	00 02 05
<i>Item</i> , For a long Line of Lineage, and great Quantities of ancient Blood, neither of them measured, but only guest at	05 00 00
<i>Item</i> , For praising your Ancestors, unknown	01 10 00
<i>Item</i> , For admiring your Lady's Beauty, unsight, unseen	00 10 00
<i>Item</i> , For a graceful Person, all of my own making	02 10 00
Sum Total	28 03 06½

*My Lord,*

I Have sent you the above mentioned Goods, being the best my Garret affords, and at the lowest Price. I hope they will please you. You will find in the Cargo several Things which I have not *Itemed*; *viz.* A large Parcel of Virtue, and another of good Nature; because I knew you wanted them as much as any of the rest.— — —These too Articles will raise the Whole to, at least, even Thirty Pounds; and I have drawn a Bill upon your Lordship accordingly, which I beg your Lordship to pay at Sight; for, I assure you, I have had pressing Occasion for the Money long before it was due. I might have found Chapmen for these Goods among very many of the Nobility and Gentry, as unprovided with them as yourself; but out of pure Respect to your Lordship, I resolved you should have the Refusal.— — —In firm Expectation of your approaching Bounty, I am

*My LORD,*

*Your Lordships most Obliged,  
Most Devoted,  
Most obedient,  
Most, &c.*

In this plain Manner would I have Authors treat their Patrons. The said Thirty Pounds may probably be all the Poet's Stock; and Wits, dealing the least upon Credit, either in Selling or Buying, of any *Trading People* in the World, have the more Occasion for Ready Money.

Your Lordship may by this perceive, how I expect to be treated and rewarded for the following Panegyrick on yourself.

[I-174]

In attempting your Character, (to use the fashionable Phrase) I shall begin with the Antiquity of your House, equally Old and Illustrious. Your Ancestors, won Honours, and you, my Lord, wear them; how well they become you, I need not say, the same being as evident to the whole World as to me. You would, no Doubt, acquire new Ones, were there any Room left for them; but what Occasion have you to toil and struggle for that which is already provided for you by others? And it is a plain Instance of your consummate Prudence, that your Ease is by no Means interrupted by any the least Pursuit of this Kind. If any dare insolently call in Question your Glory, shew them your Coat of Arms, and the Number of your Manours; strike them Dumb, by telling them of the Nobility of your Blood, and Blind, by shewing them the Splendor of your Race.

Nobility is held by Patent, and where is the Necessity of another Tenor by Virtue? A Piece of Parchment is a much more portable Instrument. Your Lordship seems apprized of the Difficulty of excelling in any Thing, and therefore wisely forbears drudging for Fame. Your Ancestors excelled for you: They, by having many Accomplishments, have saved you the Trouble of having any. The Lustre of their Names shines still upon you, tho' exceedingly weakened by the Length of the Journey, having spent many of its Rays in its Passage thro' three or four Generations, who wanted its Influence as much as yourself. Thus, if we trace the Merit of a great Family, it is like the Course of a River inverted, largest towards the Fountain.

Should any one make an ill-bred Comparison (which God forbid) betwixt your Lordship and the Founders of your House, you could shew him, or I for you, that you possess several Arts and Acquirements, which the old fashioned Fellows, with all their Abilities and long Beards were utter Strangers to. If one of your Forefathers was a great Orator, and could do Wonders with his Mouth, your Lordship is as dexterous in the Exercise of the Organ next to it, and can take Snuff with great Volubility of Nostril. What tho' another of your Grand-fires was an able Politician, a Person of great Cunning and Brains? The outside of his Head was not half so well instructed [I-175] as your own: You have more Curls in the Covering of yours, than he had Wiles in the Lining of his: His was Equipp'd by painful Study, yours is Edified by your painful Barber. A Third was a brave Soldier, but were he put to handle your Cane or your Snuff-Box, he would be at as great a Loss, as you, my Lord, wou'd be to handle his Truncheon. A Fourth sat up at Nights, and lived by his Clients; but your Lordship, more Happy and less Learned, lies a Bed all Day, and lives by your Tenants. All these laboured for your Grandeur and Support, foreseeing, as one would imagine, that you would have Need of their Aid. And it cannot be deny'd, that it is possible one may be so *great a Man* as to be good *for little*. Wisdom and Worth, we see, cannot be entailed like Titles and Acres. It were, indeed, to be wished, that a wise Head and an honest Heart could beget their Likeness, and that famous Men could transmit their Parts with their Titles to their Posterity; but since that cannot be, their Descendants must comfort themselves with being a-kin to Merit, tho' ever so remotely.

Nothing is more frequent and natural, than to value ourselves upon that which is none of ours. Of this I have, in my Time, seen several merry Instances. I knew a Thresher in *Wiltshire*, who was so elevated upon his Brother's being made a Parson, and promoted to a Curacy of Twenty Pounds a Year, that he threw away his Flayl, as a Discredit to one who was nearly related to so great a Man, and betook himself to poaching in the River, as a more Gentleman-like Way of Life. It was observed of him, that ever afterwards he rowled his Stockings, whereas he had before always humbly buttoned his Breeches over them. It is said he threatens to leave the Village where he was born, because the ill-bred Inhabitants still continue to stile him no higher than bare *Gaffer Thump*, as they used to do notwithstanding that his Brother is a Curate: But it is thought this high-spirited Person will be disappointed, for that no Parish will receive him without a Certificate. I would, out of the Benignity of my Nature, comfort all Great Men, who have noble Blood but vulgar Understandings, with the Repartee of a *West Country* Blacksmith, [I-176] who, in a Dispute with a Barber that called him an ignorant Fellow, answered, with equal Scorn, *That tho' he could neither read nor write, his Father had been Game keeper to the Lord of a Manour*. The Barber who was but the Son of a Barber, finding himself out-match'd in Family, very respectfully gave up the Dispute to his Betters.

It is scarce to be perceived how diffusive and multiplying a little good Blood is: The Increase of the Blessed Virgin's Milk, by the Magick and Management of *Popish* Monks, is not more miraculous. How many Thousands find themselves enriched by it, or rather impoverished! For nothing is more apt to turn the Brain; and it is often got into the Head, when there is not half a Drop of it in the Arteries.

We may observe, by the Way, that we are ever nearest related to the greatest Man of our Blood, tho' removed seven Generations from him. If our Great-Grandfathers for Instance, was a wise Man, and our Grandfather and Father a Brace of Fools, we skip the two last, and become, after a wonderful Manner, the immediate Descendants of the first. Thus a Man becomes the very next in Blood to, perhaps the first of his Name, who lived 300 Years ago, and scorns to be in the least a kin to the Person that begot him: You shall not meet with a *Jew* who is the Son of his Father— — —No, he's the Son of *Abraham*, who has been dead so many thousand Years, and yet is still forced to father a swarthy Race of Brokers and B — — —g — — —ers. In the same Manner has King *Cadwallader* begot every Mother's Son that has been born in *Wales* for five hundred Generations. I know a Lady, who is far gone in Genealogy and Pride, whose Father had, with a great Title and Estate, a great Faculty likewise of Drivelling; him she never mentions, as being, I suppose, no ways related to him; but a great Man of her Name, who lived in the Reign of *William Rufus*, is her good and right well beloved Kinsman — — — He was, I take it, either her Uncle, or at farthest, her Cousin-German.

This picking and culling of our Ancestors, (as if it lay at our Mercy, after we are brought into the World, who should bring us thither) shews great Ambition, but small [I-177] Policy. For, certainly, we should be exceeding careful not to mention ourselves with such of our Ancestors with whom we cannot stand a Comparison. A Dwarf may strut upon the Shoulders of a Giant, but still his Dwarfship is the more conspicuous from the Company he keeps; and many a Man climbs only to shew his elevated Littleness. This is all wrong — — — They that would appear tall, ought to converse only with the short, if they would take a natural Method of coming at the Scope of their Ambition. I therefore approve the Providence and Policy of our worshipful Country Squires and Fox-hunters, who, for the Sake of having daily Companions, at least, something, below themselves in Speech and Understanding, spend all all their Time with dumb Creatures, and live and die among Horses and Dogs. An honest Gentleman, whose speaking Organs would be of no Use to him in the Senate or in Conversation, shall be very eloquent in an Assembly of Hounds, and, with great Force and Fluency of Throat, out-do his Brother Orators in their own Way. The Wisdom of These Worthies, who are educated in the Kennel, goes farther yet; for every Man chuses for his Tator that Beagle whose Voice he is most capable of imitating: Insomuch, that as soon as I hear one of those Academicks begin his Excise, that is, to open, I can presently pronounce whose Pupil he has been, whether bred under Doctor *Jowler*, or Doctor *Sweetlips*. At present Doctor *Ringwood* is more famous than all the rest for the Number of Scholars he has train'd up; I know several of them myself, and particularly a hopeful young Gentleman, the eldest Son of a Baronet, who is a great Proficient in this Kind of Throat Learning. — — — It is believed, he is now fit to head the Pack himself in the Absence of his said Master, the polite Dr. *Ringwood*. When this ingenious young Heir displays his Wind-Pipe, his Mother's Heart beats for Joy, and the old Knight tells the Company with a Wink and a Nod, *Harry is Father's own Son*. — — — Now thus far all is well, when Ambition goes Hand in Hand with Capacity. But Sir *John*, not content with these Excellencies in himself and his Son, will be ever and anon mentioning the Virtues and Talents of his Ancestors, who [I-178] were indeed great Men: However, the Knight never concludes without insinuating his own Praise, and that of his Heir, by asserting, That not one of his Forefathers could compass a Bumper, or fill a Hunting-Horn.

Having thus, my Lord, done Justice to your Pedigree, I shall proceed next to the Consideration of your Fortune.

The Founders of Families are generally provident enough to support the Titles they leave behind them with suitable Estates; which is a most commendable Care: For, alas! as the World runs, what is Blood without Riches? Money and Land are the very Touchstones of Quality. Antiquity may be overlook'd, but Acres are *visible Honours*. Nothing is more

illustrious than a long Rent-Roll; without it the most sounding and splendid Patent has no Power over the Hearts or Hats of an Assembly. It is confess'd, neither Family nor Riches make the least Alteration in the human Frame. An Ear dom can't cure a stinking Breath, nor take the Scull half an Inch thinner; and a Great Man may be a Dwarf or a Scoundrel, with half a Million of Money, or half a County in his Possession. *Alexander the Great* had a wry Neck, (perhaps with carrying the Globe upon his Back) of which the Property of the World could not cure him. But I am only talking of *reputed*, and not *real*, Greatness, and cannot but congratulate your Lordship upon the *real* Kindness which is done *you*, in particular, by this Distinction.

You, my Lord, have a double Right to Respect, from your Title, and from your Affluence. The latter is indeed the less worthy; and yet, such is the Bigottry of the World to Wealth, that were it not for *that*, the former would hardly be regarded. Nay, to deal ingenuously with your Lordship, had I not known you to be Rich, I should, perhaps, never have known you to be Noble; and then your Lordship and I should never have been Patron and Client, nor Mankind been instructed in your Character. I would not therefore for less than *thirty Pounds*, that your Lordship should have wanted this Opportunity of obliging Posterity and myself. Go on, my Lord, in the Paths of Honour, that is, in the [I-179] Art of getting; and continue to be deserving, that is, to be Rich.

From your Lordship's Wealth it is natural enough to make a Transition to your Lordship's Wit; since, according to the laudable Civility of the World, the Man who has Sufficiency of Bags is sure to be endow'd with Sufficiency of Brain. It is very observable, that though Wit has seldom or never the Sense to fall into the Road of Gain, and therefore your witty Men are the foolishest Fellows in the World, that is to say, the poorest; yet Riches, on the contrary, never fail to dubb a Fool a wise Man; and a Dunce no sooner ceases to be poor, but he is transmuted into a *shrewd cunning Fellow*. The Reason of this must be, that the Wit of a poor Man, lying only in the Inside of his Head, is altogether invisible and unregarded; whereas the Wit and Parts of the Wealthy being entirely without the Scull, and consisting of Assets and Effects, are honour'd because they are obvious. A Man, who has Wit in Chestfulls, and a Genius that consists of several Manours, will never want the Praises which are due to such uncommon Talents. I could mention many worthy Citizens who have vast Capacities at Sea, and are wonderfully witty in Warehouses, and most ingenious in *Bank Stock*, besides others, whose Abilities are as conspicuous in the *Exchequer*.

I cannot but lament, on this Occasion, with a seeling Concern, the invincible Obstacles which hinder that unhappy Wit, which is merely internal, from rising into Notice and Reputation. Alas! (*absit invidia verbo*) there is no Wit at all in being hungry, and where is the Jest of having but one Shirt? A Wig without Buckle is but dull Entertainment, and a Threadbare Coat has no Manner of Force upon the Muscles. I can speak it from Experience, there is no Joke in an empty Purse. I had therefore no Expedient left to procure me a little Wit, but the letting out my Parts to Hire, as I now do to your Lordship. *Thirty Pounds*, my Lord, frugally manag'd, will make me a wise Man for three Months together. Your Lordship, who hath Talents of a vast Extent for several Miles round you, and vast Parts in Cash and *Bank Bills*, has not only a sufficient Bulk of Penetration [I-180] and Wisdom to serve you for Life, but will doubtless transmit the same substantial Accomplishments undiminish'd to your Posterity. My Lord *Clarendon* tells us, That *Oliver Cromwel's* Abilities seem'd to raise in Proportion to his Advancement in Power: And your Lordship's Wit and Sense, that are now so bulky, and of such mighty Circumference, would certainly have been invisible to the *Buzzard* World, to this Hour, had not your Fortune lifted them and you into Observation.

I do not say all this to prove to your Lordship, that your Lordship has a great deal of Wit; it is the last Thing you want to be convinc'd of.—But it is my Ambition to get myself a little Wit and Wisdom with your Money; and it is but reasonable I should do something for it. I

owe my Landlady for a Quarter's Lodging, and my Laundress for a Month's Washing; they are the two first whom I intend to satisfy that I am a sensible Man: For I already find, by their sower Looks, they begin to question my Parts. My Shoemaker too, and several other Tradesmen, want sadly to handle some Proofs and Instances of my Wit and Genius. It would be barbarous in your Lordship to let me pass any longer for a Fool amongst these Fellows whom one cannot live without. For a small Matter of that Sort of good Sense, which is call'd Money, I shall find Admiration among them, and, which is better, Credit and New Shoes. I have often been witty, to the best of my Skill, at the Tavern over a Bottle of Wine; but the Blockhead the Vintner is so dull and covetous, that he can see no Wit about me, but what I tell out between my Finger and my Thumb, a Piece of Ingenuity which I am not always Master of. O the Degeneracy of the Age! *Ben Johnson* has frequently paid his Reckoning in a Couplet, and liv'd comfortably and merrily a whole Winter's Night upon a Punn. Alas! I do not believe, in this Iron Age, a Canto of a hundred Staves would bring a Quart of *Sherry*, or a Pound of Salmon. Many a Wit would be forc'd to pawn his Coat (if any Person would take it) for a Dinner, did not the charitable Bookseller advance him Half a Crown on his new Poem, and by that Means pay him Half in Hand.

[I-181]

If a certain eminent Merchant had not manifested his *uncommon Understanding* in the uncommon Number o his Ships, and his *harmonious Disposition* (tuneful would have done better) in the chiming of his Bags, *the Bluntness of the incomparable Mr. Durfey's Nature* would never have rais'd so many *plauditory Plants* in the *large Field* of the said Merchant's Commendations: But that venerable Lyrick knew too well the *Easiness of his Patron's Humour*, not to expect from it an Order upon his Goldsmith, where the *harmonious Knight* keeps the *opulent Marks* of his *uncommon Understanding*. How large Taste he afforded Mr. *Durfey* of his Parts, I know not; what I am to expect from your's, my Lord, I know, and so will your Lordship too, when you have perus'd this *uncommon Dedication*.

I have, by this Time, I hope, with sufficient Clearness, display'd to my Readers, that is, to the whole World, *the Quality and Extent* of your Lordship's Wit. If I have but little to say of your Eloquence, it is because you have hitherto shewn but little. But this is owing to nothing but Choice and Reservedness, on your Part: Your Modesty, my Lord, like a Pot-lead, smothers the Overflowings of your Spirit, and suppresses the Ebullition of your Rhetorick. It becomes me to believe you could do Wonders this Way, if you would. Why will you thus neglect and conceal your Abilities, and obstinately persist to be only a Hearer in the Senate? I do not question, but even this Omission and seeming Indolence is praise-worthy and publick-spirited. Your Lordship, no doubt, considers, that the very Listeners in public Assemblies are promoting the Trade of their Country, while they consume Snuff, and wear out Handkerchiefs. Thus is the Interest of Mankind advanc'd by Idleness and Incapacity itself.

Besides, when I reflect how much Tongue-Artillery is daily walled without doing the least Execution, I must applaud it as a Piece of Prudence and Humanity in your Lordship, to avoid the shedding of innocent Words. How many excellent Orators have we, who are instructive without being understood, severe without being felt, and loud without being heard. What Pity is this! Commend me to those that sit still and take Snuff, because they have [I-182] nothing else to say. I have often lamented and sigh'd in my Closet, that Mens Tongues should have more Speed than their Understandings. When our Spirits are heavy and grave, it is but reasonable the Tongue should be shod with Lead. But alas! our Chops, when once they are set a going, generally shew our Intellects a Pair of Heels, and gallop away with such Fleetness, that even the Memory itself is distanc'd, as swift as it is.

Were the Tongue only to move by the Direction of good Sense, how many worthy *English* Gentlemen and fine Ladies would live and die secretly dumb? This putting of the Jaws upon hard Labour without Profit, and committing a Rape upon People's Ears without the Consent of their Hearts, is a notorious Nuisance and Breach of the Peace. It is an Offence to others, and a Distemper in ourselves. This Disease I call the *Upward Looseness*; and it is in several Respects as nauseous as that below; nay, it sometimes equally affronts the Sense of Smelling, as when the Speaker's Lungs are not over-orthodox, or so.

It is really a miserable Case, that, when a chattering Booby finds himself loaded with a turbulent Quantity of Words and Wind, which he has a Mind to discharge, I must be oblig'd to stand the Shot of his Noise and Nastiness for perhaps an Hour or two together. This, I am sure, is contrary to the Rules of Equity and Cleanliness; but it seems I am bound to it by the Laws of Courtesy and good Breeding.

What I have here said of Loquacity, concerns only private Conversation: But when this Insult upon our Senses appears in publick Assemblies, it is yet more intolerable. Why must prating Oafs (empty of every Thing but Froth and Clamour) be for ever suffer'd, without Rebuke, to be spewing up their ill scented Crudities in the Faces of Men that are either Wise or Brave? I would humbly propose, for the Ease of this Christian Country, that whenever an Orator of this Sort begins to gape and strain, one of the Company shall go up to him, and, taking hold of his Button, tell him, *Sir, I am sorry to see you troubled with so violent a Vomiting*: Or, perhaps, it may be more proper, without saying a [I-183] Word, to run with a Chamber-pot, and hold it up to his Chin. For this Purpose, I would decree, that every Place of publick Meeting in this Istand be provided with one or more of these *necessary Vessels*, either to receive or restrain the Overflowings of indigested Oratory. If one of these *emetick Speakers* cannot conveniently be come at, it is only crying, *To the Chamber-Pot*; and, if he has Shame in him, he will grow well, and sit down.

There is something exceeding insolent in these long-winded Talkers. What Right has any Man living to lay an Embargo upon my Throat, when at the same Time he keeps his own open? He that usurps the whole Discourse, lays this modest Injunction upon the whole Company; namely, *to be silent, and hear him*.

The Ladies, indeed, who understand their Privileges much better than we do our's, are not enslav'd by our Rules; but, tho' there be a Score of them together, exert the Faculty of Speech all at once: And really, if we do but remember that it is their whole Business and Ambition to be only voluble, without troubling themselves with being intelligible, we cannot blame them for exercising their Tongues, as they do their Fans, in all Weathers, merely for a little Parade, or because they are used to it. Ladies, therefore, when they are fluttering either of these inoffensive Instruments, ought not to be interrupted with an Offer of the Chamber-Pot, for, if it be only the Pravity of the Intention that makes Actions criminal, it is evident they can be no Offenders, who speak without any Intention at all. I know the fair Prattlers are so overstock'd with Self-denial, that they will humbly disown this my Justification of them, as what they do not deserve; but I am resolv'd to persist, and make them innocent in Spite of themselves. But as for those of my own Sex, who are addicted to purge at the Mouth, I shall never revoke my Decree against them, or any of them, except such as honour the Truth, and freely confess, that though they talk much, they mean nothing. And indeed it cannot be denied, that very many well-meaning Persons are Rhetorical for no Reason in the Earth, but because they are not Retentive; and so are forc'd to *break Words* purely for *their Ease*. When a [I-184] Man's Tongue is always ready bridl'd and saddl'd, he cannot help it if it will run away him.

This Kind of Eloquence, like an ill Breath, is curable but one Way, and that is, by tying a certain Ligature, call'd a Halter, round the Patient's Neck, and girding it, till you have quite stopp'd up the Gutter through which the aforesaid Excrements do issue.

But as this Remedy might prove somewhat dangerous to many Thousands of his Majesty's good Subjects, I shall be cautious in recommending this publick-spirited Project, tho' I am fully convinc'd it would effectually destroy all his Enemies within these his Dominions. But as I am a Friend to the Tranquillity and Noses of Mankind, I will make bold to prescribe a *Succedaneum*; that is to say, an Equivalent for Hanging.

As a Specifick therefore against the dreadful Effects of this fœtid and epidemical Distemper, I would advise the sick Body, when the Fit is coming upon him, which he will perceive by an ungovernable Agitation in his Jaws, and an incessant Rattling in his Throat, to withdraw himself immediately from Company, and employ these indesatigable Organs in running over a Chapter or two in the Bible. People, I know, particularly *my Patients*, will make a horrid Outcry against the *Distastefulness* of this Remedy, but that can be no Objection against the Use of it, since the *bitterest Drugs* are often the most successful. Besides, it is well known, that all Medicines that *dispose to Sleep*, are *harsh and unpalatable*. Of this Nature are the numerous and powerful Opiats, which come daily from the Press and the Pulpit. A Dose or two of Scripture, if People would but be persuaded to take it (*Sed hic Labor, hoc Opus est*) would compose those Convulsions of the Chops, and that Flux of Speech, which hitherto have been thought incurable. But let none despair; for tho' their Mouths be dry, and their Lips chopp'd with the perpetual Evacuation of Eloquence and Spittle; tho' their Heads ach with Nodding, and their Eyes with Winking; nay, though their Throats should be riven with Hemming, and their Wind-pipes with Straining; nay, even tho' their very Arms should be jaded with explaining their Stories, and their Canes worn out with enforcing their Orations, yet I, the Doctor, [I-185] will, by the Blessing of the *Bible* on my Endeavours, work a *perfect Cure*.

This Secret, which I found out by great Industry and long Study, I might, like other great Physicians, have kept to myself; but I prefer Knowledge and the Good of Mankind to *living in Ignorance, and keeping a Coach*.

For your many excellent Speakers that cannot read, I must find out some other Cure. Perhaps it may be no ineffectual Method to ask them, whether they will give what they say under their Hands, and to present them at the same Time with Pen, Ink, and Paper: You shall find they will immediately grow shy of *attesting it in so solemn a Manner*, and so *recover* to avoid Disgrace. *N. B.* This Remedy effectually cures talkative Beaus.

As to the Ladies, who hate every Thing that is *unpleasant or unfashionable*, I know my *Scripture-Specifick* will never go down with them without a great deal of Art. These genteel well-bred *Patients* would think me a strange rude Fellow, should I advise them to so *vulgar a Thing* as the Reading of an *old Book*; and so I find I must grown canning, that I may not be thought clownish. Being well acquainted with the inquisitive Spirit which is in them, I intend to recommend the Bible to them as a Book that contains many strange Adventures, and many Secrets which they never heard of before: There they will find Gallantry and Intrigues, Songs, Dances, and pretty Fellows, Mobbings, Rebellions, and the Church; Hereditary Right, and a *Jewish Pretender*, who was a very handsome Man, but had his Title and Complexion both ruin'd by the Gallows; and there they will find Courts, Ravishings, and Adultery, and every Thing that can please and entertain them: Besides, the Book is finely bound and gilt. I mention the strongest Motive last, because they may remember it most.

I am sensible few of our fine Ladies are furnish'd with this useful Book, the same being got intirely into the Hands of their Servants, and other mean People, who are poor-enough to be good Christians. I must therefore acquaint the Quality, that the said Book, call'd a *Bible*, may be met with at the Booksellers; Mr. *Baskett*, encourag'd, I suppose, by this Project of mine, having, [I-186] not long since, ventur'd upon a new Impression; otherwise, 'tis thought, Bibles might, in a small Time, have been out of Print.

To convince the whole World that I am altogether disinterested in this useful Discovery, I must, in Justice to myself, declare, that I have never seen the Colour of Mr. *Baskett's* Money; for, tho' I belong to the Society for the *Reformation of Manners*, I do utterly decline the *usual Perquisites* arising from the Execution of that Office. If Mr. *Baskett* indeed should force a Bribe upon me, I know the Courtesy of my Nature will by no Means suffer me to affront so worthy a Person by a rigid Refusal, it being my stedfast Principle to suffer rather than resist, upon such powerful Trials; as many of our good and modest Doctors are forc'd into Greatness and Bishopricks, in spite of their obstinate and repeated *Nolo*. But, though I shall not not fall out with Mr. *Baskett* for a small Matter, I protest before Hand, that if he offers me above a Hundred Guineas, I shall be strangely surpriz'd.

However, if Mr. *Baskett* behaves himself, as *he ought to do*, upon this Occasion, I intend to make over to him, his Heirs, and Assigns, the Right of Printing and Publishing my Works for the Space of Three Hundred Years; at the End of which Time, I do Will and Ordain, that the said Right shall become general, and enrich the whole Body of Booksellers, without Distinction, requiring them, however, as a public Emolument for so public a Benefit, to apply a small Portion of their Profits towards pulling down the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, and rebuilding the same in a Manner worthy of me and my Country, the Honour whereof is hereby consulted, as well as the Reputation of Sir *Christopher Wren*. I should be willing to retrieve his Credit sooner, but as the said Fabrick is never mention'd among Works of Architecture, the present Architect's Name lies safely concealed.

I do also Will and Appoint, that in the Year 2718, that is to say, a Thousand Years hence, the said Company of Booksellers shall, at my Expence, that is to say, out of the Revenues accruing from my Works, erect [I-187] two Marble Statues to the Prince then reigning, the one at *Charing-Cross*, and the other before the Theatre at *Oxford*, with the following Inscriptions.

*Upon that at Charing-Cross.*

TO *George* the Twentieth, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, and Emperor of all *Europe*, Arbitrator of the Peace of *Asia*, and Defender of the Faith; Pious, Clement, Just; the Nursing Father of Liberty and Mankind; bold for Truth, Religion, Law, in Opposition to Tyranny, Persecution, Superstition: His Zeal temper'd with Charity, his Virtue with Affability: A Prince of unparallel'd Self-denial, who loses the Appearance of much Glory by concealing the Substance: By preventing Necessities and Oppressions he prevents the Renown of relieving them. Thus is his Merit the more excellent by being less visible. The Joys and Fears of his Subjects are his own: Their Peace is the End of all his Wars, and his Wars the Means of their Peace. He is magnanimous and wary. His Courage never betrays Want of Circumspection, nor his Circumspection Want of Courage; they are both eminent. His Liberality is not confin'd to Worth reveal'd, but generously contributes to raise it; others have rewarded Merit, but he makes it. He is happy in the Choice and Talents of his Ministers, and they in the Favour and Fortune of their Master. In short, this mighty Emperor seems, in his whole Life and Royal Virtues, to copy out, with great Exactness and Success, the most glorious and popular of all his numerous Ancestors, *George the First*; whose Name, notwithstanding the Dust and Forgetfulness with which other great Princes, and their Atchievements, are cover'd, is still fresh and amiable in our History and Conversation: It was



*He* who laid the Foundation of the settled Prosperity of our Country, and the continu'd Freedom of *Europe*, aided by the Counsels and Negotiations of *Sunderland*, *Stanhope*, and *Cadogan*, great Statesmen, of superior Capacities, and boundless Humanity. By *their* Ministration, in *this* Reign, was first shaken, and, at last, overthrown, a [I-188] formidable Race of ancient Pagans (long since extinct) named *Papists*, the blind and bloody Slaves of a wily Wizard at *Rome*, who by the Magick of Falshood and Ignorance, and by continued and unrelenting Murders, poisoned, stupified, and misled *Christendom* for many Centuries. Among the deathless Glories of that King's Reign, was his having for a Subject *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, surnamed the *Great*, who for Victories, Triumphs, and Clemency, *first* shaded the Lustre of *Julius* and the great *Macedonian*. Him all succeeding Heroes, guided by his Example, and fired by his Successes, have strove to emulate, but could never equal. Then also flourished the immortal Mr. *Addison*, whose Fame is in every Mouth, and his Works in every Hand. In his Writings are still seen, in all their Freshness and Glory, the divine Atchievements of *William the Third*, and the mighty *Marlborough*. The Want of such a Genius and such a Pen, is the Grief and Misfortune of the present Times, and has been the Complaint of every Age between him and us. To compleat the Praises of that Reign, *Parker* presided in the Senate, and, out of it, comptrolled the Law; *King* adorned the Bench, and *Hoadley* the Mitre.

In this Place, some Ages since, stood a brazen *Equestrian* Statue of an old *British* King, whose Name is omitted, because his Reign was unfortunate and his End unhappy. His Bigotry to the Ecclesiasticks was his Foible, and at length his Destruction. Whilst, deluded with their false Incense, and mistaking Self-Interest in them for Loyalty to him, he made them more than Suctjects, he made himself less than a Sovereign. He broke the Constitution, because it would not bend, and banished the Laws, because they would not flatter. He sacrificed the Crown to exalt the Mitre, and oppressed his Subjects to support the Crown. Monarchy and the Church became at last hateful, by making themselves dreadful, and by grasping at too much, lost all. The Nation, after twelve Years Patience under the continued Assaults of Rapine and Tyranny, had a fortuitous but favourable Opportunity put into their Hands, to relieve themselves. They soon found themselves strong and therefore grew unmanageable, [I-189] and, confounding Slavery with Obedience, shook off both. The rest is too Tragical.

The whole History of this ill-advised Prince is a Panegyrick upon his present Majesty, who fortifies his Throne, and blesses his People, by following closely the Wisdom and Example of his great Ancestor above mentioned, the First of his Name.

#### *Upon the Statue at Oxford.*

TO *George the Twentieth*, by the Grace of God, &c. A Prince whose strongest Right to govern Mankind proceeds from his being the best and wisest of Mankind. Nothing can equal the People's Affection to their Monarch, but the Monarch's Benevolence to his People. A noble Emulation! Their Happiness is his Study; his Safety is their Care. He rules by deserving to rule. This is his Opinion, this his Practice. He owns no Right from Heaven but to do Good, nor from Men but to protect them. He detests being a Tyrant, *because his Ancestors were Kings*. He thinks it Diabolical Reasoning that, because he ought to defend, he may therefore destroy. That Kings are the Ordinances of God, merely for being the Scourges of God, he thinks to be a Proposition as dreadful as absurd, which may, with equal Justice, entitle Robbers and Murderers to Impunity and Non-Resistance. The People are not jealous of the Prince's Power, nor the Prince of the People's Liberty. He glories in being limited by the Law of the Land, but more in being unlimited by the Love of his Subjects. His Wisdom and Power are employed for them; their Hearts and their Purses are open to him; both happy in mutual and unrestrained Confidence. He loves all his Subjects, and is by *all* his Subjects beloved, this renowned Nursery of Learning setting an illustrious Copy of Religion and

Loyalty to the remotest Nations of his Empire.

And yet from this Seat of Knowledge *formerly* issued many black Mists of Prejudice and Ignorance, and even the peaceful Muses were drawn into Sedition and Outrages. The blackest Perjuries and most destructive Principles were openly encouraged and defended; and Religion was brought into real Danger, to keep the Church [I-190] out of it. Every Action and every Name that did Honour to the Nation and to Mankind, was blackened and depressed, whilst the vilest Villanies against Truth and Liberty were countenanced and extolled. Honest Men were brow-beaten, weak Men deluded, and Profligates supported and protected; religious Houses were pulled down by the drunken Rabble, and the Church vindicated by blaspheming Mobs. Hereditary Right was supported by Perjury, and Non-Resistance by Rebellion. Men of Virtue and Sobriety were termed Fanaticks, and the Defenders of Peace, Liberty and Law, Republicans: But *George the First*, who had all those Evils in a particular Manner to struggle with, as being levelled at *his Person and Title*, at last overcame them all. He reform'd the Priesthood and purified the University, and in Spite of Pride, Interest, and a Degeneracy almost total, reconciled these haughty Bodies of Men to *Evangelical Religion* and *legal Obedience*. He was the Founder of our present Greatness; for arriving at which, he chose and practised the most natural, most amiable Arts. He made the Good of Mankind the Measure of his Power; and by making his Subjects wise and virtuous, taught them to be great. He made his People powerful, and they him irresistible. Dying, he left behind him such a Pattern of Government, which has never failed to render all succeeding Kings, who have followed it, prosperous and popular. This they have all attempted, but his present Majesty with the most Success.

Of the Reign of *George the First* no more needs be said; it shines, at this Distance, in the Histories and Poems of that Time; a Time fruitful in Men of Learning and Genius, favoured and patronized, *more particularly*, by the *then Duke of Newcastle*, who, from his early Infancy to the End of a *most distinguished and honourable Life*, gave *infinite Proofs* of a large Soul, and a disinterested Love to Mankind, Liberty, and the more elegant Arts. But the Character of that *great and popular Lord* is well known, and his Memory honoured in the same Degree as was his Life.

My LORD,

After an Absence of several Pages, I again return to your Lordship, who must, to excuse me, consider, I [I-191] have been attending a much greater Man: But having now, I hope, sufficiently instructed Posterity about erecting and *dedicating* the above-named Statues, and having made ample Provisions for the Expence of the same, I am once more at your Service.

I should now proceed to display and extol, as becomes me, your Lordship's great Piety and Gallantry, the Gravity of your Carriage, and the Liveliness of your Behaviour, the Grandeur of your Deportment and the Humility of your Conversation; and, *most particularly*, I should celebrate your great Generosity to myself, and your great Frugality to all the World: And your Lordship may depend upon it, I will very soon gratify my own Ambition, by equipping you with all these great Gifts, and many more.

At present a Thing has happened, which interrupts me in the Discharge of this my necessary Duty. A Thing, which the Shyness of my Nature will have me to conceal from all the World, but so good and loving a Friend as your Lordship. My Lord, it is now Twelve o'Clock, and I want a Dinner, and alas, I doubt my Bookseller will not trust me with a Shilling, without mortgaging these my Papers into his Hands for the Sum aforesaid. Thus must half your Lordship, that is, half your Character, be pawn'd, that I may dine. Be assured of hearing from me soon, for I have your *Measure*, and, as becomes *your faithful Taylor*, will finish *your Sute* with all Speed. I am, with wonderful Devotion, and great Haste (it is now a

Quarter after Twelve)

*My very good Lord,*

*Your Lordship's most dutiful,  
and most obedient humble Servant.*

*P. S.* To avoid the Envy that eminent Writers must ever expect, I have determined not to put my Name to my Work, 'till the Thirtieth Edition of this Treatise, which perhaps may not be this Month yet; by which Time it is presumed, that all those who detract from its Excellencies, will be hissed into Silence and Shame by the whole World.

I designed to have subjoined at the End a Table of the *Principal Matters*, as other great Authors have done, but [I-192] going about it, I quickly found I must transcribe the whole Book into an Index, and so gave it over.

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***A Letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; proving, That his Grace cannot be the Author of the Letter to an eminent Presbyterian Clergyman in Swisserland, in which the present State of Religion, in England, is blackened and exposed, and the present Ministry are misrepresented and traducted. By T. Gordon, Esq; ↵***

MY LORD,

THERE is lately printed in *Swisserland*, a Book entituled, *Oratio Historica de Beneficiis in Ecclesiam Tigurinam collatis*. “An Historical Oration concerning the Mercies bestowed upon the Church of *Zurich*.” In the 14th Page of which Oration he gives an Account of the present State of the *English Church*, as the same was transmitted from hence in an Epistle to a principal Person (or *Ruler*) there, from one of the *like*, or *greater Character* here.

As this Epistle gives a frightful Representation of the State of Religion amongst us, in general; and, more particularly, of the Distresses and Dangers, which accrue to the *Church of England*, from Schism, Heresy, and the *Ministry*, I herewith send it to your Grace. I have translated it for the Benefit of my *less learned* Readers, and made some Observations of my own to expose a *lurking* [Editor: illegible words] who deceives and prejudices the World abroad [Editor: illegible words] image of our *Church Affairs under your* [Editor: illegible words] *administration*. And I do it the rather, because, [I-193] my Lord, some People are so very ignorant and malicious as to surmise that your Grace was the Author of that Letter, which is so inconsistent with your former Life and Character.

***Oratio Historica de Beneficiis in Ecclesiam Tigurinam collatis, Pag. 14.***

ECCLESIA Anglicana divisionibus perrupta est, & Schismatibus divisa. Tot ac tam variis Hominum ab ipsius sacris sese segregantium generibus confusa, ut nubis propriis nominibus vel ipsi se distinguere valeant, vel aliis describere. Atque utinam etiam hoc ultimum nobis querelae argumentum esset! Sed impleri oportet quaecumque spiritus Dei olim futura praedixit; adeo & inter nos ipsos exsurrexerunt viri loquentes perversa. Et quid dico, viri? Immò Pastores, Episcopi ipsi manibus Ecclesiam diruunt, in quâ ministrant; ad cujus doctrinam pluries subscripsere: Quibus defensio Ecclesiae commissa, quorum munus est invigilare contra hostes ejus, eosque pro meritis redarguere, compescere, punire. Etiam hi illius Ecclesiae auctoritatem labefactare nituntur, pro quâ non tantum certare, verum, si Res ita postulet, etiam mori debuerint. Quae sint horum Novatorum placita, ex duobus nuperis scriptis Gallico sermone libellis aliquatenus discernere valeatis. Uno hîc verbo dixisse sufficiat, his hominibus omnes Fidei Consessiones, omnes Articulorum subscriptiones, animatus displicere. Velle eos libertatem, seu verius licentiam omnibus concedi, quaecumque libuerit non tantum credendi, sed dicendi, scribendi, praedicandi; etiam si Gratia Spiritus Sancti, Christi Divinitas, alia omnia Religionis nostrae principia maximè fundamentalia, exinde forent evertenda. Quis hæc Christianus, de hominibus nomine saltem Christianis, dici non obstupescat! Quis non doleat hujusmodi λυχδς βαρείς non tantum non ab Ovili longè arceri, verum etiam intra ipsa Ecclesiae pomeria recipi? Ad honores, ad officia, ad gubernacula ejus admitti? At verò ita se Res habet. Dum ad ea, quae sunt hujus seculi, unicè respicimus, prorsum obliviscimur eorum quae ad alterum spectant. Et quia horum hominum tolerantia & promotione quidam se populi favorem conciliaturos sperant, quibus id unicè cordi, ut in suis sese dignitatibus & potentia tueantur, parum [I-194] curant quid de Ecclesia; de Fide, de Religione, de ipse denique Jesu Christo, ejusque veritate eveniat, Ignoscas, vir spectatissime, si, dum justo animi dolori indulgeam, indignationem meam contra hosce Religionis nostrae inimicos paulò asperius, quam pro more meo, expresserim. Reum me potarem proditæ Fidei, si non his Hæreticis, quavis occasione oblatâ, Anathema dixerim, &c.

‘THE Church of *England* is broken by Parties, and rent by Schisms, and in short, distracted with such a Number, and Variety of Separatists, that they want apt Names to distinguish themselves from one another, and to describe themselves to the rest of the World.

‘And I wish even this were our highest Ground of Complaint! But it must be fulfilled, what the *Holy Spirit* foretold in Times past; so that among ourselves Men have arisen, speaking *perverse Things*. But why do I say Men? When even Pastors, nay, *Bishops* themselves pull down with their own Hands the *Church* in which they minister, and to whose Doctrine they have over and over subscribed, even *they* to whom the Preservation of the Church is committed, and whose Business and Duty it is to watch against her Enemies, and to oppose, and restrain, and punish them. Yes, *they* strive to undermine and over-turn the Authority of that Church, for which they ought not only to contend, but, if Occasion were, to lay down their Lives.

‘What the Pleas and Pretensions of these *Innovators* are, you may in some measure learn, from a couple of *French Pamphlets* lately published. Let it here suffice to say in one Word, that these Men are angry at all *Confessions of Faith*, and all Subscriptions of Articles, and are for granting a general *Liberty*, or rather a general *Licence* to all Men, not only to believe, but to speak, and write and preach whatever they please, tho’ at the Expence and Ruin of the *Grace of the Holy [I-195] Spirit, the Divinity of our blessed Saviour*, and all the other *Fundamental Principle*: of our Religion.

‘Who that is a Christian can without Astonishment hear these Things, of Men that call themselves Christians? And who can avoid lamenting, that these *ravening Wolves*  $\lambda\upsilon\chi\delta\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\Theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  are, not only not driven far away from the *Sheepfold*, but even received within the very Enclosures of the Church, and admitted to her Honours, her Offices, and her Government? And yet so it unfortunately is.

‘But while we only strive for the Things of this Life, we wofully neglect those which belong to another. And because *some* hope, by the Toleration an Advancement of *such Men*, to catch the Favour of the People, and by that Means, maintain themselves in *that* which they have *only* at Heart, *their Power and Places*, they care not what becomes of *the Church*, or of *the Earth*, or of *Religion*, or indeed of *Jesus Christ* himself, and *his Cause*.

‘You will pardon me, Sir, that, to gratify a *just Sorrow*, I thus express my Indignation, with more than *usual Bitterness*, against *these Enemies* of our Religion. I should accuse myself of betraying *the Faith*, did I not, on every Occasion, denounce *Damnation* against *these Hereticks*, &c.

Thus far the *Letter*, as it is quoted in the *Oration* above-mentioned. Your Grace will perceive in it a Spirit, which shews what blind Zeal, and Uncharitableness, go to the Composition of a *High Churchman*, who must see double, and represent at Random, else it would be impossible for him, either to discover the Danger of the Church himself, or to shew the same to others. A Character by no Means *becoming* your Grace.

A High Churchman may be denominated from divers Marks and *Exclamations*. He must be devout in damning of Dissenters; he must swear bloodily for the Church, and its great *modern Apostle*, the late *Duke of Ormond*, with some other pious forsworn Gentlemen, who are well affected to *Popery* and the *Convocation*; he must *rebel* for *Passive Obedience*; he must uphold *Divine Right* by diabolical Means; and, in fine, he must be loud and zealous for *Hereditary, Indefeasible*, and the like *Orthodox Nonsense*. [I-196] But there is one Sign more of a *true Churchman*, which is more lasting and universal than all the rest, and that is a firm and senseless Perswasion that the *Church is in Danger*. If a Man believes this, it is enough, his Reputation is up; and tho’ his Life shew more of the Dæmon than the Christian, he shall be

deemed an *excellent Churchman*. This is to true, that, if any Honest, Atheistical Churchman will but Curse and Roar against a *Toleration of Dissenters* he shall be sure to find a *Toleration* himself for the blackest Villanies, and be rewarded with *Reputation* into the Bargain, and, if possible, with *Power*.

There was a Fellow in *Oxfordshire*, one *Jack Brunt*, who had made himself famous for *Zeal*, and *Reguery*. His whole Life was religiously wasted in getting Drunk for the Church, and robbing of Hen Roosts. In short, he was the *best Churchman*, and the *greatest Thief*, in all the Neighbourhood, and in high Esteem with every one that honoured the Cause of *Drunkeness* and *Orthodoxy*. But for all this Merit, as *Jack* was carrying off half a Dozen Cabbages from *Farmer Butter's* Garden, he was unluckily apprehended, and carryed before *Justice Plowden*. However, as *Jack* was upon his Examination, and high his Committment, the *Parson of the Parish*, hearing of his Tribulation, came to intercede for so worthy a *Fellow-Labourer* in the Cause of *Tipling* and *Conformity*. The first Thing the *Doctor* said was, that tho' *Jack* was addicted to *Reguery*, yet he was *Honest*. How, Sir! an *honest Thief!* replied the Squire, spitting and staring. I mean, *he is for the Church*, answered the Parson. *The Church, Man!* says his Worship — — — *I hope the Common Prayer Book does not feed on Cabbages*. But consider, Sir, said the Doctor again, *the Prosecutor is a notorious Dissenter*. And what if he be, quoth the Justice? *Have not Presbyterians a Toleration to eat their own Cabbages?* Away, Away, Mr. What d'ye call; *I love the Church very well, and yet I'll have this Fellow whipped*. *Jack* was accordingly committed, and all the while he peep'd through the Grate, he modestly acquainted every one who came to see him, *that his Sufferings were all for the Church*. And in this the Parson joined with him, and collected Money all round the Country for *Jack*, by the Name [I-197] of an *honest Churchman* who was persecuted by a *Fanatick*. He particularly told a zealous Gentlewoman, the better to dispose her to be liberal, that *Jack* had cursed *King George*, at a publick Ale House in *Ab — — — n*.

My Lord, I have repeated this Story, to shew you what you no doubt know and lament; namely, that this mad Fondness for the Name and Power of the Church, has dissolved the Bonds of Justice and Charity, and confounded Merit and Villany, and sanctisied the vilest immoralities.

Your Grace does, without Question, behold, with Grief and Shame, that those who are employed, and even *greatly rewarded*, to keep up the Land Marks between Virtue and Vice, do notwithstanding trample upon Peace and Truth, and animate the mad Multitude to seek their Salvation in the Paths of Wickedness and Destruction.

Had your Grace been the Author of *the Letter*, instead of bewailing *Notions* and *Opinions*, which no Body can help, and which hurt no Body, you would havelmented and rebuked, that which is truly lamentable, that shameless Corruption of Manners, and that horrid Prostitution of Conscience and Oaths, which are countenanced and practised by *many* who are fond of the *Word Church*, but are at great Enmity with Religion and Liberty.

I grant that *such Persons* are Orthodox Conformists to all the *Ceremonies* and *Bowings* enjoined by *Authority*, and *true Believers* of all the *Misteries* which the *Church* has *thought fit* to maintain in *Opposition* to *carnal Reason* that being *no Guide in spiritual Matters*, which being *inconceivable*, ought *therefore* to be believed. But as a good Life and chaste Behaviour are of some Use and Importance to Human Society, your Grace to be sure wishes that all your Clergy were of my mind, and would not only believe well, but, *if it may be*, live well also.

I am perhaps proposing a Task to them, for which *some* of them will not thank me. But as the Advantages which arise from Virtue, and good Conscience, are many and obvious *to me*; and as the dreadful Practice of Perjury is not only *very common*, but even impiously justified [I-198] in *some* of our Pulpits, by those whose Duty it is to shew its Horror, and press its Punishment, *were Religion any Part of their Aim*; and as all Sorts of Lewdness and Vice accompany this infamous Departure from common Honesty, this *truly damnable Schism* from the *Spirit of Christianity*; I cannot love Religion and my Country so little as to be altogether silent on these important Heads.

With what Face and Conscience can that Man, or *Minister*, who breaks avowedly the *third Command*, persuade the keeping of the other Nine? And are there not *Clergymen* who pray for his Majesty in the Desk, and damn both him and his Title in the Pulpit? Who swear to him, and betray him? Who pledge their Souls for their Allegiance to him, and yet think him an Usurper; and do their hellish Endeavours to dethrone him? And are not such *Atheists* zealous for the Church, and loud in the Cry of her Danger?

Are not such Men manifest Foes to Christianity, and all social Virtues, who, by their blasphemous Practices, and their unhappy Power over the stupid Vulgar, do what in them lyes to break the Bonds of *Human Faith*, and *Society*, and to banish Truth, good Nature, and Morality from the Face of the Earth?

Is not this, my Lord, a *shocking Scene*? And are not these *diabolical Teachers*? And yet they are all *Orthodox* to the Back, and far from *pulling down the Church with their own Hands*, tho' they are Enemies to God and Man.

It is plain these are not the Men meant by the *Complainer*, who only laments the Diversity of Opinions amongst us; as if our Belief and Sentiments, which are perhaps the Effects of Education; or Complexion, were such terrible Things, tho' all their Guilt consists in provoking the Pride of the *worst Sort of Priests*, who by their Lives seem to know no Religion but *Superstition* and *Cruelty*.

These *Jacobite Parsons* who take the Oaths to a Prince whom they abhor, and are perpetually betraying, shew, that their Consciences are either feared beyond feeling, or that they have *none* at all. Can such Monsters, who are the Pests and Shame of their own Species, [I-199] tell us that they are Christians (for as to their being true Churchmen, we make no doubt of it) and yet go on, as they do, to make void the eternal Laws of God and Nature, by swearing falsely, and using the great and solemn Name of God purely to deceive? How little do they seem to believe of *that Divine Vengeance* and *Damnation*, which they so liberally denounce against others?

Their other Morals are of a piece with their dreadful and repeated Perjuries. To come *Drunk* to the *Sacrament*; to *debauch* and play at Cards *on Sunday*; to be perpetually *Wrangling* with their Neighbours; to be ever sowing *Sedition* and *Falshood*, and *fomenting Strife*; to be perpetually flinging *Hell Fire* at all who will not be *Forsworn like themselves*; to be *Idle*, *Riotous*, *Drunken*, *Unclean*, are all so many current Symptoms of a Conscience prostituted or dead. *Quis hæc Christianus de hominibus nomine saltem Christianis, dici non obstupescat!* &c.

Of all these crying Enormities, tho' manifest and *far spread*, this *Mourner*, this Mouth and *Representative* of the Church takes not the least Notice. It is *Orthodoxy*, it is *Jurisdiction*, which he contends for; Things, which however void of true Piety, or inconsistent with it, yet are the *Limbs* and *Citadels* of a *corrupt Priesthood*.

To put this Business of Orthodoxy and Impiety still in a stronger Light, I will beg leave to suppose, that there are, or may be, such Characters as the following, and by them it will appear how a very ill Man, when he is for the Church, becomes a very good Man; and, on the contrary, how a very good Man, when the Church is against him, is made a very ill Man.

*For Instance then.*

*One Parson* is Drunken and Quarrelsome, but then he bows to the *Altar*, and thinks *King William* is damned.

*Another* cheats every Body, and pays no Body, but he drinks to the *Royal Orphan*, and cannot abide *King George*.

*A Third* neither preaches nor prays, but he does a more meritorious Thing — — — — he constantly and servently Curses the *Germans* and *Presbyterians*.

*A Fourth* has a hot Constitution, and lies with every [I-200] Woman he meets, but he has chaste Principles, and swears by his Maker, that Bishops are by *Divine Right*.

*Another* lets his Father starve in a Goal, and the old miserable Man, who had in pair'd his Substance to breed his Son a Parson, writes a Petition to this hopeful Child, to send him *Bread or a Coffin*, and can procure neither, but perishes; but for all that, this *unnatural*, pious Priest, Rears for the Danger of the Church, and is a dutiful Son of it.

*A Sixth* is an Evidence upon a Trial, and forswears himself; but the Cause was for Tythes, and he did it out of Love for the Church.

*A Seventh* is a Scoffer, who has laugh'd Religion out of the World, but he hated my *Lord Wharton like a Toad*, and got Drunk frequently with *Lord Harry* for the Prosperity of the Church.

*Now for the Low Church Clergy.*

*One* is a pious Man, and lives in the Fear of God; will *that* do? *No, he thinks Dissenters may be saved.*

*Another* has great Learning and Industry, and employs them both honestly and carefully. *That's nothing — — — he come over with King William, and helped against King James and Popery.*

*A Third* is a great Master of Reasoning, his Life is unblameable, and his Sincerity and Integrity are unquestionable. *What then? He is not a good Churchman; — — — He says Presbyterians should not be hanged for following their Consciences, and keeping the Sabbath.*

*A Fourth* is a pious Person, a constant Attendant upon the Service of the Church, and charitable beyond belief. *Psha! What of all that? That Bishop is a Presbyterian; — — — he said the Duke of Ormond was a Traytor.*

*A Fifth* is strictly Devout and Religious, an unmoveable Adherent to Truth, and one who sacrificed *his All*, even his daily Bread, to his Conscience, which is neither *fashionable*, nor *conforming*, therefore he should be burnt, because he would not forswear himself, and say he believed in *St. Athanasius*.

Well! *A Sixth* is a great Champion for Natural and Revealed Religion, the *Truth* of which he has demonstrated, [I-201] and his Piety and Parts are admirable; a Man, who has missed the *Mitre* by *deserving it! Why, he ought to be burnt too, because he is for founding Faith*



upon Scripture ONLY.

A *Seventh* is an aged Person, Venerable for Learning and Piety, who has done Service to Religion and Mankind, by his *infinite Labours* in *History Sacred and Profane*, which he has elegantly *connected*; but notwithstanding all this he is no Churchman; he is tainted with *Moderation*.

The last I shall mention is one, who gives up his Life to good Works, and his Income to Charity. But this excellent Christian is a bad Churchman, for he was heard to say, once upon a Time, that King Charles the first, and Archbishop Laud, were but MEN.

This, my Lord, is the *State of the Case* between *High Church* and *Low Church*; and let common Sense determine, which is the more material to Religion, the *Belief of a Point of Speculation*, perhaps false, perhaps insignificant, perhaps blasphemous, for 'tis unproved, and may be any Thing; or, the utmost *Sincerity and Goodness in Lise and Opinion*?

Having thus taken a general View of our *Mourner's Elegy*, I shall now consider it more particularly, Piece by Piece; and in doing this, I shall be greatly help'd by your Lordship's Judgment and Authority, since out of your Writings alone I shall be able to shew sufficiently the *Deceit* and *groundless Clamours* of this lurking Author.

First, he says, That the Church of England is broken by Parties, and rent by Schisms, and, in fine, distracted with such a Number and Variety of Separatists, &c.

And here I think it is plain that the Author does not by the Church mean Religion; for as Religion does not only permit, but even command Men to act from Conviction, there will ever be different Opinions about Spirituals, so long as there are different Complexions, and different Understandings amongst Mankind. All Religion does infer Conscience and voluntary Choice, and he, who has not these for his Motives to Devotion, but stupidly follows the uncertain Authority of Names and Persons, may indeed [I-202] be a very good Conformist, and pay great Reverence to the Clergy; but will never bring along with him an acceptable Worship to God, or Benefit to his own Soul; which, I think, with humble Submission to the Author, are two Things worth minding, tho' Obedience to Church Authority seems with him to be of much greater Moment.

If I think I am, certainly, or most probably in the Right, and yet act contrary to what I think so, I am then as certainly in the wrong.

I wish this Author (whoever he be) had consulted your Grace's Judicious and Christian Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, in the several Articles expounded by Monsieur De Meaux, as well as your admirable Sermon, entituled, False Prophets, &c. before he had thus treacherously betrayed his native Country, basely misrepresented the Church of England to a Presbyterian Clergy Abroad; and factiously vilified and traduced the best Law which was ever enacted for the Honour and Defence of the Protestant Religion, and of those Principles which has deservedly advanced your Grace to the most eminent Station in the Church and Kingdom.

In the first of these Books [\*]your Grace excellently observes, that "In Matters of Faith a Man is to judge for himself, and the Scriptures are a clear and sufficient Rule for him to judge by, and therefore if a Man be evidently convinced upon the best Enquiry he can make, that his particular Belief is founded upon the Word of God, and that of the Church is not, he is obliged to support and adhere to his own Belief in Opposition to that of the Church." And (as your Grace proceeds in the same strain of good Sense and Charity) "the Reason of this must be very evident to all those who own, not the Church, but the Scriptures, to be the ultimate Rule, and Guide of their Faith. For, if this be so, then individual Persons as well as

*Churches, must judge of their Faith according to what they find in Scripture — — — and, if they are convinced that there is a Disagreement in any Point of Faith, between the Voice of the Church and that [I-203] of Scripture, they must stick to the latter rather than the former; they must follow the Superior, not Inferior Guide. — — — This Method is most just and reasonable, and most agreeable to the Constitution of the Church of England, which does not take upon her to be the absolute Mistress of her Members, but allows a higher Place and Authority to the Guidance of the Holy Scriptures than to that of her own Decisions.*

*Quorsum mihi mea Conscientia, si mihi, secundum alienam Conscientiam vivendum est, et moriendum?* said John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris. “To what purpose have I a Conscience of my own, if the Conscience of another Person must be my only Rule of Living and Dying”?

Your Grace, in your Sermon preach'd at St James's, Westminster, on the Fifth of November, 1699. and intitaled, *False Prophets tried by their Fruits*; I say, your Grace, ever zealous for Truth and Liberty, does there assert, in Opposition to the Pretensions of designing Men, who call themselves the Church, and have usurped Authority over the Consciences of Men, “That the Right of examining what is proposed to us in Matters of Religion, is not any special Privilege of the Pastors or Governors of the Church, but is the common Right and Duty of all Christians whatsoever. [(b)]

And, if, in Consequence of this Examination, a Man, be convinced, “that his particular Belief is founded upon the Word of God, and that of the Church is not,” your Grace has told us, in your Defence of the Exposition above cited, “that such a Man is obliged to support and adhere to his own Belief in Opposition to that of the Church”.

Here we have your Grace's publick Opinion, that we are obliged to follow a private non-conforming Conscience to a Conventicle whenever we think the established Church is in the Wrong. For as your Grace further observes, [(c)] *Every particular Person is to answer to God for his own Soul, and must examine, as far as he is able, both what he believes, and how he practices, and upon what Grounds he does [I-204] both; and not follow any Assembly, tho' of never so much seeming Authority.*

And yet (continues your Grace) how confidently do some Men tell us, that we must believe them before our own Reason — — — that it is Schism and Heresy, and I know not what besides, to doubt of, or differ with them in any thing that they require us to believe; and that much better were it to shut our Eyes altogether, and go on blindfold under their Conduct, than to follow the clearest Light that Scripture, or Reason, or even Sense it self, can give us.

But let them (says your Grace) assume what Authority they please to themselves, and raise what Clamour they can against us, when all is done, this Conclusion will remain firm as Heaven, and clear as any first Principle of Science, that, if the Scriptures be, as we all agree that they are, the Word of God, and were written for our Instruction, then we must follow the Conduct of them, and hold fast to the Truth which they deliver, tho' not only a Company of assuming Men, calling themselves the Church, but the whole World should conspire against us.”

In this unanswerable manner has your Grace, long before you came to be at the Head of the Church, shewn the Reasonableness, and even the Necessity of Separation, and ridiculed the stale and deceitful Cry of Heresy and Schism, which being nothing else but a Departure from the Way of thinking established by Law, and an Adherence to Truth as it appears, and not as it is representea by human Authority, are not only the most harmless, but the most commendable Things in the World. Taking them in this view, they are not only Bosom Friends to Christian and Civil Liberty, but even the necessary Effects of it; and nothing but the fiercest Tyranny can deprive them of Elbow-room. I am almost of Opinion, that if it had

not been for the *Puritans*, we should have been, long since, not only without the *Protestant Religion*, but without *any Religion* at all. It is certain, these old Fellows, as *queer* and *fanatical*, as they were, always opposed the Growth of *Ceremonies* and *Arbitrary Power*; and, if your *Grace's Predecessor, Archbishop Laud*, when [I-205] *many peaceable and illustrious Protestant Dissenters* fled from *his Fury* to the *Wild Beasts* and *Rattle-Snakes of America*, could have sent *all the rest* after them, he might have successfully *Popified* us into *that abject Slavery and Uniformity*, which *his good Catholick Christianity* had projected for us.

And therefore, without *mincing the Matter*, or falling into the senseless *Ditty* of lamenting our *Divisions in Opinion*, I heartily thank God that we have *Dissenters*, and I hope we shall never be without them. They are *Centries* and *Watchmen* against the *sly Intrigues* and *Conspiracies* of our *Churchmen*, who, could they but *wheelde* or *drive all Men* into *one Belief*, would soon grow as *independant* and *uncontroulable* as the *Pope* or the *Czar*. *Bigottry*, *Chains*, and *Cruelty*, are *always*, and in *all Places*, the *certain Issue* of *Uniformity*, which is itself of an *infamous Race*, being begot by the *Craft* of the *Priests* upon the *Ignorance* of the *Laity*, I think it puts *Uniformity*, and what is generally called *Schism*, in a true *Light*; that *Tyranny* can never subsist without the *first*, nor *Liberty* without the *latter*.

For my Part, I do not know one *Dissenter* in *England* but who sincerely believes the *Scriptures*, and faithfully adheres to *King George and his Government*, and, in consequence of both, prays to God heartily, and pays his *Taxes cheerfully*, let *the Church* boast as much of her *conforming Sons* if she can.

Oh! but *Schism* and *Dissenters* break the *Peace* of the *Church!* — — — I never much liked this same Phrase, *the Peace of the Church*, because there is always something very bad tacked to the Tail of it. For, in short, those who have the *Impudence* to appropriate that Name (the *Church*) to themselves, *will never be at Peace* till *they* have got the *Possession of our Estates*, and *the keeping of our Senses*; so that *Religion*, and *Property*, and *Reason*, and *Conscience*, must all go to *Pot*, to give *such a Church Peace*. Nothing else will do. *At this present Time*, the *Church*, besides the great *Encrease* of her *Revenues*, enjoys all the *Advantages* which she ever had *since the Reformation*, except that of *worrying Schismatics*; and yet, by *daily Experience* we see, and by [I-206] *this very Letter* we see, that the *High Church Parsons* will *not be at Peace*.

I have thus far spoke my *Mind* frankly upon the *Topick* of *Schism*, emboldened so to do by your *Grace's great Name* and *Example*, who have in many *Places* and *Discourses*, taught *Mankind* not to be alarmed with *Words* and *Bugbears*. Your *Grace* “ [(f)]accounts it a *meanness of Spirit* to *desert the Truth*, or be *afraid* to *own* it, though never so much *clomoured* against by *ignorant* or *designing Men*,” of which *Truth*, you say, *every Man must judge for himself*; as I have quoted it already.

The next *Complaint* in the *Letter* is, *Of Men who speak perverse Things, and of Pastors, nay Bishops, who pull down the Church, and undermine its Authority, though they have subscribed to its Doctrine, and therefore ought to contend for it, and even die for it.*

Here is the most rank, though impotent *Malice*, shewn against the *best Bishop*, *best Protestant*, and *best Man*, whoever *adorned* the *Mitre*, and for the *best Actions* he was capable of, *viz.* for his *comprehensive Love* to *Mankind*, and for strenuously supporting *those Principles*, upon which alone the *Protestant Religion*, his *Majesty's Title*, and the *Liberties of the World*, can be defended; all which entitles him in a particular *Manner* to your *Grace's* *Protection*, who have always maintained the same and *now* worthily enjoy the *Rewards* of your *Virtue*.

But it is no wonder, that my *Lord Bishop of Bangor* should suffer under the Rage of a wicked and despairing *Faction*, when even your Grace's great Post and Character do not protect *your Innocence* from *their* feeble Assaults; otherwise they could never have surmised your Grace to be the Author of so *senseless a Declamation*, against one of *your own Order*, and in contradiction to the whole Tenor of your Life, the Expectations of your Friends, I will not say Engagements to those who had the Honour to prefer you.

Your Grace has always, in your excellent Writings, asserted the contrary Principles, and therefore this *foolish Paper* must have been vomited by some soul-mouthed *High Church Man*, and one of those new sort of *Disciplinarians*, who, your Grace, in your Appeal, assures us, [I-207] *are risen up from amongst ourselves, who seem to comply with the Government of the Church, much upon the same account as others do with that of the State, not out of Conscience to their Duty, or any Love they have for it, but because it is the established Church, and they cannot keep their Preferments without it. They hate our Constitution, and revile all that stand up in good earnest for it; but for all that, they resolve to hold fast to it, and so go on to subscribe and rail.*

These are the *Church Monsters*, or many headed Hydras, which have been heroically vanquished and deseated by *your Grace* and the *Bishop of Bangor*, who have ever maintained the *King's Supremacy*, and the *total Dependance* of the *Clergy upon the Laity*, and have manfully opposed *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* Tyranny, in all their Shapes; for which you have been falsly represented as *Judas's*, *Church-Empsons*, and *Church-Dudleys*, and what not? And now, my Lord, you having disarmed them of all fair Weapons, they have recourse to *Stink-pots*, and would so defile and contaminate the *Champions of our Liberty*, that none who have not *High Church Noses* can come within the Reach of them.

The *Letter Writer* comes next to shew, *What are the Pleas and Pretensions of these Innovators*, as he calls them, and these, he says, *may be learned from a Couple of French Pamphlets lately published*, the Authors of which and their Confederates, whom he has before described, *are angry at all Confessions of Faith, and all Subscription of Articles, and are for a general Toleration*, which he invidiously calls, a *general Licence*, and he might, with the same Candour have christened it a *general Libertinism*.

One of the Treatises here referred to, is written by Mr. *Durette*, and, I suppose, the other by Mr. *Pilloniere*, and both intended to expose the Absurdity, and shew the Ridicule of broad brimmed Hats and grave Faces, meeting in Synods to reveal the revealed Will of God, and to make Creeds and Confessions of Faith, and carry them by a Majority of Voices (often of Proxies) which the Laity are to believe at present, and in all Generations to come.

[I-208]

I very much suspect the virulent Libeller, under the shelter opposing these poor *French Refugees*, intends to level his bold Invective against your Grace's Person and Writings, in which you have so openly and significantly declared your Opinion of what is to be expected from such Assemblies of Clergymen, who have no other Business there but to spread Uncharitableness and Dissention amongst the People, and to usurp Wealth, Dominion, and Power to themselves.

In your Authority of Christian Princes, you excellently well observe, [(g)]that *nothing more exposed our Christian Profession heretofore, or may more deserve our serious Consideration at this Day, than the Violence, the Passion, the Malice, the Falseness, the Oppression, which reigned in most of the Synods held by Constantine, and after him by the following Emperors, upon Occasion of the Arian Controversy, bitter are the Complaints which we are told that great Emperor made of them: The Barbarians, says he, in a Letter to one of them, for fear of us, worship God, but we mind only what tends to Hatred, to*

You further observe of Synods in general, [(h)] viz. *What good can be expected from the Meeting of Men, when their Passions are let loose, and their Minds disordered, when their Interest and Designs, their Friends and Parties, nay their very Judgments and Principles lead them different ways, and they agree in nothing so much as their being very Peevish; when their very reason is depraved, and they judge not according to Truth and Evidence, but with respect to Persons, and every one opposes what another of a different Perswasion moves or approves of*

I heartily concur with your Grace in your Opinion of such Assemblies; and, indeed, I cannot see what good they can do, were it possible that they were inclined to do it: The common Pretence is to make Faith, explain Religion, and to teach the Holy Ghost to talk intelligibly: Vain and weak Men! as if the Almighty was not capable of making himself understood without their help, when he intends to be understood; or as if a few fallible Mortals neither *more wise*, or *more honest* than other Men, were capable of discovering what the Almighty has a [I-209] mind to conceal; or as if the Divine Goodness would cruelly hide from us what is necessary for us to know.

If the Scriptures are so abstruse, and want so much Explanation, how are they so plain that he who runs may read? And how can God Almighty (whose Laws they are) be said to Will that all Men should come to the Knowledge of the Truth? And how are the great Things of Religion revealed to Babes and Sucklings, and hid from the Learned and Wise?

The *Romish Clergy* act consistent with themselves, who pretend to believe the Holy Ghost presides in their General Councils, and consequently may be allowed to explain his own Meaning, but it is incorrigible Impudence in Protestant Priests to assume to talk or write better than the Holy Spirit himself, when they pretend not to his Assistance, nor will accept of any other if they can help it.

And therefore I shall conclude this Head, and stop this *Reviler's* Mouth, by telling him in your Grace's Words, [(l)]“That nothing at this Day preserves us from Ruin and Desolation, but that we (the Clergy) have not Power of ourselves to do *the Church* a Mischief; and *the Prince* who *sees* too much of *our Temper*, is too gracious to us, and has too great a Concern for the Church's Good, tot suffer us to do it.”

The Letter goes on, and the next Passage is pregnant with *Anger* and *Scurrility*. “Who, (says the Author) that is a *Christian* can avoid lamenting that these *ravening Wolves* (I wish he does not mean such Men as *your Grace*, and the *Bishop of Bangor*, &c.) are, not only driven far away from the Sheepfold, but even received within the Inclosures of the Church, and admitted to her Honours, her Offices, and Government? But so it unfortunately is, while we only strive for the Things of this Life, we wofully neglect those which belong to another. And because *some* hope by the *Toleration*, and *Advancement of such Men*, to catch the Favour of the People, and thereby maintain themselves, in that which they have *only* at Heart, *their Power and Places*, they care not what becomes of the *Church*, or of the *Faith*, or of *Religion*, or indeed of *Jesus Christ* himself, and *his Cause*.”

[I-210]

Here now is a Volley of Rage and ugly Names, enough to distance *Billingsgate*, and to put all *reasonable* and *moderate Railing* out of Countenance for ever. *How*, thought I, when I read it first; *have we got Bungey here? It savours filthily of the Sermon at St. Paul's, and breathes the very same Truth and good Sense. Pray God the poor Orthodox Lunatick may come off no worse than he did last Time— —I know a galled Back will not agree with his cholerick Soul, and I see no Hopes of escaping. Blessed Memory is no more, and within these*

*five Years we have had one rebelling Priest hanged, and another seditious Priest set in the Pillory— — — Once more Heaven preserve poor Bungey.* But while I was in the midst of my Soliloquy, I happily remembered that the *Letter* was writ in *Latin*; and so I cleared myself of my Fears, and *the Doctor* of the *learned Scandal*.

From the *Falshood* of the *Assertions*, and the *Bitterness* of the *Stile*, I should have suspected *Friar Francis* for the Author; but as it bears no Tincture of his *Spirit* and *Parts*, I am sure none of this dull Dirt is of *his* flinging.

Upon the whole, my Lord, I am come to a Persuasion, that this *wretched Author* is some wooden Implement of the *late Reign*, some *Northern Genius*, some *Holy Bigot*, and some *Bungler of Peace*, made use of by *his Masters*, as a *foul Hand* to *sign away* the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Liberties* of *Europe*.

Supposing this Author to be a Papist (which is most likely) this *doleful Ditty* of his will run *most naturally* in the following *Stile*, into which I have paraphrased it.

“Who that is a *good Catholick* can avoid *crossing himself*, and saying his *Pater Noster*, when he sees that, tho’ the *Titular Bishop of Bangor’s* Heterodox Principles are the Barrier of the *great Schism*, called the *Reformation*, and are the *Gulph* over which no *rational Englishmen* can pass into the *Bosom* of *Mother Church*; yet that *Arch Heretick* is, not only not *burnt*, but even *sacrilegiously* exercising the Office of a *pretended Bishop*, and *poisoning* the *People* with the *damnable Doctrines* of *private Judgment*, and *Liberty of Conscience*, and *falsly* asserting that the *Priests* cannot *forgive Sin*, and *command Heaven*. But so it unfortunately happens, that while we only strive for *Religion* and *Liberty*, we wofully forget those Things which [I-211] belong to the *Church*; and because *some* hope, by their favouring and protecting of *Protestants*, to gain the good Will of *Protestants*, and thereby gratify their *Schismatical Ambition* of being at the *Head of the Protestant Interest*; they care not what becomes of his *Holiness the Pope*, the *Real Presence*, nor indeed of *Transubstantiation* itself.”

Your Grace, my Lord, will perceive how naturally this silly *Declamation*, full of Froth, and Empty of Reasoning, runs into Ridicule. And, in short, there is no other way of answering it, but by giving it a Turn of this Sort; for it is all Noise and Scolding, it fixes upon no certain Point, nor does it state or confute any particular Error.

But even this is not so wild and absurd as the latter Part of the Paragraph which charges *some Men in Power and Places* with advancing or favouring such Enemies to the Cause as this Author describes: For what has not been done for the Church? Or what has been done against it? Have not the utmost Endeavours been used to bring some of our late Queen’s Favourite Lords into the Ministry? Has not Lord — — — been made a Duke, and it is thought with intent to employ his great Abilities in Accounts, and his Integrity in making them up, at the Head of the Preasury? Was not a Bill intended to be brought into the House of Commons to restore the pious Lord *B— — — k* to his Estate and Honour, and to the Church again? Were not the utmost Efforts used to remove a *great Person* from all Power, for no other Reason, which can be imagined, but his being ungracious to the Church? And was there not a very good Law intended, to have enabled them to execute these pious Designs?

Has there been any Thing done towards that fairy Project, of Regulating and Reforming the Universities? Or has there been any Resentment shewn to their choosing the Brother of a Traitor for their Chancellor, when the Heir to the Crown would have honoured that Post? So careful have we been of provoking the Clergy!

Was not an Instrument drawn and agreed to for silencing a Controversy, in which so many good Churchmen were miserably baffled, in order to rescue them out of the Clutches of their merciless Enemies, in which the kind Projectors did not scruple to talk Nonsense in Compliment [I-212] to modern Orthodoxy, and the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation?

What Clergyman has been preferr'd or countenanced there, or any where else, who has given Offence to the Church? What has been done for the Bishop of *Bangor*? Or what has not been done by some People against him? His great Enemy, who very orthodoxly belied him, is highly preferr'd, but we may be sure not for that Reason. Some, who pretend to be his Friends, give out, that his Lordship was promised to be Clerk of the King's Closer, but the Event shews it was only a Whig Lie, for another has been promoted to that Honour, without his Application, to prevent one, so unacceptable to the Clergy as his Lordship, from having a near Admittance to his Majesty's Person.

Is there any such Thing as Liberty of Conscience given to Protestant Dissenters in *Ireland*? And has there been so much as an Attempt made to restore Arms into their Hands, which were taken from them in the last Reign, though the Papists and Jacobites in that Kingdom are almost ten Times the Number of all the Protestants together?

It's true, my Lord, that after many Struggles, and a Thousand Promises, a Bill has past to repeal the *Occasional and Schism Acts* in *England*, but 'tis plain the Dissenters are more beholding to his Majesty's Justice and Wisdom, than to the Endeavours of those who were sick of it whilst they solicited it, and renounced the Principle which alone can justify it, by declaring for the *Test Act*, though your Grace, by the Reasoning of your admirable Writings, have so unanswerably proved, that the Dissenters have an indisputable Right to all the Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects, notwithstanding their unavoidable Differences in Religious Opinions.

To conclude, are we not sending a great Fleet to the *Baltick* to prevent even the *most distant* Danger to the Church; and are we not told by the Regent's Manifesto, that even *Gibraltar* would have been given up to procure that Peace which is so much wished for by all good Churchmen. I could enumerate many other private Virtues, which will approve some of them, not only true Churchmen, but the Church's best Friends, and therefore, [I-213] my Lord, I think it is very severe and barbarous to use them thus, at a Time too when they can't get a good Word from its Enemies; I affirm to your Lordship, upon my Conscience and Honour, that I have not heard one Anti-Churchman speak well of them, or drink their Health the last whole Session of Parliament, or ever since. When I consider all this, my Lord, I am at a Loss again, about the true Author of this Libel; for I can't conceive how an *experienced Statesman*, and *able Negociator*, should be so ill-inform'd of our publick Affairs, as to hope for Success in publishing so groundless a Calumny, therefore I despair of being able to unkennel this High-Church-Vermin, unless your Grace helps me out.

How ridiculous an Imputation is it in our Defamer, to charge his *some Men* with an Intent of *making themselves Popular, and courting the Favour of the People to maintain themselves in what they have only at Heart, their Power and Places*: As for my part, I know no such Men, and if there are any such, I wish them better Luck: I can judge of Men no otherwise than by their Actions, and therefore I do by these Presents acquit our Author's *some Men* from any such false, groundless, and criminal Designs, and all the Men I know in *England* will do them the same Justice.

*Make themselves Popular with an Intent to keep their Places*, quoth a! Any impartial Person who hath Eyes in his Head, will swear upon the *Evangelists*, that they never so much as aimed at it. I will appeal to any one, if in all the Steps they have taken, they have not

ventured their Places with a great deal of Frankness and Bravery, and their Enemies wonder how they have kept them so long, and therefore 'tis evident from all that has been said, that our Author's *some Men* are not so extraordinary at keeping themselves in their Places, that they are not guilty of favouring the Bishop of *Bangor*, and his Adherents, and that they do not take any Measures to make themselves Popular, but that, in short, they are for the Establish'd Church, and Establish'd Faith, and are foully belied if they have not been your Graces, humble Servants in more Instances than one.

[I-214]

Our Author's concluding Words are remarkable ones, says he, "You will pardon me, Sir, that, to gratify a just Sorrow, I thus express my Indignation, with more *Bitterness* than usual, against *these Enemies* of our Religion. I should accuse myself of betraying the Faith, did I not, on every Occasion, *denounce Damnation* against *these Hercticks*."

Here now is a true Image of a *priestly Spirit*, destitute of all *Humanity* and the *Fear of God*, and fraught with *Fire and Brimstone*, which he scatters so freely among the Sons of Men. 'Tis (I had almost said) well that the *more merciful Devils* have the Custody of these flaming Materials. Dreadful! that honest Men, and sincere Christians, should be wantonly consigned over to *Eternal Flames*, for adhering to the *Truth*, or what appears to them to be so, which is all that is required of them! This, in short, is the Case— — — They *please God*, and make the Parsons *mad*.

Your Grace perceives, and, no doubt, with Horror, the *execrable Genius* and *Malice* of this Author, who, by the assuming Stile of his *Cursing of Christians*, seems willing to be thought a *Firebrand of Authority*, and an *Atheist of Power*. What a Blessing it is to this Church and Nation, that such a *ravening Wolf* does not fill *your Lordship's Chair!*

*Gratulor huic Terræ*— — —

I wish this *Curser* would be instructed by your Lordship's excellent Words, particularly where you so warmly, so christianly recommend a *mutual Charity*, which alone, you say, *can secure us amidst all our Errors, and which with an Agreement in what is most necessary, will to the Honest and Sincere, be sufficient for our eternal Security*. This, your Grace adds, *should make us more sparing in our Anathema's, and more zealous in our Prayers for one another*. With much more excellent Advice to the same Purpose, your Grace also in your excellent Sermon printed in 89, has this Remarkable and Christian Passage, "Who am I, that should dare to pronounce a Sentence of Reprobation against any one, in whom there will appear all the other Characters of an humble, upright, sincere Christian, only because he is not so wise, [I-215] and it may be wiser than I am, and sees further than I do, and therefore is not exactly of my Opinion in every Thing?"

To give a Man to the *Devil*, is an odd way of keeping him from the *Devil*, which I, with humble Submission to the Lower House of Convocation, ignorantly imagined was the Profession and Duty of every Clergyman.

I have thus, my Lord, taken to Pieces this venomous Author, and shown his Spirit. He has reviled, *beyond Sea*, one whom he dares not attack, at Home: And he *s[Editor: illegible letters]ulk'd* and *scolded* in *Switzerland*, because his *base Spirit* must breathe *somewhere*.

But praised be Almighty God, however he may gratify himself by reviling *other Bishops*, the Nation is blessed in *your Grace* with a *Metropolitan* of such *Uniformity in Life* and *Principles*, as must ever baffle Calumny, and confound the Malice of *his* and the *Church's Enemies*, and who will never give Occasion to such a Story as is told of a *Western Bishop* at the *Revolution*, who fled from the *Protestant Religion* and the *Prince of Orange* at *Exeter*, to



*King James and Father Peters at London, and was made Archbishop for his Loyalty and Passive Obedience. But, as he was going Northward to take Possession of his new Dignity, he bethought himself that the Bible was better, and like to get the better of his Holiness and Popery, and so he declared for the Prince, and a Free Parliament, upon the Road.*

I have the Honour to be, with profound Veneration,

*My Lord,*

*Your Grace's most dutiful Son,  
and most obedient, humble Servant.*

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[I-216]

***A true Account of a Revelation lately discovered to Jeremiah van Husen, a German Physician. As he deliver'd it on Oath before John Shepherd, Esq; One of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace; foretelling many strange Events; particularly, the End of the World. By T. Gordon, Esq;*** ↩

Anno 1719.

*Commit. Middless. June 1. 1719.*

THIS Day *Jeremiah van Husen* of *Cripplegate, London*, came before me, and made Oath, that on *May* the 29th, as he walk'd backwards and forwards in his Parlour, between the Hours of Seven and Eight in the Morning, he perceived an Impression made on him, like speaking distinctly in the *German* Language; but that truly he neither heard a Voice, or saw any Appearance. He deposeth likewise, that endeavouring to remove the Surprize, by recollecting what he had before employ'd his Thoughts upon, and by reasoning with himself, that what he had just now felt was only the Effect of his own Imagination, occasion'd by too intense an Engagement on the Subject which then employ'd him, he was a second Time strongly impress'd with the following Particulars; which when they had been gradually manifested to his Understanding, and all deliver'd in the Order wherein they now lie, and the Revelation was over, they all appear'd at one View to his Apprehension, and then ran themselves over again in his Memory in the said Order. He deposeth likewise, that during the said 29th Day of *May*, he found his Mind at Ease, but that the Particulars of the Revelation very often recur'd to his Thoughts; that he slept very [I-217] well that whole Night, and Two Hours longer than usual, without any Dream or Interruption: But that, on the next Day, *May* the 30th, about 10 a Clock in the Morning, he perceiv'd a vehement Disturbedness in his Breast, which wou'd not suffer him to sit still, or remain long in one Posture or Place; that he perceiv'd a want of Appetite, and Disinclination to every Thing about him; that he continued in this restless Condition till Bed-time, a little before which he found his Head very much disorder'd; but that he slept well all that Night.

He farther deposeth, That on the next Morning, *May* 31. he waked with high Disorders both in his Head and Breast; that he rose about Six, and finding himself discompos'd to a strange degree, he went abroad and walk'd till Twelve into the Country; that his Disorder continuing, and rather encreasing than diminishing, he return'd home, and threw himself on the Bed in hopes of Rest; that he roll'd there for Two Hours, without any redress; that by Six in the Evening all his Limbs and Joints partook of the Malady; that he felt no sharp or pungent Pains, but an universal Disquietude and Pressure; that he was unable to eat, and what little Wine he drank appear'd nauseous; that he continued in this Condition all Night, without any Degree of Sleep, and that in the Morning his Breast seem'd to him to swell even to bursting; that for the last Twenty Four Hours he had no remembrance of the Revelation: But that on this Day, *June* the 1st, they all present themselves to him, and give him Torture, and seem to press him to declare them; that he found himself begin to be easy upon the first Resolution to come to me; and that now he has made Oath of the following Particulars, he finds himself in the same Condition wherein he was before he was first seiz'd on *May* the 29th,

*Memorand.*

I observ'd him to deliver the following Particulars with great Calmness and Facility, and having desir'd him to sit down and refresh himself with what my House affords, I discoursed with him for Two Hours together, and found him a sensible intelligent Person, well vers'd, I

believe, and skill'd in his own Business; and that he [I-218] has nothing, not one Word to add or diminish to what he has here sworn to, and is intirely insensible how these Things were communicated or convey'd to him, or how he felt their Force, or the other Sensations which affected him, having never troubled himself with Politicks or Party-quarrels, or ever employ'd any previous Thoughts upon the Things hereafter deliver'd.

*Jurat. coram me Hor. & Dic prædict.*

John Shephard.

THE *Spaniards* will reimbark *June* the 25th, 1719. and narrowly escape the *English* Fleet, *June* 30. of the same Month. *July* the 9th, they will land in *Scotland* with all their Force and warlike Stores. The 20th of the same Month their Fleet returning Home, will be shatter'd by a Storm, and drove on the Coast of *Wales*. *August* the 20th, the *Pretender* will be at the Head of all his Army on a Plain near *England*. On the 29th there will be a bloody Field Battle in *Scotland*. On *November* the 3d, there will be another in *England*. *October* the 2d, King *GEORGE* lands. *January* the 1st following, there will be a strange and pompous Procession through *London*. The 3d, 4th, and 5th, great and bloody Doings at *Tower-Hill*. A Massacre in *Ireland* next *December*. The *French* King dies on *Christmas*-day. Seventeen Provinces declare for *Philip*. *March* 1720, 10000 *English* land at *Ostend*. *May* that Year, a bloody Fight at *Poictou*. *June*, the Regent visits *Lisle*. King *Philip* sups at *Blois* that Month. *July*, the *Spaniards* revolt, and make *Alberoni* and *Don Rodriguez* Governors of the Kingdom, and Prince of *Asturias*. *August* 14, *Philip* and the Duke of *Orleanse* engage in a Field Battle in *Normandy*. *Philip* is taken Prisoner. The Duke of *Savoy* enters *Lorraine* about this Time. *August* the 18th, 1720. the *Turk*, *Muscovite*, and *Swede*, enter into a Tripple Alliance. Princess *Sobieski* dies of Child Birth about this Time. The *Pretender* is also lost near the Coast of *Norway*. The *English* Fleet bombard *Civitta Vecchia*, The Emperor takes *Rome* this Winter, deposes the Pope; and names a Bishop. Summer 1721, the *Italian* Bishops deny the Infallibility and Supremacy. The Emperor dies in *June*. The Elector of *Hanover* chosen [I-219] Emperor. The *French* Church reforms. Peace with the *North*. 1722, the *Turks* embrace Christianity. *September*, this Year, the *Great Mogul* conquers *Persia*. Convocations dissolv'd by an Act of Parliament in *England*. A Shower of Rain like Milk, in *Suabia*. The Czar is Master of all *Tartary*. The *Chinese* turn Papists, and make Father *Mezerial* their Pope. The *West-Indians* universally dispossess and destroy the *Europeans*. 1723, Popery Establish'd at *Genev*. *September* this Year, the *Dutch* are Tributary to the King of *Prussia*. King *Philip* dies in the Isle of *Wight*, *Sweden* conquers *Pomerania*. *Poland* is swallowed up by an Earthquake. Three Hundred Sixty Five Religions in *Holland*. None in *England*. The Barrier broken. *Germany* reforms. 1724, *Spain* builds a Fleet to conquer the *West-Indies*. *England* and *France* join with them. 1725, a Comet burns *Tartary*, *China*, and *Muscovy*. This Year a Toleration granted in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. *Venice* is burnt this Year by an accidental Fire. 1726, Anti christ is first discover'd in *Shropshire*. In 1729 is manifest over all *Europe*. A War between *Germany* and *England*. Another between the *Turk* and *Muscovite*, about Transubstantiation. *Geneva* reforms again. The *Swedes* turn *Turks*. The *English* and *Spanish* Fleets quarrel, and fight at *Rio de la Plata*. The *French* Fleet revolt to the King of *Mexico*. A Battle in the Air seen at *Vienna*, *Stockholm*, and *London*, on the same Day. The *Jews* keep *Christmas* this Year. Laws against Immorality annull'd in *England*. The *Greek* Church turn'd *Arians*. Prophets arise and convert the *Africans*. The Devil worshipp'd at *Jerusalem*. A Civil War in *England*, about the Nature of Schism. Strange Alterations in the Climates all over *Europe*. *Calabria* and *Sicily* over-run with a Conflagration. Polygamy and Witchcraft very frequent in *Ireland*. The *Scotch* turn *Mahometans*. *Swedes* conquer *Denmark*, and establish Presbytery. The Line of *Stanislaus* made Viceroy of *Denmark*. *Aurora Borealis* burns up all *Gothland* and *Finland*. Strange Sea Monsters infest the *English* Coasts. At this Time there is no King in *France*. *September* this Year, all *Arabia* sinks under Water. *December* the

*Arabians* embrace Popery. *January* 1730, Four Comets appear at the Four Cardinal [I-220] Points of the Hemisphere. *February*, the *Mediterranean* Sea overflows on each Side. *Asia Minor* depopulated with Sea Monsters. Popery laid aside all the World over. *March*, this Year, the Sun intensely hot over all the World. The *Persians* conquer *Muscovy*, *June*, the *French* and *Spaniards* join and destroy the *Dutch*. *July*, Anti-christ is discover'd in *Asia*, and Men universally there call themselves *Biblists*. *Europe* is all in one Apostasy. The *West-Indians* embrace Christianity universally, by the preaching of Prophets, and their Power of Miracles. In *December*, they convert *Europe*. The Sun rises Blew sometimes. Land falls in *England*. No Company at *Jonathan's*. *Africa* is of one Mind and one Faith with *America*. *Europe* begins to repent. In *January*, the Great Beast is seen at *Genoa* and *Stockholm* at the same Time, and drowns himself at both Places. Strange Bulls infest *Ireland*. In *March*, *England* is Orthodox. Wonderful Storms all over the Face of the Sky. *Wales* is burned by Eruptions of Bituminous Matter. *Scotland* infested with breaking out of the Blood, and with Blains: Christ is own'd there. *Narriadism* very frequent in this World. Three General Councils, one in *Germany*, one in *China*, another in *Madagascar*. On *September* 15, it appears, that all Mankind agree. The Magazines every where blown up in *France* and *Germany*, by Meteors. The Ships burnt at *Portsmouth* and *Chatham*, by a subterraneous Fire. The Czar of *Muscovy* cuts his Throat. *Heidegger* dies of Fits. The Sun looks no bigger than a *Cheshire* Cheese. The Play-House shut up. Coach-makers turn Prophets. Cooks preach; Hail, Thunder, Lightning. *September* the 29th, the grand Pay-Day; at Twelve at Night, the End of the World.

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***A Comparison between the Proposals of the Bank and the South-Sea Company, wherein is shewn, that the Proposals of the First are much more advantageous to the Publick, than those of the Latter; if they do not offer such Terms to the Annuitants as they will accept of. By J. Trenchard, Esq;***

Anno 1720.

AS I have compared in my own Mind, the constant Encrease of our Publick Debts, to a Cloud gathering over the *Southern Seas*, impregnated with Thunder and Lightning, and big with the Magazines of an Hurricane, which at last sweeps away Houses and Woods, as well as every thing else before it; so I receive the truest Pleasure in observing an universal Disposition in my Countrymen, to endeavour to discharge themselves honourably from so dreadful a Burthen. I think it is every honest Man's Duty to give his utmost Assistance to so desirable a Work; and therefore I think myself obliged to offer such Considerations to my Superiors, as appear to me necessary to make the Attempt effectual; that it may not end in a Job to get Plumbs for a few Projectors, ruin Thousands, and disappoint the Publick.

I am unfashionable enough to declare my Thoughts openly, that as I think it is the highest Crime, so I wish the greatest Punishment was inflicted upon any Persons in his Majesty's Councils, and the Management of his Finances who shall presume to Stock-job and Buffet about the Publick Revenues; and by the Knowledge of their own Intentions, to raise them and depress them at their Pleasure, and as they see their Advantage; and so to make Bargains, [I-222] for themselves, whilst they are ruining the Kingdoms. I hope there are no such now: But I doubt it is too melancholy a Truth, that to this Conduct in former Reigns, we owe the greatest part of our Miseries.

I dare own too, that I heartily wish the Bank of *England* had found it their Interest to have made such a Proposition as might have been acceptable to the Parliament; because I conceive they could have effected it with Advantage to themselves, as well as to the Publick, for the following Reasons.

1. They are in Possession of a great Credit, and by their Bills alone could have paid some Millions of the Debt.

2. They have near Four Millions of it already engrafted in their Stock, and without doubt have great Effects besides, which they have bought in the several Funds, and consequently they would have had so much less of the Publick Debts to have discharged.

3. They have oftener than once already saved the Kingdom, by bringing down the Price of Interest, assisting it in its greatest Exigencies, and have always acted with Reputation and Candour: And indeed, from the Nature of their Constitution, it is almost impracticable for them to do otherwise, or for their Directors to enrich themselves at the Society's Cost; and therefore very many People would have engaged with them, who will not venture their Money in a Trading Company; where the Managers too often squander away and parcel out amongst themselves, their Relations and Followers, the Publick Money, under the Pretence of Traffick, and then must make their Proprietors Recompence, by dividing out their Capital, which they make them to believe is only Interest, and the Profit of the Trade; by which means, the more of their Principal is taken away (like a Hole in the Wall) the greater it grows, and for a Time sells for more too: But at last, the poor People find themselves beggared, and have no way to prevent their Ruin, but by selling out betimes, and ruining others.

4. If the Bank had undertaken it, there could have been little Danger threatened to the Publick from the Influence of so formidable a Society; because another great Body would be subsisting with Twelve Millions Capital: [I-223] Which, added to the Assistance of the *East India* Company, might, and probably would have been a great Ballance against it; besides there could have been no Danger of the Courtiers over-loading them with new Favours.

5. The Capital of the Bank is Seven Millions less than that of the *South-sea* Company; and therefore the Profits arising to the Proprietors, from paying off the other Funds, and striking New Stock in lieu of them, must have been divided upon a proportionably less Capital; and consequently, they could have afforded to have allowed much greater Encouragement to the Annuitants, with yet greater Profit to themselves; and in Fact, they did openly and above board offer Seventeen Hundred Pounds Bank-Stock, for every Hundred Pounds *per Annum* of the long Annuities; which is Twenty Five Years Purchase and an Half, if their Stock continued at One Hundred and Fifty, and Thirty Four Years Purchase, if it ascended to Two Hundred; and in the like Proportion, according as it rose more or less.

However, as every true *Englishman* ought to have no View in an Affair of this great Importance, but what would most conduce to the publick Benefit; so all the Advantages above-mentioned did not, nor ought to have hindred the Acceptance of a better Proposal from the *South-Sea* Company, who have certainly offered more advantageous Terms to the Publick, provided they offer equal Terms too, to bring in the Annuitants, and are contented with their Bargain in the Manner it is made; which no one sure can doubt of, it being by their own Acknowledgment a very good one; since they, in effect, declared they were ready to give more, if any others would give as much.

Therefore I take the less Notice of the little Jobbing Tricks played, and Reports given about in the *Alley*, to raise Stock, *viz.* That New Advantages are to be given. New Trades annexed, and that since the Publick expect from them to raise such Sums of Money, they must find Means to enable them to do it: Such Artifices and such juggling Proceedings, can never enter into the Thoughts of any Member of that Honourable House, which accepted the Proposal. Who can suspect that the Guardians of the Publick Treasure, will ever wantonly squander [I-224] away any part of an advantageous Contract they have made for their Country; and give better Terms than are asked, if these can be performed? And if not, it is still more absurd to imagine, that they will reward any Number of Men whatsoever, for betraying the Publick, by offering a Project which they could not execute, and disappointing another, which could not have miscarried.

It will be embezzling the publick Treasure, and encreasing our Burthens, instead of lessening them, if we give away needlessly not only what is already Money or Wealth, but such Advantages and Privileges as will purchase them from any other Body of Men; for it will be ridiculous to say, any Concession will cost the Publick nothing, which will hurt and prejudice the Publick, or yield the Publick something: Besides, 'tis but common Justice to the Bank of *England*, (to those whose Conduct we are beholden even for the present Proposal) to give them the Preference; if by adding, curtailing, tossing, tumbling, or mangling the accepted Proposition, it should be rendered but equally advantageous to theirs, much more if it should become less so; the Breach of the Contract will lie at their Door alone, who decline to execute it, or confess they can't execute it by demanding New Conditions.

The reason I think it necessary to say thus much is, because I find many Persons engaged in the *South-Sea* Company, who think, or pretend to think, that they have the Choice of the Alternative, either to buy in the Annuitants, or to pay Six Hundred Thousand Pounds in lieu of it, which I dare say is not the Thought of any Man in the Kingdom, besides some of themselves: We all understand, that they offered the Penalty only as an Earnest, to assure us that they intend to give such Conditions as the Annuitants will be inexcusable; if they do not

accept of; which ought to be equal at least to those already offered by the Bank; and I could wish they would silence the Scruples of some, and the Calumnies of others, by obliging themselves to it in the Bill, or at least would make as open and frank a Declaration of their Intention, as the Bank has done.

[I-225]

For the Proposal of the Bank is exceedingly more advantageous than that of the *South Sea*; provided the Bank Proposition brings in the Annuitants, and the *South Sea* Company only pays the Penalty, even tho' the Latter should be kept strictly to their Bargain; for all that then would accrue to the Publick by it, would be but four Millions Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, when it's all paid: And 'tis more than probable, that Sum, as great as it is, will not in Reality lessen the publick Debts at all (it's well if it does not encrease them) because the Annuities, in all likelihood, will rise in Value above Twenty Years Purchase (the Price the Publick are to redeem them at by this Proposal) more than that Sum will discharge: Whereas what the Bank offers, will effectually pay off so much of our Engagements.

They offer directly	l. 3,300,000
The difference in prompt Payment from what the <i>South-Sea</i> offer, more than	200,000
Offered to be allowed to the Annuitants	2,367,600
In all	l. 5,867,600

There is besides the Difference which might probably accrue to the Publick by the Bank's offering to be redeemed at 1724, and the *South-Sea*'s accepted Alternative, to be redeemable at 1727; which by some is computed at more than Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds, and by themselves at not less than Seven.

As I think I have fully shewn, that the Proposal of the Bank of *England* is vastly better to the Publick than that of the *South Sea*, if the First brings in the Annuitants, and the Others do not; so I will as plainly shew, that if the Latter are not obliged to offer them such Conditions as it will be their Interest to accept, that they must be Men of very uncommon Virtue, and intirely detached from all personal Considerations, if they do it of their own Accord.

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'Tis evident, that all the Advantage which can accrue to them by this Bargain, (which they Purchase at so many Millions) over and above receiving good Interest for Seven Years, is the striking New Capital for as much as they pay of the publick Debt; that is to say, for every Hundred Pounds they discharge, they are to have the Liberty to add and sell to the fairest Bidder, One Hundred Pounds of New Stock; and if that can be sold at the current Price (which we will suppose to be One Hundred and Seventy) then Seventy Pounds will be got by the Company; which Profit arising equally upon near Sixteen Millions, there will remain more than Seven Million, clear Profit to the Company, after Four Millions paid to the Publick; and so proportionably more or less, as the Stock rises or falls.

Now it must be obvious to every one, that it can never be their Interest to bring in the Annuitants, before all the redeemable Funds are paid off, and the New Stock is struck and sold; for that would be to call in Shares to divide this great Sum with themselves, and lessen their own Profit above half, by admitting Fifteen Millions more Capital: They will hardly think it worth their Time to give the Publick Four Years and an Halfs Purchase for such Annuitants, and to give the Annuitant great Encouragement besides, to accept the aforesaid Favour; and if they do not, I am persuaded they have too much Modesty to expect the Annuitants to come in without it: Since, as is said before, almost the only Foundation of their Stock now bearing such a Price, is the Advantage which will arise from selling the New Interest.

Besides, how long can it be reasonably supposed, Twenty Seven Millions more of principal Stock will be selling off? (which Sum the whole will amount to at One Hundred and Seventy *per Cent.*) for if we could suppose (which I take to be a very sanguine Imagination) that the Sixteen Millions paid off would all be vested in this Company, there will yet remain Eleven Millions, for which fresh Money must be found.

It is very unlikely, that so great an Interest should be sold, without spending part of the Term in doing it, [I-227] or sinking the Stock, (which will spoil all) and then how can the *South-Sea* offer the Annuitants such Terms as the Bank have already proposed? For when the Advantage arising from this Bargain is at an end, the Seven Millions divided amongst the present Proprietors, and their Term of Seven Years shortened, what imaginary Hopes can there be, that their Stock will keep at the advanced Price? which it must do, to enable them to pay Four Years and a half Purchase to the Publick, and yet give such Encouragement, as the Annuitants will accept of; nor is it possible to suppose a Circumstance, how they shall be capable of doing all this, without its appearing at the first View, that it is more their Interest to pay the Penalty.

Therefore I hope I shall not deserve the Imputation of Calumny, if I surmise, that no Member of the *South-Sea* Company can oppose a Proposition so reasonable, as that they should be obliged to declare what Conditions they will give to the Annuitants; but such who design not the publick Interest, but their own; who intended us a *Mississippi* Company, would have had vastly greater Advantages squandered away for less than half the Sum which is now offered, and who have been cooking up a Project for Seven or Eight Months last past, under the Pretence of paying off the Publick Debts, but in Truth to new burthen the Publick, and enrich themselves; and who, if they are let alone, will turn this great Design into a private Job; and when they have worked up their Stock by Management to an unnatural Price, will draw out, and leave the Publick to shift for itself, till the Season comes round about for gathering new Plumbs.

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*Some Considerations upon the State of our Publick Debts in general, and of  
the Civil List in particular. By J. Trenchard, Esq;*

Anno 1720.

IF by the social Laws of Life we are obliged to aid one another, and to do kind Offices undesired, it will follow that every Opportunity of doing good, is a call to do good; and this Duty must increase in proportion to the Importance of the Occasion, and consequently the Publick has a Right to our first and best Service.

Armed with this Principle of Love to my Country, I set forth in an untrodden Path, and shall regard no Obstructions or Difficulties I meet in my Way; but will unasked, and I fear unthanked too, offer my Assistance to my Superiors, and endeavour to strengthen their Hands in promoting the Happiness of our Country, and removing its Burthens; which I hope to do, by shewing them a short way to those good Ends.

The Power and Happiness of any Country depends in a great Measure upon a skilful and frugal Management of the Publick Treasure, which my Lord *Coke* justly calls, *Tutela Pacis & firmamentum Belli*: By this Conduct chiefly the Seven Provinces, not of more Extent than *Yorkshire*, have proved their State as considerable as some of the greatest Powers in *Europe*; and by the neglect of it, we have seen, but few Years since, the once formidable Kingdom of *Spain* expecting its Fate and the Decision of its Empire from two inconsiderable Armies of Foreigners contending within its own Bowels; and the *Spaniards* themselves were little more than Spectators.

'Tis with Grief and Indignation I say it, that *England* too, which seems designed by Nature and Situation to be [I-229] the Pride and Glory of the World, that has so large a Dominion, so extensive a Trade and immense Revenue, should be sunk and *oppressed* by Debts and Anticipations, by needless Offices and Sallaries, and, I wish I could say only, as needless Pensions, to such a Degree as to be scarce a Match for the lesser States of Christendom: We too plainly confess the Truth of this by our Manner of carrying on the present War; for though *France* and the Emperor are our Allies, and we have no Land Armies to maintain upon the Continent, nor expensive Expeditions to the *West-Indies*, yet we run in Debt every Year greatly to maintain in Effect only a defensive War against a Country, which was of no Weight during the last and former Contests, in the contrary Scale.

Upon this Occasion I cannot but wonder at the Stupidity and mistaken Avarice of too many of my Countrymen, who in a late Reign thought it worth their Time to purchase little seeming Advantages to themselves and Families at the expence of their Country's Ruin, and were contending with so much eagerness for a narrow Cabin, when the Ship itself is sinking: 'Twas stupendious to see Men of great Families and greater Estates watching the Smiles and Nods of hungry Courtiers, courting Dependance, and worshipping those who must otherwise have worshipped them, and this often too, for such Considerations as did scarce defray the Charge of bringing themselves into this State of Servitude.

What was then become of the noble Spirit of our illustrious Ancestors, who made the proudest Ministers to tremble, and regarded neither the Smiles or Frowns even of Princes, when they stood between them and their Duty to their Country. In those Days they scorned to sacrifice their own Honour and Liberty, as well as the Publick Good, to a Paultry Pension, which they were able to give; nor did they quit their Family Seats (where they lived with a becoming Splendor, and received a willing Homage from their obliged and grateful

Neighbours) to dance Attendance with a White Wand, or perhaps only for the Use of a Box and Dice. *O Tempora! O Mores!* Who would have expected to have seen grave Patriots transformed into Harlequins, and our haughtiest Pretenders become Gentlemen Ushers?

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But it's still more amazing that Men of vast Fortunes, all depending upon the prudent Administration of the Publick Affairs, and the frugal Management of our Finances, should be so very Indolent, as to give themselves no Thought, but how to form new Funds, and make new Bargains, without once considering how the Old can be supported.

I wish they would now and then put the Case to themselves, That 'tis possible we may have a new War with *France*, and that the Kingdom will, and ought to be saved, whatever becomes of them and their Interests; That there is no Expedient within the reach of Politicks to prevent a War with a Potent Neighbour, but by being able to make it; That the People are not capable of paying Ten Shillings in the Pound, nor will ever consent to do it; That 'twill soon be impossible to find out new Funds; and then let them reflect what is next to be done.

I wish they would not spend all their Time in the *Alley*, and in carousing with one another over Champain and Burgundy, but would now and then descend to drink a Cup of Ale in the Company of poor despised and mortgaged Country Gentlemen, where it may be of Use to them to hear other Languages: It's true their Ears will be offended with the unusual and ungrateful Sounds of Extortion and Bribery, of juggling Bargains, made between former Ministers and Stock-Jobbers, Money then borrowed by the same Persons in one Capacity and lent in another; desperate Debts bought up by Confederacy for trifling Sums, and then made good; Publick Money got into private Hands, and then lent to the Publick again for great Præmiums, and a great Interest, and afterwards squandred away to make room for new Projects: It's possible too some of these Rusticks may shew a little Uneasiness to see those, who but few Years since would not have kept on their Hats before them, ride now about in Coaches and Six, with pompous Liveries and Attendants, maintained out of their Estates, whilst themselves walk on Foot; and all this while possibly their Country-Understandings, may not find out the least Merit, Virtue, or Publick Services done, by these shining Gallants to countenance such a Distinction.

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How unreasonable soever these Suggestions and Discourses are (which perhaps may be said to proceed from Emulation, Envy, and often from Disaffection) yet 'tis certain they come from those who have and always will have a great share in our Legislature, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it.

Those too, who are most depended upon, will, I doubt not, then, like another sort of Vermin, know how to quit a falling House, and speak in a different Strain; They will tell us that nothing is just or unjust, but as it promotes or hinders the Publick Good.

They will tell us it's barbarous to blow up Houses, and sometimes shut them up with People in them; and yet 'tis often done to prevent the spreading of Fires, and infectious Distempers, and no Law gives Remedy for such Injuries.

We shall be told Towns, Countries, and Provinces are laid waste by those whose Duty 'tis to protect them, when 'tis necessary to oppose or distress a Publick Enemy, without the Imputation of Cruelty or Want of Humanity.

We shall be told Towns besieged have thought it lawful to eat one another, rather than submit to a barbarous Enemy.

They will tell us such Exigencies may happen to a State, that it may not only be lawful, but the Duty of Legislators, to seize Wealth and Treasure wherever they find it; and the want of such a seasonable Resolution, lost *Constantinople* to the *Turks*.

God forbid that this Nation should ever be reduced to such a fatal Necessity! My Heart akes, and my Pen trembles when I mention it: I abominate the Thought; and the Intent of this Paper is to prevent it, and to call upon my Countrymen to join Hand and Heart, and to lay aside their little Party Animosities, and unite this once to save themselves and Country; which must be done by curbing those who will otherwise curb us; by contracting the Publick Expences of all Kinds, by cutting off and retrenching Pensions, as well as useless and exorbitant Salaries, (if any such there be) by examining into every Branch of the Publick Revenue, as well as the Publick Expence, and seeing it be brought in carefully, and laid out frugally.

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What can be more invidious than for a Nation, staggering under the Weight and Oppression of its Debts, eaten up with Usury, and exhausted with Payments, to have the additional Mortification of seeing private and worthless Men riot in their Calamities, and grow rich whilst they grow Poor; to see the Town every Day glittering with New and Pompous Equipages, whilst they are mortgaging and selling their Estates; to see blazing Meteor, suddenly exhaled out of their Jakes, and their Mud (as in *Egypt*) warmed into Monsters.

No Man, who has the least regard to Publick or Private Happiness, will complain of, or regret, those Expences which have a visible Tendency to his Country's Good: Every Man receives again with Interest his Proportion of such Taxes, which he pays with one Hand and receives with the other, and his Share in the general Felicity is his ample Recompence; but then he has a Right to expect they be laid out to the Uses for which they are given, and with the greatest Frugality, and that private Men be not enriched at the Publick Cost, but as they have contributed to the Publick Good.

I hope I may without Offence to any honest Man affirm, that all which I have complained of, was our own Case during the last four Years of the Queen's Reign. I hope it is otherwise now. I saw then, as I thought, the Nation sinking under a most corrupt and foolish Administration, just ready to be delivered up to its Hereditary and most inveterate Enemy, enervated by a long and tedious War, its Traffick betrayed, its Finances discomposed, its People disaffected, its Clergy corrupted, and every Thing, tending to an universal Ruin and Desolation; when I seemed to hear a Voice from Heaven, which promised us a second Redemption.

If any one had then known that we should be blessed with the best Prince living, who desired nothing of us but to make ourselves happy, and to whose Favour we could no otherwise address ourselves, but by Professions to serve our Country; who shared in all our Feelings, and panted to ease them; and in order to it chose his Ministry out of the most remarkable Opposers of the former wicked Administration: If this Person had then told us, that the late vile Miscreants should escape untouched, and carry off [I-233] their Plunder with Impunity; That little should be attempted to reform the People, and less the Clergy; That nothing considerable should be done to lessen the Publick Burthens; but on the contrary Pensions, Salaries and Fees should increase immensely; That in four Years time, the National Debts should be increased by many Millions, without any visible Advantage accruing to the Publick; nay, that the most considerable if not the only Advantage stipulated for us by the Projectors of the last treacherous Peace, should be but once thought of being given up; I say, whoever should have surmised all this, must have passed for a Madman or Traytor.

As for myself, I am thoroughly satisfied that nothing has been wanting on his Majesty's Part, and I hope those whose Business it is, will convince us by their hearty and vigorous Efforts this present Sessions, that no Lukewarmness, affected Difficulties, or worse Views, but true and real Disappointments, have hindered it on theirs.

If it was proper for me to put my Name to this Paper, I am perswaded all who know me will do me the Justice to own, I was long partial to these Gentlemens Interests, often fought their Battles, and sincerely wish for a fair Occasion to do so again; not by receiving any particular or personal Favours to my self, which I neither expect, want or desire, but in common to my Countrymen and Fellow Subjects.

With Impatience I expect this Satisfaction, and with Pleasure and Transport hear, that the Blessing is near of an honourable and advantageous Peace, and doubt not but my Countrymen will take this Opportunity to compleat their Happiness, and endeavour to extricate the Nation out of all its Difficulties: We are in no Circumstances of engaging in Fairy and Fantastical Wars, or of making fruitless and wanton Expeditions, or indeed any at all, which are not indispensably necessary to our own Preservation.

Every Man ought to contribute his utmost to save himself and Country: Those who have long enjoyed useless Offices, or more useless Pensions ought of their own accord to throw them into the Publick Stock: Such as worthily execute Employments beneficial to their Country, ought to content themselves with moderate Rewards, and [I-234] accept their own and the Publick Security, as Part of their Recompence. Those whose Fortunes depend more immediately upon the present Establishment, ought not to dinn our Ears with Bargains founded in Watonness, (not to say Corruption) but willingly acquiesce with less Interest to secure the Principal; and I hope the Landed Interest will contribute freely towards paying off those Debts of which every Man owes a Part in Proportion to his Estate; and I could wish too the Parliament would oblige all Officers to bring in a List of their Fees, have them compared with what they were anciently, and settle them for the future in such Manner that every one may know what he is to pay, with the severest Penalties upon those who extort more.

This Conduct will make us great and happy, the Terror of our Enemies and the Refuge of our Friends; but then the Money so raised or saved must be applied to the Discharge of the Public Burthens, and not made Stales and Funds for new Ones; which will be to encrease our Calamity, and make our Condition desperate. I hope every Member of the House of Commons, conscious of his own Abilities, will propose what he conceives conducive to this great End; not think it the Province of particular Men, and so wait for Projects cook'd up by Stock-Jobbers, to serve present Views, and enrich those further, who are too rich already, by making their Country poor.

As for my own Part, since I am at Liberty to speak my Mind where it might be of greater Use, I will do it where and how I can; and 'till I see that I am stopping the Tide with my Thumb, will do my best to save my Prince and Country, nor shall regard whom I please or offend; I will neither be frightned, bribed or provoked out of the Principles I have always professed, and always practis'd.

My fix'd Purpose is, if this Essay meets with a Reception answerable to the Good I intend, to enquire further into the Causes of all our Misfortunes; to probe and search our Wounds to the Core, and to offer at an adequate Remedy, which I shall submit to my Superiors Consideration; but, in this Paper I shall only animadvert upon the present State of the Civil List, and hope to [I-235] propose a Way to render it most advantageous to His Majesty, and the least burthensome to his People.

I bless God that I can lay my Hand upon my Heart, and safely declare, That I am, ever was, and believe ever shall be, heartily and affectionately attached to His Majesty's Person and Title, which I sincerely esteem to be the best, if not the only, Right any mortal Man can have to Dominion over his Fellow-Creatures: As upon the most disinterested Observation of his Actions, and the truest Information I can get of his Temper and Inclinations, I am fully convinced he has all those Imperial Qualities, which are necessary, to make a People great and happy; so I cannot but exceedingly lament that our Corruptions, Factions and Follies should render us incapable of making the true Use and Advantage of Virtues uncommon to so high a Station: Like Beneficent Heaven, he bids us be wise, great and happy, and we return the Gift upon his Hands, and long and lust again for our *Egyptian* Bondage.

Therefore if any Errors or Abuses should creep into the Administration, or the old Ones be not enough reformed, they ought not, nor will be imputable to him; but they alone ought to be answerable, whose Posts and Stations give them admittance to his Royal Ear, and whose Business and Duty it is to acquaint him with his own Affairs, and to represent to him fairly and undisguisedly the Circumstances and Wants of his People; the Neglect of which Duty ought to be Capital.

But to return to the Subject I am to treat upon: The Civil List was not excessive, till the Reign of *Charles* the 2d, who bringing over with him *French* Inclinations, a *French* Religion, and *French* Luxury, and soon after having also got a *French* Mistress, and procured the whole Publick Revenue to be settled upon himself for Life, amongst other Instances of his Frugality advanced the Establishment of the Civil List to near Five Hundred and Eighty Thousand Pounds *per Ann*, which then answered the Purposes of that corrupt and vicious Court, and enabled it to make the first Essays of Pensioning Parliaments. It was something retrenched in King *James*'s time, though the Queen Regnant, Queen Dowager, and Princess *Anne*'s Courts were kept out of it.

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When King *William* was settled upon the Throne, it was thought by many, who were most Zealous for fixing him there, that this Excess of the Civil List ought to be remedied, especially considering what an expensive War we were engaged in. They thought it very strange that he, who had received three Crowns from the Peoples Gift, should contribute nothing, nor abate the least from the Demands of the two former Kings to maintain a War, entered into to support him in the Throne he sate upon; but this was esteemed by others of more Breeding uncourtly Language, ungrateful to a Benefactor, who condescended to wear the Crown only for our Sakes; and so these unfashionable People were deemed Malecontents, Whimsical, Grumblers, never satisfied with any Government, and not much better than Jacobites, and at last were forced to acquiesce, and consent that as the King deserved more than any of his Predecessors, so his Civil List ought at least to be as great as any of theirs; and the general Opinion was that Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, bein gan even Sum, should be given for that Purpose.

But even this was not thought enough for some Gentlemens Purposes, who by a new Feat of *Legerdemain*, carried on by the Assistance of an ancient and a dexterous Member, (who knew how to serve himself and the Court by seeming to oppose it, which I thank God is not the Providence of any Persons now) obtained a Revenue of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, to be granted to the King for Life, and to be first raised out of certain Funds, which produced a larger Sum, applicable afterwards to such Uses as the Parliament should appoint; which had this further Inconvenience also attending it, that the Courtiers not being to receive any Advantage by the Surplus were nor likely to be very solicitous what become of it, provided the Fund given produced enough to answer their own Demands, and therefore might possibly think themselves at Liberty to gratify their Friends and Creatures, by charging

it with needless Officers, and indulging them afterwards in making their Fortunes as they could.

This Proceeding gave a general Offence, nor did the Parliament long acquiesce under it; but as soon as they [I-237] had a little manumitted themselves from the Influence of the Conjurur's Wand, determined to resume an Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* of what they had unwarily given, and not suffer the Courtiers to riot in Luxury and Corruption, whilst they were exhausting their very Vitals, and sinking under the Load of their Debts and Payments. This Resolution was not to be withstood; so the Court Managers were forced to consent that Three Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds *per Week* should be first taken out of the appropriated Funds and applied to other Uses, and the Remainder, which was valued at about Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* was given to the Crown, with Expectation that the Court when it was their own would manage it better.

This was the Circumstance of the Civil List in King *William's* time, and such it was continued to Queen *Anne*, who gave in one Year a Hundred Thousand Pounds to the Use of the War, maintained her own and Prince *George's* Courts out of it, gave Fifty Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* to the Building of *Blenheim*, as much more as 'tis said somewhere else, and the Managers are foully belied too, if they did not find out extraordinary Recompences for extraordinary Services; nor do I remember to have ever heard of any Defect in the Civil List, till an ignominious Peace was to be ignominiously defended, and an *English* Parliament was to be chosen to bring about a *French* Revolution.

In order to these worthy Ends, we were told, that the Funds given for the Civil List had near produced the Sum intended; That the Queen had given the first Fruits to the pious Clergy; not without proper Hints besides, that the Fifty Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* had been punctually paid; by which Means the Civil List was much in Arrears, and that the Sum of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds was wanting, without which God knows what would become of the *Ch---h* and the *P---r*.

All honest Men then saw and lamented what might be the Consequence of such an Attempt: They dreaded a Precedent which might and probably would be followed by every succeeding Ministry; and then what must [I-238] become of the Kingdom, when the abusing of an old Trust is a sufficient Pretence for asking a new one? Prodigality is to be furnished with new Means of Profusion, and embezzelling the Publick Treasure is a Reason for a Parliament to give more, to answer Purposes which they never approved, and perhaps will never know.

If the Nation shall encourage the Exceeding of that Income by paying them off, the Royal Revenue, and consequently the Royal Authority, will have no Bounds but will run behind again, in order to be cleared again, and so create a new Circulation of Wants and Supplies, as if there were enough already, and we must ever hereafter give what any aew Ministry shall think fit to ask. A new and dangerous Method of squeezing the Kingdom, when it had given almost its all before!

But so it was resolved, for an extraordinary Occasion required extraordinary Measures, which were however happily disappointed by his Majesty's coming to the Crown; nor can it be wondered if in the first Transports of a People just rescued from Misery and Destruction, they thought nothing too much for their great Benefactor.

Notwithstanding our heavy Load of Debts, they gave him a Civil List greater than any of his Predecessors, as it was not charged with their Burthens, nor liable to any Deficiencies, as King *William's* and the Queen's were.

King *Charles* the 2d maintained the Queen's Court, and his numerous Descendants, out of his. King *James* maintained his Queen's Court, the Queen Dowager's, and the Princess *Anne*'s Family. King *William* maintained also the Princess *Anne*, the Queen Dowager, and the Duke of *Gloucester*; and Queen *Anne*, all which is abovementioned; whereas a separate Revenue of an Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* is granted to the Prince for the Appenage of himself and Family.

Nor was the least regard had to his Majesty's other Dominions, which might reasonably contribute to the Support of their King's Court, who honours them so often with his Presence, and leaves the mediate Heir to his Crown amongst them.

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As I heartily rejoice at this Zeal and Affection shewn to his Person and Government, so the Intent of this Paper is to make it as useful and advantageous to him, as it is chargeable to his Subjects, which will take off all Pretences of new Demands in future Reigns, (for we are sure of no such in this) and though they will be then made in the Name of the Crown, yet may be afterwards squandred to fatten Horse leeches by sucking the Hearts Blood of the People.

As the Crown never was, so it's ridiculous to believe it ever will be better, for such irregular Supplies: The Demands upon it will rise in exact proportion to their fancied Riches, and the Weakness of the Ministry; Every one will think he has a right to share in the Profit, who has had a share in the Guilt, and endless Importunities must distract the Court, as well as exhaust the Nation. Whereas a general good Husbandry will soon put an end to all wild and impertinent Solicitations: No one will pretend to what no one has: Worthless Men will not spend their Substance, in hopes to repair themselves out of the Kingdom's Ruins; bur the Direction of the publick Affairs will fall naturally into Hands, who have Interest but in the publick Happiness.

It must have been an unspeakable Dissatisfaction to a Prince so famous thro' the World for the Government of his Family, for his Frugality in laying out his Revenues, and known Oeconomy of all his Affairs in his other Dominions, to see People here so overwhelmed with Vice and Faction, with Corruption and Prodigality, that no Incomes will satisfy them, no Gratification oblige them, nor no Principles influence them. How must he have been surprised when he first heard of a Custom in the latter Part of the Queen's Reign, of hiring Men to be preferr'd, and of giving great Sums to them to accept of great Places; as if there was any Office in *England* could be filled but with one Man, and that no other Person could be found who would emhrace it upon the Motives of its native Honour and Advantage; Without doubt he made the Reflection, that such Officer was to abuse and pervert the Authority of his Place, to do Work which he knew was unjustifiable and unsase, and therefore when he ventured his Head he was to be [I-240] considered and rewarded for his Boldness and his Danger.

How much must he have been amazed when he was told of another Practice then, of giving great Pensions to Men of great Fortunes when they were dismiss'd from their Employments, and often for Crimes; That one was to be rewarded for being turn'd out of a profitable Office, and another for accepting it, and that the Nation was to pay them both. Certainly he ask'd, if they deserved their Employments, why were they turned out of them; and if not, why must they have an Equivalent? But the Mystery was unravelled when he was informed, that dirty Work had been, and was still to be done, and that no one who had once been in the Secret, was ever to be disobliged; That their Successors had no Quarrel to their Conduct, but to their Places, and were resolved to proceed in the same Methods, and so were providing only for themselves and their own Security in Reversion.

How must he have lamented the poor Queen's Unhappiness to be served by so weak and corrupt a Ministry, that though her People, without regard to the heavy Pressures they lay under, had given her a most ample and truly Royal Revenue to support the Splendor and Magnificence of her Court; yet like *Aeneas's* Banquet it was almost devoured, or snatch'd away by the polluted Claws of obscure and ravenous Harpies; so that what remained was scarce enough to maintain her Table and private Expences, and she herself, like *Tantalus*, was the only Person that wanted in the midst of Profusion: When he was informed that Part of it was eaten up by supernumerary Officers of no Use to her State, or Service to her Person: that more of it was swallowed by the exorbitant Bills of Stationers, Gardeners, Builders of all Kinds, Officers of the Kitchen and Household, and many others who claimed a sort of Prescription to Roguery, and would think themselves injured if they could not wrong the Crown, and like Pellicans pull out the Entrails of the Parent who fed and raised them. But how much more yet must he have been astonish'd, when he was told that the greatest Part of his Revenue was lavish'd in Pensions, and given away to those who were not only [I-241] possess'd of most of the great Employments in *England* before, but had every Day new ones created for them, without regard to any other Merit or Qualifications, but knowing how to make a proper Application of two Monosyllables.

So wife a King could not avoid making the natural Observations which resulted from this unhappy Conduct: Undoubtedly he pitied the Condition of Princes, who in the midst of all the outward Shew and Pageantry of Greatness are often encompass'd, and I may almost say imprisoned, by the most ambitious and corrupt of Men; that they must see with such Mens Eyes, and hear with their Ears; that vertuous Men always are endeavoured to be kept from their Presence by such Miscreants, more than an infectious Distemper, knowing that Vice and Folly must fly before them, like Phantoms at the Approach of the Morning Sun. He knew well that as such Insects are raised out of corrupted Matter, by the Heat of a Summer's Day; so they always fly and seek for new Shelter upon the Appearance of a Shower, or the Approach of the Evening Star.

In the prosperous Condition of their Affairs such a servile Crew, like the Scum of fermented Liquors, will rise uppermost, and appear always in sight, haunting their Courts, flattering their Persons, indulging their Vices, and promoting their Expences; whilst wise and good Men, conscious of their own Virtue, and Abilities, will expect to be sought after, tho' are seldom enquired for, till the Remedy is too late, and 'tis out of their Power to help their Prince, and save their Country.

He easily perceived from what Sources such Mischiefs flowed upon the Queen and People. He saw that her Ministry by their Folly and Crimes had reduced themselves even to a Necessity of bribing Men to do their own Business, and paying them to serve themselves. Having first resolved to raise their own Fortunes upon the Publick Ruins, and to sacrifice their Prince's and Country's Happiness to their own Ambition and Covetousness, they were obliged to make use of the private Interests and Passions of Men, and endeavour to subdue every Spirit of Opposition, and every popular Tongue upon any Terms: They knew by Experience that a good Gift [I-242] would soften an angry Heart, and a good Post convince a refractory Enemy or a Publick Spirit, who by such Means would roundly and readily come into Motions and Measures which before had appear'd monstrous and dangerous; some were paid for speaking, others for holding their Tongues, some for assisting, others for not opposing: Nor did they value the Expence, knowing a Bucket full of Water thrown into a Pump will fetch up all that is in the Well.

He then saw clearly the Reason why the Nation had never resented the most exorbitant Offences, *viz.* because the Ministry would not make a Rod for themselves, and punish Crimes which they were resolved to commit; and why any Method was never sincerely propos'd by them, or thought of to reduce the national Expences, which were the Harvest of the



Managers, and the Mines out of which they dug their Wealth. And 'tis indeed but too true if there ever appear'd any faint or seeming Offer to ease the National Debts, it always terminated in a Jobb to enrich private Men, and encrease our Burthens.

He saw the Folly and Ridicule of heaping up Places and Pensions often upon Men, who must have starved if they were to have got but Five Pounds by their Merit. He was too well acquainted with Mankind not to know, that the Clamours and Importunities of such Wretches are endless and infinite; who never know what is fit to ask, when they have to do with those who do not know what is fit to give; That such Demands will multiply upon a Ministry faster than the *Hydra's* Heads, and the gratifying One will produce an Hundred.

Men who are contented in their own Obscurity, when they see Worthlessness rewarded and bought up at a high Price, will put in their Claim too; and think themselves upon a level in Merit with those that have none, and so ruin themselves and Country in spight, if they are not gratified. When Pensions grow common, and are promiscuously given to those who have deserved them, and those who have not, the Demand and Application for them will grow universal: Every one will esteem it a sort of Contempt to him to be left out, and think himself as well intitled, as another who is not intitled at all. So that what is taken from the People's Industry, and [I-243] given for the People's Protection will be squandred away to support Laziness, Prodigality and Vice, and the Bread of the Children will be thrown to Dogs.

He must have again condoled the unhappy Queen's Circumstances, whose foolish and depraved Ministry in the latter Part of her Reign had servilely flatter'd and co-operated with a few Male and Female Parasites, who besieged her Person and poisoned her Ears, who were every Day lessening their Prince's Interest with her People, and ungratefully sacrificing their Benefactor's Honour, Happiness and Security to their own sordid Avarice and insatiable Pride, by engaging her in Alliances and Treaties unacceptable to her Subjects, and by keeping an open Market, and selling to the fairest Bidder all Offices and Employments which were not as before dispos'd of, and by that means perverting the National Justice, impairing the Publick Revenue, and adding greatly to her People's burthens; for undoubtedly whoever is vile enough so to buy an Employment, will think it Lawful to make the best of it afterwards, and will stick at no Methods to do it, when he is sure of Protection from those who have received his Money.

All this must have made him reflect upon the Vicissitude of humane Affairs, and wonder at the Corruption and Degeneracy of a Nation, so famous through the World for being tenacious of their Liberties, and often defending them at the hazard of their Lives, and every thing else that was dear to them; that they should be in his time sunk so low, and become so contemptible, that not one single *Briton* should dare to open his Mouth, and but breathe his Resentments against these glaring and exorbitant Abuses.

He certainly look'd upon this as an Opportunity put by Heaven into his Hands, to acquire Reputation to himself and do good to Mankind, and formed a generous and steady Resolution to call up all our ancient Virtue, and restore so great a People to themselves. Almighty God cannot open a larger or nobler Scene to a truly Great Man for the Exercise of his Virtues, than to set him at the Head of a corrupted People, that he may have the Honour of restoring and reforming them, which [I-244] is a Glory beyond all the gaudy Triumphs of fabulous and imaginary Heroes.

But every honest Man ought to give his Help too, to this great Work, and to assist our Illustrious Benefactor in his Generous Design, and first shew our Gratitude to him by endeavouring to lighten his Crown and make it sit easy upon his Head; which can be only done by supporting his Dignity in the Manner which will most endear him to his People.

As the Parliament has given him a large and most noble Revenue, so it cannot be doubted from their known Loyalty but they will do every Thing in their Power to make it effectual to him, and render their own Gifts compleat; that he may receive what his People pay, and they have the Pleasure to see that they are contributing to the Honour and Splendor of the Crown, and not to the enriching of some of the worst Men amongst them, as has been the Case in former Reigns.

Indeed this Distemper by long Habit seems to be grown so inveterate, and so many private Interests are concerned in preventing the Remedy, that it is become a Work equal to the Legislative Power. Besides, the Royal Authority ought always to be screen'd from the Load of Envy and Anger, which will always attend a Reformation of this Kind. As there are great Numbers whose Interest will be affected by it, and their darling Gain be at an End, so those that undertake it must expect all the Resentments which can be suggested by Rage and Disappointment.

Nor can this Regulation be expected from the Favourites of Princes and the Followers of their Courts and Fortunes: It would be Cruelty as well as Folly to hope for such Assistance. Interest and Self-love will stand in the Way, and they must hurt themselves to serve the Publick, and lessen their own Income to encrease their Master's: But the Body of a grateful People can have no Interest but in their Prince's Felicity, nor can they give a greater Instance of their Affection and Duty to him, than to rescue his Person and Revenue out of Jaws which would devour them both, if ever that should happen to be the Case; nor can a Parliament of *England* do a [I-245] more acceptable Action, or better recommend themselves to their Principals, against a succeeding Election.

At present, I thank God, we have nothing to fear from our industrious, publick-spirited and upright Ministry; but considering the usual Jumble and Rotation of Factions in this Kingdom, who knows how long we may be bless'd with them? Therefore we have Reason to hope from the known Justice and Wisdom of our Representatives, that an effectual Method will be found out to hinder us from relapsing into the Calamities before complained of, and which have proved so fatal to both Prince and People.

I am sufficiently sensible of my own Inability to propose a proper Remedy for these Evils, and know well that there are many others more equal to the Undertaking; which they have hitherto neglected either from Despair of the Cure, or worse Reasons; but I have sometimes known a Patient given over by a famed Physician, and cured by an Empirick.

It is one Degree of public Virtue not to despair of the public Happiness. The *Romans*, the best Judges of Merit, received honourably a Run-a-way General, *quia non desperavit de republica*: Many a State has been destroyed by weak and worthless Instruments, and why may not one be saved by them? A Flock of Geese once saved the Capitol by their cackling. Therefore encouraged by these Reasons and Examples, I offer to the Consideration of my Representatives,

*First*, That a Commission be established by the Legislature, who shall be empowered to enquire by Oath into the Abuses of Collecting and Managing every Branch of the Publick Revenue, as well as of the civil List; to examine into the supernumerary and useless Offices, as well as exorbitant Salaries and extorted Fees; to look into the Bills of the lower Officers of the Houshold, of the Builders, Stationers, Gardeners, with all the ravenous Crew; to search into the Pensions and the pretences for granting them, and indeed into every Part of the Expence of the Civil List except his Majesty's Privy Purse, and lay this Enquiry before the Parliament in the succeeding Sessions, and under what Heads they conceive there may be a Regulation of the Expence.

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*Secondly*, That it be made High Treason for any Person to pay, or any Member of Parliament to receive, in trust or otherwise, any Pension, Sum of Money or other Gratuity from the Crown, unless it be entered in a publick Office, with the Reasons for giving or granting it, to which Office every one may have Admittance, and that all present Pensions be resumed.

Such a Proceeding would be worthy of an *English* Parliament, worthy the Respect they owe to their King, and giving him a substantial and truly Royal Income to himself, instead of making him a Nominal Trustee to receive his Revenue only for the use of others. This would be doing it in the most acceptable and grateful Method, by taking the Odium to themselves, and leaving the whole Benefit to their Prince. This must be also most engaging to his Virtuous Ministry, who will have the Joy and Transport of seeing and sharing in a proper Degree his Grandeur and Magnificence, without the uneasy Task of their Predecessors, (*viz*) of making new and ungrateful Demands upon an exhausted People. It must be an unspeakable Satisfaction to them too, to be freed from the daily and restless Importunities of clamorous Pretenders to Pensions, by having an Answer always ready in their Mouths, which must silence every impertinent and unreasonable Demand.

It cannot therefore be questioned but Persons of their Sagacity and tender Sense of Virtue, must rejoice and heartily concur in a Design so glorious to his Majesty, advantageous to his People, and conducive to their own Honour and Quiet, and will undoubtedly give all private and prudent Assistance to it in their Power. What a Pleasure must it be to them to see, during their Administration, their Country eased of its heavy Burthens; and as it were, relieved from the Jaws of Death, and become again a flourishing and most Potent Kingdom! All who had the Honour to know them before they were worthily advanced to their present Greatness, have heard them frequently exert their known Eloquence upon this Subject, and have Reason to hope, indeed I may say expect, that they will now make good their repeated Promises.

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As to myself, who own many Obligations to their Goodness, as well upon the Publick Account, as for a very late Favour personally intended me, I shall take every Opportunity of acknowledging my Gratitude; and, being sensible I can no way make myself so acceptable to them, as by endeavouring to serve my Country, intend to continue in the same Method, and hope, in due time, to lay before them, what Sums may be saved in the Collection of the Publick Revenues, as well as in the Expence.

I believe it may be easily made out, that the Management of the Revenues alone in the late Reign, cost the People more than the whole Produce amounted to in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. And in this, I do not include the immense Advantages then got by indirect Means, in all the Offices, and particularly in the Navy, which cost the Kingdom many times as much as the Officers could get to themselves, not only by greatly enhancing the Price of all Stores and Provisions, but in discontenting the Seamen, and driving them into Foreign Service, without which it's thought our present Enemies could not have appeared upon the Seas.

At present I shall put them in Mind only of the different Management of the Directors of two of the City Companies, and the late Directors for the Publick.  
783. 784.

	£.
Governors and Directors	5500
Treasurer	200
Deputy Treasurer	150
Secretary	200
Accountant	200
Two other Accountants	250
Four Clerks	230
Four Treasurers Clerks	220
House-Keeper, Door-Keepers and Beadle	180
Incidents about	600
In all not more <i>per Annum</i> than	8000

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785. 786.

	£.
Governor, Deputy Governor, and Directors	4000
Secretary	200
Accountant	200
One Cashier	250
Three other Cashiers	450
Other Clerks,	about 5000
In all something more <i>per Annum</i> than	10000

As I do not pretend to be exact in the Computation aforesaid, so I can be much less so in the supposed Profits of the Exchequer Offices, for obvious Reasons; and therefore I can only estimate them at the reputed Values, in which I am persuaded I do not exceed the Truth.

	£.
Lord Treasurer	8000
Secretary	8000
Four 1st Clerks	6000
Auditor General	8000
Clerks	3000
Tellers and Clerks	10000
Pells and Clerks	5000
Remembrancers	6000
Auditors of the Revenue	3000
Auditors of the Imprest	8000
Pipe	5000
Other Officers	5000
Incident Charges	15000
In all	90000

I thing it will not be denied, notwithstanding this great difference in the Expence, that the Receipts and Payments are greater in the *Bank* than in the *Exchequer*; nay 'tis remarkable that most of the Publick Payments are now made at the *Bank*, there being an Officer from thence constantly attending the *Exchequer*, ready to give *Bank Bills* to all who have Demands of Money. So that many of the Offices there are now become Sine-cures, as others of them were before.

**[I-249]**

Before I conclude, I think myself obliged to do all Right to the late Officers of the *Exchequer*; and as I have without reserve censured their Errors, so I ought equally to applaud their Vertues, and to own that the Revenue which passed through their Hands was really and in truth manag'd by Under-Clerks, at less Expence than even in the *Bank* itself; insomuch, as I am told, the great Accounts of the Army, which amounted to so many Millions, as well as the Customs, &c. were passed and checqued only by Deputy Clerks, with small Salaries in the Auditors of the Imprests Offices? nay, it's said the Frugality was then so great, that the vast Sums gained during the last War by the returning of the Publick Money abroad were not accounted for at all; to which happy Parsimony we owe the Discoveries of many of the brightest Genius's of the Age, who in all Appearance might have been otherwise buried in Obscurity, and so lost to the World for want of proper Opportunities to exert their great Talents.

*Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res augusta Domi.*

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*A Learned Dissertation upon Old Women, Male and Female, Spiritual and Temporal in all Ages; whether in Church, State, or Exchange-Alley. Very reasonable to be read at all Times, but especially at particular Times. By T. Gordon, Esq;* ↩

Anno 1720.

IT is recorded in the Memories of divers Story-Tellers in and about this Metropolis, that the Sage and Eloquent Dr. *Byfield*, who goeth about, pouring forth his Divine Breathings in Coffee-houses, and presenting his Books *Gratis* to all who will pay him for them: I say, [I-250] it is credibly reported that the said Doctor having a Suit in Chancery with a certain Chymist, and a venerable Serjeant being of Counsel for his Adversary; he, the said Doctor, humbly moved my Lord Chancellor that Mrs. *Byfield*, the Wife of him the said Doctor, might be allowed to answer and refute the Harangue of him the said Serjeant; and mark the Reason! *for* (said the Doctor) *she, My Lord, is an Old Woman too!*

Whether this Request was granted, or only entered upon Record, the Tradition sayeth not. If the Challenge was not accepted, surely it is great Pity; seeing that from a Match so natural, and a Contention so Equal, much Elegant Entertainment would have resulted to the Grave and Learned Brothers (or shall I rather say, *Sisters*) of the Long Robe, who, during the Strife, must have stood strangely and equally poised in their Affections and Wishes, as being equally allied to either Combatant. I have indeed, heard it urged, by the Partizans of the Old Woman in Petty-coats, that the Other in the Coif, jealous of his Reputation, and doubtful how the Issue might determine the Prize of Eloquence, fled the Pit, and left, ingloriously, his Antagonist whetting her Gums, and mumbling Revenge. But the Learned and Acute Sir ———, Knight, Serjeant at Law, does, *with great Submission, conceive* that this last *Clause* of the Tradition wants *Proof*.

I must own it would have been exceeding Unnatural and Unscriptural for Mrs. *Byfield* and the Serjeant to have entred the Lists against each other, upon this Occasion; or, indeed, upon any other whatsoever: Forasmuch as is written in the Hundred Thirtieth and Third Psalm, Verse the First; *Behold how good and how pleasant it is for BRETHREN to dwell together in Unity:* And therefore it is my own private Opinion of this Matter, that the whole Bench and Bar, taking it into their serious Consideration, as what might affect them all, offered their Mediation, and stopped the Progress of their pernicious Difference. And in this I have the concurring Opinion of ——— and ——— and ——— and ——— and ——— and ——— with several Others, all *able Lawyers*, and Parties concerned.

[I-251]

There is a waggish Acquaintance of mine, who carries the Analogy between Old Women and grave Barristers, further than, in my Judgment, Need requires he should. ‘Don’t you observe, says he, that they have the same Enmity to Silence, and possess the same Eternal Wetness of Beard? Pray, distinguish, if you can, between Pleading and Scolding; and, whatever you do, mark that hobbling Amble in their Gate; that involuntary Nod of the Head; that contracted plodding Forehead; that wise unmeaning Face, and these desolate Gums! and then, confess the invincible Likeness—— I would furthermore put you in Mind of their Equal Taste in Dress, and their Equal Resemblance therein — Black Gowns and red Petticoats! two Colours, in which it is hard to say, whether my Lord *J——e* mimicks *Granny*, or *Granny* my Lord *J—e!* *Granny* moreover wears forward Night-Cloaths, and ties her Pinnars, before to hide a Bald-Pate; and Mr. Serjeant, and his Betters, bury their Faces in mighty Periwigs, which inviron either Chap, and lie, like comely Mares Tails, on either Breast— for why, they are only Hairy Machines to conceal long Ears!’

At the Assizes in *Carmarthen-Shire*, some Years ago, a *Welshman*, who had never seen so fine a Shew before, asked a Neighbour of his, who was knowing in these Matters,

‘What Shentleman was that upon the Pench in hur Cown, and hur Pelt, and her Plack Cap? *Why, marry, quoth Morgan, hur is an Old Woman that takes hur Nap upon hur Cushion, and then hur tells the Shewry hur Tream.*’

It is plain from St. *Paul*, that Old Wives Fables were current and prevailing in his Time, and he warns St. *Timothy*, (the most Reverend, the Lord Archbishop of *Ephesus*.) against them; desiring *his Grace, to exercise himself rather unto Godliness*. But notwithstanding that the Apostle’s Works are still read, tho’ they do not say a Word of *South-Sea Stock*; yet Old Wives are in as good Esteem as ever, and their Tales bear as good a Price. There is particularly a numerous Tribe of Ancient Gentlewomen, call’d *Schoolmen* and *Fathers*, who are reputed a Company of Venerable Gossips, whose Evidence may [I-252] be taken in Trials about *Norwich* Crapes, wide-knee’d Breeches, the Power of the Constable, the Primitive Institution of Parish-Clerks, the Decimation of Eggs by Original Patent, Whoring, Scolding, and Court’sying towards the Rising-Sun; and the like momentous Points between Men and Monks.

But it is very true, that these old Bodies do often contradict one another in their Evidence; either because they know not the Truth, or will not speak it; both which are frequently the Case— — —. But here a ready Expedient is offered; for the *pious* Attornies who produce them, modestly reject every part of the Evidence which makes against them, as *forged* or *erroneous*, and are pleased only to accept so much of the same, as makes for them, as undoubtedly *genuine* and *valid*. And if no part of it will serve their Turn; yet we, the Defendants, are bound to believe that it does; and that is as well. For the *pious* Attornies above-written, claim, from Time immemorial, a Right to be Prosecutors, and Judges, and Witnesses; at least, Witnesses for their Witnesses, in every Law-Suit which they undertake. And, if we do not acquiesce in all this a Lawyer of this Sort has told us, what Sentence we are to expect; even this, *G— — — d— — — mn you and yours to all Eternity*. (Tale of Tub in *12mo. p. 104.*)

The Admirers and Followers of these old dusty Gossips, are themselves of the same Character and Predicament; for, as the Saying is, *Old Women of all Religions are the same*. We are not therefore to wonder, if we find in the whole Breed, an equal Appetite for Flogging, Hoarding, Backbiting, and Scolding. From Gammar *Aaron* down to Gammar *Satanasius*, and from Gammar *Satanasius* down to Gammar *Becket*, and from Gammar *Becket* down to Gammar *Laud*, and from Gammar *Laud* (keeping still in the same *See*) down to Gammar — — — — — you find the self same Spirit, and the self same Arts. The Multitude have been still bubbled, and taught or scared into the Worship of golden Calves, or black Calves, or some other sorts of Calves: And the same Lying, Falshood, and Cruelty, have gone on in an *uninterrupted Line of Succession*, and uninterrupted Submission.

[I-253]

It is marvellous and inconceivable, the Stupidity and Duncibleness of Mankind. ‘O World! when wilt thou come out of thy Infancy, and assume a Beard; and a Mind worthy of that Beard! learn to despise *long Coats*; reject thy Leaders and thy Leading-Strings; stand upon thy own Legs; be of Age; look round thee, and distinguish, at last, Truth and Freedom from Restraint and Disguises. But in Case, my dearest Child, that thou art already superannuated; as, considering the Greyness of thy Head, and the Greenness of thy Behaviour, I fear me thou art; Then, O Reverend Granny, lost is my Labour, and vain are my Instructions! I will, however, bear my Testimony in thy Behalf, and shew thee, with the help of thy Spectacles, how thou art ever ridden by old Women, thyself an old Woman!’

Queen *Semiramis* was the greatest King that swayed the Scepter of *Assyria*, and exceeded by far all that succeeded her. She was indeed a most valiant Man, but very lewd, which is no Fault in Princes; what is very common being very pardonable. To her succeeded her Son, King *Sardanapalus* the Queen, who from his Infancy was an *old Woman*, and very naturally spent all his Time, and his Spinning amongst young ones. But for all the Harmlessness of this He-Queen, he met an untimely Fate, and violent Hands were laid upon the *Lord's Anointed*, to the great Grief of all the *true Churchmen*, that is the *genuine* Worshippers of *Bel and the Dragon*, of those Days.

Those who came after him were for the most part like him; and from *Semiramis* to the End of the *Babylonian* Monarchy, which lasted for several Ages, all the Kings proved to be of the Female Gender, except herself. When the Monarchy was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*, there was but one Emperor, and that was *Cyrus*, who happened to be a Man: All the rest were old Women; Creatures that lived in their Dining Rooms, admired their fine Furniture, wore rich Brocades, play'd with their Monkies, beat and bit and scratched their Servants, and drank Cawdle, the Tea of the Time; and in fine, said and did, just as do and say our aged Countesses in t'other End of the Town.

[I-254]

At length the Magicians, or Priests of the *Established Church of Babylon*, having great Interest at Court, and Encouragement from the Prince, knocked him on the Head in Return for his Love; and, by the Murder of his whole Race, and further Cruelty and Craft, seated themselves in his Throne, and yet kept the Murder and Usurpation a Secret from all the World, for some Time. But the reigning Conjuror being, like the rest of the Tribe, given to Wenching, a Mistress of his was directed by her Brother, who suspected sacred Roguery, to search his Majesty's Head for Ears; and upon Inquiry, she found he had none. For, it had happened, some Time before, that the whole Order had their Luggs lopped off for some pious Pranks by them play'd.

Upon this Discovery, the Grandees invaded the Royal Palace, *alias* the Royal Brothel, and put all these *old Women*, that is to say the *Clergy*, that is to say the *Usurpers*, to the Sword. So here ended the Reign (tho' not the Roguery) of these *consecrated Monarchs*, or *spiritual Sovereigns*, or *Pagan Popes*, or *cropped Prelates*, or *Representatives* of — — —'s Person, or, &c.

Proceed we next to the Election of a new *old Woman*. For, the Lineal Entail was broken in the Murther of *Adam's* Heir at Law, by the *Babylonian* Parsons; tho' some of their Brethren since have pretended to patch it together again, Impossibilities being of no Weight in the Schemes of *Magicians*.

In this Election one *Darius* carried the Diadem by the Merit of his Stone-Horse; which Stone-Horse, had it not been for the Folly or Partiality of the Nobility, ought to have mounted that Throne; and then might have been alledged, what now cannot be alledged, namely that once in a Century a Creature of some *Manhood* filled it.

It is the Opinion of that able Critick and Cabbalist, *Rabbi Nick Nack Ben Dry Pate*, that the Historians are all Lyars and Dunces in the Account they pretend to give of this Matter; For, says he, *I will lay an even Wager of fifty to One, that when the Crown of Persia was, by a Vote of the judicious House of Lmacr— — —ds there, hung upon a Nag's Nostrils, whose Neighing was to create a Master of Mankind, and declare the Lord's Anointed; Darius did not act by the Craft of his Groom (which is [I-255] the Opinion of Ctesias, Berosus, Plutarch, &c.) but by the Counsel of his Chaplain, who advised him, as soon as ever he came to the randying Ground, to Bray with all his Might; and if you take this Method, added the sage Doctor, and Bray with becoming Vehemence, by G— — —I'll venture my Soul upon it, you are*



*Monarch of the East. For, continued his Reverence, in such a Hurry and Discord of the Passions, as will necessarily fill every Breast upon so great an Occasion, who will distinguish Chesnut's Voice from your Lordship's Voice, or a F—— from a Pair of Bag-pipes? Rabbi Nick-nack adds, that Earl Darius finding this Expedient the easiest and most natural to him of all the Expedients in the World; whenever he found himself upon the Place of Trial, clapped his Finger to one Nostril, and brayed with t'other, with so bewitching and so Royal an Accent, that the whole House of Nobles then present whipped off their Hats, and bowing with their Faces to the Earth, as if the Chaplain himself, or an Altar had stood in their Way, cried out with one Accord, O King Darius, live for ever. He was then taken and crowned, being first anointed, and having taken an Oath to defend the Rights of the Clergy and Convocation; the Archbishop performing the Ceremony, the Reverend Dr. Tygris reading Prayers, and the Chaplain aforesaid preaching the Sermon, which was ordered to be printed by his Majesty's special Command; and he had the first good Living that fell.*

So easily are Kingdoms earned, and by such certain Signs and Criteria does Heaven point out the Persons of Princes; who, being of Divine Institution, the Divine Will must, in the Case before us, be exceeding clearly conveyed through the Snout of a Horse, or of an Ass; a very usual Vehicle of Instruction, in all Ages and Climates!

But as every old Woman that totters under a Crown, rules or scolds, or blasphemes, or murders, or burns, by Divine Appointment; so the old Women, *alias* Emperors of *Persia*, continued to plague Mankind, and Misgovern, as Heaven's Lieutenants, till *Alexander* the Great, who in the Beginning of his Reign, was indeed a King of the Masculine Gender, came with all the Violence of War, as Heaven's Lieutenants also, to dethrone [I-256] and put an End to them: For he that was strongest always happened to have the Divine Authority on his Side, contrary, and yet agreeable, to the Orthodox System.

#### *Victrix Causa Diis placuit.*

*Alexander* himself soon degenerated, and, before he arrived to the Flower of his Age, grew an old Woman, like the rest; became wonderfully addicted to Scolding, and doated upon nothing but fine Gowns, and Citron Water.

His immediate Successors resembled him; they were at first Men, and at last Drivelers; and, for those Kings who succeeded *them*, they were old Wives from their Cradles.

There never was, in all the East, a braver Race of Men than the *Amazons*, whose Queens were also the bravest of Kings. *Tamerlane* too happened to be a Prince of a Male Genius; but excepting as before excepted, there has scarce ever been known such a Character as a King in all the great Continent of *Asia*, tho' abounding in Monarchs. Their frequent exercising of Craft and Cruelty does in no degree determine them Men; the same being also exercised, though in a smaller Measure, by Crocodiles, Wolves, Kites, Adders, and the like Emblems and Patterns of such Imperial old Women as play the Devil by Divine Right.

But these Royal Vermin, who sucked the Blood of their Subjects, and were the relentless Foes of Mankind, became all, in their Turn, the Booty and Vassals of the *Romans*, who knocked them on the Head or imprisoned them, or suffered them to enjoy a precarious and slavish Sovereignty, just as they had behaved themselves.

The *Romans* were a Nation of Men, and Friends to their Species, Lovers of Liberty and Despisers of Life, when these two Blessings were incompatible. They propagated Politeness and Laws; and hunted down Tyrants and Barbarity, where-ever they came. They taught Mankind to distinguish between manly Obedience, proceeding from rational Consent, which is the Allegiance of *Subjects*; and involuntary Submission, extorted by [I-257] Fears and Force, which is the Lot and Condition of Slaves.

Their Religion was of a Piece with their Politicks, and part of them. The Civil Magistrate was either the Priest himself, or the Priest was *prompted* by him; and the only Piece of Priestcraft which the *old Republican Clergy* practised, was to lie laudably, by the Direction of the Magistrate, for the Good of the Common-wealth. The Hands of the Government were not tied up from encouraging publick Spirit, by the paultry Fear of alarming the Ecclesiasticks. Every Principle and every Action, which promoted their present Liberty and Prosperity, was lawful, virtuous, and religious, in the Eyes of that noble People; who had no Idea of the Encroachment of Liberty upon Religion, or of the Church's clashing with the State, or of the *Creature's* contending for Superiority with its *Creator*. These were Monsters yet unborn, and Absurdities as yet univented, which lived not till Liberty was dead, and till *old Women* succeeded *Heroes*.

The *Romans* preserved their Liberty so long as they preserved their Virtue. At last Ambition and Bribery seized the Senate House, and were followed by every evil Art and every wicked Purpose: The Corruption began at the Great, who spread it among the People, and debauched them in order to enslave them. Shews, Farces, and Masquerades, made them idle, and depending upon those who gratified them with these fine Sights and Diversions. At long run, their highest Ambition was to live and see *Shews*. In the End, being fully purged of all Sense of Virtue and Freedom, the whole *Roman* People, who had conquered the World, and polished it; they who had deposed Tyrants, and set Mankind free, became themselves an easy Prey to a Traitor of their own raising.

Men have been, and are, generally taught (from their early Youth) to admire and reverence the First *Cæsar*: At which I am astonished; for he was one of the most wicked and bloody Men that ever the Earth bore. He stuck at no Villany, no Vileness, no Destruction, to gain his Ends, and ruin his Country. *Omnium Fæminarum Maritus, & omnium Virorum Uxor*, is the least worst Character that can be given of him. If he was sometimes [I-258] guilty of Mercy, it was from no Tenderness of Heart, or for any Righteous Purpose; but purely to catch Gudgeons, and make his Tyranny popular. In short, *Julius Cæsar*, like most other Conquerors, is entituled, in an humbler Degree, to that sort of Glory, which is due to *Belzebub*, for daring the Almighty, and defacing the Creation.

Those who succeeded him in the Usurpation of *Rome*, were for the most Part such an execrable Race of Vermin, that there is scarce any other Character to be given of them, than that *Emperor* and *Old Woman* were Terms synonymous ever afterwards.

The Empress *Claudius* deserves particular Notice. She left the Empire to the Administration of whatever Person happened to be most in her good Graces, for the Time being: And so sometimes her Wife was Queen, and sometimes her Footman; while the good Woman *Claudius* herself turned Author, and scribbled, and gormandized, and got drunk, every Day of her Life. *Nec temere unquam Triclinio abscessit nisi distentus & madens*, says *Suetonius*. Just like the Learned and Valiant Monarch of another Country, I mean Queen *James* the First of *Magnagascar*; who, bating her Aversion to Tobacco, was as true an *Old Woman* as ever driveled, or tippled Geneva. Queen *James* was also a Royal Benefactor to *Grubstreet*, and President of the Learned Society there. She writ Books, and made Speeches, and was greatly Subject to the Looseness; which last I take to be the true Reason why the learned Queen *James's* Performances *smell* but little of the Conjuror; seeing that it is observed by Mr. *Locke* in his Treatise of Education, *that they who are very Loose, have seldom strong Thoughts*.

Behold here, O curious Reader, a full and true Character of our present Writers upon most Subjects! even because they write with empty Bellies, or with Pills in their Bellies; and therefore our Preachers and Poets do confess, in their Productions, the Slipperiness of their Guts. Lamentable Case! that amongst all the Legions of the Learned, there is hardly to be

found one shrewd *Costive* Fellow, except myself, and my Admirers.

This Malady of the Guts is also productive of pernicious Effects amongst Statesmen and Crown'd Heads. [I-259] Her late Majesty took Physick that very Day upon which she Signed the Treaty at *Utrecht*; and it was observ'd that all the while it was making, her Ministry went frequently to the Little House. And indeed it is well known, that during the last Three Years of her Reign, Dr. *Ar---**th---**t* was constantly about her, either by himself, or *Proxy*; that is to say, either the Physician, or the Glister-Pipe was in daily Practice. The late D--- of *O---* was taken with a strange Griping of the Guts, when he was in *Flanders*, which lasted all the Time he stay'd there, and was the untoward Reason why he deserted the Allies. But notwithstanding this, it is thought his late Grace would never have run away from *England*, had not a Right Reverend Son of the Mitre, for his own Righteous Ends, persuaded him that he looked pale, and beg'd him in all Love to take a Purge; he follow'd the *Ghostly Advice*; and behold its Operation! The very next Day he started from his Close stool, mounted his Horse, and gallop'd away, as fast as if *Jack Ketch* had been at his Heels, and never halted till he came to the *Pretender*, who is himself a poor *Laxative* Knight as ever wore a Garter, and has a Court most miserably afflicted with the *Bloody-Flux*.

There is a considerable King in *Europe*, who has been troubled with Agues, Loosnesses, and Evil Counsellors, for two or three Years: At last he was prevailed upon to take *Astringents*, and turn off the *Cardinal*; and now all is like to go well with him again.

As to ourselves; God be praised, we are blessed with a Set of Able, *Costive* St---s---m-n, who have not gone to Stool these three Years, except as hereafter is excepted; that is to say, when they preferred---and---and---and---and---and---*cum multis aliis*; as also when they entered into a --- with --- and --- &c. as likewise when they declared that they had no Intention to repeal---; as also when they neglected to --- and --- and --- and --- and --- and --- and --- and ---; as likewise when they contrived how to silence---; as also when they quarrel'd with --- and --- and ---; as likewise when they formed a Scheme to gain such a vast ---; as also when they agreed to give up---and---; as likewise when they [I-260] were entering into a Coalition and Concert with---and---and---: As also when they encouraged---and---and---and---.

Were I to go over all the *Items* and *Exceptions*, I should never have done; and so I turn my Foot into my first Path, and proceed with my *Dissertation* upon *Old Women*.

To Queen *James* succeeded another Queen; I mean he who was nick-named the *Confessor*. Like King, like Counsellors! this sucking Monarch got him a Wife, and yet went still in Leading-Strings: Mother *William Laud*, and Madam the *Duke of Buckingham*, who had been his Father's Mistress, were his Governors, *unlimited* and *uncontroulable*.

The Kingdom grew ashamed and weary of being governed and oppressed by such a *Grizzel*, and so pulled her out of her *Elbow-Chair*, and never suffered her to set her Breech in it afterwards; tho' she tried all Means whatsoever, sometimes scolding, sometimes beseeching, sometimes tricking, and sometimes hiring Bullies to fight for her.

After a long civil Contention for Liberty and Dominion, which I pass over in Silence, because it was between *Men* and *Men*, who do not belong to this my Subject; come we, in the next Place, to the riotous Reign of Queen *Sardanapalus* the II<sup>d</sup>. who neglected God and Men to drink *French* Wine, and play with *French* Harlots and Lap-Dogs. There began then to be a great Decay of Sobriety, Virtue and Manhood; and nothing triumphed but the Excise, Fornication and the Church.

After a long Reign of Luxury and Feminine Weaknesses, Queen *Sardanapalus* departed this Life, by the pious Assistance of the Priests and her Brother the Princess *James*, who mounted the Throne, and shewed herself as errant an *Old Wife* as ever shook a Sceptre.

She, e'er she had well broken the Coronation Oath, which she had not yet taken, taking into her serious Consideration the obvious Infirmities of her Sex and her Understanding, put herself, the first Thing she did, under the Guardianship, and absolute Direction of an old Harlot at *Rome*, famous for her stinking Breath, and her triple Night-cap. Then her Majesty went on, like a Creature [I-261] superannuated, as she was, to play strange Pranks, some ludicrous, and some mischievous. She worshipped Wafers, pretended to devour her Mediator, and claimed a Right to eat up her People. Nobody would take her Bond for a Groat; and she herself owned that her Oath was not worth a Rush. As she was an Old Woman herself, so she acted by Old Women; and particularly, she got a Jewry of Old Wives in Long Coats and Coifs, to pronounce a Verdict, that *she might lawfully and innocently do what Mischief and Wickedness she would*: And so said the Sacred Sisters of the Surplice; alledging that every Old Gentlewoman wearing a Crown, had a Divine Charter from God to resemble *Satan* as much as she pleased.

Queen *James*, encouraged by all these fine Speeches, let loose his Inclinations, and devilized with all his Might. But, as he was driving furiously over the Life and Limb of every Subject that stood in his Way, without any Resistance, which was prohibited by the *Convocation*, he unadvisedly galloped over a *Nest* of the *Wayward Sisters* aforesaid, and took away the Articles of their *Club*. This hurt and provoked them damnably. For, though they are the most patient Creatures upon Earth, when Evil befalls others; and will upon that Occasion urge the Sanctity of Submission, with wonderful Zeal; yet such is their mortal Antipathy to Suffering in their own Persons, that, upon any Trial of that Kind, they seem to be the only People upon the Globe, to whom God has given least of the Grace of Resignation.

Queen *James* now found that this was their true Spirit. For, though they had themselves pointed out to him the very High Road to Oppression; yet no sooner had he given them a Royal Gripe, but they set up their Apostolick Throats, and yelled so loud, that they were heard all over the Kingdom, and roused the Multitude from all Quarters to their Assistance; that very Multitude, whom they had, a few Days before, been infatuating into the Disposition and Acquiescence of Slaves, they had now the Art and the Impudence to animate into Rebels, in their own Sense of the Word.

The manly Part of the Nation, and Lovers of Liberty, took Advantage of the Phrenzy of the Prince, and the [I-262] Animosity of the *Wayward Sisters*, to frighten Queen *James* into a Nunnery, and to set a *King* upon the Throne; the only One they had seen there, since the Days of King *Bess*, of manly Memory.

The *Wayward Sisters*, finding that they had now in Reality got a *King* over them, and not a *Queen* under them; which last had been their Lot and Felicity for near a Hundred Years; and perceiving withal that the *King* would not kneel to them, or put his Power and Scepter into their Hands; they grew devilish outrageous and turbulent. The first Thing they did, in their Anger, was to vote themselves forsworn; for, slap-dash, they stripped the *King* at one Pull, of his *Divine Right*, and made a Present of it to the excluded Queen *James*, from whom they had also rent it in their Wrath, a Month or two before.

But, in Spite of their Craft, and Disloyalty, the *King* kept his Crown; and in Spite of his Mercy and Merit, they preserved their Aversion and Malignity.

A *Queen* came next; and, with her, Prosperity and a *Kingly Government*, for several Years; which once more disappointed and provoked the *Wayward Sisters*, who yelped as bitterly as ever; but yelped unheard, till her Majesty grew old and into a Resemblance of her

Ancestors; and then all Things went Topsy-turvey, and the *Wayward Sisters* flourished and rejoiced. But just as they were in *full Cry*, and daily Expectation of their *Hereditary Old Woman* from *Abroad*, the other at Home drop'd, before they could bring it to pass; and the Kingdom got a *King* a Second Time, and still keeps him, notwithstanding all the Struggles, and Sedition, and Praying, and Counter praying, and Preaching, and Drinking, and Lying, and Swearing, and Forswearing of the *Wayward Sisters*, in order to send him Home again.

It is indeed agreeable to the Ambition and Self-love of the *Wayward Sisters* to hate *Kings*; for a Monarch that resolves to be a *Man*, will never put himself under the Dominion of *Old Women*, nor gratify their Spleen: Whereas, when a Queen Reigns, the *Wayward Sisters* are all *Kings*. Behold the Reason of their present Rage! The present Monarch does not touch their Roast, nor their Boil'd; their Sack, nor their Sherry; their Copy-Holds, nor their *Peter-Pence*. On the contrary, he gives [I-263] them all good Usage and Encouragement, he prefers the Worthy, and is not severe to the Worthless. But all this pleases not the *Wayward Sisters* They cannot impose upon their Prince, nor piss upon the Laws, nor oppress the People, nor prey upon Scrupulous Consciences, nor be forsworn with Success. These are their great Grievances; or, if they have greater, I wish they would produce them. If his Majesty would but please to condescend to their modest Demands, and be led, like their Pupil, or driven like their Property; he might make Beggars or Bacon of his Subjects, and welcome: Nay, Divine Authority would be belied, and Scripture misquoted, to support him in it. But as he behaves himself at present, he will never be the Favourite of the *Wayward Sisters*.

I have thus, with great Labour of Body and Brain, searched into the Records of Time, and given my attentive Reader an edifying Abstract of Universal History, of which I have shewn *Old Women* to have been the Principal *Heroes*. If we look now into the Disputes and Transactions between Nation and Nation, we shall assuredly find that they ever prevailed, or miscarried, according as they employed *Men* or *Old Women* in the Management of their Affairs Civil and Military.

And not to go too far backward in this Disquisition, let us only remember with what a different Spirit and Success the Affairs of *France* were conducted by that Court Forty Years ago, from what the Affairs of another Court were, which shall be nameless: And the Reason lay here; The *French* Ministers wore Beards, and the *B--t-sh* Ministers wore Petticoats; choice Guardians of the Nation! Who, whilst they were supported in their Avarice and Merry-makings, from *St. Germain's*, cared not what became of their Country, or of *Europe*, or of Christianity.

In the Matters of Peace and War, the Case is just the same. In the last War, for Example, against *France*, a *Male General* was employed, and under him a Race of *Men*; and they hewed down all Opposition: Neither Stone-Walls, nor Entrenchments, nor Numbers, nor the Danger of the Church could stand before them: Nor could Rivers or Louis-d'Ors retard their Bravery. They stormed Towns, they routed Armies, they eat Fire, and [I-264] did every Thing with a *Masculine Air*: Alas! what were a Hundred Thousand *French* Girls, whether Nuns or Soldiers, in their Hands? And for Half a Score *Mareschals* of *France*, they considered them as only so many dancing *Old Women* on Horseback, with Feathers in their Caps, and Distaffs in their Hands, who never missed being kicked Head over Heels, and sent to *Paris* to get their Wigs new-powdered; which yet did not mend the Matter.

It is thought, if the War had continued, that *Madame de Maintenon* would have headed the Army in *Flanders*, and recruited it with several antiquated Belles, and the Nymphs of *St. Cyr*: This filled all the *Heroes* at *Versailles* with burning Envy, and they all brigued against her going: But it is thought that all their Politicks would have failed them, had they not luckily represented to the *Grand Monarch*, who was every Day growing *Less*, the *Invincible Louis*, who was every Day *beaten*, the *Immortal Man*, who was dangerously *Ill* of a *Fistula*;

that if he made his Old Nurse a General, he would have no Body to tend his *Issue behind*. This made great Impression upon him; and so *Goody Villars* was appointed Commander in Chief, instead of *Goody Scarron*. As soon as she came into the Field, she gave out scolding Speeches how she would do several Womanly Exploits. But she was well paid for her prating, and forced to run to save her Life.

This was the unequal Strife during the Course of the War between Swords and Distaffs. But when Things began to look towards an Accommodation, the Tables were quite turned. *France* which hitherto had sent old Wives for Warriors, appointed Now *vigourous Men* for her Negotiators: And another Kingdom, which, to its deathless Glory, had employed HEROES to fight, did to its endless Infamy, employ old Women to treat; wretched toothless, impotent Old Women, who, had their Luck been of a Size with their Brains, must have born the Parish Badge! The lively and ingenious *John of Lapland*, and the able and accomplished *Thomas Lord Spellwell*, are a Brace of hopeful Statesmen! And yet with all their Zeal and humble Compliances, they had not the common Capacity to sell the Honour of their Country, even [I-265] after others had brought it to Market for them, without the Assistance of Prompters.

To come now, towards the End, to speak of my own Country, of which I have not hitherto said one Word; I am sorry to say, that the Increase of *Old Women* grows marvelously great amongst us. It is moreover grievous to consider, by what heavy and contemptible Instruments this shameful Change is wrought. Lo! our Evil cometh from the dull Heart of the City, and we are enchanted by a *stupid Kennel of Stock-Jobbers*, who cheat us out of our Money and our *Sex*, and then stand God-fathers to us, and, by way of tender Derision, christen us BUBBLES!

Let us, my Brethren and Countrymen, either *properly* and *patiently* put on *Petticoats*; or resume our *Manhood*, and shake off this shameful Delusion, this filthy Yoke, put upon our Necks by dull Rogues from *Jonathan's*; plodding Dunces! who carry their Souls, if they have any, in their Pockets; and who, if you take them out of the *Alley*, have not the Understanding of Carmen, nor the Agreeableness of Baboons.

I shall conclude this light Paper with some Thoughts of a grave Nature, and dwell for Two or Three Pages, upon a Subject which gives me infinite Delight; I mean, the present Concord between *St. James's* and *Leicesterfields*.

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## *An Essay upon the late Union of the Whig-Chiefs.* ↩

THE Reconciliation of our Two Courts is of such happy Consequence to the Nation, and the Royal Family, as must be highly pleasing to all Men who love either. Differences of this kind are nothing rare; but they generally have publick ill Consequences, and weaken the Hands, and embarrass the Wheels of Government. I thank God, the late one has produced more Coldness than Violence, and more Talk than Terror. [I-266] It is to be presumed, that nothing was done on either Side during the Breach, which may occasion painful Pangs, or angry Reflections, now it is cured. I doubt not but the Union is as sincere, as I wish it lasting.

Tho' I always looked upon the late Misunderstanding as a great Evil; yet, now it is past, I do not know whether some Good may not come of it. It will have shewn the *Whigs* that they are much mistaken, if upon every Fit of Spleen or Disgust, they think to meet a Resource among the *Tories*, who are not used to give any Quarter, much less Shelter to Men who will but part with a Piece of their Principle. He who goes over to them, must not go halting. If they have a Mind to go to *Rome*, or the *Pretender*; it is not enough that you do not oppose them, or even that you wish them a good Journey: If you do not go along with them, and accompany them to the very last Stage, you do nothing. A Vote and a Speech now and then will not serve them; they must have all your Votes, and all your Speeches, otherwise you will never be loved nor trusted

It will also have taught the *Tories*, that the *Whigs*, however divided, are still too many for them, and can subsist without sneaking Compliances, or dangerous Coalitions with *them*. There have been but few Instances, of late, where they have been suffered to exert that Spirit of Oppression, which is inseparable from them; and fewer, I hope, of their being offered Seats near the Helm. The Principle of a *Whig*, and that of a *Jacobite*, are so opposite and hererogeneous, that there can be no other Mixture or Comprehension between them, but that of the One's devouring the Other. Every other Project for reconciling them, is Madness or Knavery, and there is not at present the least possible Pretence for it; which I take to be none of the least Blessings attending the present Agreement.

The *Whig* Interest is again united, and for ought I know, the more strongly for having been disunited. It is therefore a happy and unexceptionable Season for doing all those necessary publick-spirited Things, which are wanting for the Establishment of *Whiggism*, but which were prevented by the late Rupture. I hope it will now be enquir'd, whether our Universities are not the very [I-267] Sinks of Sediton, and of every wicked Principle; and whether enjoying as they do, at the Nation's Cost, Eare and Abundance, they do not pay the Nation, in return, with disaffected, slavish Doctrines, and poisoned Youth. Let the Universities remain but unpurged, and the *Jacobites* may sneer in our Face at every other Scheme of ours for our Security.

Princes are always respected Abroad, in proportion to their Strength at Home. It is not to be doubted but this our Domestick Unanimity will raise our foreign Credit still higher, and make the Peace with *Spain*, which seems to linger, go on with greater Alacrity and Ease; and it is reasonably hoped, that hereafter we shall be more upon the Square with our good Allies, both in the Administrations of War, and in the Negotiations of Peace, than our Circumstances have hitherto suffered us to be.

I therefore congratulate my Countrymen upon the present happy Pacification and Unanimity. It will make us considerable to our Friends, and formidable to our Foes. It will enable us to avow, protect, and encourage every publick Principle; and leave us without Excuse, if we disown or neglect it. It will render every Opposition impotent, and every Shift and Procrastination scandalous. It will serve to shew, whether our past Omissions and

Trimnings were founded upon real Weakness, or sleeveless Pretences; and whether we wanted Power or Inclinations to bid Defiance to Craft and Corruption. Here are publick Grievances, and here is a Call and an Opportunity to redress them. Here are Enemies in our Bosom, and here is a fit Occasion and Capacity to quell and disarm them— — —If we are in Earnest, the Success is sure. In this Case to succeed well, is only to mean well; and nothing but selfish personal Regards, can obstruct the publick Good, which therefore, we hope, will not be obstructed at all.

We may presume, that no Man, who calls himself a *Whig*, will make Delay or Difficulty, to come roundly into every Scheme which will bring Advantage to his Country, and Honour to himself; we may particularly expect that no Man who bears that Character, will oppose or postpone the Scouring of those Nests of Pedants, who sill the Kingdom with Locusts and Disloyalty; who, [I-268] by their execrable Positions and Example, have dissolved all the Ties of Conscience and common Honesty; who have sanctified the hellish Sin of Perjury, and tacked Fame and Reputation to Sedition and Rebellion. They have been heaving at our Constitution, railing at Liberty Civil and Religious, and poisoning the Nation Time out of Mind: So that I cannot see how we can any longer neglect putting a Stop to this popular Contagion, without giving up the first Law of Nature, that of Self-Preservation and Self-Defence.

The Prospect I have of the Cure of this great Evil, gives me Joy, as the Continuance of it has often given me Sadness; and I amuse myself with the certain Expectation of a new and agreeable Scene. What I have said may probably appear warm Language; but it is intirely the Effect of publick Spirit, and of my own private Judgment. God knows, I have no personal Animosity towards these Men, who, as to their Morals, deserve Pity; and as to their Genius and Productions, are below Contempt: And as to their Income and Circumstances, no Body envies them their Plenty and Idleness; nor are we demanding a Reformation of Gluttony and Laziness. All that we contend for is, the taking away of their Stings; we will tolerate them to be Drones, but cannot allow them to turn our World upside down.

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***Considerations offered upon the approaching Peace, and upon the  
Importance of Gibraltar to the British Empire, being the Second Part of the  
Independent Whig. By T. Gordon, Esq;*** ↩

Anno 1720.

*THE former Part of the Independent Whig appeared abroad about the Time the Peerage Bill made its Exit in the House of Commons: What were the secret Motives [I-269] for that Bill, or what hopeful Ends were to have been served by it, I do not pretend to explain, nor indeed, for the Ease of my own Mind, do I care to guess; because it is a Case of Conscience with me, and a standing Maxim, to speak no Ill of the Deceased; I shall therefore only say with Mr. Dryden, De mortuis nil nisi bonum; Peace be with the Manes of the Bill.*

*I am willing to think there was no Intention to engage us in a Northern War, in order to serve Purposes directly in the Teeth of the Act of Settlement of the Crown; or if there was any such, I am persuaded it is now laid aside, and therefore I have also laid aside my Purpose of considering the Consequences of such a War, as I promised in my last.*

*The Age of killing Monsters is long since past and gone, and there lives now neither a Hercules nor a Theseus, to subdue Hydra's and Dragons; and I should be sorry to see my Countrymen revive those Ages of Knight Errantry, and arrive at such a Degree of Quixotism, as to range over the World in quest of Adventures, and to become the Righters of Wrongs, and Redressers of Injuries, through the whole Universe.*

*It would indeed be a greater Piece of Romantick Gallantry, than any those fabulous Heroes ever undertook, for a Nation living at so great a Distance, to throw away an Advantageous Trade, and engage in an impracticable War against a Power guarded two Thirds of the Year with Ice and Snow, fortified with impregnable Towns, which will be covered with numerous Armies, and no ways to be attacked but with Troops marching from distant Countries, without Magazines, without Forage, and without Pay, unless WE supply them; and this too without any Prospect of Advantage accruing to ourselves, but only to serve the Interests of another State, and to preserve a Country of no Concern to us; the whole Value of which, if every Foot of Ground in it was to be sold, would probably not pay the Charge and Losses of one Year's War.*

*As this is too wild a Thought to enter into the Mind of any English Man, so I conceive it unnecessary at present to say any more of it; and therefore I have in this Second Part considered a Question which is more the Object of our present Hopes and Fears, viz. What would be the Consequence [I-270] of delivering up Gibraltar upon any Consideration whatsoever.*

*I design to continue this Paper weekly, in a Half-Sheet, which will first appear on Wednesday, the 20th Day of this Month, in which I shall meddle with Politicks only occasionally, my principal Intention being to expose the Malignity and Danger of certain Principles, which prevail too much, and I wish I could not say, are too little discouraged.*

*I hope in this Undertaking I shall be suffered to build up with the same Impunity with which others are suffered to pull down.*

*I own there are Methods, which, if practised, would prove much more effectual than mine, and root out that Disease which I can only resist. In the mean time it shall be my Care to shew the Necessity of some such Methods, by shewing the Danger we are in while we want them. When Doctrines are avowedly spread, that strike at the Peace and Liberty of Mankind, it is the undoubted Right, and Duty of every Man, to guard himself and others against them;*

*and it is as much the Duty of Governors to preserve their Subjects from the Contagion of such destructive Principles, as from Force and Invasions.*

*The Felicity of the People is the End of Magistrates; and all Arts and Practices that lessen that Felicity, call for their Correction and Cure. Now I defy the Wit of Man to reconcile the Happiness of the World to many of our High Flying Tenets; on the contrary, where-ever they prevail, I will undertake to shew, That the severest Misery, even brutish Ignorance, abject Slavery, Poverty and Wickedness, do also prevail. I never looked upon an armed Host to be half so terrible as an Army of aspiring Ecclesiasticks. The former may be repulsed by Strength and Bravery, which signify nothing against the latter, who make your own Heart conspire against you, by filling it with false Terrors. Dominion is the Word, Servitude the Duty, and Damnation the Penalty.*

*Till therefore our Superiors shall be at leisure to put a final Stop to the Growth of those Principles that infatuate the Multitude, and undermine our Constitution, I, who am so unfashionable a Man as to have more Concern for the Publick, than Consideration for myself stand up an Advocate [I-271] for the Rights of Mankind, to expose those Claims that contradict Reason and the Gospel, and bring Contempt upon the Clergy.*

*I confess this Subject has been largely discussed by several Hands, who were equal to the Undertaking, and made Truth triumph over Falshood. Foremost in the List (or in any other that could be made on this Occasion) stands the Bishop of Bangor, a Champion for Truth, and a sore Adversary to all that have been hers. His Enemies have confessed their Impotence and Defeat in their Recourse to Invention and Calumny; and have attacked his Reasoning; and his Reputation, with equal ill Fortune and Malice. Notwithstanding which, they have gone on, and still go on, and neither Modesty, Remorse, Shame, nor the Reflection upon their own repeated Oaths and Subscriptions, can deter them from spreading their Poison every Day, in every Place, and upon every Occasion. So that they make it necessary to repeat the Antidote, otherwise they will call Silence Conviction, and interpret a Contempt of them and their wild Performances, to be an Acknowledgment of their wild Principles.*

*I am far from pretending to equal, much less mend, what his Lordship has done. But my Design is to start new Topicks, strike out new Tracts, and throw the same Subject into new Lights; in doing which, I shall frequently use a Freedom, and manner of Stile not common, perhaps not permitted to Men in Holy Orders.*

*I hope to give the Dispute a new Turn, and instead of a long Train of consequential Arguments, to reduce it to a few self-evident Propositions, which I shall endeavour occasionally to embellish with agreeable Incidents: The Reverend, Right Reverend, or most Reverend Doctor, shall wear a a Fool's Cap if he deserves it, though it happens to be a Cardinal's: Besides, many will read a Half-Sheet who will not read a Volume.*

*In this great Undertaking I hope to have Aid from some better Hands, and as the Subject is now pretty well understood, I expect, and shall be ready to receive any casual Assistance that may be sent me, reserving to myself the Liberty of altering (if it require Alteration) and adapting it to my own Design, of which I must be allowed to be the properest [I-272] Judge. Whoever therefore would correspond with me, may direct to the Independent Whig, at Mr. Roberts's the Publisher in Warwick-Lane.*

*As to the Propagation and Success of the Weekly Paper abovementioned, I can do no more than bestow upon it my chief Labour and Study; and for other Helps and Support, it must rely on those who like it.*

*I hope no one will think me so foolish as to expect Encouragement from those who ought to give it, and as I do not pretend to bear the Charge of Printing such a Paper myself, so the Continuance of it must depend upon the Encouragement it receives from Abroad.*

AS the Dismission of Cardinal *Alberoni* from the Court and Councils of the King of *Spain*, and the Hopes of an approaching Peace, engage the Thoughts and Wishes of every Man in *England*, who has any Love for his Country, or laments the present State of our Debts and Taxes; so I esteem it not only the Right, but the Duty of every honest Man, to offer to his Superiors such Considerations as he conceives may render the Peace advantageous, and make us some Recompence for the Profusion of Wealth it has cost the Nation, at a Time too when we were loaded with so many Millions of Debts.

It will be a Sevice also to the present Ministry, by wiping off any malicious Charge, if any such there be, of their having run into an unadvised and foolish War. If the War was necessary (without which it is inexcusable, notwithstanding the great and surprizing Success which we have had in it) no doubt the Conditions of Peace will be suitable, and demonstrate, that without a War, we could not have had them. What we gain by the Peace will justify the Expences of the War; and we shall have new Advantages of Trade, and new Fortresses and Securities to defend those Advantages. If we have not Possession given us of some Ports in the *West-Indies*, the Island of *Majorca* ought at least to be added, for the Support of *Port Mahon*, and a competent Tract of Land ought to be annexed to *Gibraltar*, for the Convenience and Maintenance of the Garrison, as is usual in like [I-273] Cases, and ought to have been done at first. At present they have not a Foot of Ground about it, either for Gardens or Pasture, but they are coop'd up within their Stone Walls, and left to make the best of their enclosed Rock.

Without such Conditions and Securities all Treaties signify nothing, and may, and probably will be broken as soon as made. Here we can expect no help from Allies and Guarantees, who will always emulate, and privately conspire against the great Naval Power, and growing Trade of *England*, which is the Envy and Terror of the World.

I would indeed be glad to know what Advantages, or even Performance of Articles *England* has ever received from her good Allies? 'Tis true they have often done us the Favour to accept of our Help when they wanted it; and I am told, some of them have threatened to accept it no more, unless we give it them upon their own Terms. But pray, how has the Favour been return'd to us? What has the Emperor done for us, in Recompence for all we have done, and are still doing for him? Unless in the Help he gave us last Year against the Pretender and his Madam. Or what Assistance have the *Dutch* afforded us in this Expensive, and as we are told, necessary War? Have they not eat the Bread of Quietness and Security, while we have been running into Perils and Battles for them and all *Europe*? They have lain still, easing their Country of publick Burthens, whilst we have been encreasing ours; they have grown Rich by the Trade which we have lost, and, 'tis said, have even supplied our Enemies with the Materials of War, to fight against us. And yet 'tis certain, that they are as much (if not more) interested in the Balance of *Europe* than we are, as they are nearer the Danger, and have not Seas to guard them. As to the Balance of Power in the North, they are much more concerned than we, not only as their Trade thither is vastly greater than ours, but as they have no other Source of Naval Stores; whereas very little Wit and Honesty would supply us with all we want from our own Plantations. Whilst we have been wasting our Strength, and our Substance, and losing our Traffick, they have lain still, and continue to lye still, accepting, [I-274] and returning Compliments from, and to the Courts of *Spain* and of the *Czar*, and are just ready to receive all the Advantages of the *Russian* Trade (which at the Revolution they were in full Possession of) whenever we shall be mad or foolish enough to throw it away. And what Assistance these our kind Allies gave us in the first Rebellion against his present Majesty, and in the late terrible *Spanish* Invasion, we shall be better

informed, when the Accounts relating to that Affair are fully stated and balanced.

Sure we shall not be always the *Cullies of Britain!* Our Allies must and will make us some Amends at last, for all which we have done for them; and they have now an Opportunity of doing it, by getting for us some of those Advantages which they have received from our Friendship.

It was an old Observation of *Philip de Comines*, concerning us *Englishmen*, That *we have ever lost by our Heads what we have gained by our Hands, and have always given up by Treaty what we had won by the Sword.* The Reason which he gives for this is a very good one. He says, *That all our great Men were in Pension to the Kings of France.* Monsieur *de Witt* does perhaps mean something like this, when he says, That *our Court has been always the most thievish Court in Europe.* However, I do not find but that whatever Bargains our Ministers made for, or rather of, their Country, they generally made very good ones for themselves, at least to the best of their Skill. *Dunkirk* was not delivered for nothing, nor, I dare say, the last Peace made without the Contrivers finding their own Account in it, whatever their Country suffered.

But these Things are pass'd and gone, and God has now sent us a Ministry who will mend all those Faults which they were the first to condemn. The Interest of the Publick is their Interest. They have no secret Purposes to serve by dark and shameful Treaties. They have no new Revolutions to bring about, nor can they disgust their own Party by acting freely and boldly for the Good of their Country, which is not the Case of the Heads of another Party. In fine, they have no desperate Game to play, to defend them from the Effects of desperate [I-275] Measures, nor have they, like the others, been trappann'd and outwitted by *France*, nor have ungenerous Advantages been taken of their Credulity, when they had engaged themselves and their Country beyond Retreat.

We may therefore well expect that our present Peace-Makers will, by the Advantages which they procure for us, reproach the Neglect, Ignorance, and Treachery of the last. There is nothing that the most sanguine Imagination can form, which we may not hope at the ensuing Treaty, from the singular Part which we have taken in this War. We struck the first Blow, and have ever since pursued it with great Ardor and Expence. We have beaten and destroyed the Enemies Fleets, insomuch that the poor Remains of their great naval Strength can, at present, do no more than skulk in their Ports, and hide themselves in Corners. We have procur'd noble Advantages, and even Kingdoms to our Allies. Add to this, that we entered single into the Strife and the Danger. The Regent indeed mov'd to our Aid a good while after, and the *Dutch* not at all, tho', as has been before observ'd, more than equally engag'd by all the Ties and Motives which could engage us, at least by all those which we have yet avow'd.

How absurd therefore is it, for any one to surmise or fear, that we should receive the Conditions which we ought to give, purchase a Reconciliation at the Price of all our Victories, and buy a Peace when we may command it?

It is an undeniable Instance of the Innocence of our great Men, and of their Contempt of the poor Efforts of their Enemies Malice, that they took not the least notice of a Pamphlet published last Year with a pompous Title; it was call'd, *The King of France's Declaration of War, &c.* which directly undertakes, in Pages the 29th and 34th, to procure from the King of *England* the Restitution of *Gibraltar* to *Spain.*

They knew very well that so wild a Calumny could make no Impression upon any judicious Man, and they laugh'd at the Simplicity and Malice of others, and gave them leave to play with their own Folly: They knew very well that a Fortress conquer'd by the Fleets and [I-276] Armies, by the Blood and Treasure of *England*, and solemnly yielded up by

Treaty made with *England*, became Part of the *English* Dominions, and subject to the Legislative Power of *England*, and could not be disannexed but by Act of Parliament; and consequently, any Agreement to deliver up such a Fort to an Enemy, is High Treason within the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third; and to give it to any one else, is one of those High Treasons reserved by that Act for the Judgment of Parliament.

They knew too that no Pocket Agreement is of any Force in *England*; that we are bound by no Treaties but what are solemnly entered upon Record; and every one might satisfy himself that there was no such there.

However, as the bare mentioning of such a Thing, though without the least Ground, has Thunderstruck many honest, though timorous Men, I shall endeavour to undeceive them, by shewing, it is impossible that any virtuous and wise Ministry, as we all know ours are, can ever hereafter fall into any Measures so fatal to their Country; and this I shall do, by shewing, the Advantage and Importance of that Port to the Sovereignty of the Seas.

The Town of *Gibraltar* is built upon a Rock which reaches a League into the Sea, and was formerly called one of the *Pillars*, or the *ne plus ultra* of *Hercules*. It is joined to *Spain* by a small Neck of Land, which being narrow and plain, may be easily cut through and separated from the Continent, so as to form the whole into an Island; and it is undoubtedly true, that a Mole may be made at a moderate Expence, capable of holding Thirty large Men of War.

It lies within a few Leagues of *Tangier*, in *Africa*, and commands the Mouth of the *Streights*. It sees all Ships that sail from the *Mediterranean* to the Ocean, and thither, and consequently makes it impracticable for any other Nation to Trade there without our leave, but by the Protection of such Fleets and Convoys as will make any Trade unprofitable; at the same Time it protects our own Traffick, and furnishes Store-houses either for War or Commerce, and a convenient Place of Refreshment to our Ships in their Voyages to and from *Africa*, [I-277] *Italy*, the *Levant*, and sometimes the *East* and *West-Indies*.

It gives us the Means of carrying on a private and advantageous Commerce with *Spain*, notwithstanding all the Prohibitions they can make, or Precautions they can use. It lies at Hand to intercept their *East* and *West-India* Fleets with the Spoil and Riches of both Worlds: It separates and divides *Spain* from itself, and hinders all Communication by Sea from the different Parts of their Dominions, and consequently must keep them in a perpetual Dependance, and put them under a Necessity to court our Friendship, as well as fear our Enmity: It gives us an Opportunity to pry into all their Measures, observe all their Motions, and, without the most stupid Remisness on our Parts, renders it impracticable for them to form any Projects, or carry on any Expeditions against us, or our Allies, without our having due Notice.

It destroys any Attempts to Naval Power in *France*, which can never be formidable at Sea, whilst *Gibraltar* remains in our Hands. It hinders the Communication between their Ports and Squadrons in the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*: It makes it impossible for them to supply their Southern Harbours with Naval Stores either for Building or Repairing of Fleets; of which they were so sensible last War, that as soon as Sir *George Rook* had possessed himself of it, they saw themselves under a Necessity to lay aside their usual Caution, and dare him in open Battle, and not meeting the Success they hoped for, the very same Year, to the unspeakable Prejudice of their other Affairs, besieged it in Form, and lost a *French* and *Spanish* Army before it, and never afterwards appeared with a Fleet upon the Seas again during the whole War, but suffered their great Ships to moulder and rot in their Harbours, for want of the Means to fit them out again.

It will give us Reputation and Figure in those Seas, which are always rewarded with Power and Riches. It will oblige all Nations who Trade in the *Mediterranean*, or have Empire there, to court our Friendship, and keep Measures with us. It will Awe even the Courts of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and make them afraid to disturb or provoke us. It will intimidate the Piratical States, who [I-278] when they see Vengeance so near at Hand, will not dare to disturb *our* Trade, whilst they are destroying that of all others. These Advantages are immense, and will give us all the Carriage Trade of the *Mediterranean*, whose Merchants must make use of our Ships when they find it not safe to venture in any other.

But we are told, the keeping it is a great Charge to us. Strange surprizing Instance of our *new* Frugality, and good Husbandry! That we, who for Thirty Years together have rioted in Millions, and 'till Heaven bless'd us with the present Ministry, never minded what we gave, nor to whom; we, who drain'd the Exchequer, and mortgaged the Nation, should now, from a Principle of Saving, sacrifice the sole Fruit of all our Expences to prevent a Charge, which is but equal to that of a few Useless Pensions! Thank Heaven, from lavishing Millions, we are grown Thrifty in Pounds, Shillings and Pence.

But how comes it to pass that this was not thought on before? We have been at a prodigious Expence in supplying it with Garrisons, with Military Stores, with Provisions, and in defending it against a vigorous Siege; All which might have been saved, and without doubt very many Advantages, and a round Sum (besides the Contractors licking their own Fingers) might have been stipulated for the Nation, if the least Hint had been given that it was to be disposed of.

However, I own good Husbandry never comes too late, and I hope it will go a little further, and that we shall contract the Publick Expences of all kinds, cut off and retrench unnecessary Offices, Salaries and Pensions, pay off, or lessen the publick Engagements, and rescue the People from the Oppressions of their rigorous Debts and Payments, which have near exhausted the Vitals of the Nation, and without a speedy Remedy, will soon bring it into an incurable Consumption.

It is alledged that *Port Mahon* will answer all the Purposes of *Gibraltar*, and therefore there can be no Use in keeping them both. The contrary to which must be evident to any one who but looks into the Map, for the Island *Minorca* lies many Hundred Miles further up towards the Gulph of *Lyons*, and in Truth, out of the Road of all Ships Trading to *Sicily*, the *Adriatick*, the [I-279] *Levant*, or *Africa*. It is situated at such a distance from *France* and *Spain*, that the greatest Fleets can escape unobserved, unless we keep perpetually before their Ports to watch and pursue them, which is exceeding dangerous, if not impracticable in those Seas. We shall be out of the Way of all Intelligence, and if we should by chance have it, in all likelihood shall be too late to take Advantage of it; besides, I am told, there are but few Winds with which Ships can get in or out of *Port Mahon*, and, when they are once there, the Passage is so narrow that a very small Squadron can keep the greatest from sailing out.

But I think nothing is plainer, than that it will be exceeding difficult, if not impossible, to keep the Island of *Minorca* without the Possession of *Gibraltar*, at least it will be more expensive to us than both are now; especially if *France* and *Spain* should join again; which Event, I think, we ought to keep always in View, for then *Gibraltar* will be the only Resource we have to carry on any Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and to prevent the Union of the *French* and *Spanish* Fleets with themselves or each other.

All the Objections (and many more) which I have before made, against the facility of a Communication of the different Ports of *France* and *Spain* with one another, will be stronger against us; for they have others, near *Gibraltar*, where Fleets may lie safe, and have a chance to escape us, by catching at favourable Opportunities, and the Advantage of Winds;

whereas we must run all Hazards, and trust to our Strength alone, without any Harbour to retreat to, in case of Storms or other Accidents.

What Means have we of sending Naval Stores and Recruits to our Garrisons, and often Provisions for them, without a Port to protect us during a Thousand Leagues Sailing? *Portugal* will not be suffered to receive or relieve us, and then we must run the Gantlet by single Ships, with scarce a Chance to escape, or send Convoys upon the smallest Occasions, capable of fighting the united *French* and *Spanish* Power; which will be attended with such Difficulties as must be allowed unanswerable [I-280] Arguments in the Mouths of a corrupt Ministry to sell that too, when a fair Chapman appears.

But it is not only my own Opinion, but that of much better Judges, that these Two important Posts might be kept with little Charge to *England*, even without ballancing the Advantages we receive by them: Methinks it should be worth the Thoughts and Leisure of a *British* Parliament to ask a few Questions concerning them, (*viz.*) Upon what Foundation they stand? What becomes of their Revenues? Whether applied to the Benefit of their Governors, or to the Publick? What Protection the People there meet with, and what Civil Government is established amongst them, and how the Military interferes with it? I doubt not but these Questions will be answered to Satisfaction, and the Directors of our Affairs, when the publick Occasions will give them leave to open their Schemes, have Proposals ready to lay before our Representatives, which will make those Towns, and the Island belonging to one of them, as useful to the Publick as they have been hitherto to their Governors, and some others. I am persuaded, if they were made Free Ports, where all Nations might find Encouragement and Security, they would soon grow so Rich and Powerful, as in a great Measure to pay for their own Protection. *Gibraltar* lies much more fortunately for Trade than *Leghorn*, which stands out of the Way, and in a Corner; and yet, I am told, the single Advantage of a Free Port renders that Town one of the greatest Articles in the Grand Duke's Revenue.

This is the Circumstance, these the Advantages of our keeping the Possession of *Gibraltar*. Our Enemies, and our Allies too, know them, and, I doubt, dread them; and, I thank God, the Nation knows them. And that we could have had no tolerable Success in the last or present War without this Town, therefore I cannot suspect that so wise and honest a Ministry will take any such Step without the Advice of Parliament.

We ought not to be surprized if the Nations of *Europe* and *Africa* should wish it in Hands less potent at Sea, and who would consequently enjoy it more harmlesly to its Neighbours: It must be undoubtedly terrible to any People who would be our Rivals in Trade or Naval [I-281] Power, or indeed to any State that aspires to Empire, which can never be accomplished without Fleets as well as Armies.

But sure we are not fallen into such Contempt with our Enemies, our Neighbours, or our Allies, nor can they have so mean an Opinion of our Sense and Discernment, and the Integrity of our Statesmen, as but to hint such a Thing to them.

If we part with *Gibraltar*, to what Purpose have we made War? To what Purpose bestowed great Sums, and gained great Victories? Have we beat the Enemy, and forced them to beg Peace, and yet must bribe them to accept of it? Have we conquered, and shall they give Terms, and get Towns by losing Battles? Or, if we do not part with *Gibraltar* for the sake of Peace, pray what Consideration are we to receive for the sake of *Gibraltar*? Sure we do not make War only for our Allies, and leave our Allies to make Peace for us; and Peace, and War, are not both made at our Costs and Charges.

We have given no Jealousy or Offence to our Allies, in applying any Part of our Force to the *West Indies*, or in seizing and planting Countries there, as the *French* have done, but have acted a faithful, expensive, and hazardous Part for our Allies; and while our Ships of War have been employed for them, our Merchant Ships have fallen by Scores into the Hands of Pirates, for want of sufficient Convoys. Our whole *Guinea* Trade has been lost this Year by that Means, there being, as I am told, not one Man of War to spare, from the Service of the Confederates, to defend it. Our Trade in every other Branch of it, suffers not a little from this Fidelity of ours to our Foreign Friends. I say nothing of the present State of our Manufactures, and of our Poor; it is too mournful and too manifest.

Has any *English* Ministry ever presumed to propose to the King to deliver up the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden* in Order to procure a Peace in the North, to settle the so much desired Balance of Power there, and to prevent the Charge to *England* of sending out annual Fleets at a very great Expence? And yet, it is said, his Majesty, before the last Treaty with *Sweden*, pretended no [I-282] Title to those Countries, but a Mortgage from a Prince, who had no other himself than Conquest. And dares any one to propose to a *British* King the delivering up to a baffled and subdued Enemy, the most important Place in the World to the Trade and Naval Empire of *England*, the Key of the *Mediterranean*, the Terror of our Enemies, and the best Pledge of new Friendships, and this too after we have undoubted Title to it, to which those Nations are Guarantees, who have the greatest Interest to wrest it out of our Hands?

But to whom shall this great and most important Concession be made? Not to a provoked, vanquished, and inveterate Enemy, to enable him to revenge the Affronts he has received: It cannot be in Compliment to the Emperor, for whom we are conquering Kingdoms and Provinces; nor to the *Dutch*, who would not move to our Assistance, but have laid still taking Advantage of our Misfortunes, and enjoying the Fruits of our Labour and Expences: Much less can we suppose it should be done in Favour of *France*.

I confess there are many Reasons why they should desire it; but they are unanswerable Reasons too why we should hear such a Proposition with Horror. Every true *English* Man must tremble at the growing Power of *France*, to see it, like the *Phœnix*, rise young, fresh, and vigorous, out of its own Ashes: 'Tis a terrible as amazing, to behold a despotick Government in a few Months possessed of the greatest Credit which ever appeared in the World, and to clear itself of an Hundred Millions of Debt, without paying one Penny; and this done too, not by any Act of Power, but by the Consent and Applause of the whole Kingdom. New Fleets are building, new Armies raising, new Countries planting, new Provinces conquering, whilst we have been loading the Publick with new Debts, Salaries, new Pensions, and no Method as yet proposed, (I will not say thought of) to ease our Burthens.

Sure these can't be Reasons to take such a Thorn out of the Foot of *France*, and to remove such an Obstacle to their Greatness: The enterprizing Genius of that Nation is as well known, as it is formidable to all its Neighbours, but in particular to us. I would ask, in [I-283] case of a new Rupture, what Resource we have but in our Fleets, and by the help of *Gibraltar*, to make it impracticable for their Squadrons in the Ocean and *Mediterranean* to join? We know by woful Experience, what Help we are to expect from our Allies, when we have no more Millions to give. We are not able to keep great Standing Armies at home, nor is it consistent with our Liberty to do so; and therefore we ought to take every Measure to encrease our Naval Strength, and to put new Bridles upon those who are, or may soon be, our Rivals.

The Nation in the World whose Power we have most Reason to guard against, is that of *France*, and yet I don't know by what Fatality it has often so happened that we have been the unhappy Instruments of promoting it. *Oliver Cromwel* gave the first Rise to its Greatness at



Land, and King *Charles* the Second at Sea: The late *Queen*, whose Heart was intirely *English*, by an ignominious Peace, restored it, when it was reduced to the lowest Extremity, and must have submitted to any Conditions she had thought fit to impose. But sure it will never be said that a Whig Ministry, the Patrons of Liberty, the constant and declared Enemies of those Proceedings, should act so far in Defiance of all their known Principles, as voluntarily, and unconstrained, in the midst of our Victories, to throw away any part of that national Security, which even the late Betrayers purchased at the Expence of their Country's Honour (and I doubt was no otherwise to be had) and which are the only Rewards and Recompence of a tedious, successful, and glorious War, carried on at an immense Expence of Blood and Treasure, of which we and our Posterity shall long feel the severe Effects.

[I-284]

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***A Letter to a Leading Great Man, concerning the Rights of the People to petition, and the Reasonableness of complying with such Petitions. By T. Gordon, Esq;***

Anno 1720.

***To the Right Honourable R— W—, Esq;***

SIR,

*The following Papers, which are address'd to an anonymous Leading Great Man, cannot improperly be put into your Hands, considering the important Figure you have always made in publick Affairs. The warm and disinterested Concern you have at all Times shewn for your Country; especially the Zeal with which you formerly opposed a Corrupt and Wicked Administration; must lead your Countrymen, upon every National Distress to look to You: and the rather at this Time, when the National Distress is as much greater, as your Power now is greater to remedy it.*

*They consider you not only able, but willing, to relieve the general Calamity; and ready to punish, with strictest Justice, the Authors and Abettors of that Calamity: which they take to be the first Stop towards removing their Grievances, and restoring Publick Credit. These Sentiments are now the Voice of the People; and that Voice, 'tis not to be doubted, will be heard and complied with by you, considered both as a wise and vertuous Minister. They know, that no indirect Methods can be us'd by you, to protect Criminals, who were wicked enough, to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their Country: They know, that instead of skreening any such mighty Offenders, you will exert your [I-285] whole Capacity, to bring to Light any Secrets of the Conspirators. They know, that as you have clean Hands yourself, you will industriously endeavour to punish those corrupt and mercenary Wretches, who gave up the Publick, that they might prey upon the Publick. They know, therefore, that you will encourage and promote a Compliance with the Sense of the Nation, express'd in this dutiful and precedented Way of Petitions.*

*This is their Consolation in the midst of their Distress: Whereas, had you been one of the Parricides; or had you shar'd underhand in any of the Common Plunder; had you since been advanc'd, to shelter any of the Guilty, or given any Reason to suspect it, thereby to prevent the public Enquiry's taking Effect; 'twould be a melancholy Consideration to your Countrymen: And instead of the present Pleasure they feel, in knowing so Wise, so Honest, so Uncorrupt a Person as yourself fills the Post you enjoy; they would then suffer all that Uneasiness, which must follow from the contrary Reflection: Instead of seeing you continued, with great Satisfaction, in your present high Station; they would, soon, triumph over the Disgrace of One, who was an Enemy to his Country: For, a Guilty Great Man cannot long support himself amongst an Injured Free People. I am, SIR,*

Your Humble Servant.

SIR,

*Since you make so considerable a Figure in the House of Commons, and are for weighty Reasons preferr'd to some of the chiefest Trusts; I know no other single Person, to whom a Subject, of the highest Importance to the Publick, can be so properly addressed.*

*I would nevertheless not be understood, as if I supposed the Fate of Great Britain to depend upon the Influence of any one Man, how Great soever: For your Part, you must certainly disdain such a fulsome Compliment from servile-minded Flatterers. Although we*

have been basely bereav'd of our *Property*, the Spirit of *Liberty* still remains, and will exert itself on worthy Occasions: Nor are we, as yet, to be manag'd like a Flock of Sheep, [I-286] who follow the Bell-Weather, as *Cato* complain'd of the *Romans* in his Time.

But tho' I hope there is none amongst us, that has it in his Power to ruin his Country; there are some, whose great Abilities and elevated Station, may enable them to do it the greatest Service. And if they who have these Qualifications, have also that bold Virtue, which Truth and Justice should inspire, Interest, Inclination, or Duty will draw in others to assist them.

You, Sir, have not only these Advantages, but also every other Requisite, to entitle you to the Appellation of a *Great* and *Leading* Man. To qualify a Person compleatly for this Station, he must first have made a very considerable Figure in the Court; for upon this Eminence his Parts shine: There he has gained Knowledge and Experience in Affairs of State, and there he has had Opportunities of making Creatures and Dependants. After this, he must be turned out, and in Disgrace, which often creates him an Interest with many of the People; nothing being more frequent, than to see the Prince's cast Favourites become the Favourites of the Vulgar; the discountenanced and weaker Side being glad of all Helps, especially to have a Leader of Importance. And lastly, he must be taken into Favour again, and courted and caressed much more than formerly. These are Circumstances that cannot fail to render a Man significant, and give him Weight with all Sides, at least for a Time, or till some considerable Point is gained. And perhaps you are the only Instance that can be produced in this or any other Age, in whom so many Things have concurr'd to make you necessary to the Publick.

But to render a Person in your Station truly serviceable, as well as to confirm his Power; it must appear by all his Actions that he takes more Care to advance the Common Interest, than to build up his own Fortune; that he is not over greedy for himself; that he shews no Endeavours to engross the Prince, or to confine the Royal Favour only to himself, his Family, or Creatures; that he does not so much consider who are his personal Friends, as who best love, and can best serve the Publick; that he has a disinterested Mind, clean Hands, and an undaunted Spirit, to pursue what is right, and avoid [I-287] what is wrong; and that he desires to have Power and Interest, rather by his proper Merits and Endowments, than from the Station he is in. When all this becomes visible both to those who wish him ill, and wish him well, he will quickly grow to have Authority with the whole People, and by this means be more powerfully enabled to promote the Service of his Prince.

You, Sir, have an Opportunity now put into your Hands of giving the most distinguishing Marks of Affection to your Country, whereby you will procure the Esteem of wise and honest Men, and shew that you truly deserve those many Favours which are already heap'd upon you and your Friends. Such a Behaviour as is expected from you at this Time, will raise your Virtue to a Pitch above the reach of Envy and Detraction, and confirm that Character, which you have merited on former Occasions, of being a *strenuous Assertor of the Liberties of your Country*. Your Attachment to this Principle, cannot be more plainly manifested, than by espousing with all your Might the Cause of your injured Fellow Subjects, *That their Petitions be answered, and their Grievances reress'd*.

If you have lately discovered any Sentiments in this Particular, contrary to the Opinion of other Patriots, and of all Mankind, I doubt not but the declared Voice of the People, in their humble Addresses to the Parliament from every Part of the Kingdom, has by this Time determined your Conduct, and that you'll hearken to the *general Cry for Justice on those that have betray'd and unaone us*. Persons who possess eminent Places in the Commonwealth, are the Servants of the Commonwealth, and equally obliged in Duty to comply with the unanimous Bent of the Subjects, as with the positive Commands of their Sovereign: Which can seldom clash, when the Prince has nothing at Heart more than the Welfare of his People.

Affairs are now approaching to a Crisis, Discontents rise high: And it greatly concerns his Majesty's Interest, and the Peace of the Community, that those be given up to the general Resentment, who are the Objects of the general Resentment. One of the bravest of our Kings, *Henry the Fourth*, removed from Court four of his Servants [I-288] at once, for no other Reason, but that they were so unfortunate, as not to be grateful to the People: And probably the Vices of these four Favourites were concealed from the King, tho' visible to others. If therefore so great a Monarch judg'd it prudent not to oppose the Inclinations of his Subjects, in a Point of smaller Consequence; it will very ill become any private Man to think of contending with the People, by obstructing Justice on those who lie under the heavy Weight of their Accusation.

It is therefore, Sir, the more incumbent on you to acquit yourself impartially in the present Affair; and the rather, because the Generality are apprehensive of some extraordinary Step, by the Promotion of a Genius like your's; which they fear may be able to protect Great and Mighty Criminals from the Indignation of their injured Fellow Subjects. The common Clamour is against the late *Directors* of the *South-Sea Company*, and those who acted under them: But are there not others *equally*, if not *more* guilty, that *directed* them throughout the whole Scene of Villany, who seem, as it were, to outbrave the Justice of their Country, by supporting themselves in their Stations, as if their Conduct had been unquestionable?

There is not a truer Symptom of a corrupted and depraved State, than to see Persons continued in the Possession of Power, whose Innocence is generally suspected. It shews that Guilt has many Favourer and Protectors, than which there cannot be a more melancholly Prospect. But on the other Hand, 'tis a foolish and desperate Thing for single Persons, let their Interest be ever so great, to think of facing so powerful an Enemy as the whole People, by the Strength and Faction of their Friends. An honest Man and a good Patriot will quit the Stage of Business, and retire, rather than involve the Publick in his Troubles or Misfortunes; for we are to suffer for our Country, but our Country is not to suffer for us: *Equidem pro Patria qui lætum oppetissent sæpe fando audivi: qui Patriam pro se perire æquum, hi primi inventi sunt.*

They, who in order to their own Security take upon them to play this Game, and who seem to have [I-289] drawn in many to be concerned for them, will find at last, that instead of real Friends, they have made two Sorts of Enemies; those whom they have provoked, and those whom they have deluded; and are, in the Event, sure to be made a Sacrifice to publick Necessity.

I would recommend to Men of Rank and Figure, if such there are, who may have incurred the Displeasure of their Country, the resigned and submissive Behaviour of a certain great Man not long since; who, tho' he was brought upon the Stage and acquitted, nevertheless quitted his Post, judging it not very decent for a Person once struck at, to intermeddle in the Affairs of Government.

There is also another Reason alledged by many not so favourable, which I need not mention to you, who are best acquainted with the Truth.

Such a Behaviour as that Great Man's might perhaps, in some Measure, contribute to abate the general Resentment. But if this should not be thought the safest Course by some, who cannot well defend their Innocence; if they have any Vertue left they will rather chuse to decline their Trial by a voluntary Exile, and suffer in their own Fame, Ease and Fortune, than make a Step which may tend to weaken the Laws, and whereby the Dignity and Majesty of the Commonwealth may be lessened and impaired. For when the Guilty endeavour to escape by Power and Interest, the Laws are so far despised and trampled under, and a Precedent is established for Impunity; than which nothing can be of more dangerous Consequence to the

Publick. When *P. Scipio Africanus* was charged by the *Petillii* for having suffered, through his Neglect, the Treasure of King *Antiochus* to be embezzel'd, he retired to *Literum* (upon Pretence of Sickness) with a Resolution not to stand his Trial. Yet as to him such an Accusation would have weighed little, put in the Ballance with all his brave Exploits in *Africk, Spain, and Asia*. For tho' the Administration was then severe, 'tis not unlikely but that small Failing would have been forgiven in so great a Man. But he was not so puffed up with the Marks of general Love and popular Affection, as to outdare the Justice of his Country, and was unwilling to give the Constitution such a Wound as his Acquittal must have proved; the Example of which [I-290] would have hurt the State of *Rome*, more than Banishment could hurt him, for it would have opened a Gap, and authorized all the Corruptions that followed.

It cannot surely surprize you to find the Body of this Nation so generally provoked, at the subtle Arts and Endeavours of these superior Criminals, to stifle all Evidence of their Guilt. 'Tis this has put the People upon petitioning their Representatives, a Method seldom practised by them, except in extraordinary Cases. If every one, conscious of his own Villany, had fled from Justice, as Mr. *Knight* has done (or was forced to do) we could not have hoped or expected to have Justice satisfied. But when every Man of them is in our Power, and confidently attending the Issue of the Proceedings of Parliament, it must needs fire every honest Breast with Indignation, to think that they have so long escaped the Vengeance due to their Crimes, through the Default of legal Evidence. And until by this, or some other Means, Satisfaction is done to a suffering People, it will be difficult to put a Stop to their *universal Cry for Justice*.

I do not yet hear that there are any, who dare now be bold enough openly to challenge or dispute the Right which the People have to address their Sovereign, or their Representatives, on so extraordinary an Occasion. But I know thus much has formerly been done; and that even since we had this Privilege confirmed to us in the Claim of Right at the Revolution; nay, there was a House of Commons in a late Reign, which expressed their Displeasure and Resentment against this Practice, in one particular Instance, in a very singular and remarkable Manner. When the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Justices of the Peace, of the County of *Kent*, humbly petitioned that honourable House, to go upon the Supplies, for enabling King *William* to carry on the War against *France*, the Time having been far spent, and the Season approaching for opening the Campaign, the Petition was voted *scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the Established Government of this Realm*; and the Persons who delivered it were not only taken into Custody of a Serjeant at Arms, but afterwards committed to Prison. I leave it to your Judgment, and the General Opinion at [I-291] that Time, what Motives induced that House to act in such Manner; but from thence some People assumed a License to run down the Practice of Petitioning, as factious, unwarrantable, and destructive of the Power and Authority of Parliaments; and indeed, there are never wanting, on all Occasions, Persons fit to be the Tools of a Party, who are ready to defend or impugn any Point, as they receive Instructions from their Superiors.

I think therefore, it will not be improper by way of Anticipation, to stop the Mouths of designing Men, especially since there are already many, who discourage such a Procedure at this Time; basely insinuating the ill Tendency thereof towards inflaming the Multitude, and consequently begetting a Civil War.

This, no doubt, was the Opinion of that grave and judicious Alderman, who singly voted against the late Petition of the City, alledging that *it was like erecting a Beacon to alarm the Nation, and set all in a Flame*. But he might with more Propriety have spoken thus, if the City and County of *Gloucester* had not, by their earlier Petition, given a worthy Precedent to this great Metropolis and the whole Kingdom, whereby they have purchased to themselves an

immortal Honour.

It seems to me, that there cannot be a more scandalous Reflection on the present Parliament, than to suggest distrustful Consequences of the Application of the People to their Representatives, in a reasonable and good Cause: For it would be, in effect, to involve the Parliament in Guilt; which no Man will dare to think, and far less to utter. Or can it be imagined, that in the most glorious Age of Liberty, it will be reckoned a Crime in the People to declare their just Complaints; and to approach those by Petition, who know their Grievances, and are able to redress them? The Right of Petitioning is a Privilege which Mankind could never part with; and therefore it has been indulged them in the most arbitrary Governments. *Julius Cæsar* freely permitted it, when his Will was a Law to the People of *Rome*. And his Successors, some of them more tyrannical than he, granted the same Liberty, so long as the *Lex Regia* prevailed. *Rescribere Principi, to Petition their Emperor*, was one [I-292] of the last Privileges that People enjoyed. What a Stain therefore would they bring on the Memory of King *George's* Reign, who insinuate any Displeasure it might give his Majesty or his Government, to exert a Privilege which the *Romans* were not denied under a State of Tyranny? *The Government is good*, tho' the Times are bad. Our King and Parliament are much disposed as we can possibly desire, to hearken to the *Petitions of the People*, or even to prevent them: And the People, who are ever quiet under a right Administration, know their Duty, and will not be tumultuous nor unreasonable in their Complaints; so that those are either very shallow, or very wicked, who surmise any Danger or Inconveniency to the Kingdom from the Multitude of Petitions.

'Tis the Interest, as well as the Inclination, of the People to live in Peace, and enjoy their own Labour; at least this may be said of *Great Britain*, for we have seldom had open Breaches and Divisions, but they proceeded from some fatal Error or Weakness in those who ruled; which will evidently appear to any, who take a View of the several Reigns from the *Norman Invasion* downwards. But there is no Precedent in our History, where the Body of the People ever contended with their own Representatives, and the King at their Head. It is a Thing too monstrous to suppose; and if ever it should happen (which God forbid) one may easily conjecture on which Side the Fault would lie.

When the Subjects are aggrieved, injured or oppress'd, they know their first Remedy, and seldom or never have proceeded to violent Methods, without having petitioned their Governors for Redress in an humble Manner. But when this has proved ineffectual, they have convinced their Sovereigns to their Cost, how unreasonable a Thing it is to be *Deaf to the Voice of the People*. And we have had both good and bad Kings, who by their Practice have owned thus much; the one sort voluntarily, and the other by Compulsion, opening their Ears to the Complaints of their Subjects.

Such Petitions were frequent in the Reigns of *Edward II*, and *Edward III*. And then even *Ireland* was allowed to represent its Grievances, and petition for a Parliament.

[I-293]

Bishop *Burnet*, in his History of the *Reformation*, informs us, that *Henry VIII*. told his Subjects when in Arms against him in *Yorkshire*, that they ought not to have rebell'd, but to have apply'd themselves to him by Petition.

King *James I*. declared himself in this Point very fully in several Proclamations. He begins one which was published in the 11th Year of his Reign, in this remarkable Manner; *The Complaint lately exhibited by certain Noblemen and others, of our Kingdom of Ireland, suggesting Dise orders and Abuses, as well in the Proceedings of the latbegun Parliament, as in the Martial and Civil Government of the Kingdom, we did receive with all extraordinary Grace and Favour*. And by another Proclamation he declares, That it was the Right of his

*Subjects to make their immediate Addresses to him by Petition. And in another he tells the People, That his own, and the Ears of his Privy Council, did still continue open to the just Complaints of his People.*

And King *Charles I.* by his Declaration in 1644. declared his *Royal Will and Pleasure, that all his loving Subjects, who had any just Cause to present, or complain of any Grievances, might freely address themselves, by their humble Petitions, to his sacred Majesty, who would graciously hear their Complaints.*

Nor is this Condescension of our Kings to hearken to the Grievances of their Subjects, any Thing more than what the Law requires, for no People have a more ample Claim to the *Right of Petitioning*, than the People of *Great Britain*. Lord Chief Justice *Hobbard* says, *Access to the Sovereign must not be shut up in Case of the Subjects Distress*. And it was one of the Crimes for which the *Spencers* were banished, and afterwards hang'd, *that they hindered the King from receiving and answering Petitions from great Men and others*. And one Article against the Lord *Strafford* was, *Tat he issued out a Proclamation and Warrant of Restraint, to inhibit the King's Subjects to come to the Fountain, their Sovereign, to deliver their Complaints, of Wrongs and Oppressions*. But there cannot be a more plain Declaration of this Right, than the Statute of the 13th of *Charles II.* which nevertheless was made to restrain the free Practice of it. And indeed, there [I-294] never was any Reign in which *petitioning* was so much discountenanced: Nay, it was prohibited by Proclamations, as *tending to Sedition and Rebellion*. Yet, Sir, you know very well, that the Methods then taken, by procuring Counter-Addresses, which expressed an Abhorrence of *Petitioning*, and by dissolving four Parliaments successively, (who did little Business, except the first) for the Regard they shewed to the *Voice of the People*, did rather heighten than abate the universal Displeasure against the Proceedings of those Times. In that Juncture, the City of *London* gave an early Proof of their Zeal for the Welfare of their Country, by petitioning the King for the sitting of the Parliament in 1679, *to try the Offenders, and redress all the most important Grievances, no otherwise to be redress'd*. This was in the first of those Parliaments: And the Commons in the fourth Parliament *Resolv'd*, "That the Thanks of this House be given to the City of *London*, for their manifest Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge, and Vigilancy, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, and of the Protestant Religion."

It will never be forgotten, with what Vigour our Parliament did then maintain the *Right of the People to Petition*. Their several *Resolutions* on this Head, are so many standing Monuments of their everlasting Fame. On the 20th of *October* 1680. the Commons *Resolv'd*, *Nemine Contradicente, That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted Right of the Subjects of England, to petition the King for the calling and sitting of Parliaments, and redressing Grievances*. *Resolv'd, That to traduce such petitioning as a Violation of Duty; and to represent it to his Majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the Design of subverting the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom, and introducing arbitrary Power.*

*Order'd, That a Committee be appointed to enquire of all such Persons as have offended against these Rights of the Subjects*. And Sir *Francis Wythens* being found guilty in this Particular, they voted him a *Betrayer of the undoubted Rights of the Subjects of England*: And ordered that he should be expelled the House, and that he should receive his Sentence upon his Knees.

[I-295]

After this the City of *London* having petitioned the House against Sir *George Jefferys*, their Recorder, and it being referred to a Committee, they passed the following Vote *Resolved, That this Committee is of Opinion, that by the Evidence given to this Committee it does*

appear that Sir George Jefferys, Recorder of the City of London, by traducing and obstructing petitioning for the sitting of this Parliament, hath betrayed the Rights of the Subject. To which the House agreed, and 'twas ordered, that an humble Address be made to his Majesty to remove him out of all publick Offices. They farther order'd, that the Committee should enquire of all such Persons as had been advising or promoting of the Proclamation, stil'd a *Proclamation against tumultuous Petitioning*. And the Grand Juries of the Counties of *Somerset* and *Devon*, having expressed their Detestation of such Petitioning, the House ordered, that the two Foremen of the Juries, two others, should be sent for into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, to answer for Breach of Privilege (as they called the Abhorrence of Petitioning) by them committed against the House. They also voted, that on *Thomas Herbert*, Esq; should be sent for in Custody, for prosecuting *John Arnold*, Esq; at the Council Table, for *promoting a Petition, and procuring Subscriptions*. To them they added two others upon the same Account, whom they called *Betrayers of the Liberties of the Subject*. And lastly, they ordered an Impeachment against Sir *Francis North*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *William Scrogs*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Justices of the same Bench, and Sir *Richard Weston*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, for *advising Proclamations against Petitioning*.

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the Sense of an *English* House of Commons, with respect to this Right of Petitioning. Their Behaviour in asserting it, will be as thankfully remember'd by all Posterity, as it is worthy to be imitated on every the like Occasion, by their Successors in the same Trust and Honour. And if they had been suffer'd to sit, to do this Nation the Service they intended, the Petitions of the People would have been comply'd with; and the Betrayers of their Country [I-296] given up to their Resentment. In which Case, we should not have had a Popish Successor, nor known the Calamities we have since undergone on that Account. But such are the fatal Consequences of *disregarding the Voice of the People!*

Sir, the People of *Great Britain* will not be disregarded. Experience tells us, that it is not safe to provoke them, who know their own Privileges so well, and how to assert the same. King *John* was obliged by Force to redress the Grievances of the Nation, when the milder Methods of petitioning and remonstrating proved ineffectual; and also to confirm by his great Charter the Liberty of the People, to even compel him for the future, in Cases of the like Necessity, by *seizing his Castles, Lands, and Revenues, and by pursuing those to utter Destruction, that should take up Arms for him*. And when he afterwards broke his Oath and Promise, the Barons said, *What shall we do with this wicked King? If we let him alone, he will destroy us and our People; it is expedient therefore, that he be expelled the Throne, we will not have him any longer to reign over us; And accordingly, in a General Assembly, with the Approbation of all the Realm, they adjudged him unworthy to be a King*. To this effect we find, according to the Custom of those Times, a long Rhyme in the Chronicle of *Mailros*, deploring the Infelicity of that Affair, *That the Body should attempt to rule the Head, and the People to be above their King; but adding, that there was a great and manifold Necessity that it should be so*.

*Ordinem præposterum Anglia sancivit,  
Mirum dictu dicitur tale quis audivit?  
Nam præesse Capiti Corpus concupivit;  
Regem suum regere Populus quæsivit.  
Causa tamen multiplex illud exigebat, &c.*

'Tis this Consideration of the Power of the People, which makes an honest House of Commons terrible to *potent Offenders*, who are very well assured, that they will always be seconded by the irresistible Power and Inclination of the People. And of this the Ministers of King *Charles II.* were highly sensible, when they ventured [I-297] upon the most dangerous



Courses, *Prorogations and Dissolutions of Parliaments*, by which alone they could defend themselves from the Effect of their Resentment. Such an Expedient, however, will never be attempted, but in weak and wicked Reigns. Some of our Kings have chose rather to sacrifice their dearest Favourites, than to run the Hazard of their own Ruin, by so desperate a Proceeding. *Henry III.* who exasperated the Nobility and People, by keeping evil Counsellors about his Person, and being obstinately bent to protect them, found it his Interest at last to come to his Parliament, and to consent to their Requests, by removing the Bishop of *Winton*, and banishing *Peter de Rivalis*, his two beloved Favourites. Nay, the Parliament sent him a Message, that if he would not do this, *They all by the common Council of the whole Kingdom, would expel him with his evil Counsellors out of the Kingdom, and consult about the Creation of a new King.* And you know, Sir, that *K. Charles I.* was obliged to devote his chief Minister, the Earl of *Strafford*, to Destruction, by consenting to the Act of Attainder against him. The Mention of which Great Man, puts me in mind of Another, for whom you, Sir, have no small Kindness, who has thought fit to imitate him in this Particular, of making an Opposition to the Court in the H— — — e of C— — — ns the Road to Preferment. He indeed was the first that ever did so, and from an eminent Patriot became the chief Asserter of despotick Power: But whoever is resolv'd to follow his Steps, let him withal remember his Fate.

All Ages give us Instances of Princes, betray'd by the Craft and Falshood of ill Ministers, when they have once gained Credit to have their bold Advice, given behind the Curtain, put in Execution, contrary to the Interests of the People. We find that King *Edward* the Second, *for following evil Counsel, and refusing to hearken to the Voice of the People, was by Advice and Consent of all the Prelates, Earls and Barons, and of the whole Community of the Kingdom, deposed from the Government.*

We have another remarkable Instance in *Richard II.* to whom his Parliament sent Messages, to declare to him among other Things, *That they found in an ancient Statute, and it had been done in fact not long before, that [I-298] if the King, through any evil Counsel, or foolish Contumacy, or out of Scorn, or some petulant Wilfulness, or any other irregular Way, shall alienate himself from his People, &c. that then it shall be lawful for them, to depose that same King from his Royal Throne.*

King *James II.* is the latest Example, who opposed the Voice of the People, by adhering to the Counsels and Intrigues of wicked Men, and thereby lost his Kingdoms. He would not receive the Complaints of his Subjects, but imprisoned the Bishops for humbly petitioning. When their Grievances were become intolerable, the People invited a Force to compel him to redress them. And one of the principal Motives; which inclined the Prince of *Orange* to assist them, was to traverse the wicked Advice and Counsel of the Ministers of that and the former Reign, as appears by his Declaration from the *Hague* the 10th of *October*, 1688, which says, *That those evil Counsellors that had then Credit with King James, had overturn'd the Laws, Liberties and Religion of the Realm, and subjected all Things to an arbitrary Power;* and he enumerates the villanous Advice and Practice they were guilty of, particularly, *That they procured the Parliament to be dissolved, when they could not prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Designs.* Therefore the Declaration adds, *That the Prince came over with a Force sufficient to defend himself from the Violence of these evil Counsellors.* This Declaration was seconded by the Resolutions of the States General, the 28th of the same Month, who thereby declare, they assisted the Prince of *Orange, because King James, by ill Counsel, and guided by his Ministers, attempted to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Religion of the Nation, &c.* The Lords and Commons in the Convention, were also of the same Opinion with the Prince and States, and therefore in their Declaration of their Rights and Privileges, presented to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the 13th of *February* following, They declared, *That King James, by the Assistance of evil Counsellors and Ministers*

*employ'd by him, did endeavour to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.*

You see, Sir, it is manifest, from the foregoing Examples (and I could mention many more if it were necessary) [I-299] how dangerous a Thing it is for bad Princes, and their evil projecting Ministers, to slight the Complaints of the People. As for *Parliaments*, I must confess, that there can hardly an Instance be given of one, before the Age we live in, which greatly disoblighed the People: Nor would ever any since, have merited their Displeasure, if the Artifices of the Court, in some of the late Reigns, had not bias'd and restrained them from their Duty to their Country. Parliaments were always reckoned the proper Guardians of Liberty and the Laws, and a necessary Fence against the arbitrary Power of Princes. For which Reason, they have ever been uneasy to such as had a Mind to contend with the People about their Rights. The Ministry of King *James* I. made him afraid of Parliaments, as an Eclipse of his Power; so that he was always glad to be rid of them before the necessary Business of the Kingdom was done. Under King *Charles* I. they proceeded farther to question their Authority, and controul their Proceedings, and to toss them up and down by sudden Adjournments, Prorogations and Dissolutions, till at last, it was resolved to have no more Parliaments, and to forbid the People to make Mention of Them; the Consequence of which destructive Counsels, fell heavy on the Authors, and were such as I dread and abhor to remember. But they took different Measures in the following Reign, to subvert our Constitution, as to Parliaments: For, having found by Experience, that a *Free-Parliament* could not be awed, they resolved to attempt that by Fraud, which was not to be compassed by Force. And thus, you know, Sir, began the *damnable invented Project of corrupting Parliaments*, which prosper'd so well at first, that the King thought fit to continue one near eighteen Years. The same Method has been taken in succeeding Reigns, to the almost undoing *England*; and indeed it is so sure a Way to compleat its Ruin, that we may already wonder that we have so much as the Name of a Free-People left.

Nothing but a free and uncorrupt Parliament, can save the Nation at this Time; a Parliament, which will grant the Petitions of the People, who unanimously pray for Redress of Publick Offenders. And 'tis our [I-300] only surviving Comfort, that such a Parliament as the People want and wish for, is now sitting. As it is the Duty, and has been the Practice of such of our Kings, who have been faithful to the Trust reposed in them by the People, and regardful of their own Honour, to punish their Officers and Ministers for Malversation: (witness King *Alfred*, who caused forty four Justices to be hang'd in one Year, for illegal, false and corrupt Judgments; so it belongs to our Parliaments to redress the Grievances occasioned by the Executive Part of the Government, and other National Grievances, and to punish guilty Ministers, and other great Offenders. Of this all Ages give us Precedents; and nothing has been so mischievous to the Kingdom, as the Supineness of some late Reigns, in not making so frequent and signal Examples among the Ministerial Dispensers of our Laws, and among the Officers of our Kings; as our Ancestors us'd to do.

I hope you don't think, Sir, that I accuse any Persons, who have a Share in the present Administration; God forbid there should be any Room to suspect them. Yet you must give me leave to say, that we have great and powerful Offenders to deal with. But there is no Man so great, that a *British* Parliament cannot reach; nor no Art so deep, that they cannot discover. I have read of a Country where there was a constant Series of Mismanagement for many Years together, and yet no Body was punished; when Offices were given in the Nature of Bribes and Pensions, and constantly taken away upon Non compliance with the Court Measures; when by splitting of Places among several Persons, which were formerly executed by one, or by reviving such as were sunk, or by creating others which were altogether useless or unnecessary, or by Promises of Preferment to those who could not presently be provided for, the Court had made above two hundred Members absolutely dependent on them. But blessed

be God, we live in better Times! We have a gracious King, who makes his Interest the same with that of his People, and a Parliament the Guardians of the People's Liberties; who will let the whole World see that they are neither to be perverted by Places, or deceiv'd by false Appearances; that they know how [I-301] to honour and reverence his Majesty, and punish the Destroyers of their Country.

As for you, Sir, I'm persuaded it must now be your Opinion, that nothing at present could more contribute to undo us, than to be supine and indifferent, when the greatest Villanies have been committed, and to manage the Discovery with a cold Prosecution. But if you think there are so many engag'd in the late Conspiracy against their Country, that 'tis advisable to connive, and not prosecute it any farther; I'm sure, if it is so formidable than 'tis dangerous to enquire farther into it, it is much more dangerous to let it alone.

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***A Supplement to the London-Journal of March 25, 1721; being the State of the Case relating to the Surrender of Mr. Knight, Farther Considered. By T. Gordon, Esq;*** [↩](#)

Anno 1728.

*To the Author of the London Journal.*

SIR,

*MR. Knight being still protected at Antwerp, notwithstanding the pressing Instances made by His Majesty for his Surrender; I desire you will, as a Supplement to your Paper of the 25th of last Month, give the following Argument to the Publick as soon as possible; which I have just receiv'd in a Letter from a very great Civilian at Brussels; and which I have faithfully translated, that the English Nation may see the Sentiments of a Brabander, upon the great Point in Questiokn, between the High and Mighty States of Brabant, and our Abus'd and Unhappy Country.*

I am, SIR,

April 21,  
1721.

Your Constant Friend.

[I-302]

A Native of *Great Britain*, and Person in a publick Office, where he had the Management of publick Money, being suspected of Maiversation, was personally and juridically cited to appear before competent Judges, to answer to Interrogatories relating to certain Facts laid to his Charge; which was comply'd with accordingly: But he (fearing a Decree against him of bodily Imprisonment) takes his Measure to escape, and actually flies the Kingdom; carrying with him (as 'tis presumed) considerable Sums, as well in Money as Effects. And after having crossed the Sea, and *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, as far as to *Tirlemont*, (with an apparent Intention of leaving *Brabant*) he there is overtaken and seized by the Authority of the Government.

The Question is,

*Whether any Potentate, Authority, or Judge, being thereto duly required, can, with Justice, refuse to surrender the Person so arrested, and hinder his transport out of Brabant; in order to be delivered to the Power so claiming and demanding him?*

The Opinion is in the Negative.

In order to consider the Question thoroughly, we must in the first place examine, upon what Eoundation such a Refusal can be supposed to be laid; and shew that none of them are of any Avail in the present Case.

This Refusal may be founded upon two Heads;

The *First*, is the Right of *Azylum* or Refuge simple and common.

The *Second*, is the particular Privileges of *Brabant*, granted to them by the 17th Article of the *Joyful Entry* [\*], which forbids the transporting of a Prisoner out of the Province.

As to the Right of *Azylum* or Refuge, 'tis neither founded upon Divine Right, nor the Right of Nature, nor the Right of Nations, but purely positive. [*Ains purement positif.*] On the contrary: *Suum cuique tribuere, & crimina non relinquere impunita*, [to give to every Man his Due, and not to leave Crimes unpunished,] is agreeable to *all Right*. And in order to distinguish, whether the pretended Right of *Azylum* can take place, we must consider the Case either as Criminal or Civil.

It is most certain, that even in *Germany* (where by Reason of the great Numbers of Princes and States, the Jealousy of their Privileges, in relation to the *Azylum*, or of giving Refuge and Protection [called *Freijhung*] is greater than any where else) the Person now arrested, would never have had the Privilege of *Azylum*: For there 'tis properly designed, *pro subditis & etiam forensibus in principis territorio delinquentibus*, [For *Subjects*, and also, for *Strangers transgressing within the Territories of the Prince.*] For which, the decisive Reason in the Case of Foreigners is, That the Person committing the Fault or Delinquency within the Territory of the Prince, may be said to violate only the Jurisdiction of *the Lord*, and not of any other Prince; and therefore he against whom the Crime is committed, may remit the Crime: [*tit. Pro Forensibus: Quod delinquens in Prinipis territorio solummodo jurisdictionem Domini, (non verò alterius Principis) violare dicatur. Ideo hanc injuriam quoque remittere potest is in quem injuria commissa est. Quod variis rationibus confirmat Nicolaus ab Ehrenbach Tract. de jure Azyli.*]

And although that upon the Dispute, Whether a Prince of the Empire, setting up an *Azylum* or Right of Refuge in any City of his Dominions, can bestow upon it so great a Privilege, as that a *Foreigner* being a Delinquent, or committing his Crime *out of the Dominions* of the said Prince, [which is the present Case] can enjoy so far an Immunity, that this *Azylum* or Right of Refuge can be of Force and Extension to all the Criminals in the Empire? I say, although the Affirmative of the Case thus stated may be probable, grounded principally upon this, Because the Avocations and Commissions of Delinquents [I-304] do now depend upon the Will and Pleasure of the Prince of the Territory, whether he will send back the Delinquent at the Instance of the Requirer or not? Yet all Authors agree, That these sort of *Azylums* (so commended in *Deuteronomy* and *Joshua*) are only so far praise-worthy, and ought of right to subsist, whilst they afford Protection (not to voluntary Delinquents, nor to deceitful ones) but to imprudent Persons: *Haec Azyla tantum Laudem mereri, & de Jure subsistere, quando patrocinantur non voluntariis nec dolosis* [*Den Muthwinligen und vorsetzlichen*] *sed imprudentibus*.

Now that the Malversations which a Person commits, in his Office, and in the Money depending thereon, are *voluntary* and *deceitful* Crimes, is as clear as possible, and is further confirmed by the Flight of the Delinquent out of *Great Britain*; which excludes him from the Right of *Azylum* in all Nations; more especially he having been personally cited, and having answered to Interrogatories, (which is a Commencement of a criminal Procedure) the Delinquent being fixed and limited to a certain Town, Province, or Kingdom for his Prison; in which Case; (were there no other) the Right of Refuge in a Foreign Country is very disputable; I say, upon this very Head.

And without entering into the Discussion of this Question, 'tis not to be believed, that the Sovereign will ever grant a Protection or *Azylum* in his Territories to a Delinquent *who was but a Passenger thorough them*, and was already upon the utmost Limits of them, in order to save himself in some other Country.

Besides, it is to be observed, That the *German* Authors, treating of this Matter, spake, *de forensibus, sed sub Imperio*; [of Foreigners, but such as are under the Jurisdiction] and not of absolute Strangers: Forasmuch as 'tis commonly received among all Potentates of the Earth, who are not in actual War, (and in particular, by the Great Allies) that Princes take not the Subjects or Vassals of each other into their Protection, without their Prince's particular Consent, let the Case be either Criminal or Civil (as *Bodin*, in his Treatise, *de Republicâ*, very well observes;) unless the Person so protected were [I-305] *banished* by his Prince. This agrees with *Solon's* Law, which forbids, that any Foreigner should have the Right of Burgessship in *Athens*, who was not *banished* from his own Country; and without giving these Instances, we may generally say, in the Terms of the Law, That the Right of Burgessship is not lost, nor the Power of the natural Prince over his Subject taken away by Reason of his changing his Place or Country.

'Tis very true, that often Princes do draw, and entice Strangers to them, either upon the Score of Religion, or to People their Country, or in order to weaken the Power of their Neighbours, or to gain excellent Artificers, and Persons of superior Abilities, or upon other Views. But on the other hand, we likewise see that all Princes do what is in their Power to hinder this Practice, by forbidding their Subjects to quit their Dominions without Leave: Thus 'tis in *Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Naples*, and elsewhere; the Nobility of which cannot absent themselves without Permission.

And altho' the *Low Countries* (especially *Brabant*) be a very free Country, where, according to the Ordinances of the Year 1312, Strangers might come and establish their Housholds, and these might afterwards remove themselves whither they pleased: Yet the several Placards of the 18th of *September*, 1567; the 1st of *July*, 1609; the 15th of *November*, 1627, with the Notes of *Zipens de notitiâ Juris Belgici*, according to the Customs of *Flanders*, by him cited, shew that this Liberty is very much limited in several Particulars; and even in our Days we see the Fiscals exert themselves, when the Case touches the Conservation of the Good of the State, in whatsoever Province, City, or Fraternities of Trade (wherein the Diminution, or Disadvantage of the Publick, may be concerned) it may happen. And therefore (over and above the several Treaties) Princes make By-Laws and Ordinances for the Conservation of the State, which ought certainly to be reckoned among the Fundamental Laws, tho' they may not perhaps be called by that Name. And we may conclude with *Bodinus*, that Princes are accustomed among themselves for this Reason to put in force *Rogatory Commissions*, or Letters of *Marque*, [I-306] to make their Subjects obey, and to evoke or reclaim the Causes and Pursuits against them, (except in Cases of Right determined;) and upon this Point we often see War declared between the Princes requiring and refusing.

Now as to the Second Head founded upon the particular Privileges of *Brabant*, this ought not to come under Consideration till the Person arrested has declared, by some Remonstrance, that he insists upon it, and pretends to make his use of it. For whosoever builds upon a Privilege, ought to alledge and prove it first. Notwithstanding, whilst we are in the Dark, whether such Remonstrance was ever made or not, we may venture to say, that this Privilege can no way operate in the present Case. All that the Person arrested can alledge must be, that the Text of the *Joyful Entry*, in the 17th Article, wherein it is said, *So what Person; Whatsoever Person, &c.* comprehends in general, and without Distinction, Restriction, or Modification (in respect to the Person arrested) all sorts of People, whether of *Brabant*, or of all the *Low Countries*, or any other way a Subject of the Prince, or an utter Stranger; and that this Privilege is real, and attached and annexed to the Land of *Brabant*. But if any one wou'd penetrate into the true Sense of this they wou'd find that the Meaning of it must be, that when a *Brabander* is made a Prisoner in *Brabant*, the Duke shall neither cause, nor suffer him to be conveyed a Prisoner out of the Land of *Brabant*. The Word *So what*

*Person*, finds its Signification in the Person of a Subject of *Brabant*, of whatsoever Condition or Sex it may be, whether Man or Woman, Ecclesiastick or Secular, Noble or Ignoble. The Word *Gevangen*, or Prisoner, signifies properly a *Criminal* Prisoner; and the meaning is, that a *Brabander* being *there* made Prisoner, shall be absolutely and finally judged by *Judges of Brabant*, and according to the *Laws of Brabant* [*as in England, all Persons are to be tried by the Vicinage.*] This Law, in its self is good and just, and this corresponds with many other of the Articles in the same *Joyful Entry*, which speak of Judges, and the Execution of Justice; but if we should stretch the Interpretation of it to Strangers [I-307] indifferently, it wou'd become very unjust.

All Privileges are to be regularly taken upon the Foot of Remuneration; and shou'd this Article be construed so generally, as to extend to Strangers, it wou'd follow, that all Nations in the World had merited from the *Brabanders* and their Duke.

In the Duke of *Alva's* Time, this Matter was pushed very far in favour of the *Belgian* Provinces in general (they being all then united under the same Sovereign) but never in favour of absolute Strangers. And altho' we should suppose that *Great Britain* had merited very much at the *Brabanders* Hands, wou'd it therefore follow, or be thought to be allowed in favour of a *particular Subject of Great Britain*, to the Disadvantage of that King, the Kingdom, or the States of it? Ought this Merit to be recompenced the quite contrary way?

In fine, let us take this Privilege in the most general and comprehensive Sense; and for as strong and fundamental a Law as some wou'd have it: I am going to prove, that it can have no manner of Operation in the present Case.

By the 24th Article of the *Joyful Entry* 'tis stipulated, That the Duke *shall not suffer his Subjects of Brabant to arrest or implead each other out of the Jurisdiction of Brabant*: And you may note, by the way, that this Law binds and obliges a Subject of *Brabant*, tho' he be out out of the Prince's Territory; and this shews you, that as well in *Brabant* as elsewhere, what we averred before is true, *viz.* that the Power of the Prince over his Subject is not lost or diminished by the changing his Place of Abode or Country; and most certainly can never be supposed otherwise, *quando mutatio est momentanea*, when this Change is of a sudden, and but for a short time: And every Man will readily believe, that if this case should happen in *Great Britain*, the King would give a speedy Redress upon the first Requisition and Instance of the Duke of *Brabant*. These two Privileges, contained in the 17th and 24th Articles (whereof the Second, taken generally, is more strong than the First) ought, with great Reason, to lie under the same Restrictions and Modifications. The Second is actually modified [I-308] in Terms by the said 24th Article, wherein these Words follow immediately those before quoted, *unless the Person to be arrested be a Fugitive*; if then, a *Brabander* may lawfully arrest his Debtor *Brabander* out of that Country, in case he be a *Fugitive*; it is much more equitable to grant the same Privilege in *Brabant* to Strangers.

But further, whoever peruses the Treaties between *England* and the Sovereign of *Brabant*, will find by them, that the Obligations between these two Nations are much stronger than between *Brabant* and any other Foreign Country. The Treaty of 1495, confirmed by several subsequent Treaties, *viz.* those of 1604, 1630, and 1660, contains this Clause, as translated out of the *Latin*, Chap. 27, *That any Subject of either of the two Princes*, alledging, *That his Debtor is justly suspected to be a Fugitive*, the said Debtor *ought to be put and held under Arrest, unless he proves, that he ought not to be suspected of being such Fugitive*. But here the Question is not between particular Subjects of the different Potentates, whereof the one is barely suspected of Flight; but wherein a King, a Kingdom, a whole Nation is concerned, pursuing a *Subject, truly a Fugitive*, by such plain Proofs as admit of no Contradiction: A Subject in a publick Office, entrusted with the Management and Disposal of vast Sums of Money, whereon depends the Publick Credit of the whole Nation: A Person

who ought to be sent back to be judged according to the Laws of his own Country; it being a Thing impossible, that those Laws should be thoroughly understood by any Judges of a strange Country.

And who can imagine, that the Sovereign of *Brabant* should refuse to send him home, considering, that by the Stipulations in the Treaties, the two Princes have obliged themselves reciprocally to procure and promote, *in all Things*, whatsoever shall be to the Advantage of each of them and of his Nation; and also, to hinder every thing that may be any ways hurtful? And as to the States of *Brabant*, how should they dare to oppose the Surrender and Return of such a Criminal? Surely, they would not be willing that the like should happen [I-309] in their own Case, if one of the Receivers of publick Money should run away and take shelter in *Great Britain*. There is a Rule which is very good and natural, which dictates, *Quod tibi non nocet, Alteri Prodest, facile est concedendum! maxime dum non solum non prodesset, sed multum noceret si non fieret. Whatever does you no harm, and does Another Person good, ought to be easily granted; but especially, when it would do no good, but might do a great deal of harm if it were not done.* Now No-body can see what Harm or Wrong it would do the *Brabanders*, if the Person arrested were sent over; or to their Privilege, whereof the Sense and Meaning has been declared dubious by the Act of the Magistrate of *Brussels*, made the 6th Day of *October*, 1692, and signed, *H. Jacobs*, at the Instance of the *Scout of Amsterdam* against *Peter Baltazar Lievens*, a Bankrupt of *Amsterdam*, detained a Prisoner in the *Vrunt*, (a Prison so called at that Time) the Words of that Act are, *That whereas the Prisoner pleaded, that the Privileges of Brabant ought to operate in his Favour, altho' he was neither a Brabander nor a Subject of his Majesty; under the Pretext, that the Article was couched in general Terms; therefore, in order to avoid any Infraction, it was resolved, to leave the Sense and Interpretation of it to the Council of Brabant: Which at last was finally determined and put beyond all doubt by the Decree of the Governour General, with the Advice and Consent of the said Council and of the Estates.* By Virtue of which, the Prisoner was surrendered, and put into the Possession of the *Resident* of the *States-General* of the United Provinces.

There were these further Differences and Singularities between this and the present Case; That the said *Lievens* was a *Roman Catholick*; and alledged, that he retired into *Brabant* in order to have the *freer Exercise of his Religion*. That he came into *Brabant*, with a Design to *fix his Houshold and Family there*; that he had already *for a long time dwelt there*. That the Jurisdiction of the Judge over him in *Holland*, was not yet *thoroughly founded by any Act of Summons*, or otherwise.

In the present Case it is therefore most certain, that the Requisites, or Instances of his Majesty of *Great Britain*'s Ministers ought to take place, notwithstanding all Privileges of this Nature; which according to the Opinion of the before-cited *Zipeus*, (in his Introduction) might even be abrogated. His Words are as follows— — — *Sed & hæc ipsa (privilegia) frequentem patiuntur abrogationem, si quod in utilitatem publicæ considerationis concessum est incipiat vergere in nimium damnum, vel etiam modum excedat: Et etiam possunt ipsi ordines privilegia concessa remittere, dummodo causa aliqua subsit; imo potest princeps Leges publicas & promissas non tenere si irrationibiles sint vel deveniant, & aliud salus publica exigat.* — — — *But the very Privileges do frequently bear an Abrogation, if what was at first granted for the Sake of the publick Utility, should begin to turn to its great Damage, or should exceed a just Measure; and the very States themselves can, upon Occasion, remit the Privileges granted to them: Nay the Prince may suspend the publick Laws and his Promises, if they be or become unreasonable, and the Publick Safety require it.*

And 'tis believed, for this very Reason, at the Time of the *Joyful Entry* of *Philip the Second* [*Charles the 5th* of immortal Memory, being then present and assisting, in the Year 1549] after several Conferences and Debates held between the *Prince* and the *States* (by Commissaries, who thoroughly understood the Authority and Superiority of the Prince, as



well as the Original Rights and Privileges of the Country) upon occasion of changing or moderating the Articles, according as they should be *observable*, or *non-observable*, in respect to the Promise made by the Prince, to observe them in the last Article but one that this Clause was added,— — — *so far as the said Articles are to be observed, or are observable*; which Clause has ever since been inserted in all the subsequent *Joyful Entries*. And we think 'tis sufficiently demonstrated, that the Privilege in Question is among the Number of the *Non-observables* with Regard to *Foreigners*. And namely, in the Case of a Subject of *Great Britain*; who besides of all the foregoing Reasons, was *in procinctu*, just ready to run out of *Brabant* itself, and has thereby rendered himself unworthy of any Privileges belonging to a *Brabander*.

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*The Character of an Independent Whig. By T. Gordon, Esq;* ↩

Anno 1720.

Independency at Court is a Heresy in Politicks, never pardoned, *much less* countenanced *there*. Our *Whig*, therefore, adheres to his Principles, and has no Pretensions to a Place.

—*Caret invidenda sobrius aula*. He scorns all implicit Faith in the State, as well as the Church. The Authority of Names is nothing to him; he judges all Men by their Actions and Behaviour, and hates a Knave of his own Party, as much as he despises a Fool of another. He consents not that any Man, or Body of Men, shall do what they please. He claims a Right of examining all publick Measures, and, if they deserve it, of censuring them. As he never saw much Power possessed without some Abuse, he takes upon him to watch those that have it; and to acquit or expose them, according as they apply it, to the Good of their Country, or their own crooked Purposes.

As to Religion, our Whig is a Protestant; not because he was born so, according to the canting Absurdity in Vogue; or bred so, since in Infancy Religion is acquired like a Lesson in Grammar, purely by the Help of Memory; and therefore Children learn it, whether it be good or bad, as they do Language, from their Nurse, or their Parents. But he is a Protestant because his Judgment and his Eyes inform him, that the Principles of that Faith are warranted by the Bible, and consistent with our Civil Liberties; and he thinks every System which is not so, to be Forgery and Imposture, however dignified or distinguished.

In Consequence of this, he has a great Respect for the Office of a Clergyman; and for his Person, if he deserves [I-312] it. But if his Doctrine or Practice disgraces his Order, our Whig owns his Contempt for the Men. The Clergy are the best or the worst of Men; and as the first cannot be too much honoured, the latter cannot be too much despised. It is of good Example, and there is equal Reason in it. Why should Virtue and Villany fare alike? Names do not change Qualities, nor Habits Men. Where is the Equity of Rewards and Punishments, and consequently the Force of all Laws, human and divine, if vile Men must be revered, and the good can be no more?

It is but reasonable that all Men should be judged by their Actions, and revered, or scorned, according to the Goodness or Wickedness of their Lives, without any Regard had to their Titles or Garbs; which signify no more than a Breath of Wind, or the Bark of a Tree.

There is not a greater Insult upon the Understandings of Mankind, than for Priests to challenge Respect from their Habit, when they have forfeited it by their Behaviour. There is no Sanctity in Garments. A Rose in a Man's Hat does not enlarge his Piety. Grace is not conveyed by a Piece of Lawn, or Chastity by the wearing of a Girdle. A black Gown has neither Sense, nor better Manners, than a black Cloak. Nor is a black Cloak more edifying than a Fustian Frock; no more than a Cambrick Bib is an Antidote against Lewdness, or an Atonement for it.

This consecrating of Garments, and deriving Veneration from a Suit of Cloaths, is barefac'd Priestcraft. It is teaching the Practice of Idolatry to a Gown and Cassock. If a little senseless Pedant, who is a living Contradiction of Virtue and Breeding, can but whip into Orders, and cover himself with Crape, the first Thing he does is to overlook and affront all Mankind, and then demand their Reverence. His Surplice is his Citadel, and he claims the Impunity of an Ambassador for being graceless and saucy.

As to the common Defence which is made for their Immoralities; namely, That they are Flesh and Blood as well as other Men, it is a wretched Piece of Sophistry. If they are not better than others, how are they fit to mend others? And if they cannot leave their Captivity [I-313] to Sin and Satan, how come they to claim so near an Alliance with Heaven? If they have God's Commission in their Pockets, and yet will engage in another Service, what Name and Treatment do they deserve? We know the Fate of Rebels and Deserters in a Lay Government. Can Men succeed to the Apostles with the Qualities and Behaviour of Apostles? How will they reconcile a holy Calling to infamous Lives? A Clergyman who is as bad as an ill Layman, is consequently worse. In that Character there is no Medium between doing Good and doing Mischief; since the Influence of Example is stronger than that of Precept. As the Doctrine and Practice of Piety, make up the Profession of a Clergyman, he who deserts Truth and Holiness deserts his Profession, and ought to be no longer owned for a Teacher of Religion, but shunned and hated, as a Foe to Religion and Mankind.

The Clergy have made such a terrible and inhuman Use of Power, in all Ages and Countries where they could come at it, that our Whig is for keeping their Nails always par'd, and their Wings clipp'd, in this Particular. Reason and Liberty are the Two greatest Gifts and Blessings which God has given us, and yet where-ever a priestly Authority prevails, they must either fly or suffer. They are Enemies to the Craft, and must expect no Toleration. Darkness and Chains are the surest Pillars of the sacerdotal Empire, and it cannot stand without them.

Let us remember Archbishop *Laud*, who having got the Regal Power out of a weak Prince's Hands, into his own, set his Face against Truth, Property, Conscience, and Liberty, and trampled them all under Foot for several Years together. A Spirit of Cruelty and Dominion govern'd this Man, and he govern'd King and People. His Heart was so impiously bent upon destroying Conscience and the Constitution, and exalting the Priesthood, that when any Man was oppressed in a paltry, tyrannical, Bishop's Court, the Judges in *Westminster-hall* durst not obey their Oaths, and the Law, by relieving him; but were forced to be forsworn, to avoid the Anger of his *Grace*. This upstart, Plebeian Priest, hoped to see the *Time, when ne'er a Jack Gentleman in [I-314] England would dare to stand before a Parson with his Hat on*. A fine Scene truly! to see a Gentleman of Fortune and Breeding, stand stooping, and bare-headed, to a small, ill-nurtured Vicar; who had, perhaps, formerly clean'd his Shoes, and lived upon the Crumbs that came from his Table!

Let us look back into former Ages, and round *Europe* at this Day, and see whether abject Slavery in the People is not, and always has been, the certain Consequence of Power in the Priests. It cannot be denied.

I thank God I know no Power our Clergy have, but that of suing for Tithes, and the like Privileges, which they receive from the Law alone. Those Ecclesiasticks who claim, by Divine Right, any other Power, than that of Exhortation, talk Nonsense, and bely the New Testament. To the Law, and the People who made that Law, they owe their Bread; and to set up for an Independency in Opposition to both, and pretend to a Mastership over them, is arrogant, dangerous, and ought to be penal. I am told it is capital, here in *England*, for a Protestant to go over to the *Romish* Religion; and yet shall a Priest dare publicly, from the Press and the Pulpit, to claim, and justify, the most essential, and most formidable Principles of Popery; and thereby declare his Reconciliation with that bloody Religion, which is supported by Fraud, Bondage, and human Slaughter: And shall he for all this go unquestioned? This, in my Opinion, is to contend with Impunity for Usurpation and Rebellion.

Some would seem to qualify these Pretensions, by saying, That they claim a Power. Which seems, in this Case, a Sort of a Contradiction. For if it is a Power, and yet depends upon another Power, then is it, properly speaking, a Jurisdiction of Subjection, and an Authority under an Authority. And while the Law and the Hierarchy are thus own'd to be Master and Man, we desire no more.

Our Whig is for an unlimited Toleration of all Dissenters whatsoever, who own the Laws and our Civil Form of Government. As to their religious Opinions, they are justified in them by Sincerity; and even where that is wanting, God alone is able to judge, and alone [I-315] has a Right to punish. In Matters of Conscience, he who does his best does well, though he is mistaken. Here all Men must determine for themselves: He who follows another in this Case, without Enquiry, is Man's Votary, and not God's. As we have a Right to enquire into the Truth of any Religion, we have also a Right to leave it, if it appears false: But if it stands the Test of Examination, and appears true, then is our Adherence to it founded upon our own Judgment, and not upon Authority. If there be no Right of Inquiry, where is the Use of Perswasion, which implies Doubt? Or of reading the Scripture, which implies Understanding? We believe not a Thing 'till we think it true; and cannot believe it, if we think it false: And to punish Men for having Eyes, or having none, is equally diabolical and tyrannical.

Men disagree daily about Matters, which are subject to the Examination of Sense; and is it likely that we can be all of a Mind about Things which are invisible and disputable? Doctors themselves are daily cavilling; every one contradicts another, and yet all are in the right, and each demands our Faith to his particular Invention. We cannot follow all; and among equal Authorities pray which is the best? For the same Reason that we cannot believe every one of them, we need believe none of them, upon their own Word.

Our Whig goes farther, and thinks that all Protestants ought to be equally employed in a State to which they are equally well affected. The Magistrate has nothing to do with Speculations that purely concern another Life: Nor is it of any Consequence to him, whether his Subjects have a greater Fondness for a Cloak or a Surplice: Their Affections to the political Power, and their Capacity to serve it, are only to be consulted and encouraged. Provided a Man loves Liberty and his Country, what is it to the Commonwealth whether he sings his Prayers or says them? Or whether he thinks a *Bishop* or a *Presbyter* the nearer Relation to *St. Paul*.

These Two Words (*Bishop* and *Presbyter*) signify, in Scripture, one and the same Thing, and are equally used to signify one and the same Officer. Our great Churchmen, indeed, have been pleased to think the Bible mistaken [I-316] in this Matter, and to be in the right themselves they have made Episcopacy and Presbytery as opposite to each other as Paradise and Purgatory; and have frequently gone to cutting of Throats to prove their Point.

I must confess a Diocese, and a Seat in the House of Lords, are unanswerable Reasons for the Divine Right of Episcopacy. There is no Way of confuting them. You may as well argue with a *Guinea-Merchant* against the selling of Slaves.

Besides, a lordly Creature, who never preaches (Miracles having long ago ceased) and keeps a great Table and Equipage, and enjoys all the great and good Things of this Life, carries in all these Marks such an Evidence of his being *St. Paul's* right Heir, in a lineal Descent, that I wonder any Body *dare* doubt it.

However, as the plainest Things in Faith are made doubtful among Divines, who have an admirable Knack at starting Difficulties, where no Body else would expect them; our Whig is of Opinion, that the Teacher who walks on Foot, has as good a Title to dispute about Religion, and maintain his own, as the Right Reverend Doctor, who supports his Orthodoxy

with a Coach and Six; and should be as much encouraged by the Civil Magistrate, if his Principles and Behaviour square with the Constitution. Is a Man a better Neighbour, or Subject, for nodding to a Table, at the upper End of a Chancel, or for pronouncing his Faith towards the East? Our Churchmen may find good Cause to enjoin these *necessary Things*, which the Scripture had forgot, and enjoy great Benefit and Obedience from the Practice of them; but in temporal Matters, I am not fully convinced that they make a Man's Head wiser, or his Heart honester.

I cannot here omit taking Notice of an old fallacious Cry, which has long rung in our Ears; namely, that of *no Bishop, no King*. This solid Argument was used, with Royal Success, by *King James the first*, when he sate Deputy for the Clergy, and disputed with the Puritans, at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*. It was indeed, the best he could use; however he strengthened, and embellished it, with several imperial Oaths, which he swore [I-317] on that Occasion, to the utter Confusion of his Antagonists, and the great Triumph of the *genuine Clergy* and the Archbishop; who bestowed the Holy Ghost upon his Majesty, for his Zeal and Swearing on the Church's Side.

This stupid *Saying* has formerly filled our Prisons with Dissenters, and chased many of them to *America*; and by this Means weakened the Kingdom and the Protestant Religion, to keep up good Neighbourhood between the Bishops, and the Prince. But they were neither the Bishops, nor their Creatures, that restored *King Charles the second*, but a Set of true Presbyterians, who were rewarded for it with Gaol, Fines, and *Silent Sabbaths*.

Loyalty is not confined to the Mitre. Bishops have given more Disturbance, and occasioned more Distresses to Prince and People, than any other Sort of Men upon Earth. This I can prove. Our own Bishops, for near an hundred Years before the Revolution, were in every Scheme for promoting Tyranny and Bondage. On the other Hand, our Dissenters were ever eminent Opposers of Arbitrary Power, and always lived peaceably under those Princes who used them like Subjects. If they took up Arms when they were oppressed, Churchmen have done the same, and often without that Cause.

Had it not been for Dissenters, I question whether we should now have had either this Constitution, this King, or this Religion. It is well known that a great Majority of our Churchmen have got *Claims* and *Principles* utterly irreconcilable to either. The most mischievous Tenets of Popery are adopted and maintained, and the Ground upon which our Security and Succession stand, is boldly undermined. It is dreadful, and incredible what a Reprobate Spirit reigns amongst the High Clergy.

The Convocation have fallen fiercely upon those who have fallen upon Popery and Jacobitism. And what a Popish, Impious and Rebellious Spirit reigns at *Oxford*, they themselves save me the Trouble of declaring. Disaffection is promoted; open and black Perjury is justified; and it is held lawful to defy Almighty Vengeance for a Morsel of Bread. A Man's Conscience is tried by an Oath, and he that can swallow any has none.

[I-318]

But it is not enough to shipwreck their Souls for their Livings, nor to keep this hellish Corruption at Home. As they practise so they teach, and the spreading of their own Guilt, and the making others as bad as themselves (if Laymen can be so) is made the Duty of their Functions, and the Business of their Lives. Can Antichrist do worse? And are these Men who walk in the Paths of Atheism and Perdition, fit to lead others to Holiness and Eternal Life?

One of the greatest Men of the last Age told *King William*, That the Universities, if they continued upon the present Foot, would destroy Him, or the Nation, or some of his Successors. And they have ever since been endeavouring to make good his Words. That

Prince was so thoroughly apprized of the dangerous Genius and Principles of these two Bodies of Men, that he intended a Regulation, but, as it is said, was prevented by the pernicious Advice of the late Duke of S— —, who had at that Time gained the King's Confidence, and was at the Head of the Whigs, but was betraying both, and making a Party with the Tories, as afterwards plainly enough appeared.

How far, and how fast, these Seminaries have since then corrupted and inflamed the People, every Body knows, and the Nation feels. Had it not been for them we should have lighter Taxes and fewer Soldiers.

Upon the Coming in of his present Majesty, we thought we had a Right to expect such Measures of Government as would not only secure Us for the Time being, but prevent a Relapse into the Dangers out of which Providence had just plucked Us by the Death of — — — It is certain that the King brought along with him, and still preserves a Disposition to do Us all the Good which we can propose or desire.

All those Whigs therefore who had no secret Ends to serve by dark Dealings with the Tories, nor private Fortunes to raise by neglecting or perplexing the Publick, insisted upon the Punishment of those who had bargained away the Nation, and upon a Visitation of the Universities, and both were undertaken and promised. But why neither was done, they who are concerned can best [I-319] tell, if telling was proper. In the mean Time they cannot blame us for guessing.

I am only sorry that the great and surprizing Tenderness, which some have shewn for the High Clergy, has not been able to produce one Instance of Loyalty or Moderation. Perhaps the Priesthood will accept of no Alliance without a total Alteration; and that the Adoption of two or three eminent Persons of their Faction into Partnership with some other eminent Persons, pretending to be of a different Faction, will not do.

However that be, the Universities seem to dread no such Things as a Visitation. Whether they take their Conjectures from our other Measures for Reformation, I cannot say.

The same Spirit which leads us to lessen our Taxes and clear the Publick, and to enlarge the Bottom of Liberty and the Protestant Faith by unyoking of Dissenters, will carry us also to remove the Corruption of our Seminaries, and their disaffected Spawn in too many Parishes. But when such a Spirit will arise, we are not able to foretel. We have been already long deluded with many Prophecies and Promises of that Kind, which, as positive as they were, and as probable as they appeared, have never been fulfilled. We have been even tired with hoping and believing, and now Despair and Infidelity have succeeded, and are like to last as long as their Causes last.

Our Liberties, in the mean Time, lye exceeding precarious. The High Clergy have still the same Engines to play against them, which in Time past have gone very near utterly to overturn them. Their Divine Right is preserved as the Apple of their Eye; a blind Belief in *them* is inculcated with all their Might; and a blind Obedience to any Royal Idol, who will purchase their Flattery by worshipping them, is at all Times the Burden of their Harangues. As to this last Article, we are I thank God, very safe at present; but the *present* will not be always.

I could here wonder, for two or three Pages, at the marvellous Strength of Nonsense, and the pitiful Weakness of Human Minds, who by the Perswasion of Falshood and Contradiction can grow zealous for their own Bonds [I-320] and Wretchedness. And yet is it not so in most Countries, where People are miserable by the Advice of their Priests to please a Tyrant?

There are Bounds set to the Power of our Princes by the same Laws which made them Princes. An *English King* is limited as well, though not as much as a *Dutch Stadtholder*, and for the same Reason. The Difference of Names alters not the Case. Would a *Dutch Priest* dare, in that free Country, to tell the People, that they ought to be Slaves to an Officer of their own making, and yet go without a Whipping, or a Dismission, or something still worse? Is it High Treason to assert that a King has no Title, and ought to be deposed? And is it no Crime to argue and maintain that the People are Slaves, and their Lives and Property at the Mercy of one whom they created, and whose Duty it is, to defend those Lives and that Property?

It is true, too many of the High Clergy never once practise this Doctrine themselves and never encourage it in others but for profitable Purposes. But such is their want of Shame, that they never quit it, and yet never observe it. They preach against Rebellion, and practise Rebellion, just as they are pleased or out of Humour.

Our Whig sees with Pain and Fear the dangerous Condition of our Debts and Taxes. They are a heavy and melancholy Load upon the Nation, and will be so, till it pleases God to raise up proper Hands to relieve us, and who will set about it while it is yet practicable, before more new Wars have puzzled and encreased our Accounts beyond a Possibility of clearing them. They are at present a Canker in the Hearts of many People, and create numerous Foes, whom we in vain strive to terrify or reconcile, if we do not lessen their Burdens.

From hence the Enemies of our Peace and Liberty take Pretence, and find ample Materials, for sowing Disaffection; and we in vain confront, or contradict them. If we are asked, when we shall have done *fighting* and *taxing*? we either know not what to answer, or if we name a Time for their ending, at least for their beginning to end, they will not take our Word.

[I-321]

With the Cure of publick Evils Disaffection will be cured also. All Men, therefore, who are Friends to the King, or the Nation, will labour this Happiness; will avoid entering into all Wars which are not absolutely necessary to the publick Security, and will take every Opportunity to end those which are so, upon honourable Terms: And by this Test let them be tried: We have before our Eyes a pregnant Instance in *France* (and, I doubt, a dangerous one too for its Neighbours) where an almost universal Disaffection is changed into an universal Love to the Administration, upon the Appearance of its acting for the publick Good.

We have so good a Prince, that let our Debts be ever so high and embarrassed, we have no Reason to fear a Sponge, or a Standing Army, to clear the Kingdom of its Mortgages, though it could be done no other Way: And in his Goodness is our greatest Hope. There are many good Subjects who terrify themselves with such Indignations, which, indeed, are truly terrible, where they well grounded. But his Majesty's Virtue, and the importunate Call of the Nation, will, no doubt, be too hard, at last, for all ill Management or worse Designs of any who may find their Account in dabling in publick Misfortunes; and who, whilst they think they tread upon a Worm, may rouse a Lion.

Let us remember the sad Fate of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. They run into Debts by running into Wars, and the Court took Advantage of their Necessities to seize their Liberties. They grew Slaves by growing insolent. Under his Majesty's Reign we fear no such thing; and I hope, we shall scorn to suffer it under any other. Besides, as we are told a Remedy is intended, I doubt not but we shall see it the ensuing Sessions, when our Burdens will be eased, and our Difficulties removed. There is a noble Fund of Wealth in the Nation, and we are yet redeemable, if proper Persons offer to undertake it.

Our Whig is a declared Enemy to all Wars, if they are not absolutely necessary. Though he honours a Soldier as he does a Physician, yet he prays to God that he may never have Occasion for either. Arbitrary Courts abroad, are, for the most Part, composed of Officers of the Army; and our Whig has so great a Weakness [I-322] about him, that he cannot, without very uneasy Images, see a Glare of Scarlet where he would least wish it. He would not have the Men of the Sword grow familiar to the Eyes of the People, nor become the Equipage of our *British* Kings.

Military Men are a proper Equipage for those Princes who are Fathers of their People against their Will; who lay the Foundations of Justice in Fear and Blood, and use the Sword as the most natural Means to support those Foundations. In Countries that are enslav'd, the Sword is the Civil Magistrate: That it is not ours is almost a Wonder, considering the Disposition in many of our former Princes to Armies. Our Kings of the *Norman* Race were perpetually raising *English* Forces for the Preservation of their *French* Dominions, and engaging us in eternal Wars on that Score. The Army that enslaved *Sweden* was raised for the Defence and Enlargement of their *German* Provinces, which were always a Burden to that Kingdom, and, at length, its utter Ruin.

We do not at present see in *Great Britain* many more Forces than are necessary to the Civil List; and I hope in proper Time there will not be one more. They furnish another Topick for Clamour to the disaffected, who raise Rebellions, and when they have given Occasion for more Soldiers and more Taxes, cry out, *Oppression! Oppression!* Sure these People are mad; they dread the Power of the Court, and yet are every Day helping it to more.

If a right Use had been made of the late Rebellion, we might have had now no new ones to fear. But, for whatever Reasons I will not pretend to guess, the Surgeons of that Time were so exceeding gentle in their Operations, that they left a Core in the Wound. Without doubt the Motives for Clemency were irresistible.

I must here acquit His Majesty from the Imputation of any Fondness for a Standing Army. I dare say the Proposal to Disband our Forces after the Rebellion, met with no delay from *Him*; and I have been told that he lately refused a very importunate Request to increase His Troops. I must also do Justice to the Gentlemen of the Army for having so well done their Duty. If our High Clergy were but equally faithful to their Oaths, and equally [I-323] Friends to their Country, we should have seen neither new Troops, nor Rebellions. The Army has saved us from the High Church. But for all that I have said, I should be sorry to see the People of *England* either Love or Fear a standing Force: To do either infers Danger.

I doubt not but when his Majesty shall think fit to Disband more Troops, his Ministry will act with Alacrity and without Art: Because the dismissing of some common Soldiers *only*, after much Expectation from one Party, and more Noise from another, will be subject to unkind Interpretations.

I hope the Power of Quartering Soldiers is always impartially executed, and that no Consideration is of any Force on this Occasion, but that of the publick Security, and the Loyalty or Disloyalty of the Towns. I am perswaded we shall never hereafter see a Regiment removed out of a Town avowedly disaffected, into another which does not want Dragoons to keep it quiet, purely because the commanding Officer has it in his Eye to stand Candidate for that Town, if ever there should be another Occasion; as I am informed has been practised in former Reigns.

Our Whig was well enough pleased with our Attack upon the *Spanish* Fleet. It became us, as Sovereigns of the Sea, to pull down betimes the rising Maritime Power of *Spain*, and thereby secure our Dignity and Trade. But whether the Blow was well pursued, I am not a proper Judge. I shall only say, for the Honour of *Great Britain*, that we are certainly the best



*Allies* in the whole World and have the most civil way of fighting our Neighbours Battles for them.

It is a very uncommon, though perhaps a necessary Kindness to employ at an immense Expence the Royal Navy of *England* as Transports for the Emperor's Troops, and to cruise about a Country at such a distance from us, and for so long a Time together. I doubt not but there will be very good Reasons given for it, if the Parliament shall ever think fit to call for them.

I must here do our Superiors the Justice to own that they take effectual and speedy Methods to finish the [I-324] *Spanish War*. For notwithstanding that we had a great Fleet in the *Streights*, and another in the *Baltick*, a Third was dispatched with much Resolution and Expence to frighten the Cardinal into pacifick Measures, and to conquer *Vigo*, tho' we were threatned at the same Time at Home with a dreadful Invasion from the late Duke of *Ormond*. But no domestick Danger can hinder a brave People from exerting their martial Genius, and making a heroick Figure abroad.

In this *Vigo* Expedition it is said we have had wonderful Success. For not to mention that the Town would infallibly have been plundered, had not the Inhabitants gutted their Houses when they run away, it is certain that we have vanquished several great Guns and brought them away Captives. It is also credibly reported, that we have taken from the Enemy some of their Fishing Tackle.

Our Whig allows Great Men to have their private Failings and Passions. It cannot be otherwise; and they are unreasonable and ill bred who upbraid them with it. But in the Name of God let them not indulge them at the Expence of the Nation. Let them not postpone the Care of the publick Welfare to mind their own. Let them not out of personal Piques give up Whig Boroughs into Jacobite Hands. Let them not for the sake of a Mistress or a Crony disable worthy Men, and patronise worthyles. Let them not run into mad Dangers, and then endeavour to alter and confound the Constitution for their personal Security from those Dangers. Let them not out of Self-ends, and for secret (perhaps pernicious Jobs) be tampering and juggling with the Nation's Enemies, and deserting and betraying that Party which is eminent for its Love of Liberty, to those who are its stigmatized Enemies.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, chief Minister to the blessed Martyr, involved his Country in two Wars at a Time, when the Exchequer was empty, with the two great neighbouring Kingdoms, because he was baulked in his lustful Designs upon a *French Lady* and a *Spanish*. And the Duke of *Lauderdale*, because he was disobliged by the Kirk, a Member of which he once was, ruled his [I-325] native Kingdom of *Scotland* by a great Army and sanguinary Laws, all the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

I cannot forbear digressing a little here, to shew the wretched State of *Scotland* at that Time. High Church, which by Force and Cruelty had expelled Presbytery, enjoyed then a rare Time of revelling in the Blood of Schismatics. The Orthodox Priests became every where Informers against the Preaching and Praying of Nonconformists, and the Soldiers, to please the Priests, became their Butchers. And the poor religious People, when caught provoking the Clergy by Devotion, were unmercifully put to Death without Law, Jury, or Record. So were those Men rewarded, who had received, and crowned that King, when his Life was sought by those who took away his Father's.

But to return. I can prove it, that the whole Legislative Power of this Nation has been in former Reigns engaged in gratifying a diabolical Passion of one Man; and our Security and Liberties have been sacrificed to Humour or a Mistress. When a Minister makes haste to be rich, the Service of his Country must either lye still, or go on no faster than he gets by it. A whole People was finely employed when they were labouring for the Pocket of one who was

betraying them at the same Time. Most Men are willing to allow a great Officer, if he would but carefully cook the Nation's Money, to lick his own Fingers and thrive upon his Employment. But he who exhausts the Nation for his own Use, is a publick Highwayman, and the whole Kingdom should be his Prosecutors. I do not believe that there are such Practices at present— — I pray God defend us from the future. That such Things may be safely done, is evident from hence, that of all the overgrown Leeches of the last Reigns (for I suppose there have been none in this) not one has been yet drained of his ill got Wealth.

Gaming is so dreadful a Vice, especially in those who are any way intrusted with our Liberties, that I cannot pass over it in silence.

A Man who will venture his Estate will venture his Country. He who is mad enough to commit his All to [I-326] the Chance of a Dye, is like to prove but a faithless Guardian of the Publick, in which he has perhaps no longer any Stake. It is a Jest, and something worse in a Man who flings away his Fortune this way, to pretend any Regard for the good of Mankind. His Actions give his Words the Lie. He sacrifices his own Happiness, and that of his Family and Posterity, to a Sharper or an Amusement, and by doing it shews that he is utterly destitute of common Prudence and natural Affection; and on the contrary, an Encourager and Example of the most destructive Corruption; and after all this ridiculously talks of his Zeal for his Country, which consist in good Sense and Virtue joined to a Tenderness for one's Fellow Creatures. When he has wantonly reduced himself to a Morsel of Bread, he will be easily perswaded to forsake his Wretchedness and accept of a Bribe. Who would trust their Property with one who cannot keep his own? The same vicious Imbecility of Mind which makes a Man a Fool to himself, will make him a Knave to other People. So that this wicked Proneness to play, which is only the impious Art of undoing and being undone, cuts off every Man who is possessed with it, from all pretence either to Honesty or Capacity. I doubt *England* has paid dear for such Extravagancies. A Law-maker and a Gamester, is a Character big with Absurdity and Danger. I wish that in every Member of either House Gaming were attended with Expulsion and Degradation; and, in every Officer Civil or Military, with the Loss of his Place. A Law enjoining this Penalty would be effectual, and no other can. We see it goes on, upon the present Foot, in spite of Satyr and Acts of Parliament. I would have this execrable Corruption meet with no Encouragement. The Frowns of the Court would certainly put a check to it, but then there must not be an Office kept on purpose for it.

Our Whig has an equal Aversion to Masquerades. They are a Market for Maidenheads and Adultery; a dangerous Luxury opposite to Virtue and Liberty. There was something like them formerly in the Reigns of our worst Princes, by the Name of *Masks*. As the present Reign resembles these in nothing else, so neither would [I-327] I have it resemble them in this. They were revived, or rather introduced, after the *French way* by a *Foreign Ambassador*, whose only Errand then in *England* could be but to corrupt and enslave us, and for that End this mad and indecent Diversion was practis'd and exhibited by him as a popular Engine to catch loose Minds, or to make them so, with great Success. What good Purpose they can serve now, I would be glad to know; — — The Mischief of them is manifest both to the Publick, and private Persons; a Handle is taken from them to traduce some great Characters, whom I would have always revered; and they are visibly an Opportunity and Invitation to Lewdness.

If People will have Amusements, let them have warrantable and decent ones; as to Masquerades, they are so much the School of Vice, that excepting a Law to declare it innocent and safe, I question whether Human Invention can contrive a more successful Method of propagating it.

The Practice of the Commonalty is formed upon the Example of the Great, and what the latter *do* the former think they *may do*. If a City Wife has it in her Head, against her Husband's Inclinations, to take the *Pleasures* of the Masquerade, she has but to tell him that my Lady Dutchess — — — is to be there (no doubt upon the same Errand) and the poor, sober, saving Man must submit, and be *content* to be in the *Class* of his *Betters*.

From this Source of Prostitution I fear many a worthy Man takes to his Arms a tainted and vicious Wife, and finds in her a melancholy Reason both for himself and his Posterity to curse and detest Masquerades, and all those that encouraged them. I was in hopes they were at an end. I heard that the Theatre in the *Hay-Market* was to be used intirely another way, and that our Understandings were only to be affronted this Winter in that Place with *Italian* Quavers and *Cremona* Fiddles; for which I was not sorry, since the leaving of Debauchery for the sake of Nonsense, is still some degree of Reformation. Let us make much of it — — — Though I would feign hope it is not the only one we are like to see.

Some weak People would insinuate, as if those in high Place promoted these infamous Amusements as a Means [I-328] to divert busy Heads from diving into their Actions — — — But this must be a malicious and senseless Slander, since all the Measures of these Gentlemen are so clear and honourable that they themselves need fear no Scrutiny.

Having neither Wife nor Daughter of my own I am anxious only for the Ease and Reputation of those that have. So that I have no Motive but the Love of publick Virtue to say what I have said upon this Theme.

I could wish that those Reverend Gentlemen, whose Business and Duty it more properly is, to expose this Scene of Iniquity, had prevented me. If our Lent Preachers have omitted it, I can ascribe it to nothing but Forgetfulness, or *their good Breeding*. And yet where is there a more necessary, where a more affecting Subject? Here, O ye Bishops, Priests and Deacons, shew the *Zeal* with which you abound; here shew *Danger*, not to the Church indeed, but *Danger* to Virtue, *Danger* to Christianity! Here alarm your Peoples Ears, here rouse their Passions; and cease combating *harmless Notions* and *dry Ideas*, till you have utterly defeated glaring Vice and exorbitant Debauchery.

Our Whig is an irreconcilable Enemy to the selling of Places, or conferring them partially. *To be given to the Worthiest*, is the publick Voice upon this Occasion. They are the national Rewards for well deserving, or a Capacity of deserving well; and it is evident Injustice, and a kind of Robbery, to dispose of them upon other Motives. If the Candidate has Merit, the tacit Consent of the People is already on his Side; and why should he give Money for that which is his due? If he has not Merit, why should he have the Recompence of it? *Freely you have received, freely give*, is a Precept which has Reason as well as Inspiration to recommend and enforce it.

Most or all of the great Places are given Gratis to those who, as to their Fortunes, do not want them, and no Cause can be assigned but Avarice and want of Human Compassion why any of the small ones should be sold, when they are sought for the most part as the Means of Life and Subsistence.

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He that can bargain away a little Post, would from the same vile Principle dispose of a great Kingdom upon valuable Considerations; and sooner, as the Price must be greater, and consequently the Motives stronger.

Every Guilt of this kind, when detected, should be branded with Incapacity and a publick Mark of Infamy. It is making Traffick of one's Country; It is plundering Worth of its Birthright; and it has a degree of Malignity and Vileness in it, which ought to be narrowly watched and severely punished. It is true this Villany cannot be always detected openly; but by observing Mens Circumstances we may guess whether they spend or lay up more than their honest Income; and if they do, we may take them for Criminals, and either oblige them to account for the Exceedings, or disable them from hurting us more in the same Station.

In King *Charles* the Second's Time, a *French* Woman or two, and a Tribe of other hungry Courtiers who came with him from beyond Sea, did by the Connivance of the Ministry, and in Confederacy with them, make a fair Penny of the Birthright of *Britains*. The Parliament of that Time, who should have been the Guardians and Watchmen of the Publick, were themselves engaged in a Trade of Corruption, and spoke, or held their Tongues, as they were paid. In that Long Parliament there was a Majority of Pensioners, who overlooked these dark Dealings, and many more, particularly that of the arbitrary Encrease of the Prince's Guards, which was the first Approach towards a standing Army. These Guards have never been reduced since. This shews the dreadful Danger of Precedents.

But neither ought Places to be bestowed out of private and personal Regards. I have heard of the Time, when a mean obscure Jacobite, was put into a fine Post for Life, purely for a Piece of Work which deserved no more than an Attorney's Fee. Besides, the Publick had no concern in it. When at the same Time, very many deserving Whigs remain'd unprovided for, and even neglected, though they had done their Country more Service than some who had much better Luck.

[I-330]

There were a Sort of Men amongst us many Years since, who being of great Consequence to themselves, had adopted the Craft of Churchmen, and very solemnly assured us that the Nation was always in imminent Danger when they were not in Place. But as soon as the Steerage was committed to them, and they were got into a way of thriving, all was safe, and yet nothing altered. It was of no Moment how other Posts were conferred, provided *they* enjoyed the *greatest*, and the Power of giving the smaller. If a Pretender was worth Money, or had done a *private* Job, no matter for his Parts and Principles; *Worthlessness* and *Jacobitism* were no Bars to Preserment; nay, the *Tories* were invited to accept of very good Places and welcome, provided they aimed not at the *highest of all*. But for the Whigs of the private and inferior Class, they were at Liberty to do what Good they pleased to their Country and to Mankind, without the least Pretensions to the Friendship of the *Great*: On the contrary, they were told they very arrogantly disobliged them, and marred their Schemes by their officious Behaviour.

I am persuaded it is otherwise now, and that in due Time we shall see the *Bishop of Bangor* preferred suitably to his great Merit. I hope it is not inconsistent with any Schemes. I am sure the Interests of Truth and Liberty are nearly concerned in it. For my part, I should not wonder if both Houses of Parliament adressed his Majesty to give his Lordship the best Bishoprick in *England*, as he is the best Defender of the Liberties of *England*.

I hope it is not true what I am told, namely, That the Bishop has not only met with hard Usage and Disappointment, but even hard Names from some People, for his keeping up a Spirit which hindered the Adoption of some true Sons of the Church into certain Schemes.

*Let me alone and I will let you alone*, is no longer the Language of Children at play. A much wiser sort of People have taken it up, and it appears to be the first Article of a certain *Bargain*, which all last Winter we were put in Hopes of.

If such People could have their Will, the Seminaries and their Missionaries might go on to scatter their Poison, and level their Doctrines against the fundamental Security of this Nation; to strike at the Root of our Peace; to over-bear the most glaring Truths with bold and Dangerous Falshoods, and to have it in their Power to make us miserable Bondmen whenever they have a fair Opportunity. Then not a Stroke must be struck that may displease or disappoint them; not a Corruption be removed that they are fond of; not a Clergyman rewarded nor any Body else, who has writ in Defence of Liberty, and made them angry.

But Almighty God has been so merciful to this poor Nation, as to bless us with a Ministry, who, scorning all mean Transactions, will also scorn to enter into any Measures of Union and Confederacy with the High Clergy, till the whole Body of them have given us *demonstrative Proofs* of their Attachment to our *present Settlement* and *Civil Rights*; but will, on the contrary, enable the Dissenters, in the mean Time, to defend us and themselves against any future Attempts to disturb and enslave us.

While His Majesty reigns, let Him have what Counsellors He will, our Liberties will be secure. His very Person and Countenance shew Him to be a virtuous, wise and beneficent Prince, and every Action of His Life confirms it. But will He live for ever? And can we forget our many Struggles with the High Clergy for the Preservation of our Liberty? Are not these Men, whom we set up and maintain, for ever endeavouring to pull us down, and to make a Prey of our Prosperity, and Slaves of our Persons? Do they not claim our Lands for their Possessions, and us for their Vassals? Have we not been forced to wage War with our own Mercenaries?

May we not therefore expect during His Majesty's Reign Security against the Time to come? Have we not been promised it? And will any Body dare to affirm that he refuses it? No, no. I wish others were as ready to ask as he will be to comply. His first and chief Care, the Nation's Happiness, is concerned in it; and the Nation's [I-332] Principal Care, the Security of His Person and Family, is also concerned in it: And they who oppose or neglect it, oppose and neglect both.

The Dissenters have undeniably proved themselves excellent Subjects and *Englishmen*; and it will always be their Interest to do so, while they have Protection and Encouragement, which God and Nature, and our Constitution allow them. They aim at no Independent Power. They have no Pretensions upon the Lands and Liberties of *England*. They have to a Man kept their Oaths to the Government, and opposed the Rebellion. They are a sober and industrious People, and Promoters of Morality and Trade, two great Props of Liberty. And the highest Objection against them is, That they will not kneel down to a Priest, nor worship a piece of Crape. Yet they still stand where they did, and are like to stand; for it seems there are many Asseverations and Oaths gone forth against them, *That the Dissenters shall rise no higher*.

It is fit the Dissenters should know that they deserve, in every Respect, the best Usage the Nation can give them; and the honest part of the Nation, to do it Justice, is not to blame if they want it.

Every Government stands by confiding in those that love it. The present Ministry owe their being so to their Principles of Liberty, and their Adherence to the Succession. And is it not equally reasonable that the Dissenters, who have the same Plea, should possess in a proper Degree the same Favour? And yet have they any other Reward than Two or Three meer Negatives? They contributed largely to save the Nation, and *therefore they are not persecuted*. Exceeding kind and bountiful!

Their Zeal and Industry, to say nothing of their Expences, in chusing Protestant Members for the present Parliament, will, I don't doubt, be powerful Motives with grateful Men to relieve these their Friends and Befactors from the Fetters of Tests which were intended against Papists. And the remarkable Spirit and Alacrity which they shewed in quelling the late Rebellion, tho' at the Danger of Penalties and Prosecutions, was likewise [I-333] a loud Demand upon those who could take their Thoughts off themselves, and turn them to the publick Interest, to distinguish with Qualifications and Rewards such a numerous Body of well affected Men.

That such a publick Spirited Design could not have been carried through, will hardly be believed. Projects of a very different and inferior Nature have been attended with surprizing Success. And not one Bill, or Scheme, that had the least Face of publick Good, has miscarried. No; we have been triumphant in our Undertakings in the House of Commons: Insomuch that it is hard to determine which is more remarkable, the Zeal of that House for the Ease and Interest of the Publick, or its commendable Faith in the Ministry.

A certain Project indeed was very justly, and very fortunately for *Great Britain*, received by all *disinterested Persons* with a general Abhorrence. What must some Men have done, when nothing can screen them but the altering and overturning of Foundations?

But to return, and put the Behaviour of High Church in Ballance with that of the Dissenters. The corrupt Clergy were through all *England* pushing at our Settlement with all their Might and Malice. Some of them indeed were wary and silent, but their good Will was never the less. So true is it, that *they who are not for us, are against us?* Even in their Neutrality they were forsworn. Thus the Ambassadors of Peace and Truth, and the great Advocates for Non-Resistance, became the Trumpeters of War, and the Patrons of Perjury and Rebellion.

If the Dissenters knew what Bargains are driven, and with what Contempt they are spoken of and what a mortal Antipathy there is in some People against giving them any substantial Advantages, they would not be so very free in drinking certain Healths, which are now, for good Causes, omitted by their truest Patrons in Town. But I am told they themselves begin to be pretty well cured of their wonted Fondness that way. God knows, they have sufficient Reason, Mr. *W* — — — was once their great Favourite: They see how he served them. Have [I-334] they found others much kinder? I wish that even their professed *Plenipo's*, who lose nothing by being at the Head of their Affairs, do not now and then drop their Zeal for *Separation*, in Consideration of a Bank Bill, or a pretty Income. It is certain they go every Length; whether consistently with their Commission, let their Principals judge.

There has been lately a Motion made in the *Irish* Parliament, in favour of Protestant Dissenters in that Kingdom. I will not suppose they are beholding for this Favour to the Author of the Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but of this I dare be positive, That if some People have half as much Zeal for passing such a Bill in *Ireland*, as they had, and, I am told, still have, for passing another in *England*, it will not hereafter miscarry.

*P. S.* In the Second Part of this Character will be considered the Affair of a Northern War.

*A Discourse of Standing Armies; Shewing the Folly, Uselessness, and Danger of Standing Armies in Great Britain. By T. Gordon, Esq;* ↩

Anno 1722.

When, in King *William's* Reign, the Question was in Debate, Whether *England* should be ruled by Standing Armies? The Argument commonly used by some who had the Presumption to call themselves Whigs, and owned in the *Ballancing Letter*, supposed to be written by one who gave the Word to all the rest, [I-335] was, That all Governments must have their Periods one Time or other, and when that Time came, all Endeavours to preserve Liberty were fruitless; and shrewd Hints were given in that Letter, that *England* was reduced to such a Condition; that our Corruptions were so great, and the Dissatisfaction of the People was so general, that the publick Safety could not be preserved, but by encreasing the Power of the Crown: And this Argument was used by those shameless Men, who had caused all that Corruption, and all that Dissatisfaction.

But that Gentleman and his Followers were soon taught to speak other Language: They were remov'd from the Capacity of perplexing publick Affairs any more. The Nation shew'd a Spirit that would not submit to Slavery; and their unhappy and betrayed Master, from being the most popular Prince who ever sat upon the *English* Throne, became, through the Treachery of his Servants, suspected by many of his best Subjects, and was rendered unable, by their Jealousies, to defend himself and them; and so considerable a Faction was formed against his Administration, that no good Man can reflect without Concern and Horror, on the Difficulties which that Great and Good King was reduced to grapple with, during the Remainder of his troublesome Reign.

I have lately met with some Creatures and Tools of Power, who speak the same Language now: They tell us, that Matters are come to that Pass, that we must either receive the Pretender, or keep him out with Bribes and Standing Armies: That the Nation is so corrupt, that there is no governing it by any other Means; And, in short, that we must submit to this great Evil, to prevent a greater; as if any Mischief could be more terrible than the highest and most terrible of all Mischiefs, universal Corruption, and a military Government. It is indeed impossible for the Subtilty of Traitors, the Malice of Devils, or for the Cunning and Cruelty of our most implacable Enemies, to suggest stronger Motives, for the undermining and Overthrow of our excellent Establishment, which is built upon the Destruction of Tyranny, and can stand upon no other Bottom. It is [I-336] Madness in Extremity, to hope that a Government founded upon Liberty, and the free Choice of the Assertors of it, can be supported by other Principles; and whoever would maintain it by contrary ones, intends to blow it up, let him alledge what he will. This gives me every Day new Reasons to believe what I have long suspected; for, if ever a Question should arise, Whether a Nation shall submit to certain Ruin, or struggle for a Remedy? these Gentlemen well know which Side they will chuse, and certainly intend that which they must chuse.

I am willing to think, that these impotent Babblers speak not the Sense of their Superiors, but would make servile Court to them from Topicks which they abhor. Their Superiors must know, that it is Raving and Phrenzy to affirm, that a free People can be long govern'd by impotent Terrors; that Millions will consent to be ruin'd by the Corruptions of a few; or that those few will join in their Ruin any longer than the Corruption lasts: That every Day new and greater Demands will rise upon the Corruptors; that no Revenue, how great soever, will feed the Voraciousness of the Corrupted; and that every Disappointment will make them turn upon the Oppressors of their Country, and fall into its true Interest and their own: That there is no Way in Nature to preserve a Revolution in Government, but by making the People easy

under it, and shewing them their Interest in it; and that Corruption, Bribery, and Terrors, will make no lasting Friends, but infinite and implacable Enemies; and that the best Security of a Prince amongst a free People, is the Affections of his People, which he can always gain by making their Interest his own, and by shewing that all his Views tend to their Good. They will then, as they love themselves, love him, and defend him who defends them. Upon this faithful Basis, his Safety will be better established, than upon the ambitious and variable Leaders of a few Legions, who may be corrupted, disoblig'd, or surpriz'd, and often have been so; and hence great Revolutions have been brought about, and great Nations undone, only by the Revolt of single Regiments.

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Shew a Nation their Interest, and they will certainly fall into it: A whole People can have no Ambition but to be governed justly; and when they are so, the Intrigues and Dissatisfactions of Particulars will fall upon their own Heads. What has any of our former Courts ever got by Corruption, but to disaffect the People, and weaken themselves? Let us now think of other Methods, if it is only for the Sake of the Experiment. The Ways of Corruption have been tried long enough in past Administrations: Let us try, in this, what publick Honesty will do, and not condemn it, before we have fully proved it, and found it ineffectual; and it will be Time enough to try other Methods, when this fails.

That we must either receive the Pretender, or keep up great Armies to keep him out, is frightful and unnatural Language to *English Ears*: It is an odd Way of dealing with us, that of offering us, or forcing upon us, an Alternative, where the Side which they would recommend, is full as formidable as the Side from which they would terrify us. If we are to be governed by Armies, it is all one to us, whether they be Protestant or Popish Armies; the Distinction is ridiculous, like that between a good and a bad Tyranny: We see, in Effect, that it is the Power and Arms of a Country, that forms and directs the Religion of a Country; and I have before shewn, that true Religion cannot subsist, where true Liberty does not. It was chiefly, if not wholly, King *James's* usurped Power, and his many Forces, and not his being Papist, that rendered him dreadful to his People. Military Governments are all alike; nor does the Liberty and Property of the Subject fare a bit the better, or the worse, for the Faith and Opinion of the Soldiery. Nor does an Arbitrary Protestant Prince use his People better than an Arbitrary Popish Prince, and we have seen both Sorts of them changing the Religion of their Country, according to their Lust.

They are therefore stupid Politicians, who would derive Advantages from a Distinction which is manifestly without a Difference: It is like, however, that they may improve in their Subtilties, and come, in Time, to distinguish between corrupt Corruption, and uncorrupt Corruption, between a good ill Administration, and an [I-338] ill good Administration, between oppressive Oppression, and unoppressive Oppression, and between *French Dragooning* and *English Dragooning*; for there is scarce any other new Pitch of Nonsense and Contradiction left to such Men in their Reasoning upon Publick Affairs, and in the Part they act in them.

Of a Piece with the rest, is the stupid Cunning of some Sort of Statesmen, and practised by most Foreign Courts, to blame the poor People for the Misery they bring upon them. They say they are extremely corrupt, and so keep them starving and enslaved by Way of Protection. They corrupt them by all manner of Ways and Inventions, and then reproach them for being corrupt. A whole Nation cannot be bribed, and if its Representatives are, it is not the Fault, but the Misfortune of the Nation; and if the Corrupt save themselves by corrupting others, the People who suffer by the Corruptions of both, are to be pitied, and not abused. Nothing can be more shameless and provoking, than to bring a Nation by execrable Frauds and Extortions, against its daily Protestations and Remonstrances, into a miserable Pass, and



then father all those Villanies upon the People who would have gladly hanged the Authors of them. At *Rome*, the whole People could be entertained, feasted, and bribed; but it is not so elsewhere, where the People are too numerous, and too far spread, to be debauched, cajoled, and purchased; and if any of their Leaders are, it is without the People's Consent.

There is scarce such a Thing under the Sun as a corrupt People, where the Government is uncorrupt; it is that, and that alone, which makes them so; and to calumniate them for what they do not seek, but suffer by, is as great Impudence, as it would be to knock a Man down, and then rail at him for hurting himself. In what Instances do the People of any Country in the World throw away their Money by Millions, unless by trusting it to those who do so? Where do the People send great Fleets, at a great Charge, to be frozen up in one Climate, or to be eaten up by Worms in another, unless for their Trade and Advantage? Where do the People enter into mad Wars against their Interest, or, after victorious ones, make Peace, without stipulating for one [I-339] new Advantage for themselves; but, on the contrary, pay the Enemy for having beaten them? Where do the People plant Colonies, or purchase Provinces, at a vast Expence, without reaping, or expecting to reap, one Farthing from them, and yet still defend them at a further Expence? Where do the People make distracted Bargains, to get imaginary Millions, and after having lost by such Bargains almost all the real Millions they had, yet give more Millions to get rid of them? What wise or dutiful People consents to be without the Influence of the Presence of their Prince, and of his Virtues, or of those of his Family, who are to come after him? No— these Things are never done by any People; but, wherever they are done, they are done without their Consent; and yet all these Things have been done in former Ages, and in neighbouring Kingdoms.

For such guilty and corrupt Men, therefore, to charge the People with Corruption, whom either they have corrupted, or cannot corrupt, and, having brought great Misery upon them, to threaten them with more, is, in effect, to tell them plainly, 'Gentlemen, we have used you very ill, for which you who are innocent of it, are to blame; we therefore find it necessary, for your Good, to use you no better, or rather worse; and if you will not accept of this our Kindness, which, however, we will force upon you, if we can we will give you up into the terrible Hands of raw Head and bloody Bones; who, being your Enemy, may do you as much Mischief, as we who are your Friends have done you.' I appeal to common Sense, Whether this be not the Sum of such Threats and Reasonings in their native Colours.

The Partizans of *Oliver Cromwell*, when he was meditating Tyranny over the Three Nations, gave out, that it was the only Expedient to balance Factions, and to keep out *Charles Stuart*; and so they did worse Things to keep him out, than he could have done if they had let him in. And, after the King's Restoration, when there was an Attempt made to make him absolute, by enabling him to raise Money without Parliament; an Attempt which every Courtier, except Lord *Clarendon*, came into; it was alledged to be the only Expedient to keep the Nation from falling back into a Commonwealth; as if [I-340] any Commonwealth upon Earth was not better than any Absolute Monarchy. His Courtiers foresaw, that by their mad and extravagant Measures, they should make the Nation mad, and were willing to save themselves by the fatal Destruction of the Nation; they therefore employed their Creatures to whisper abroad stupid and villainous Reasons why People should be content to be finally undone, lest something not near so bad should befall them.

Those who have, by abusing a Nation, forfeited its Affections, will never be for trusting a People, who, they know, do justly detest them; but having procured their Aversion and Enmity, will be for fortifying themselves against it by all proper Ways; and the Ways of Corruption, Depredation, and Force, being the only proper ones, they will not fail to be practised; and those who practise them, when they can no longer deny them, will be finding Reasons to justify them; and because they dare not avow the true Reasons, they must find such false ones as are most likely to amuse and terrify: And hence so much Nonsense and

Improbability uttered in that Reign, and sometimes since, to vindicate guilty Men, and vilify an innocent People, who were so extravagantly fond of that Prince, that their Liberties were almost gone, before they would believe them in Danger.

It is as certain that King *James II*, wanted no Army to help him to preserve the Constitution, nor to reconcile the People to their own Interest: But, as he intended to invade and destroy both, nothing but Corruption and a Standing Army could enable him to do it; and, thank God, even his Army failed him, when he brought in *Irish Troops* to help them. This therefore was his true Design; but his Pretences were very different: He pleaded the Necessity of his Affairs, nay, of publick Affairs, and of keeping up a good Standing Force to preserve his Kingdoms forsooth from Insults at home and from abroad. This was the Bait; but his People, who had no longer any Faith in him, and to whom the Hook appeared threatening and bare would not believe him, nor swallow it; and if they were jealous of him, restless under him, and ready to rise against him, [I-341] he gave them sufficient Cause. He was under no Hardship nor Necessity but what he created to himself, nor did his People withdraw their Affections from him, till he had withdrawn his Right to those Affections. Those who have used you ill, will never forgive you; and it is no new Thing wantonly to make an Enemy, and then to calumniate and destroy him for being so.

When People, through continual ill Usage, grow weary of their present ill Condition, they will be so far from being frightn'd with a Change, that they will wish for one; and instead of terrifying them, by threatenng them with one, you do but please them, even in Instances where they have no Reason to be pleased. Make them happy, and they will dread any Change; but while they are ill used, they will not fear the worst. The Authors of publick Misery and Plunder, may seek their only Safety in general Desolation; but, to the Pople, nothing can be worse than Ruin, from what Hand soever it comes: A Protestant Musket kills as sure as a Popish one, and an Oppressor is an Oppressor, to whatever Church he belongs: The Sword and the Gun are of every Church, and so are the Instruments of Oppression. The late Directors were all stanch Protestants; and *Cromwell* had a violent Aversion to Popery.

We are, doubtless, under great Necessities in our present Circumstances; but to increase them, in order to cure them, would be a preposterous Remedy, worthy only of them who brought them upon us; and who, if they had common Shame in them, would conceal, as far as they could, under Silence, the heavy Evils, which, tho' they lie upon every Man's Shoulders, yet lie only at the Doors of a few. The Plea of Necessity, if it can be taken, will justify any Mischief, and the worst Mischiefs. Private Necessity makes Men Thieves and Robbers; but publick Necessity requires that Robbers of all Sizes should be hanged. Publick Necessity therefore, and the Necessity of such pedant Politicians, are different and opposite Things. There is no Doubt, but Men guilty of great Crimes, would be glad of an enormous Power to protect them in the greatest; and then tell us there is a Necessity for it. Those against [I-342] whom Justice is armed, will never talk thus, and ever think it necessary to disarm her. But whatever sincere Services they may mean to themselves by it, they can mean none to his Majesty, who would be undone with his Subjects, by such treacherous and ruinous Services: And therefore it is fit that Mankind should know, and they themselves should know, that his Majesty can and will be defended against them and their Pretender, without Standing Armies, which would make him formidable only to his People, and contemptible to his Foes, who take justly the Measure of his Power from his Credit with his Subjects.

But I shall consider what present Occasion there is of keeping up more Troops than the usual Guards and Garrisons, and shall a little further animadvert upon the Arts and frivolous Pretences made Use of, in former Reigns, to reduce this Government to the Condition and Model of the pretended *jure Divino*-Monarchies, where Millions must be miserable and undone, to make one and a few of his Creatures lawless, rampant, and unsafe.

It is certain, that Liberty is never so much in danger, as upon a Deliverance from Slavery. The remaining Dread of the Mischiefs escaped, generally drives, or decoys Men into the same or greater; for then the Passions and Expectations of some, run high; and the Fears of others make them submit to any Misfortunes to avoid an Evil that is over; and both Sorts concur in giving to a Deliverer all that they are delivered from: In the Transports of a Restoration, or Victory, or upon a Plot discovered, or a Rebellion quelled, nothing is thought too much for the Benefactor, nor any Power too great to be left to his Discretion, tho' there can never be less Reason for giving it to him than at those Times; because, for the most part, the Danger is past, his Enemies are defeated and intimidated, and consequently that is a proper Juncture for the People to settle themselves, and secure their Liberties, since no one is likely to disturb them in doing so.

However, I confess, that Custom, from Time immemorial, is against me, and the same Custom has made most of Mankind Slaves: *Agathocles* saved the *Syracusians*, and afterwards destroyed them. *Pisistratus* pretending [I-343] to be wounded for protecting the People, prevailed with them to allow him a Guard for the Defence of his Person, and by the Help of that Guard usurp'd the Sovereignty: *Cæsar* and *Marius* delivered the Commons of *Rome* from the Tyranny of the Nobles, and made themselves Masters of both Commons and Nobles: *Sylla* delivered the Senate from the Insolence of the People, and did them more Mischief than the Rabble could have done in a Thousand Years: *Gustavus Ericson* delivered the *Swedes* from the Oppression of the *Danes*, and made large Steps towards enslaving them himself: The *Antwerpians* called in the Duke of *Allencon*, to defend them against the *Spaniards*; but he was no sooner got, as he thought, in full Possession of their Town, but he fell upon them himself with the Forces which he brought for their Defence. But the Townsmen happened to be too many for him, and drove these their new Protectors home again: Which Disappointment, and just Disgrace, broke that good Duke's Heart. *Oliver Cromwell* headed an Army which pretended to fight for Liberty, and by that Army became a Bloody Tyrant; as I once saw a Hawk very generously rescue a Turtle Dove from the Persecutions of two Crows, and then eat him up himself.

Almost all Men desire Power, and few lose any Opportunity to get it, and all who are like to suffer under it, ought to be strictly upon their Guard in such Conjunctions as are most likely to encrease, and make it uncontrollable. There are but two Ways in Nature to enslave a People, and continue that Slavery over them; the first is Superstition, and the last is Force: By the one, we are perswaded that it is our Duty to be undone; and the other undoes us whether we will or no. I take it, that we are pretty much out of Danger of the first, at present; and, I think, we cannot be too much upon our guard against the other; for, tho' we have nothing to fear from the best Prince in the World, yet we have every thing to fear from those who would give him a Power inconsistent with Liberty, and with a Constitution which has lasted almost a Thousand Years without such a Power, which will never be asked with an Intention to make no Use of it.

[I-344]

The Nation was so mad, upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* that they gave to him all that he asked, and more than he asked: They complemented him with a vast Revenue for Life, and almost with our Liberties and Religion too; and if unforeseen Accidents had not happened to prevent it, without doubt we had lost both; and if his Successor could have had a little Patience, and had used no Rogues but his old Rogues, he might have accomplished the Business, and Popery and Arbitrary Power had been *Jure Divino* at this Day; but he made too much haste to be at the End of his Journey; and his Priests were in too much haste to be on Horseback too, and so the Beast grew skittish, and overthrew them both.

Then a new Set of Deliverers arose, who had saved us from King *James's* Army, and wou'd have given us a bigger in the Room of it, and some of them Foreigners; and told us that the King longed for bigger, and it was a Pity that so good a Prince should lose his Longing, and miscarry; but he did lose it, and miscarried no otherwise than by losing a great Part of the Confidence which many of his best Subjects before had in his Moderation; which Loss, made the Remainder of his Reign uneasy to him, and to every good Man who saw it: I remember, all Men then declared against a Standing Army, and the Courtiers amongst the rest, who were only for a *Land Force*, to be kept up no longer than till the King of *France* disbanded his, and till the Kingdom was settled, and the People better satisfied with the Administration; and then there was nothing left to do, in order to perpetuate them, but to take Care that the People should never be satisfied: An Art often practis'd with an amazing Success.

The Reasons then given for keeping up an Army were, the great Number of Jacobites, the Disaffection of the Clergy and Universities, the Power and Enmity of *France*, and the Necessity of preserving so excellent a Body of Troops to maintain the Treaty of Partition, which they had newly and wisely made: But notwithstanding the Army was disbanded, no Plot, Conspiracy, or Rebellion, happened by their disbanding: The Partition [I-345] Treaty was broke; a new Army was raised, which won Ten times as many Victories as the former, and *Europe*, at last, is settled upon a much better Foot than it would have been by the Partition Treaty. The Emperor is as strong as he ought to be. The *Dutch* have a good Barrier. Another Power is raised in *Europe* to keep the Ballance even, which neither can nor will be formidable to us without our own Fault; *France* is undone, and the Regent must be our Friend, and have Dependance upon our Protection; so that some few of these Reasons are to do now, what altogether we could not do then, tho' we are not the tenth Part so well able to maintain them as we were then

I should be glad to know in what Situation of our Affairs it can be safe to reduce our Troops to the usual Guards and Garrisons, if it cannot be done now? There is no Power in *Europe* considerable enough to threaten us, who can have any Motives to do so, if we pursue the old Maxims and natural Interest of *Great Britain*; which is, *To meddle no farther with Foreign Squabbles than to keep the Ballance even between France and Spain*: And this is less necessary too for us to do now, than formerly; because the Emperor and *Holland* are able to do it, and must and will do it without us, or at least with but little of our Assistance; but if we unnecessarily engage against the Interests of either, we must thank ourselves, if they endeavour to prevent the Effects of it, by finding us Work at Home.

When the Army was disbanded in King *William's* Reign, a Prince was in Being who was personally known to many of his former Subjects, and had obliged great Numbers of them; who was supported by one of the most powerful Monarchs in the World, that had won numerous Victories, and had almost always defeated his Enemies, and who still preserved his Power and his Animosity: His pretended Son was then an Infant, and for any Thing that then appeared, might have proved an active and a dangerous Enemy, and it was to be feared, that his Tutors might have educated him a half Protestant or at least have taught him to have disguised his true Religion: At that Time, the Revolution, and Revolution-Principles, [I-346] were in their Infancy; and most of the Bishops and dignified Clergy, as well as many others in Employment, owed their Preferments and Principles to the abdicated Family, and the Reverse of this, in our Case now.

*France* has been torn to Pieces by numerous Defeats, its People and Manufactures destroyed by War, Famine, the Plague, and their *Missisipi* Company; and they are so divided at Home, that they will find enough to do to save themselves without troubling their Neighbours, and especially a Neighbour from whom the governing Powers there, hope for Protection. The Prince who pretended to the Thrones of these Kingdoms is dead, and he who

calls himself his Heir is a bigotted Papist; and has given but little Cause to fear any Thing from his Abilities or his Prowess. The Principles of Liberty are now well understood, and few People in this Age, are Romantick enough to venture their Lives and Estates for the personal Interests of one they know nothing of, or nothing to his Advantage; and we ought to take Care that they shall not find their own Interest in doing it; and, I conceive, nothing is necessary to effect this, but to resolve upon it. Almost all the dignified Clergy, and all the Civil and Military Officers in the Kingdom, owe their Preferments to the Revolution, and are as loyal to his Majesty as he himself can wish. A very great Part of the Property of the Kingdom stands upon the same Bottom with the Revolution. Every Day's Experience, shews us how devoted the Nobility are to gratify their King's just Desires and Inclinations; and nothing can be more certain, than that the present House of Commons, are most dutifully and affectionately inclined to the true Interest of the Crown, and to the Principles to which his Majesty owes it. And besides all this Security, a new Conspiracy has been discovered and defeated; which gives full Occasion and Opportunity to prevent any such Attempts for the future; which can never be done, but by giving no Provocation to new ones; in both which, I hope, we shall have the hearty Concurrence of those who have the Honour to be employed by his Majesty; by which they will shew, that they are as zealous [I-347] to prevent the Necessity of Standing Armies, as I doubt not but the Parliament will be.

I presume, no Man will be audacious enough to propose, that we should make a Standing Army Part of our Constitution; and, if not, when can we reduce them to a competent Number better than at this Time? Shall we wait till *France* has recovered its present Difficulties; till it's King is grown to full Age and Ripeness of Judgment; till he has dissipated all Factions and Discontents at home, and is fallen into the natural Interests of his Kingdom, or perhaps aspires to Empire again? Or shall we wait till the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, have divided the Bear's Skin, and possibly become good Friends, as their Predecessors have been for the greatest Part of Two Centuries, and perhaps cement that Friendship, by uniting for the common Interests of their Religion? Or till Madam *Sobiesky's* Heir is of Age, who may have Wit enough to think, that the Popish Religion is dearly bought at the Price of Three Kingdoms? Or are we never to Disband, till *Europe* is settled according to some modern Schemes? Or till there are no Malecontents in *England*, and no People out of Employments who desire to be in them.

'Tis certain, that all Parts of *Europe* which are enslaved, have been enslaved by Armies, and 'tis absolutely impossible, that any Nation which keeps them amongst themselves, can long preserve their Liberties; nor can any Nation perfectly lose their Liberties, who are without such Guests: And yet though all Men see this, and at Times confess it, yet all have joined, in their Turns, to bring this heavy Evil upon themselves and their Country. *Charles* the Second formed his Guards into a little Army, and his Successor encreased them to three or four Times then Number; and without doubt these Kingdoms had been enslaved, if known Events had not prevented it. We had no sooner escaped these Dangers, but King *William's* Ministry formed Designs for an Army again, and neglected *Ireland* (which might have been reduced by a Message) till the Enemy was so strong, that a great Army was necessary to recover it; and when all was done Abroad, that an Army was wanted for, they [I-348] thought it convenient to find some Employment for them at Home. However, the Nation happened not to be of their Mind, and disbanded the greatest Part of them, without finding any of these Dangers they were threatned with from their Disbanding. A new Army was raised again, when it became necessary, and disbanded again, when there was no more Need of them; and his present Majesty came peaceably to his Crowns, by the Laws alone, notwithstanding all the Endeavours to keep him out, by long Measures concerted to that Purpose.

It could not be expected from the Nature of human Affairs, that those who had formed a Design for restoring the Pretender, had taken such large Steps towards it, and were sure to be supported in it by so powerful an Assistance as *France* was then capable of giving, should immediately lose Sight of so agreeable a Prospect of Wealth and Power, as they had before enjoyed in Imagination; yet it seems very plain to me, that all the Disturbance which afterwards happen'd, might have been prevented by a few timely Remedies; and when at last it was defeated with a vast Charge and Hazard, we had the Means in our Hands of rooting out all Seeds of Faction and future Rebellions, without doing any thing to provoke them; and 'tis certain, his Majesty was ready to do every thing on his Part to that Purpose, which others over and over promised us; and what they have done, besides obliging the Nation with a Septennial Parliament, encreasing the publick Debts a great many Millions, and by the *South-Sea* Project paying them off, I leave to themselves to declare.

However, I confess, an Army at last became necessary, and an Army was raised time enough to beat all who opposed it: Some of them have been knock'd on Head, many carried in Triumph, some hang'd and others confiscated, as they well deserved; and, I presume, the Nation would scarce have been in the Humour to have kept up an Army to fight their Ghosts, if a terrible Invasion had not threatned us from *Sweden*, which however, was at last frighted into a Fleet of Colliers, or naval Stores, indeed I have forgot which. This Danger being over, another succeeded, and had like to have stole upon us from *Cales*, notwithstanding all the Intelligence we could [I-349] possibly get from *Gibraltar*, which lies just by it; and this shews, by the way, the little Use of that Place: But we have miraculously escaped that Danger too; the greatest Part of their Fleet was dispersed in a Storm, and our Troops have actually defeated in the *Highlands* some Hundreds of the Enemy, before many People would believe they were there. Since this, we have been in great Fear of the Czar; and last Year, one Reason given by many for continuing the Army was, to preserve us against the Plague.

But now the King of *Sweden* is dead, the Czar is gone a Sophi-hunting, the Plague is ceased, and the King of *Spain's* best Troops have taken up their Quarters in *Italy*, where if I guess right, they will have Employment enough, and what are we to keep up the Army now to do, unless to keep out the Small-Pox? Oh! but there is a better Reason than that, namely, a Plot is discovered, and we can't find out yet all who are concerned in it, but we have pretty good Assurance, that all the Jacobites are for the Pretender, and therefore we ought to keep in Readiness a great Number of Troops (who are to sleep on Horseback, or lie in their Jack-Boots) which may be sufficient to beat them all together, if they had a Twelvemonth's Time given them to beat up for Volunteers, to buy Horses and Arms, to form themselves into Regiments, and exercise them; lest, instead of lurking in Corners, and prating in Taverns, and at Cock-Matches, they should surprize Ten or Twelve Thousand armed Men in their Quarters: I dare appeal to any unprejudiced Person, whether this is not the Sum of some Mens Reasonings upon this Subject?

But I desire to know of these sagacious Gentlemen, in what Respect shall we be in a worse State of Defence than we are now, if the Army was reduced to the same Number as in King *William's* Time, and in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, and that it consisted of the same Proportion of Horse and Foot, that every Regiment had its compleat Number of Troops and Companies, and every Troop and Company had its Complement of private Men? 'Tis certain, upon any sudden Exigency, his Majesty would have as many Men at command as he has now, and, I presume, more common Soldiers, who are [I-350] most difficultly to be got upon such Occasions; for Officers will never be wanting, and all that are now regimented will be in Half-pay, and ready at Call to beat up and raise new Regiments, as the others could be filled up, and they may change any of the old Men into them, which reduces it to the same Thing. By this we shall save the Charge of double or treble Officering our Troops, and the Terror of keeping up the Corpse of Thirty or Forty Thousand Men, though they are called

only Thirteen or Fourteen; and sure it is high Time to save all which can be saved, and, by removing all Causes of Jealousy, to unite all, who for the Cause of Liberty, are zealous for the present Establishment, in order to oppose effectually those who would destroy it.

I will suppose, for once, what I will not grant, that those call'd Whigs are the only Men amongst us who are heartily attached to his Majesty's Interest; for I believe the greatest Part of the Tories, and the Clergy too, would tremble at the Thought of Popery and Arbitrary Power; which must come in with the Pretender. But taking it to be otherwise, 'tis certain that the Body of the Whigs, and indeed I may say almost all except the Possessors and Candidates for Employments or Pensions, have terrible Apprehensions of a Standing Army, as the Tories themselves; and dare any Man lay his Hand upon his Heart and say, that his Majesty will find greater Security in a few Thousand more Men already regimented, than in the Steady Affections of so many Hundred Thousands who will be always ready to be regimented; When the People are easy and satisfy'd, the whole Kingdom is his Army; and King *James* found what Dependance there was upon his Troops, when his People deserted him. Would not any wise and honest Minister desire, during his Administration, that the Publick Affairs should run glibly, and find the hearty Concurrence of the States of the Kingdom, rather than to carry their Measures by perpetual Struggles and Intrigues, to waste the Civil Lift by constant and needless Pensions and Gratuities, be always asking for new Supplies, and rendering themselves, and all who assist them, odious to their Country-Men?

[I-351]

In short, there can be but two Ways in Nature to govern a Nation, one is by their own Consent, and the other by Force: One gains their Hearts, and the other holds their Hands; The first is always chosen by those who design to govern the People for the People's Interest, and the other by those who design to oppress them for their own; for whoever desires only to protect them, will covet no useless Power to injure them; There is no fear of a People's acting against their own Interest, when they know what it is, and when, through ill Conduct or unfortunate Accidents, they become dissatisfied with their present Condition, the only effectual Way to avoid the threatening Evil, is to remove their Grievances.

When *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, with most of the Princes of *France*, at the Head of an Hundred Thousand Men, took up Arms against *Lewis* the Eleventh, that Prince sent an Embassy to *Sforsa* Duke of *Milan*, desiring that he would lend him some of his Veteran Troops; and the Duke returned him for Answer, That he could not be content to have them cut to Pieces, (as they would assuredly have been) but told him at the same time, That he would send him some Advice which would be worth Ten times as many Troops as he had; namely, that he should give Satisfaction to the Princes, and then they would disperse of Course; and the King improv'd so well upon the Advice, that he diverted the Storm, by giving but little Satisfaction to the Princes, and none at all to those who followed them. The Body of the People in all Countries are so desirous to live in quiet, that a few good Words, and a little good Usage from their Governors, will at any Time pacify them, and make them very often turn upon those Benefactors, who by their Pains, Expence, and Hazard, have obtained those Advantages for them; and indeed, when they are not outrageously oppressed and starved, are almost as ready to part with their Liberties, as others are to ask for them.

But what I have before said, I would not be understood, to declare absolutely against continuing our present Forces, or increasing them, if the Importance of the Occasion requires either; and the Evils threatened, are [I-352] not yet dissipated; But I could wish that, if such an Occasion appears, those who think them at this Time necessary, would declare effectually, and in the fullest Manner, that they design to keep them, no longer than during the present Emergency; and that, when it is over, they will be as ready to break them, as I believe the Nation will be to give them, when just Reasons offer themselves for doing so.

*A List of the Present Standing Forces.*

		<i>Numb. of Men.</i>	<i>Abroad and where.</i>
D. of <i>Malborough</i> , 1st Reg.	<i>England</i>	1529	
Earl <i>Cadogan</i> , 2d Reigm.	<i>England</i>	982	
Earl of <i>Dunmore</i> , 3d Regim.	<i>England</i>	986	
	Total	3493	
Earl <i>Orkney</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Kirk</i>	<i>Britain</i>	445	
Lieutenant-Gen. <i>Wills</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
Coll. <i>Cadogan</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
Major-Gen. <i>Pierce</i>			<i>Gibraltar.</i>
Brigadier <i>Dormer</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>O'Hara</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Pocock</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>James Otway</i>			<i>Port Mahon.</i>
Brigad. <i>Groves</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
Col. <i>Mountague</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
Brigad. <i>Stanwix</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
Col. <i>Cotton</i>			<i>Gibraltar.</i>
Col. <i>Clayton</i>	<i>Britain</i>	445	
Col. <i>Henry Harrison</i>	<i>Britain</i>	445	
Col. <i>Cholmly</i>	<i>Britain</i>	445	
Major-Gen. <i>Wightman</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Crosby</i>			<i>Port Mahon.</i>
Col. <i>George Groves</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Egerton</i>			<i>Gibraltar.</i>
Lieutenant-Gen. <i>Maccartney</i> .	<i>England</i>	445	
Col. <i>Handafide</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Major-Gen. <i>Sabine</i>	<i>England</i>	445	
	Total	4895	
Col. <i>Howard</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Middleton</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Anstruther</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Major-Gen. <i>Whetham</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Barril</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Lord <i>Mark Kerr</i> .	<i>Ireland</i>		
Brigad. <i>Bisset</i>			<i>Port Mahon.</i>
Lord <i>John Kerr</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Brigad. <i>Bon</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Hawly</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Chudleigh</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Charles Otway</i>			<i>Port Mahon.</i>
Col. <i>Lanoe</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Lord <i>Hinchinbrook</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Lucas</i>			<i>West-Indies.</i>
Brigad. <i>Ferrars</i>	<i>Ireland</i>		
Col. <i>Philips</i>			<i>America.</i>
In all 40 Regiments.			

1113. 1114.



	<i>Numb. of Men.</i>	<i>Abroad and where.</i>
D. of <i>Mountague</i> , 1st Troop	<i>England</i>	181
Marq. of <i>Hartford</i> , 2d Troop	<i>England</i>	181
Lord <i>Newburgh</i> , 3d Troop	<i>England</i>	181
Lord <i>Forrester</i> , 4th Troop	<i>England</i>	181
Col. <i>Fane</i> , 1st Troop of Gren.	<i>England</i>	176
Col. <i>Berkeley</i> , 2d Troop of Gren.	<i>England</i>	177
Total of Horse Guards		1077
Marquess of <i>Winchester</i>	<i>England</i>	310
Lord <i>Cobham</i>	<i>England</i>	292
Lord <i>Londonderry</i>	<i>England</i>	196
Major-Gen. <i>Wade</i>	<i>England</i>	196
Major-Gen. <i>Wynn</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Lord <i>Shannon</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Brigadier <i>Napier</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Col. <i>Legonier</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
In <i>England</i> Total of Horse		2071

1115. 1116.

	<i>Numb. of Men.</i>	<i>Abroad and where.</i>
Sir <i>Charles Hotham</i>	<i>England</i>	207
Col. <i>Campbel</i>	<i>England</i>	207
Lord <i>Carpenter</i>	<i>England</i>	207
Major-Gen. <i>Evans</i>	<i>Britain</i>	207
Col. <i>Sidney</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Earl of <i>Stairs</i>	<i>Britain</i>	207
Col. <i>Kerr</i>	<i>Britain</i>	207
Brigadier <i>Bowles</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Brigadier <i>Crofts</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Brigadier <i>Gore</i>	<i>England</i>	207
Brigadier <i>Honywood</i>	<i>England</i>	207
Col. <i>Bowles</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Brigadier <i>Munden</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
Col. <i>Neville</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	
In <i>England</i> Total of Dragoons		1656
Horse and Dragoons		3727

***English and British Establishments at present.***

Foot-Guards.	3493
Foot in <i>England</i> and <i>Britain</i> , 11 Regiments,	4895
Horse-Guards, and light Horse,	2071
Dragoons in <i>England</i> and <i>Britain</i> , 8 Regiments,	1656
	12115

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***Irish Establishment.***

Foot, 20 Regiments, is two Battalions,	9203
Horse four Regiments,	776
Dragoons eight Regiments,	1333
	11412

N. B. *The above List is imperfect, there being more Forces upon the British Establishment than are here specify'd.*

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*The Nature and Weight of the Taxes of the Nation: Shewing that, by the Continuance of Heavy Taxes and Impositions, and the Mis-application of Publick Money, Trade is destroy'd, the Poor increased; and the Miseries and Misfortunes of the Whole Kingdom demand the Consideration of the Freeholders of Great Britain, at the Ensuing Election. By T. Gordon, Esq;*

Anno 1722.

*To the Freeholders and Others, Electors of Members to serve in the Parliament.*

GENTLEMEN,

*YOU* are Possessors of a very great Share of Power, inherited by you in Right of your Birth, or else by some other generous Title made to you, in virtue of your [I-356] being Free Subjects of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*; and are thereby vested with that Trust and Property, which, as they are directed and disposed of by you, will always have the most universal and affecting Influence on the Success or Prosperity, the Distress or Misery, of this your Renown'd Native Country.

I think it, therefore, not improper, at this Juncture, and from a View so animating and enlivening as the Happy State of the Commons, and People of *England*, in Regard of their Liberties and Constitution, to offer with some Application to *You*, a short Account of the present Circumstances of Affairs (in some particular Relations only) since it is merely from *Your* Caution, and a right Direction of your Voices in the ensuing Elections, that we can possibly expect to have Matters in any tolerable Measure brought to Rights again.

Gentlemen; It is not foreign to the Occasion I now take of addressing myself to you, to remind you of the Treachery and horrible Practices that were late a-foot, by the most wicked Execution of Evil Powers granted to the *South-Sea-Company* Directors, and even some then at the H— — — m not unsuspected; and that it would have been esteemed, during those fatal Transactions, no small Comfort and Satisfaction to have found almost any single Man in P— — — t untainted with the blackest Infection that ever so predominantly reign'd amongst us. How should we prize those few *Members* that used the most indefatigable Diligence, and made the utmost Efforts that were possibly in the Power of any particular Number of Men, in endeavouring to discover, without Affection or Favour, or any interested Regards whatever, those who had been Accomplices or active in the Completion of their Country's Ruin, notwithstanding they were oppressed and borne down by Ignorance, Noise, and Numbers? But I just mention this, as it was the Antecedent and Fore-runner of the Consequences of the Subject I shall here limit myself to, *viz.* The Complaints and Poverty of the Nation; The Incumbrances under which we at present labour, and the little Prospect we have of being relieved from this melancholy Situation, occasioned by that destructive, sinful *Scheme*, and the unaccountable Management of M— — — rs.

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What I propose to submit to the Consideration of the Publick, is; The terrible State and Burthen of the Nation's Debts; which, for these Seven Years, we have been fondly deluded that every *Sessions* was to ease us in; and that the infallible Effects of a Septennial Parliament, would be Peace and Tranquillity, a Flourishing Trade, a Freedom from Taxes, a General Affluence and Plenty, and many such Pledges of Security and Happiness — — — But alas! what have we received in the room of These!

I do not design to have any Retrospection to particular *Persons*, or here to censure *Them*, nor to enter into a Justification of any who might be so miserably imposed upon by those Misoreant Blood-suckers, as to give Credit to their self-designed Schemes, and to believe them meant for the Publick Good: I shall point out (not according to the Opinion of any Set or Party of Men; but) what is the Result of all calm and sober Mens Thoughts concerning the General Demand and Solicitation that most visibly appears for the Discharging the Debts of the Nation, as the necessary Means of supporting the Kingdom, and maintaining (under an almost universal Bankruptcy) common Honesty and Compassion between Man and Man. In what manner, as the Case now stands, are we to proceed for the Elections of a New Parliament? Does not the Circumstances of the Nation require the nicest Care and Circumspection to apply ourselves to the chusing of Gentlemen of Honour and Integrity; such who will enquire into the Disposition and Expending of those *Sums* that have been collected by Taxes, during this Parliament, from the Free-holders, and other Subjects of this *Free Kingdom*? Are we to be drain'd of the Cash that remains with the People? Or are we to force a Majority of those who would repeat a second *South-Sea* Scheme? What Horror should it raise in us, when we reflect of many Persons of Honour and Family that scarce dare venture in Publick! Are not our Gaols, Mint, and Privileged-Places fill'd with Bankrupts of Note and Worth? What then, except an Abatement of Taxes, can produce the least sudden Effect of Plenty among us? The taking off of little inconsiderable Duties, will no ways be a Ballance, [I-358] if a long dismal Catalogue of others are to rest upon the Score.

I believe no one will deny, that great Debts, and a Continuation of fresh and additional Taxes to those Debts, are not some of the most deplorable Grievances that can depress a Nation; for that Taxes are originally a Mark of Servitude, is agreed to by all: But the more Humane, and Mild, and Just a Government is, the less Rigorous and Severe it is in its Taxes on the People. Customs, Payments, and Taxes, remaining upon a People for a Series of Time, and with frequent Assurances of their continuing but for a short Space longer; will consequently keep a People, who have not totally lost all Sense of Liberty, or are not overwhelmed in Afflictions, Tyranny and Oppressions, in a continual Expectation of a Discharge from those Tributes and Taxes; and an absolute Delay thereof will be esteemed as the savage Exactions of an over-grown Power and Government.

The Ancient *Romans* (not a little skill'd in Civil Government) who, when they were Masters of a very great Empire in the World, endeavoured universally to make their People easy, in Relation to Taxes; and they found nothing contributed more to the fixing and firmly establishing of their Power and Conquests: And instead of cruel or exorbitant Taxes, oft-times generously vested in the People many noble Privileges and Immunities. It is the Mark of equal Wisdom, as well as Justice, in all Governments, so to temper their Conduct, in respect of all Taxes to be levied, as not to purchase to themselves, in the least Degree, any Odium or Reflection of being the Authors of Violence and Rapine upon their Subjects. Certain natural Civilities (if I may so speak) Laws Human and Divine; whereof Christianity, the most binding Law; forbid whatever tends to the Propagation of Slavery, Defraud, Exorbitancy, &c. wisely knowing them to be most prejudicial to the Success and Advantage, or the promoting of a willing Submission to States or Princes.

The *Romans*, as they were punctual in their Payments, likewise always observed strictly to dispose of any Spoils, gotten in War from their Enemies, so regularly and [I-359] equally, as not to gratify the savage Herds of covetous, ambitious, or aspiring Courtiers; and whenever their Government had Occasion for Impositions, either for Encouragement or Support of its Subjects, they raised them by such Intervals, that apparently expressed the Necessity of laying them on: And when Publick Hostilities were over, and Worthy Patriots rewarded, those Taxes forthwith ceased, and did not continue to be a lasting Ravage on the People. Had they been artful, in inventing and contriving Ways and Methods of Taxing the

People, and bringing in unreasonable Sums into the Possession of the Government, and without publickly and fairly accounting for the Receipt of those Levies; the Subjects, undoubtedly, would have pleaded their Privileges, as *Romans*, of narrowly inspecting and enquiring into the Management and Disposal of such large Advances made upon them. I do not find, that they admitted of any Device or Pretences for the raising Money, but when the chief Reasons thereof were notorious to the whole Common-wealth; and such as tended to promote the Peace and Reputation of the Government, where-ever their Fame reached, throughout the whole World, by paying their Army, Publick Ministers and Officers, and carefully discharging the State from lasting Debts and Incumbrances; which, where the contrary prevails, it will naturally tempt and draw on to Bribery and Violence; perhaps, in the End, to open Rebellion and Ruin.

And if this is the Case, as to Taxes and Impositions under Heathen Government; Let us make an Inquiry how it is, or ought to be, where the Rule and Power is exercised by Christians and Protestants; the latter of these boasting much of their Superiority in Wisdom and Prudence, as to all Points relating to Human Society; and thence form a Comparison of our own Nation with the other Kingdoms of *Europe*.

To begin with the Taxes imposed by Common-wealths: That of the *Dutch*, which I may venture to pronounce, in some Regard, as powerful and arbitrary as any Government whatever; yet has always taken Care so to particularize their Impositions, that but few of their Subjects know and are apprized of the Necessity and absolute Reasons [I-360] there are for them; and the Government so justly and clearly accounts for the Collection and Management of the Nation's Levies, that, I believe the poorest Working-Man in *Holland* is convinced of the requisite Demand there is for them, and is satisfied of the honest Disposition thereof. 'Tis true, indeed, the Excise there is very great, and their continued Wars (which they have not been exempt from more than we of this Island) has occasioned them to make great Levies upon their People; but they have so wisely and honestly order'd it, as always immediately to reduce them as soon as ever the Cause ceased: So that the Subjects are thereby able to vye with any Nation, in Matters of Trade or Riches. And the *Hollanders* exceed all Common-wealths I ever heard or read of, in a numerous Common People, Wealth, and Coin. It must then be granted, That their Taxes are so easy and reasonable, and so prudently directed, that they do not impoverish, and do the People any Harm.

The *Venetians*, whom, in Point of their Greatness and Antiquity, I ought to have mentioned first, as they are far from being a poor Common-wealth; yet, the Customs and Impositions which they have at any Time laid upon the Subject (although scarce ever free, for any Space from dismal and cruel Wars with the *Turks*) are not found to have diminished or encroached upon the Private Property of the People; insomuch, that the Justice and Prudence of that State, in Regard to the expending of their Taxes, have amounted to an Equivalent and Recompence unto the People, during the Continuance of their Impositions. The Christians, who live in several Places under the *Turkish* Dominions, are not exercised with more excessive Taxes, than those that live in some Countries where the Name of *Christ* is Preached, though His Followers there are loaded with an Excise for every Bit of Bread, and even the Meat that they eat. But I shall come to a Period in Relation to the Taxes imposed by Common-wealths; And I only observe, that what I have here mentioned, may demonstrate and certify to us, the vast Distinction between raising of Taxes to supply the Publick Exigencies and Demands, a discreet and honest Disposal thereof; and the certain consequent Ruin that attends a State's [I-361] laying hold of every little Opportunity for encreasing and continuing of their Taxes and Levies, and the constantly forcing Money out of the Hands of Quality, Gentry, and Commonalty.

I shall now specify some few Instances of this Matter, as it stands under certain Monarchies and Kingdoms.

In the *Empire*, the Taxes being moderate and low, the People generally, by that Means, have the Opportunity to improve themselves as much as the Nature of so poor a Soil will admit of; which nevertheless, they could not attempt, were they under the Indigency of great Taxes join'd to their Native Poverty.

The Kingdom of *Spain* copies much the same Method, in Relation to their new Levies and Taxes; and which are not constant and lasting, but irregular, and of a short Duration: And although they have great Armies usually a-foot, yet by the Dispositions made in them, and the Quarterings of those Forces, the People do not see the Maintenance of them; meerly by the Strength of the Taxes levied upon them and the Payments they make.

*Portugal* is, indeed, somewhat cruel in its Demands upon the Exportations made by their Merchants, thereby raising a prodigious Revenue, and becoming Masters of immense Quantities of Specie; which nevertheless, is but an unfruitful Weight in their own Hands, any longer than they permit the full Currency of it among their People, and the Exportation of it to other Nations, as a Means to make amends to their Subjects (thereby encouraging of Trade) for they extort from them by very heavy Taxes.

As I have hitherto mentioned those States which I regard as easier Taxed, in some Cases, than our own; and has, consequently, tended to secure them from Poverty, and aggrandized and encreased their Power and Riches: I will now, therefore, refer to the Kingdom of *France*, our nearest Neighbour and Acquaintance, though by its unbounded Impositions, and tyrannical Exactions, has only gained the just Detestation and Abhorrence of all other Nations (in respect of those cruel Levies made upon the People, both Clergy and Laity.) And the Effect of their barbarous Impositions, has constantly proved [I-362] widely different from the Design and Intention of the Government in the first raising of them; For, without reflecting whether they have any Concern for cruelly impoverishing and draining the whole People of their Money; yet, it is certain, they never imagined that their Treasures would have been so very much expended out of their own Dominions, in aiming at Foreign Conquests; which, from their restless Ambition, and their frequent invading of their Neighbours, has almost always happened to them; and which I may venture to pronounce, without the Spirit of Prophecy, will prove the constant Fate of all Kingdoms and States that copy after the like Practice; or are over-forward with their Fleets and Armies, under Pretences of *Assisting* others, when their proper Interest is not concerned, or, at most, is evidently best preserved by not intermeddling in distant Broils, very remote and far off from them. I expect now, perhaps, some Queries to be put to me, as, What requires such Reasoning as this in a Time of General Peace? Or what Preparations do we see making to interpose in the Affairs of *Others*? To which I shall only answer, That as such like Transactions have happened, even in a *Kingdom* well known to us, and at certain Times, not out of the Memory of Man; so, for the future, we may find it most profitable to avoid the same Scene over again.

But I proceed to what I propose to myself in this Discourse, namely, a Comparison of our Taxes with those I have mentioned Abroad; and then to inquire into the Causes of the Kingdom's paying such Great Taxes. And, secondly, What Use is made of those Taxes; Whether Trade be decayed, and the Poor increased by them; and, in the End, Recommend the applying to a New Parliament for Remedy in these Particulars. Which it behoves us, with more than ordinary Ardour, to hope and strive may consist of such Worthy Patriots, who will vigorously, and without Partiality, oppose that rampant Arbitrary Force of Private Interest that seems violently to bestride and abuse the Nation.

And, first, it will be necessary, in comparing of our own Taxations with those already spoken of, to consider the Laws and Manner of different Countries in raising of [I-363] Levies and Taxes upon their Subjects; and then, as to the Bulk and Continuance of their Taxes.

First, The Customs and Manner of Taxing are almost as various as the Climates; But to reduce myself from multiplying of Words, or the instancing from all the Kingdoms in *Europe*, I will only mention the most notable.

*Germany*, whose Taxes arise mostly from a Tenure, or Obligation, of its Principalities, Dukedoms, Free Cities, &c. to furnish a certain equal and just Sum, in Return for those Considerations granted to them by the Government or Empire. They have likewise a Method of levying Money in the Diets: Neither of which Ways are very Burthensome to the Lords and Nobles, or Tyrannical or Oppressive to the Commonalty.

In *Spain*, though the Taxes may be wholly imposed by the King and Council; yet, Regard is observed in a Case of so general Concern, in taking Advice of the Nobility, and other Societies, that they may be formed and laid with a Degree of Acquiescence and Agreement of the Subject; and by that Means are not tiresome, nor felt so sensibly by them.

It has happened in this Age, even in a Country where Liberty, Justice, and Property, are pretended to be encouraged and protected, and pleaded for and extolled beyond any other Constitution in the World, that the Sufferings of the Subjects have, in such a Nation, proved unspeakable, from giving into the airy, fantastick Schemes of ambitious, covetous, and vain glorious Statesmen, and the deceitful Crafts of designing Undertakers or Directors, countenanced by mercenary Powers granted to them; and to compleat these Proceedings, fresh Straits and Emergencies, secret Expeditions, Fleets and Armies, have added fresh Taxes to the Account. Such Transactions admit of as large a Field of expatiating on the Crisis of a Kingdom's Credit and Riches, as the most predominant Power whatever prevailing over them.

But to go on, as before: *France*, where the Taxes are of a very considerable Size, and the King's Power of raising Money, depending in great Measure on his Inclination; yet, nevertheless, it is the Practice of that Crown, in order to the obtaining of any Supply from [I-364] the People, to consult the Parliament, and to have Recourse to their Ordinances, for Levies and Duties to be placed on such Commodities only, as they think most expedient. And I cannot help remarking that although their Impositions and Taxes have many times been sudden and weighty upon the Subjects; yet, I have not observed so general Complaints and Outcries of Mis application and ill Management, as have frequently prevailed in other Countries; which, if upon just Grounds, will give great Relief to a People under the Payment of acute Taxes.

In *Sweden*, they seem to have a peculiar Happiness allotted to their Country, as to the Ways of making great Part of their Levies: For as they abound in Mines of Copper, Iron, Tin, &c. from whence the Crown is allowed a Tenth; as also, from all Corn, Cattle, &c. and in great Measure the Riches of the Church-Lands; so that the People are very much exempt from burthensome Taxes, except in an extraordinary War (as of late they have been engaged in) when the King has a Power to raise a Tribute from his Subjects.

The Subjects of *Muscovia* are wont to raise their Taxes from the Commodities of their own Growth only, which the Tradesmen and Dealers pay, and are afterwards allowed a Licence and Permission to vend them in what Manner they please.

The Duke of *Florence*, who is placed in a most fruitful Part of the World, and his Subjects in the Enjoyment of a most flourishing Trade; has the Opportunity of raising to himself what Helps he pleases, without being able greatly to impoverish the People. However, it is evident, the Levies and Taxes made upon them, are not so much as perceived by them: For what a Mart of Riches and Trade do they appear to be, surpassing most of the Potentates in *Europe*.

In *Venice* there can be no very irksome or oppressive Taxes, unless we can suppose the whole Commonwealth voluntarily to engage themselves into such Payments; for as they consist of an Aristocracy, so the Senate, who represents the whole People and Body of their Dominions, are watchful and diligent in maintaining the Good and Liberty of those they preside over and mean to take care of.

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The Kings of *Poland* are so tyed up, that they can come at no Money; but by the unanimous Ordinances of the whole Diet.

The Taxes of *Denmark* are very easy and inconsiderable: They pay a Duty on Cattle, Corn, and some Commodities; but to no great Value: For the greatest Part of the Production of their own Revenue, is collected from all Ships and Vessels passing the *Sound*, by which Means they are happily prevented labouring under any Burthen of Taxes themselves: Nor do I find that Government at any Time requiring any more than a moderate Supply or Aid from the People.

I think, I have gone through with a brief Account of the Nature and Bulk of the Taxes and Impositions, as they are at present imposed and levied in most of the Kingdoms and Governments in *Europe*; And I shall now come to a Comparison of the State of our own Taxes with those of our Neighbours and Foreign Nations near us, and the Examination (as I proposed) of the Reasons thereof, and the Application of them: Our having struggled for several Years past with this Load upon our Backs, is obviously the Occasion of the insupportable Encrease of the Poor amongst us; and although it be constantly pleaded, to mollify this Weight and Pressure upon us, That Money in this Kingdom is never raised, but by Consent of Parliament; and that it is only made Use of in Defence of Religion, Liberty and Property (which truly are glorious Jewels, worthy to contend for) and that any, who think they have at any Time, with their Eyes open, seen some different Practices, they must be Enemies to the real Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, prejudiced and contriving against its Happiness and Advantage; yet, I say, this is notoriously but little Ease to us. For how is it that Property and Liberty appear more bright and flourishing under heavy Payments and Taxes renewed from Year to Year? Or can it be proved, that a Free People can taste the highest Enjoyments that can flow from thence, when loaded with numerous Duties, and immersed in Debts of such a Magnitude, that the discharging thereof is almost impracticable with the Safety of the Nation? And that our Credit and Reputation is growing and increasing, notwithstanding [I-366] we are like to be driven to the unavoidable Choice of Two melancholy Extremes, *viz.* The blotting out of our Books, and an effacing as irretrievable an infinite Number of Creditors, who have lawful and just Claims upon us; or, The paying of Debts by the Virtue of wild Schemes, and by that Means to sink under a final Bankruptcy. Ought not such a People to reflect with Horror and Anguish of Heart, at any who either by Mismanagement or Villany have reduced them to so terrible an Ebb? The Difference in *Ireland* from other Countries, in laying on of Impositions, is only this; That all are alike affected by the Taxes they pay, proportionably to the Expence of their Quality and Station; though this will not prove intirely a Compensation; for unless in the Money that is raised there is a nice Observation and Care had to our Manufacturies, so as not to hinder or bar the Trade of the Nation; all the Regards otherwise, for the Subject, will affect them only in Point of Honour and Shew.

And as to continual getting together large Sums of Money from the Subjects Annually, or filling the Coffers of the Crown by Taxes and Levies, the utmost and most consummate Skill and Honesty will become necessary to assign and appropriate them, that they may in some Measure redound to answer the Uses they were at first said to be raised for. And if Laws are often repeated for the granting New Supplies, and by large Sums at a time, then an Enquiry



into the Necessity, Design and Application of Extraordinary Aids and Assistances, will earnestly and prevalently take Place: And if several Millions *Sterling* (incredible Sum!) should appear to have been criminally or foolishly imbezzled or unaccounted for, What, except the Divine Interposition, could prevent inevitable Ruin and Destruction? Where would remain the Defence of a Kingdom, if it were dispoiled of its Treasure to be diminished and sunk by Improvidence, or Ignorance, or the insatiable Appetites of innumerable rapacious Pensioners.

Indeed, the Uses and Designs for which Monies are levied with us, are commonly disclosed and made appear in Parliament; and afterwards, whether there have been [I-367] Dispositions and Appropriations accordingly. And it is incumbent on every Member sitting in the House of Commons, to endeavour, with the utmost Truth and Honour, that the Grounds of all Supplies and Taxes be rendred plain, and reasonable, and conformable, to Regards had for the Love and Care of their Country, and the indispensable Dictates of Integrity and Compassion. This leads me, therefore, to an Examination into the Causes (as far as one without Doors may venture to be curious) of our present Taxes.

At the Time of his Majesty's happy Coming to the Throne, the Nation (which had laboured under the deepest Apprehensions and Fears, what would be the Event of the wicked and clandestine Measures of the Last Ministry of the late Reign) discovered an immediate Change of their Confusions, to a Pitch of Joy and Satisfaction, arising from the refreshing Prospect they had of being delivered and secured from the Purposes and Persons of those detestable abhorred Administrators; and a remarkable Sense and Confidence that was (with Reason) placed on the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, for a sure and final Support and Refuge for the Nation, in the utmost Extremes, to betake to; visibly actuated and prevailed among those few Friends then remaining to an expiring Country: But we were soon disturbed in the Quiet and happy Enjoyment of His Majesty's Family Reigning over us (and of the Assurances of Peace and Plenty thereby secured to us, the Favour of Heaven then smiling on us;) by an open declared Rebellion against the King's Right and Government; and this promoted by the very Persons who had been solicitous in tendring the utmost Services to Him, and his Royal Relations; and to aggravate and enrage their Crime, had sworn Allegiance and Fidelity to Him, and abjured the Person of the Pretender.

I recollect these Passages, as they were indeed, in some Degree, the sad Grounds of succeeding Charges and Troubles to the Nation; though by the Bravery and Vigilancy of the Army, the Address and Wisdom of the Council at home, we at length surmounted these Straits and Difficulties; and made such prudent Provisions by [I-368] Parliament, for Supplies, to defray our vast Expences (which so great an Event must naturally put us to) as were consistent with the Ease and Ability of the Subject, and highly conducive to the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom.

But may we be suffer'd to demonstrate the Grounds and Reasons of the present Payments continued or revived from Session to Session? May we be permitted to ask, If there are any necessary Provisions for the Houshold or Court? Or that we ought to guard and fence against extraordinary and sudden Eruptions and Wars, by having a loaded Treasury? Is there any large Increase of Naval or Land Forces requisite to be made? Do we find the Circulation of Money and Credit risen to so great an Height among us, that we can easily dispense with numerous Taxes? Do they enrich the Nation, and promote our Trade, and enhance our Credit and Reputation Abroad? Or can we suppose a Redemption could be made of the Losses occasioned in the late *South-Sea* Riot, by Impositions or Levies upon the Commonwealth? Or ought we to expect the surest and best Subjects, I mean the Landed Men, will consent to be immersed in a Flood of Taxes, for the easing of Numbers of insatiate Persons, who have miscarried by their black and horrid Schemes? *O Tempora! O Mores!*

But I will pursue the Thread of my Discourse. 'Tis certain, beyond Contradiction, that gross and weighty Taxes will tend to impoverish a Nation; contract its Treasures, dissipate its Trade, and give Birth to Poverty and Discontent; unless open Wars are stopped, and a declared Necessity of watching the Motions of our Adversaries, or Circumstances of the like Kind, which will always produce general and publick Charges.

To come, therefore, nearer the Matter. Will not many and over burthensome Charges on a Commonwealth naturally hinder the employing Numbers of Poor and Idle Persons; and also cause a Decay of that Industry and Labour, which would otherwise strengthen the Whole Body: So that what would terminate to the general Use of the Publick, is hereby prevented by Methods that virtually, if not immediately, affect the universal Industry [I-369] and Diligence that ought much rather to take Place; for every Member of the Body Politick, is refreshed and animated by the Life and Motion that there is in the Whole.

It will possibly hardly be believed, that from the present Annual Income of the Taxes, even here in this Kingdom, that the meaner Subjects pay many Times the Proportion to the Publick Levies, out of their daily Expences, more than they did a dozen Years ago; and so, indeed, every Degree and Rank amongst us; with this Mitigation, that would but the latter Sort reject Opportunities of gratifying their Extravagance, they would be able, on Publick Occurrences, by doubling their own Quota of Payments, vastly to assist the Bulk of their Fellow-Subjects.

Have we not been in great Expectations, every Session, of Alterations to be made in the decreasing the Burthen of Taxes! How long will Troubles and Disasters happen to us? For my Part, I shall alway, with the utmost Alacrity make the small Share of Payments that will be levied upon me, as an Individual of the Common-wealth, and which are enacted by Authority for the Good, Honour, and Safety of His Majesty, and His Royal House; and with a sincere Heart and Readiness, as far as I am able, contribute to all Advances that may be thought at any Time requisite thereunto; as we have always (next under God) found them, in repeated Instances, the only Defence and Bulwark of this Nation; our utmost Chearfulness in being at some Expence and Charge for the Enjoyment of so many Advantages and invaluable Securities, is the least Return we can make: This is absolutely the real Sentiment and Resolution of every well meaning and honest Freeholder in *England*. After this Declaration, one cannot be suspected of any other in this kind of ill-natured Address, than soliciting the highest Caution and Scrutiny at the approaching Elections; neither can it be esteemed impertinent to take more Care for the future, that we may thereby escape falling again into Romantick wicked Schemes of Hair-brained Politicans, in the room of Dispositions that would certainly be of Benefit and Improvement to the Kingdom.

[I-370]

I shall now proceed to enquire concerning the Use and Applications of the Taxes; since I look upon it almost as a Position, that the Poor are Increased, and Trade Decayed thereby: And upon this Point there is a great deal might be said; the Nature of Trade in *England* does nearly concern and affect us, and the Decay and Want of it at any Time, is mostly the Occasion of all Publick Miseries and Inconveniencies; for though our Lot is so fortunately ordered for us, that in manufacturing of our own Commodities (which are the Product of our Nation only) and which we are risen to a great Degree of Perfection in; yet the Ballance of our Treasures and Riches must be produced from a Free and Flourishing Trade; otherwise we shall soon become as poor and defenceless as the most barren, arbitrary Country in *Europe*. Our Trading, in all Ages past, sufficiently has demonstrated, that the Opulence of the Kingdom can only arise from hence; and it is the Height of Vanity to imagine, that Returns of Great Charges and Duties are not a Hindrance and Depressure to it; or that a Reformation, as to our Wealth and Credit, can possibly be accomplished, whilst we are impaired by

Misfortunes, or too great Impositions. 'Tis a known Assertion, That the Improvement of our Trade, is the Employment of our Poor; but at this Time of Day, we meet with those who pretend to convince us of the contrary; as if great Taxes and Levies were not hurtful to the Commonwealth and destructive to Trade.

There can be no greater Deformities in the *English* State, than that Industry and Trade should be discouraged or interrupted, be it by Funds, fictitious Schemes, or plundering Corporations, instead of spreading abroad the Products of our own Arts and Manufactures by a Foreign Trade and Commerce, and which would center in raising the Fortunes of the Subject, the Grandeur and Revenue of the Crown, and the Acquisitions of the Kingdom.

The Levying, (with us at any Time) of numerous Taxes, though it doth not immediately carry off the Stock of the Nation, yet it virtually and most assuredly is prejudicial to us, as it takes off and deprives (during the Continuance of them) multitudes of Hands of the [I-371] Poor, which otherwise could be afforded to be employed; and thereby at length becomes a Disease to every County in the Island, by infecting them with Idleness and Poverty; the constant Mischiefs that will flow in upon us from fix'd and durable Taxes, which, when naturely considered, will always gain Abatements and Allowances for Trade.

Men of Industry and Trade, the Merchants and others when promoted and encouraged, will be emulous to reduce the State of the Commonwealth to its wonted Standard, and thereby give Reason to pride herself beyond all other Kingdoms, in the Riches of her Commerce: And by the Observations I have always made as to our own People, and from the Neighbouring Parts around us, we have ever flourished most, and the Dominions of our Little Spot appeared in the greatest Security, by encouraging an open, unlimited Trade, and exploding all Practices that tended to circumvent or depress our Swarms at home, in the Management of their Arts and Commodities here, or the Merchandizing of them abroad: For, to confess the Truth, we must own, that we are not distinguishable by our Industry; and altho' we have so many Commodities peculiar to our own Growth, and very considerable to us by Special Licences and Grants in the Settlements of those Manufacturies; yet we should find them incredibly useless without such Encouragements; and this arising from an Idolence and Neglect that seems to prevail in our Constitution and Dispositions; so that whenever I see in other Countries the Power and Riches of a small State, or a little Dukedom, from a Right Management and Direction of the various Occupations of their People, and the Employing of their Poor; I grieve for the want of the utmost Encouragement that might be indulged to the Subjects of *Great Britain*; which contains in its Inclosures, Thousands of Artists and Mechanicks, most excellent in their Kinds, and Variety of Manufactures, which, carefully maintained and supported, would be so many Means of rendering us (I may say) the most formidable and happy Power in the World. Shall we then, instead of forwarding of Trade, sooner comply with the ravenous Inclinations of a Set of Men, who like Hawks and Vultures, live upon [I-372] Prey, without ever doing Good to the State; but are continually upon the Flight to devour? And a continual Duration of large Taxes and Duties, are mischievous Moths, that in Time will eat out the Heart and Vitals of the Kingdom, by blunting the Tools of the Industrious, that would be prositable to the whole Community, as well as to themselves, were they not pinch'd by Duties and Payments. And farther, as to the Gentry and better Sort of Persons, who should be Benefactors to their Country by a constant, regular Expence, and a Consumption of the Commodities of Trade; I say, these in Time of long and lasting Impositions, will be apt to change their Measures, and to deprive the Publick of the usual expected Benefit accruing from them, by locking up and hoarding what they would otherwise, in Times of Respite from Taxes, expend and lay out; and then nothing but downright Force will draw out of Holes the Specie of the Nation, which we may be assured will be hidden and concealed, as the only Means to evade the Power of Publick Exactions.

But how is it to be wished, That the ensuing Supreme Council of the Kingdom may pursue such Methods that will effectually ease our Trade, and establish our Manufacturies; which will ever be a Preservation to us from being punished with Cruelties, Wants and Disorders that the contrary Defect will constantly produce. I don't know, whether downright Prohibition of Trade from abroad, and if no Money was to be Levied at Home by Taxes, might not prove as little hazardous to the Wealth and Credit of the Nation, as Practices of vast Duties and Impositions, which weaken and depress all Commerce; besides great Payments in other kinds that should affect all Denominations of Men.

If we consider ourselves from the Native Commodities we enjoy, *viz.* Meat, Drink, Bread, Cloaths, and these in such Plenty as to be able to dispose of by Traffick to other Nations; the many Mechanical Arts and Manufacturies whereof, we have in Perfection, all unanimously tending to advance the Riches and Power of the Kingdom: I say, from these Views 'tis astonishing to what Course or Cause the Consequences of such Blessings are fled! Our Labour and Trade seem to be at a Stand, and [I-373] Arts and Sciences to be discontinued by us; not considering that an Interruption but even of a few Months, may deprive us of both Men and Arts (for there is no disusing of these to be admitted of for Times and Seasons) by a surprizing Change of Hands; and thereby our Neighbours to receive the Products of our Single Growth, and the Superior Arts and Endowments that our own People were alone Possessors of.

Is there such a visible Cessation I am speaking of? And does it arise from an Indolence and Inactivity in the People? Or, Is it seemingly caused by any extraordinary Pressure on Trade from considerable Imposts and Taxes? Or, To what must we assign it? Or, Is this a Charge no ways to be carried to the Account? And the aforementioned Paradox felt as an evident Truth? *viz.* That Payment and Taxes, are so many numerous Treasures to a Kingdom? But 'till I am my self convinced of it, I cannot forbear attributing the decay and want of Trade (in most Considerations) proportionably as the Demands and Levies are upon it to those Issues and Duties; and I know of no sure Purposes or Methods that will fail of encreasing our common Stock whilst we are dejected with these Pressures and Weights. And to evince the Truth of this, it would not require me to exceed the Limits of a Pamphlet; for I am morally certain, that the Levying of prodigious numerous Taxes, in the Compass of a few Years Time, will be an Equivalent and Over-balance upon the Subject for the Amount of all the Profits of Trade, of three times that Space of Years: And the Keeness of Artists, Mechanics, Husbandmen, as well as Traders and Merchants, will be so pall'd and ruined thereby, that they will rather chuse to confine themselves to the uncertain, dangerous, and, I am sure, wicked Gains of Stock jobbing, and unlawful Contracts, than to the honest and commendable Returns of Money by Trade; and which really can only maintain and secure the Profits of Private Men, as well as that of a whole Nation also.

The Separation of Trade from us, or whatever remotely inclines thereto, will infallibly be a Grievance of the highest Extreme to us; and if ever the Subjects and Merchants should be loaded with Multitudes of Duties [I-374] and Taxes, we should then unavoidably be brought, in the End, to such a fatal Consequence. And is it unreasonable to dread the Truth of this Assertion, or, to conceive, that we assuredly feel any Effects of a want of Trade? Do we never hear it repeated (on that wonted famous Mart of Trade, the *Royal Exchange of London*) *There is no Trade?* Are these Situations real Truth and Fact? Or, is it only Clamour and Faction? Can we subsist under so unhappy a State, if it proves true? Do not the Principal Branches of our Riches and Credit depend upon our Commerce? Can there be Exception taken against those who at all Times are vigilant to prevent the Decline of Trade? — — — But to give a very few Proofs more: The Collecting of vast Treasures by diversity of Taxes and Levies, will naturally create a Diminution and Loss of Specie to the Subject; a Discouragement which proves unspeakable in Trading; for though Abroad, we deal

Commodity in Exchange for Commodity (which does not always happen neither) yet Seamen's Wages, Shipping, and Bills of Exchange, must be paid in Cash; and however Private Men may subsist, yet Trade must be at a Stand, and the Publick generally impoverished by Loads of Taxes and Want of Specie: And as often as great Payments are pressed for, 'tis so many fresh Obstacles to the carrying on of the Profits and Flourishing Condition of a Nation.

Another Mark of Decay may be suspected from the little Stock of Ready Money which there is in the Country, from the Difficulty Landlords have of getting their Rents. The Country is considerably changed in this Point, so that it is become almost invidious to mention it; and upon this Article we may be convinced of the Necessity of the Augmentation of Trade abroad, as the ultimate, only Remedy that can be made use of for the gaining an immediate Redress on this Head, and strengthening the Credit and Reputation of the Kingdom. And it is no Error to insist, that Trade may be sorely hurt and injured by the Disadvantage of heavy Taxes; and the Want of Business to all Traders fully verifies it to us.

[I-375]

After such like Enquiries and Researches as these, I cannot but be persuaded, That every honest *English-man* and *Free-holder*, will naturally join with me in making some serious Conjectures, what will be the Issue of our State and Condition: And that Fears and Apprehensions, which prompt us to the securing the Manufactures, Arts and Industry of the Nation, are not improper or injudicious; for the Increase of our Poor, and the Decay of our Commerce, are Omens that merit our strictest Vigilance and Enquiry. And herein Men of Fortunes and Substance in Trade, I am sure, will concur with me.

The Evils and Dangers that will most infallibly press upon us from great and extreme Taxes, are very evident; and it must be acknowledged a singular Instance of Wisdom and Care for the Publick, when Parliaments are most inquisitive concerning the Condition of the State, as to this Matter, above all; And it is vain for us to imagine Expedients can be found out, unless we are all thoroughly agreed what our Case is. And, I think, from what I have offer'd, it pretty naturally discovers itself as proceeding from a precipitant Breach of Credit; a Decay of Trade, and a Want of Money. And as the State of Things appear, we can make no Mistake to what their Determination is owing; and if we will but found the Methods and Practices we are to take, agreeably to these Evidences, the Event cannot, by the Divine Permission, prove otherwise than happy.

There is no Society in the World, who have a more magnificent Trust, than the House of Commons of *Great Britain*; and, consequently, none have a greater Power of preserving the Health and Prosperity of the State, which they direct and preside over.

I have run through the Nature of the present Taxes, and offered the Reasons that seem convincive of their being, at least, injurious to Trade; if not to the Riches, Credit, and Liberty of this Nation. And as to the Uses to which they are applied; it cannot be expected for me to say much here, since that is an Enquiry to be made, with Safety, in a House of Commons only. I have hitherto taken some Pains in addressing the Freeholders, and Electors of Parliament, on this seasonable Subject; but have been obliged to omit some Hints that might, perhaps, [I-376] have given Offence to M— — —rs and Managers. However, it is not easy working upon the Credulity of the People of *England*; not to persuade them, that the extorting of vast Sums of Money, are soft and gentle Ways of promoting the Happiness and Good of the State: But (Thanks be to God) Inventions and Impostures cannot be imposed upon us; Fools and Lunaticks may be so far intoxicated as to believe Chimera's of Politicians; but a wise and true Lover of his Country will not shut his Eyes against this gaping Chasm, that requires the utmost Expedition and Dexterity in the closing up again. Let

us not, however, treacherously imagine, among the many Wounds already given by the *South-Sea* Scheme, that large Payments can possibly prove a Restorative for effectually recovering our Credit and Riches; for a very Thought, in this Way, cannot obtain without the highest Stupidity and Perfidy. And the Ability we stand in, as to the State of our Credit, seems to confine us to the utmost Benevolence and Frugality, in Regard of ourselves only, and not upon any Score to admit of chargeable Expeditions or Undertakers; And the Commonwealth was never less capable to distinguish itself by Generosity and Beneficence; yet, although we are prevented by our narrow Circumstances, the Happiness of our Case is, that we can yet boast of Plenty of Noble and Vertuous Patriots; whose Integrity and Merit are gloriously deserving of the Nation's Lawrels and Rewards.

But to conclude with this Remark, without being more particular. In Times of great Taxes, there will be necessary, in the Government and Ministry, the utmost Frugality and Diligence in their Application; for, as from vast Comings-in, a Kingdom will be liable to vast Frauds: So it will be impossible to maintain too strict a Check and Observance upon the Managers of the Publick Revenues, that they may be kept in a Channel to answer the Business and Exigencies of the State; which will also make Taxes and Levies sit easier on the Subject. For raising of Money in these Dominions, with constant Augmentation thereof; and to be attended with Suspicions, as to the Uses and Disposition of them; would be a Grievance that could not be supported but with the [I-377] sharpest Misery and Impatience. To prevent which dismal Tyranny, the Laws and Customs of this Realm have invested every Individual in Parliament with a Right of Enquiry concerning the Disbursements of the Treasures of the Nation; and every Member of that Powerful Body is basely guilty of perfidiously wronging and Injuring of his Country, who knowingly, or negligently, connives or winks at the transferring or alienating the Riches of the Publick, to any other Uses than those which the whole Commonwealth supposed them to be granted for.

And here it is with some Warmth that I could proceed in Addressing the Electors of Knights and Burgesses for the ensuing Parliament, and, in short, the whole Commons of the Kingdom, that they would avoid Hurry and Precipitancy in their next Choices; or ignobly to barter the Wealth and Liberty of their Country, for the Views of Private Profit and Interest: And that the mention I have here made of the Taxes of the Nation, with the Tendency and Use of them, may be of some Weight to persuade them, deliberately to dispose of Votes for New Members; and that we may be cautious in not tolerating the Hopes of our own Personal Advantages to prevail over the indispensable Duties of Integrity and a Publick Spirit, which we owe to the Commonwealth; and not to indulge and fawn upon a Set of Men, who shall be either severely bent against, or ignorantly incapable of the Good of the Kingdom.

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**The Natural History of Superstition. By *John Trenchard, Esq.*** ↩

*Sic plerumque agitat stultos inscitia veri, &  
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit:  
Ille sinistrorsum, hic deorsum abit, unus utrique  
Error, sed variis illudit partibus omnes.*

*Atheism leaves Men to Sense, to Philosophy, to Laws, to Reputation, all which may be Guides to moral Virtue, tho' Religion were not; but Superstition dismounts all these, and erects an absolute Monarchy in the Minds of Men: Therefore, Atheism did never perturb States: but Superstition hath been the Confusion of many. The Causes of Superstition are pleasing and sensual Rites and Ceremonies, Excess of Pharisaical and outside Holiness, Reverence to Traditions, and the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre.*  
Lord Bacon.

If any Man surveys and contemplates the visible World, the great and glorious Body of the Sun, many thousand times bigger than the Earth, its immense Distance from us, this Globe on which we live, and numerous other Planets moving about it, and receiving vital Warmth and Nourishment from its Beams; if he pursues and aggrandizes this Idea, by considering the much greater Distance and Magnitude of the fixt Stars, in all probability so many Suns, with each their particular System of Worlds, and Inhabitants, and the frequent Discovery of new Ones, by the Invention of better Glasses and Telescopes; how must he admire and adore the Power of God, who has given Being and Motion to such vast Machines, created them of such Figure and Magnitude, disposed them in such Order, placed them at such Distances, gave them such proper and suitable Motions as oblige them to perform the regular and ordinary [I-379] Purposes of his Providence, without the constant and momentary Interposition of his Power.

Nor is it less conspicuous in the Formation of inferior Animals, in this little Part of the World in which we live, whose Parts are so adapted, and disposed by his all wise Providence, as by the Necessity of their own Natures to perform the Functions and Operations of their Beings: Hence we see that universal Harmony in all Creatures of the same Species; they have the same Hopes and Desires, the same Fears and Aversions; some Kinds have intrepid Courage, others pannaic Fears; Nature directs some to Force and Violence, others to Flight and Cunning; some prey upon Flesh, some live upon Fruits and Seeds, others upon Grass and Vegetables; Birds of the same kind build their Nests with the same Contrivance, and the same Materials; all Creatures of the same Kind defend themselves with the same Address and Cunning, and are caught and trapaned by the same Wiles and Artifices, and generate others like them, as naturally and necessarily as a Tree or Vegetable is produced from its Seed, with some little Difference in Individuals, owing probably to the Circumstances of Soil, Food, peculiar Accidents, or something perhaps particular in the Formation of each System.

His Partiality to Mankind has not hindered him from forming our Bodies in the same Manner and of the same Materials; he has given us the same Springs of vital Motion, the same Nerves, Tendons, Veins and Arteries, the like Disposition and Organization of our Brains, and consequently the like Faculties of Seeing, Feeling, Hearing, Tasting and Smelling, the same Sensations of Pleasure and Pain, alike Desires and Aversions, alike Hopes and Fears; we have the same Way of coming into the World, and the same Ways of going out of it. Nor can it be denied that in many Respects we are excelled by inferiour Creatures in the Organization of our Bodies, as some are stronger, others more active, some bolder, others of longer Continuance; most kinds surpass us in the Acuteness of one or more of our Senses,

and some in all of them.

But we have ample amends made us in the Faculties of our [I-380] Souls which makes it evident we were designed for nobler Uses; for whereas other Animals appear to have no Thoughts or Desires above their quotidian Food, Ease, Diversions or Lusts; Men have visibly larger and more extensive Views, as not only from the ordinary and regular System of the Universe, to carry their Minds to their great Creator, but to infer from thence the Duty and Obedience owing to him, and the Justice, Compassion, Love and Assistance owing to one another. And since the Defect and Narrowness of our natural Capacities has left us in the Dark about a future State, his abundant Goodness has amply supplied the Shortness of our Knowledge with divine Revelation, and has discovered and annexed a State of immortal Happiness to the natural Rewards attending a Just and virtuous Life.

But as there is no Perfection in this frail State, nor any Excellency without some Defect accompanying it, so these noble Faculties of the Mind have misled and betrayed us into Superstition, as appears in that, notwithstanding we are abundantly cautioned not to mistake the Impostures of pretended Prophets, the Frauds of Priests, and the Dreams and Visions of Enthusiasts for heavenly Revelations, and our own Infirmities and panic Fears for divine Impulses, yet the Fables of the Heathens, the Alcoran of *Mahomet*, the more gross and impious Forgeries of the Papists, and the Frauds and Follies of some who call themselves Protestants, have so far prevailed over genuine Christianity, that the Righteous and Faithful are but like *the Gold to the Earth*, which could not have thus happened in all Ages, unless something innate in our Constitution made us easily to be susceptible of wrong Impressions, subject to panic Fears, and prone to Superstition and Error, and therefore it is incumbent upon us, first of all to examine into the Frame and Constitutions of our own Bodies, and search into the Causes of our Passions and Infirmities, for till we know from what Source or Principle we are so apt to be deceived by others, and by ourselves, we can never be capable of true Knowledge, much less of true Religion, which is the Perfection of it.

I take this wholly to proceed from our Ignorance of Causes, and yet Curiosity to know them, it being impossible [I-381] for any Man so far to divest himself of Concern for his own Happiness, as not to endeavour to promote it, and consequently to avoid what he thinks may hurt him; and since there must be Causes in Nature for every Thing that does or will happen, either here or hereafter, it is hard to avoid Sollicitude till we think we know them, and therefore since the divine Providence has for the most Part hid the Causes of Things which chiefly concern us from our View, we must either entirely abandon the Enquiry, or substitute such in their Room, as our own Imaginations or Prejudices suggest to us, or take the Words of others, whom we think wiser than ourselves, and as we believe have no Intent to deceive us.

To these Weaknesses of our own, and Frauds of others, we owe the heathen Gods and Goddesses, Oracles and Prophets, Nymphs and Satyrs, Fawns and Tritons, Furies and Demons, most of the Stories of Conjurers and Witches, Spirits and Apparitions, Fairies and Hobgoblins, the Doctrine of Prognostics, the numerous Ways of Divination, *viz.* Oniromancy, Sideromancy, Tephromancy, Botonomancy, Crommyomancy, Cleromancy, Acromancy, Onomatomancy, Arithmomancy, Geomancy, Alectryomancy, Cephalomancy, Axinomancy, Coscinomancy, Hydromancy, Onychomancy, Dactlyomancy, Christallomancy, Cataptromancy, Gastromancy, Lecanomancy, Alphitomancy, Chiromancy, Orneomancy and Necromancy, Horoscopy, Astrology and Augury, Metoposcopy and Palmistry, the Fear of Eclipses, Comets, Meteors, Earthquakes, Inundations, and any uncommon Appearances, though ever so much depending upon natural and necessary Causes, nor are there wanting People otherwise of good Understanding, who are affected with the falling of Salt-seller, crossing of a Hare, croaking of a Raven, howling of Dogs, screeching of Owls, the Motion of Worms in a Bedstead, mistaken for Death-Watches, and other as senseless and trifling



Accidents.

It is this Ignorance of Causes, &c. subjects us to mistake the Phantasms and Images of our own Brains (which have no Existence any where else) for real Beings, and subsisting without us, as in Dreams where we see Persons [I-382] and Things, feel Pain and Pleasure, form Designs, hear and make Discourses, and sometimes the Objects are represented so lively to our Fancies, and the Impression so strong, that it would be hard to distinguish them from Realities, if we did not find ourselves in Bed.

But if a melancholy Man, sitting by himself in a doleful Mood, with his Brains brooding upon Visions and Revelations; should carelessly nod himself half a Sleep, and his Imagination having received a vigorous Representation of an Angel delivering a Message to him, should wake in a Surprize, without having observed his own Sleeping (as often happens) I cannot see how he should distinguish it from a divine Vision.

There have been surprizing Instances of this Kind, in extatic Fits and Trances, which are but sounder Sleeps, that cause more lively and Intense Dreams: Some in these Delirium's have fancied their Souls to have been transported to Heaven or Hell, to have had personal Communication with God and the holy Trinity, have given Descriptions of the Angels and their Habitations, and brought back Messages, Prophecies and Instructions to Mankind, which Phenomena's, however strange at first Sight, are easily to be accounted for by natural Causes, for the Ideas and Operations of our Minds being evidently produced, by the Agitations and Motions of the internal Parts of our own Bodies, and Impressions heretofore made on them, as well as the Actions of Objects without us (which will be made appear in the Sequel of this Discourse.) It must necessarily happen when the Organs of Sense (which are the Avenues and Doors to let in external Objects) are shut and locked up by Sleep, Distempers, or strong Prejudices, that the Imaginations produced from inward Causes, must reign without any Rival, for the Images within us striking strongly upon, and affecting the Brain, Spirits, or Organ, where the imaginative Faculty resides, and all Objects from without, being wholly, or in a great Measure shut out and excluded, so as to give no Information or Assistance we must unavoidably submit to an Evidence which meets with no Contradiction, and takes things to be as they appear.

[I-383]

I conceive that *Ignis Fatuus* of the Mind, which the Visionaries in all Ages, have called the inward Light, and leads all that have followed it into Pools and Ditches, to be like what is before described: For by their own Description it is only to be attained by renouncing the Senses, and all the intellectual Faculties, and wholly sequestering their Thoughts from wordly and material Objects, by which Elevation of Mind, they arrive to a more close and intimate Union with God, have internal Communication with him, and by immediate Motions and Inspirations learn all Truths, and whatever is necessary to be done. This is what Men of vulgar Notions, call *sending their Wits for a Venture*, and indeed is but a waking Dream, for they alike lock up all their outward Senses, which are the only Conduits of Knowledge, and deliver themselves up to the Guidance of wild Fancy, and consequently must be actuated wholly by their several Complexions, Constitutions and Distempers, which often make them *Ixion*-like, embrace their own Clouds and Fogs for Dieties.

The same Visions happen to us, when our Organs are indisposed by Sickness, and then according to the Nature of our Distempers, we see such Appearances, as our former Prejudices and Education have rendered most dreadful or delightful to us: Sometimes we see Angels and beatific Visions, sometimes Devils with Instruments of Fear and Horror.

The like is common amongst melancholy and hypocondriac Men, who often act in the Government of themselves and Families with Prudence enough, and sometimes have excellent Qualifications in other Respects, and yet a particular Delusion has got such hold of their Fancies, that it is out of the Power of their Friends otherwise to cure them, than by seeming to comply with their Imaginations: One thought his Nose long enough to open Gates; another thought himself a Glass Bottle, and bid People stand out of his way, lest they should break him; even the Reverend Dr. *Pelling* believed himself with Child, and could not be convinced to the contrary, till a Midwife pretended to deliver him of a false Conception. Some have conceited themselves to be God the Father, [I-384] the Messias, the Holy Ghost, the Angel *Gabriel*; to be Monarchs, Popes and Emperors; others have fancied themselves to be Dogs, Cats and Wolves: A Gentleman now living [\*], has given an Account in Print of his Conversation with Spirits for several Years together, and closes his Account with a Distrust of the Reality of their Conversation with him, though he had said before *they appeared* to him *to be real*. Many Instances of this kind are to be found in *Burton's Melancholy*, and more to be seen at *Bedlam*.

When the Delusions are thus apparent they serve others for Mirth and Diversion, and do no harm; but if they happen to Persons, of whose Godliness and Wisdom we have conceived Opinion, they cannot fail of making strong Impressions upon us, especially if their Visions concur with Prejudices and natural Fears.

Though true Religion improves the Faculties, exhilarates the Spirits, makes the Mind calm and serene, renders us useful to Society, and most active in the Affairs of the World, yet I don't know how it has happened, that in all Ages and Countries, fanatical, melancholy, enthusiasm [Editor: missing letters] on kish, recluse, sequestered Persons have passed upon the World for religious, such who lived in Cloisters and Caves, or became Pilgrims and Hermits, who seeming not to mind the Affairs of this World, were believed to know the more of the next.

As nothing but Disappointed Pride, Indisposition of Body, Disturbance of Mind, or Dejection of Spirit, can work about this strange Metamorphosis, so it is impossible when Men have abandoned the natural Calm and Serenity of their Minds, and disturbed their Organs with wild Imaginations, but they must see Visions both sleeping and waking; and when they have thus thoroughly imposed upon themselves, it will not be difficult to deceive others, for there are so many in all Countries, whom Ignorance, Pride, Conceit, ill Habit of Body, melancholy and splenetic Tempers, unfortunate Circumstances, causeless and secret Fears, and a panic Disposition of Mind have prepared for such Impressions that they can [I-385] never want Followers enough? not to mention such who embrace their Opinions fraudulently, and to serve their own Ambition and Profit.

Which of our Senses does not often deceive us? Our Tastes and Smells will be quite vitiated; strong Pressures of the Ears make us hear Noises; of the Eyes, see Fire; Strangling makes the whole Word appear in Flames; the *Jaundice* makes every thing seem yellow; *Calentures* make the Sea look like a delightful green Meadow; Things strait in the Water will appear crooked; Mirrours will make Bodies appear where they are not, and magnify, multiply, or lessen them; Bodies by Refraction will seem otherwise than they are, and by the Reflection, and due Position of Glasses, may be made to appear in different Places.

It is evident the Divine Wisdom hath so formed and united our Souls and Bodies, that they mutually act upon one another, insomuch that there is no Action of the Mind that does not cause a correspondent one in the Body; nor no Motion of the Body that does not produce a suitable Affection in the Mind. The different Passions of Love, Hate, Contempt, Shame, Pity, Hope, Despair, Admiration, Fear, Courage, Anger, Lust, &c. not only cause different Lineaments and Features in the Face, but give different Motions to the Nerves, Muscles, and

every Part of the Body; nor on the other side, can the Body receive any Impressions in which the Mind has not its Share: Both come into the World together, and are afterwards joint Partoners in all the Emergencies of Life: Both increase in Youth, decline in Age, are nourished with Food, enlivened with Wine, altered with Weather, refreshed with Sleep, improved by Exercise, fatigued with Labour, oppressed with Gluttony and Drunkenness, enervated with Sickness, and often all the noble Faculties and Operations of the Mind, are quite destroyed by the accidental Disturbance of the Organization of the Body, and sometimes set right again, and recovered by Physic or Surgery.

Besides every thing in Nature is in constant Motion, and perpetually emitting Effluvioms and minute Particles of its Substance, which operate upon, and strike other Bodies. How are we affected with Smells and imperceptible [I-386] Vapours, which often cause Epidemical Distempers? Dogs will pursue their Masters Scent through Crouds of People, and will trace their Steps through a Country, and find their way Home again at a great Distance, some People will turn pale, and even swoon at a Cat's being in the Room; we are often infected with Distempers at a Distance, the poisonous Particles floating in the Air are often carried about in the Clothes of Physicians, Nurses and Visitants. And as Distempers are thus caused by noxious Effluvioms, I see no Reason why in some cases they may not be cured by such as are agreeable and salutiferous; *Greatrix* is said to have cured many Distempers by his Touch; The *Kings Evil* is often cured by the stroking of a King *rightly anointed*, together with the Help of a vigorous Imagination, which is as unaccountable; some at the point of Death have been cured by putting a young vigorous Person into the same Bed; and it is a common Observation, if a healthy and diseased Person lie together, one grows better and the other worse.

Since therefore both Mind and Body are visibly affected with the Actions of other Beings, and of one another, and wherever we move we are surrounded with Bodies, all which in some degree operate upon us, it cannot happen in the Variety of Actions and Events in the World, but some must appear very extraordinary, and will not fall within common Observation, which has given Opportunity to Men of fraudulent Intention, to impose upon the Ignorance and Credulity of others.

How many Nations formerly, and even at this Day, believe Eclipses and Comets to be supernatural, and to denounce the Anger of the Gods? How many mistake the Stagnation of their own Blood for being Hag-ridden? How many Enthusiasts take their own Prejudices and Whimsies for divine Impulses, and the Struggles of their Reason for Temptations of the Devil? How many the Legerdemain and Tricks of Jugglers for Conjuring and Witchcraft? What Frauds may be acted with Glasses, speaking Trumpets, Ventriloquies, Ecchoes, Phosphorus, Magic Lanthorns, &c? Mathematicians for many Ages were thought to deal with the Devil, and in our [I-387] own a dancing Mare was burnt in the Inquisition of *Portugal*. Formerly Madmen were thought to be Demoniacs, and in some Countries at this Day, their Persons are esteemed sacred, and their Raving to be Prophecy. The *Americans* take Paper and Letters to be Spirits which carry Men's Thoughts from one to another, and indeed it is hardly conceivable by Nations who have no Notion of Writing, how Men should converse at a distance, and know one anothers Thoughts, but by the Mediation of visible or invisible Agents. If any one should have more exquisite Senses than other Men (which is not difficult to suppose) how many Discoveries would he make unaccountable to the rest of Mankind; if he could follow Men or Beasts by the Scent like Dogs, or see in the Dark like Cats: If he had the same natural Presage of Tempests, Thunder and Lightning, fair and foul Weather, as some Animals both at Sea and Land seem to have, how many People might he deceive by seeming Wonders and Miracles? We naturally admire what we cannot apprehend, and seem to do some sort of credit to our Understandings, in believing whatever is out of our reach to be supernatural.

Many in other Respects prudent enough, give too much Countenance to these Follies, in conceiving they attribute more Honour to the Divine Omnipotence, when they suppose he acts *pro re natâ*, and accommodates his Providence to each single Action and Emergency, than in believing that his eternal Wisdom hath so contrived and framed the whole System of Nature, and in its original Constitution implanted such Causes, as by their own Energy shall produce all the Events in the World, (unless for some particular Reasons he thinks fit to interpose his immediate Providence) than which nothing seems to be more derogatory to his Power, or more contrary to the Nature of Things, which in many Instances we all allow.

Who is there that does not perceive that in Dreams, our Thoughts and Desires are the natural and necessary Productions of the Affections of our Bodies? If we lie hot, we are subject to angry and passionate Dreams; if cold, to fearful ones: A loaded Stomach raises up Apparitions [I-388] of Devils, Terrors and Death: *Opium* gives to many the most agreeable Sensations: Dreaming upon our Backs inclines us to lascivious and wanton Thoughts, and a due Temperament of Body gives sound Sleep without any Dreams at all; and yet how few are there, that do not believe their waking Thoughts are altogether in their Power, without being able to give any Reason for the Difference?

Who is there that does not see that the Raving of a Man in a Fever, the wild Discourse of one in *Bedlam*, the Extravagancies of drunken Men, and the Visions of distracted, are the necessary Effects of Distemper, and a disordered Brain? And yet how few believe the same of the other Follies and Impertinencies of their Lives, though but lesser Degrees of the same Passions? Much more if we meet with any uncommon Appearances, or Phœnomena's of Nature, we immediately solve all our Doubts in recurring to the divine Omnipotence.

Nature, in many Circumstances, seems to work by a sort of secret Magic, and by ways unaccountable to us, and yet produces as certain and regular Events, as the most obviously mechanical Operations. Passions of the Mind, as well as Actions of the Body, are not only communicated by all the Senses, but probably by other Ways indiscernible to us: Music not only works us into Variety of Passions, but is said to cure the Bite of a *Tarantula*, and makes the Person affected skip and dance in spite of his raging Pain: How many can avoid being affected with the Groans or Sighs of one in Misery, any unusual Tone of the Voice, the Solemnity of a Coronation, the Pomp of a Funeral, the Farce of a Procession, the Power of Eloquence, the Charms of Poetry, the rich and splendid Equipage of great Men, or the solemn Dump of an Enthusiast? Sudden good or ill News give such violent Agitations to the Spirits, as sometimes kills the Patient; many are frighted into convulsive Fits, and even into Distraction; the Sight of our Friends in Joy, or in Grief, produce the same Affections in us, before we know the Cause of it in them; the Passion of Love is conveyed by wanton Glances, by the Touch, the Motion and the Ear: and as far as appears to us, all other Passions are communicated [I-389] by like means; the Frights and Longings of Women with Child stamp Images and Impressions, of the Things feared or desired, on the Fœtus's, which last after they are born, and sometimes as long as they live: There was once a remarkable Accident happened at the acting of *Andromeda*, a *Abdera*, a *Greek City*, upon an extream hot Day, that many of the Spectators fell into Fevers, and had this Accident from the Heat and Tragedy together, that they did nothing but pronounce lambics, with the Names of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*: The yawning of one Person infects a whole Company; the Tone, the Motions, the Gestures, and Grimaces of those we converse with steal insensibly upon us, even when we endeavour to avoid them: Not only Nations and Sects, but Professions and particular Societies of Men for the most part contract peculiar Airs, and Features, which are easily distinguishable to a nice Observer, and one but of moderate Skill in Physiognomy will discover a Parson, a Quaker, or a Taylor, dress them how you please.

There is a certain Sympathy and Antipathy in Nature, or to express myself otherwise, so agreeable or contrary Contexture of different Bodies, as by a sort of natural Mechanism do decline to or avoid another; this appears not only in physical and philosophical Experiments, but by many vulgar and common Observations; some Bodies cannot be made to unite, others will not separate; the Loadstone draws Iron to it, Gold Quicksilver; the sensitive Plant shrinks from your Touch: Some Sorts of Vegetables, though set at a distance, attract one another, and twine together; others grow farther apart; Turkeycocks fly at Red; Pheasants will stare upon the Eyes of a Fox till they fall upon him; a Rattlesnake fixing his Eyes upon a Squirrel, will make him run into his Mouth.

All Sorts of Animals have their Inclinations and Disgusts to others and we ourselves have secret Affections and Aversions to Persons and Things, that we can no otherwise give an account of, than that Effluxes of volatile Animal Spirits flow constantly from us, of such Form and Configuration as easily permeate and penetrate some Bodies, and are resisted by others of different Textures [I-390] and Composition, and when entred, communicate the same Passions and Dispositions to Bodies suitably disposed, as they caused in the Body from whence they came, and in Bodies otherwise formed different Operations, as the same Wind or Breath blown into different Instruments causes various Music.

This may help to unriddle many Phænomena's and Appearances of Nature, vulgarly ascribed to Fascination and Witchcraft; for why may not the disagreeable Effluvioms of a diseased old Woman give a Child Convulsive Fits, as well as the *Meazels* and the *Small Pox*, and the poisonous and melancholy Vapours streaming from an Enthusiast, cause Distraction and Raving as well as the Bite of a Mad Dog?

We perceive in a thousand Instances, the Actions of others by an undesigned Imitation produce the like in ourselves; no Man is surprized to hear of one thrown into convulsive Fits, with distorted Limbs and Countenance, at the sight of another in the same Condition; and yet if a poor Enthusiast with his Brains intoxicated with reading the Revelations, who has made a lucky Discovery that the last Day is at hand, when the rest of Mankind are to be destroyed, that he and his Acquaintance may enjoy Dominions, Principalities, and Powers; I say if such uncommon Agitations of the Mind should produce as uncommon Agitations of the Body, and cause the same in others, whose Intellects and Organs are wound up to the same Pitch (as when two Violins are tuned alike, if you strike upon one, the other sounds) immediately half the World is in an uproar: Some will have these fanatical Throws and Convulsions to be the Workings and Flowings of the Holy Ghost; the Parsons will have them to be some of the Devil's Tricks to dumsound the Church; and even Men of good Sense are not without Apprehensions, that they may be Juggling and consederate Knavery in order to some dangerous Design, whereas they are as natural as Agues, Apoplexies, Epilepsies, or Fits of the Mother, which were formerly thought to be supernatural, and the Persons affected to be possessed with Spirits and Demons. Sir *Richard Buckley* has endeavoured to prove these Agitations always attended the true Prophets, and *the Letter of Enthusiasm* has fully shewn they always accompanied the false ones.

#### [I-391]

To stop the natural Course of our Spirits, collect them all together, and endeavour to keep them fixt upon one single Object or Opinion, is like damming up the Current of a River, and leaving part of its Channel dry, that it may overflow the adjacent Country. The Beams of the Sun whilst dispersed give vital Warmth, and Nourishment to Men, Beasts, and Vegetables, but if contracted to one Point would set the World on Fire; so the Spirits of Man, whilst diffused through the Body, give proper and suitable Motions and Vigour to the whole Machine, but if collected all together must either burst the Veins, or cause excessive Pains, Convulsions, Agitations, Fits of Quaking and Trembling. A violent Intention of Mind, long

fixt upon the same Object, never fails giving convulsive Distempers, or making the Person distracted.

Some of the Quakers (if we may believe the Reverend Mr. *George Keith* in his *Magic of Quakerism*) have arrived to a great Proficiency in this natural Magnetism, or Magic, having by a watchful and accurate Observation of these mutual Effluxes and Emanations, which slow from one to another, attained to a Discernment of Spirits, that is by the Eye, the Touch, and even by being in the same Room, to the Knowledge of their Friends from their Enemies, or those of the same Party, Interest and Faction, from those of another: He speaks of it as an undoubted Matter of Fact known amongst them, that as betwixt the former there is an Opposition of Spirit to Spirit, that may be felt, so between the latter there is an Unity, Amity or Friendship of Spirit to Spirit, that is so discernable, that they rarely mistake their Foe for their Friend, though all his Words, Carriage and Actions pretend it: They feel some secret Effluvia go forth from their Hearts mutually from one another, and to one another, which are received by those of the same Spirit, like a pleasant Oil or Cordial that doth sensibly gratify them, but by those of another Spirit (if they can find room to enter) like so many Pins and Needles that wound them, and penetrate the very Heart and vital Parts; and when the Patient hath Strength enough to resist their Impressions, he perceives only some small Impulse or Touch which is ungrateful to him.

[I-392]

He farther tells us, this Spirit of Quakerism is not only communicated by the Sight, the Touch, by melodious and musical Sounds, as well without Words as with them, but sometimes only by the simple Feeling of a mighty Power that exerts itself in their silent Meetings, which not only overcomes little Children, but Persons at Age; and he gives an Instance of many Boys and Girls at a Quakers Meeting at *Waltham*, seized with shivering Fits like an Ague, which went off and returned for several Weeks together.

This Author who was formerly one of them, and is now a Minister of the Church of *England*, would never in a Book written against the Delusions of Quakerism, confess these Facts, and endeavour to solve them by natural Causes, if he had not thought them to be undeniable; and though it is not easy for others to give intire Credit to such uncommon Relations, yet we may be sure the first Propagators of this Fanaticism must have hit upon some Secret in Nature to strike the Passions, or so considerable a Sect could not on a sudden start up from so inconsiderable a Founder as a poor *Shoemaker*, without Articles or Priests, though excluded from Honours and Offices, reproached, contemned, their Estates confiscated, their Persons banished or thrown into noisome Goals and Dungeons, and what is more, they continue to increase, though they are let alone.

It is a severe Circumstance which attends those who oppose received Opinions, that in Argument they must admit every thing supposed by their Adversaries to be true, if it be possible, and often what is not so, if the Impossibility be not very apparent; when once Men have imbibed strong Prejudices, which serve their present Interest, or strike forcibly upon their Hopes and Fears, every thing in Nature shall be made to contribute to their System; Misfortunes to their Enemies are God's Judgments for their Sins, and so are their Successes too, because they become thereby confirmed in their Errors; good Fortune to themselves, is God's Reward for their Piety, ill Success is his Correction for their Amendment: every Thought which confirms their Opinion is a divine Impulse, which contradicts them, a Suggestion of the Devil; every Accident that attends them every good or [I-393] ill Season, every common as well as uncommon Appearance in Nature, is made an immediate Act of God, and either a Blessing or Judgment; any unusual Operation of their own Minds or Bodies is imputed to the Holy Ghost, of others that are of different Sects to the Devil, so that it is impossible to convert a well settled Enthusiast; you will in vain deny any thing to be

supernatural which he thinks so, unless you can shew a visible Connexion between the Cause and the Effect, and often that will not do neither, because the weak Efforts of carnal Reason, are unable to search into the hidden Mysteries of God.

Who would undertake to convince one of the Sect just before mentioned, that his Transports, and his panic Fears, his Tremblings and his Quakings are owing to natural Causes, and not the immediate Spirit of God? It will be in vain to tell him, that the same were common to an infamous Sect in old *Rome*, to the *Pythian* Prophetess, the *Sybils*, the *Allumbrati* in *Spain*, the Fanatics in *Germany*, are now acted over again by a new whimsical Sect in *England*, and indeed have accompanied almost every Fanaticism that ever appeared in the World; he has an Answer ready, which is Proof against all Objections, that himself and those of his Party are inspired by the Holy Ghost; but all others are actuated by the Devil, in order to promote Heresy: It requires less pains to believe a Miracle, than to discover it to be an Imposture, or account for it by the Powers of Nature, which notwithstanding I think may be shewn to have produced and set at Work most of the Enthusiasms that ever happened, and particularly our illuminated Sects here at home, with all their Convulsions, Tremblings and Quakings.

It has been already observed, that many of our Passions will not only cause Agitations of the Body, convulsive Fits and Trances, but even kill us; great Excesses of Love, Fear or Joy, will make us shake and quiver: great Veneration for the Person or Assembly we speak before, will make many tremble and quake like an Aspin Leaf; some have been struck silent, and others have fallen to the Ground; how then must an Enthusiast be surprised, who believes himself honoured with the extraordinary Visit of a Deity, and the Illapses of the Holy Ghost into hi [I-394] Soul? What Motions, Agitations, Convulsions, Tremblings and Quakings must be caused by the Co-operation of the Passions of Love, devout Fear and Awe, Joy and Veneration in so high and transcendent a Degree? What agreeable Sensations must he feel? How ravishing Joys and transporting Raptures? Sure whoever goes about to undeceive him, would deserve the same Thanks as those who cured the Madman in *Horace*, that before thought himself a Prince, and when he found his Mistake, cried out in a Rage:

*Pol me occidistis, Amici,  
Non servatis ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,  
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus Error.*

As these and many other surprising Appearances are only the Co-operations and united Force of different, and sometimes contrary Passions, so our Passions are the mechanical and necessary Effects of the Complexion, Constitution, and Distempers of our Bodies, which take their Rise and receive constant Alteration from the Accidents of Diet, Climate, Air, Education, Physic, Exercise, and the perpetual Actions of external Objects encompassing us on every side.

Physicians have discovered certain Mixtures of the Elements, and first Principles of the Bodies of Animals, which they have distinguished by the Names of Sanguine, Phlegm, yellow Cholera, and black, which is also called Melancholy, and common Experience proves that from the different Mixtures, a Variation of these Humours, or some other Compounds, are owing all the Dispositions and Distempers of the Mind and Body.

Sanguine is a Composition of hot and moist, and flourishes most in Youth, gives a vigorous Motion to the Limbs, a purple, rosy and florid Complexion to the Face, white and soft Skin, shining and reddish Hair, on the Head, and little on the Body: It ferments like new Wine just put into the Cask, makes us thoughtless, brisk and airy; bold, insolent and wanton; extravagant, luxurious, and immoderately given to Mirth and Pleasure; which *Horace* well describes in the following Verses:

*Imberbis Juvenis tandem, Custode remoto,  
Gaudet equis, canibusque, & aprici gramine campi.  
Cereus in vitium slecti, monitoribus asper,  
Utilium tardus provisor, prodigus æris,  
Sublimis cupidusque, & amata relinquere pernix.*

It causes in Sleep soft and gentle Vapours to rise to the Brain, which inspire agreeable and pleasant Dreams, and chiefly of such Subjects as the Mind is conversant with in the Day, as is well expressed by *Claudian*:

*Omnia quæ sensu voluntur vota diurno  
Pectore sospito reddit amica quies.  
Venator defessa toro jam membra reponit,  
Mens tamen ad sylvas & sua lustra redit;  
Judicibus lites, aurigæ somnia currus  
Vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis;  
Furto gaudet amans, permutat navita merces,  
Et vigil elapsus quærit avarus opes,  
Blandaque largitur frustra sitientibus ægris  
Irriguus gelido pocula fonte sopor:  
Me quoque musarum studium sub nocte silenti,  
Artibus assuetis sollicitare solet.*

LIB. 3. Præf.

Phlegm is a Mixture of Cold and Moist, and abounds in Winter, when the Juices for want of due Warmth and Motion, are crude and indigested, like Wine in the Press before it has fermented. The Complexion is white, the Skin soft, the Urine pale, the Body inclinable to be gross, the Muscles and Veins sunk and hid, the Hair lank and thin, and for want of Nourishment quickly grows grey; the Native Heat being overcome with Moisture, the Senses become less quick, the Powers of the Mind, dull, sluggish and stupid, the Speech slow, and the Memory loses its retentive Faculty; but People of this Complexion are steady, good-natured, hard to be provoked, and free from all Guile, Fraud and Treachery.

In Sleep moist Vapours ascending to the Brain, make them dream of Hail, Snow, Ice and Rain, of Rivers and Baths, and sometimes they mistake their Bed for an Urinal. This Constitution causes Heaviness, Stuffings [I-396] in the Head, Running and Dimness in the Eyes, Noises and Ringing in the Ears, Distillations, Coughs, Catarrhs, intense Pains, if the Humour settle in particular Parts; as also Scabs, Tettors, Scurvies, Leprosies, and some Sorts of Fevers.

Choler is a Composition of hot and dry, of a fiery Colour and Effect, and abounds most in the Summer Months: It makes the Complexion pale, the Body lean, slender and muscular, the Skin hot and hairy, the Hair curled, the Water high-coloured, the Pulse swift and strong, and the Veins prominent. People of this Complexion are chearful, forward and active, have a great Command of Thoughts and Words, and rolling and ready Eloquence; but are busy, imperious, passionate, variable, uncertain, crafty, designing and treacherous.

— — — — — *cui Tristia bella  
Juraque, insidiæque, & noxia crimina cordi.*

In Sleep, burning Vapours flying up to the Brain, cause tumultuous and angry Dreams, Fury and Slaughter raging on every Side, and Towns, Cities and Woods in Flames.

*Exagitant vesana quies, somnique furentes*



This Complexion inclines to the Jaundice, to Twisting of the Guts, with intolerable Pains and Tortures; to Tertian and burning Fevers, which cause Raving and Frenzies.

The *Atra-bilis*, or Melancholy, is a Compound of Cold and Dry, and abounds most in Spring and Autumn: It is a viscous and sour Juice, and consists of the thicker Parts and Dregs of the Blood, which it is the Duty of the Liver to separate, and as it were to scum and clarify; and if this Office be duly performed the Spirits are pure and clear, and give an active Motion to the Brain, which causes profuse Joy and Mirth; otherwise the Spleen and Ventricle become obstructed, and then sour and poisonous Vapours ascending to the Brain, as it were from [I-397] corrupt and stinking Pools, the animal Spirits are vitiated, from whence arise Swimmings in the Head, Tremblings and Palpitations of the Heart, deep Sighs, Inquietude and Alienation of the Mind, Grief, Anxiety, Dejection, absurd Thoughts, anxious and panic Fears, and a Desire of Solitude.

*Miser in silvis mærens errabat opacis  
Per campos solus latos atque avia regna,  
Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.*

Every Noise frightens them, they distrust every body, fear Friends and Enemies alike, are haunted with vain and causeless Terrors of Conscience, and both sleeping and waking see dreadful Images and Apparitions of Devils and Chains before their Eyes.

*Perpetua anxietas, nec mensæ tempore cessat,  
Nocte brevam si forte indulsit cura soporem,  
Et toto versata toro jam membra quiescunt,  
Continuo templum & violati numinis aras  
Conspicit in somno, ac mentem sudoribus urget;  
Hi sunt qui trepidant & ad omnia fulgura pallent,  
Cum tonat, examines primo quoque tempore cæli.*

In Dreams they try to run away from these frightful Images, but in the Attempt their Strength fails them, their Knees sink under them, and their Limbs will not support the Weight of their Bodies; which *Virgil* well describes in the following Verses:

*Ac velut in somnis oculos ubi languida pressit  
Nocte quies, nequicquam avidos extendere cursus  
Velle videmur, & in mediis conatibus ægri  
Succidimus, non lingua valet, non corpore notæ  
Sufficient vires, nec vox nec verba sequuntur.*

Though this Sort of Choler is in its own Nature cold, yet being very dry takes Fire like Tinder. *Aristotle* [I-398] observes [\*], when Melancholy is once heated, it is like boiling Water, and transcends the Flame of Fire, and then sulphureous Exhalations flying up to the Brain fill the Mind with lively Imaginations, quicken and enlarge the Wit and Invention, and make the Tongue to Admiration fluent and eloquent; and when heated to a great Degree, cause Raving, Frenzy, and Madness.

This will account for the sudden Changes in Persons of this Complexion: When the Humour is in its natural State they are heavy, grave, anxious, fearful, dejected and oppressed

with Grief, and Despair; talk of nothing but Humility, Mortification, Disconsolation and Desertion; but if heated with Exercise, Wine, the Conversation of agreeable Men and Women, or any other accidental Cause on a sudden, they will be surprizingly joyful, Gay and Wanton, full of Laughter and pleasant Conceits, bright, and sometimes extravagant Thoughts and Expressions. Melancholy partakes much of the Nature of Wine, which makes some Men pleasant, others quarrelsome, some silent, others noisy, some lascivious, others impotent, some crying, others laughing.

*Quid non ebrietas designat? aperta recludit,  
Spes jubet esse ratas in praelia trudit inermem,  
Sollicitis animis onus eximit, & docet artes  
Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?  
Contractâ quem non in paupertate solutum?*

HOR. Lib. 1. Ep. 5.

There are particular Features, Visages, Habits and Distempers incident to both these Conditions of Melancholy, which for Brevity sake I omit; nor do I pretend to have given an exact physical Account of the other Phænomena's above-mentioned, much less to discover the inward Frame and Constitution of Substances; which can be known to no Man till God Almighty in another State has given us new Senses and Faculties; (all the Knowledge we have in this, being some few obvious Effects and [I-399] Operations Bodies have upon one another;) nor is such Exactness necessary, my Purpose being only to shew in general, that the Passions and other Qualities of the Mind, are the necessary Productions of these, or some other unknown Mixtures and Compositions of the Body; which as they are infinitely variable in Degree and Proportion, and receive perpetual Alteration by the Bodies emitting and receiving new Particles, as well as different Modifications of those it had before by the Actions of external Objects; so our Features, Complexions, Constitutions, Distempers, Senses, Passions, and other Affections of the Mind, must be vastly different, and probably two Men never had exactly the same, or the same Man at different Times.

A certain Organization of the Body, and Mixture of Juices in the Blood, concurring with suitable and correspondent Actions of other Beings without us, produce Prudence, Temperance, Moderation, Humanity, Indolence and Complacency of Mind; different Constitutions produce violent and unruly Appetites: Our Virtues as well as Health consisting in having moderate Desires and Aversions, or which is all one, Hopes and Fears to which all our Passions are reducible; in a certain Degree they are necessary to the Preservation of our Beings, and all the Duties of Life, in a greater they become Vices, and at last Raving and Madness; Courage soon grows into Anger, and then Rage; Frugality makes an easy Progression to Covetousness, then Miserableness, and that Want it would avoid; there is a ready Transition from Benevolence into Generosity, Profuseness and Extravagance; from Religion not conducted by Reason, into Superstition and Fanaticism; and of Hope into Confidence, Pride, Conceit and Vain-Glory. All these in their Excesses are several Kinds of Madness, which is but violent Passion that produces strange and unusual Behaviour, of the numerous Sorts whereof one might unroll a Legion, and perhaps no one is without a Tincture of one Kind or other, which I am persuaded the most sober Man will acknowledge true of himself, if he reflects upon the Vanity and Extravagance of his secret Thoughts, when he sits or walks musing alone.

[I-400]

The Mind in its natural State is contented with common Thoughts and Conceptions, but when the Spirits are raised above their proper Pitch, like fermented Liquor, they endanger the Vessel, and when elevated to a very high Degree, are fired like Gunpowder, which blows up itself and every thing else about it: Some Indispositions make the Body many times stronger

than in full Health, others produce a strange and uncommon Energy in the Brain, which causes surprizing Discourses, and Rapsodies of lofty Words and Thoughts, and a Strength of Imagination which is inconceivable, that can bring and cure Distempers, carry People in Sleep out of their Beds, and conduct them safe over Bridges and Precipices, where they durst not venture when awake; but it is in nothing more surprizing than in the Power it has over the Mind, to make it mistake itself, and its own Infirmities, for the Spirit of God; this is what is called Enthusiasm, by which Word is meant a strong and impetuous Motion, or extraordinary and transcendant Ardor, Fervency or Pregnancy of the Soul, Spirits or Brain, which is vulgarly thought to be supernatural.

Mankind in their Ignorance of Causes, have been always prone to believe some special Presence of God, or a supernatural Power, to be in whatever is unusually great or vehement. This [Editor: illegible word] made the Ancients ascribe Thunder and Lightning to *Jupiter*, Wisdom to *Pallas*, Craft to *Mercury*, the lively Thoughts produced by Wine to *Bacchus*, Storms and Tempests to *Æolus*, the Rapsodies of Poetry to the Muses, Courage to *Mars*, Rage and Madness to the *Eumenides* or *Furies*, the Passions of Love to *Cupid*, the Productions of the Earth to *Ceres*, and Things seemingly accidental to *Fortune*; to these Idols of their own Fancies, they built magnificent Temples, endowed them with Priests, Lands, Officers and Revenues; and worshipped them with Oblations, Prayers and Thanks; this Disposition gave Rise to the worshipping of Heroes, Legislators and Founders of new Sects and Opinions; for the People perceiving uncommon Wisdom, Eloquence, Resolution and Success to attend all their Words and Actions, believed them to be inspired and assisted by some superior Power, and so intirely abandoned themselves to [I-401] their Conduct whilst living, and adored them when dead.

It is this makes a melancholy Man mistake the impetuous Transport, whereby he is fervently and zealously carried in Matters of Religion, for divine Inspiration, and the Power of God in him; for feeling a Storm of Devotion coming upon him, his Heart full of godly Affection, his Head in his own Opinion pregnant with clear and sensible Representations, his Mouth flowing with powerful Eloquence, and not being able to observe from what Conduct of Reason, or other Causes in Nature this sudden Change proceeds, immediately concludes it to be the Power of God, working supernaturally in him; he thinks every sudden Help or Evasion, every lucky Hint to avoid Dangers or compass Deliverances, to proceed immediately from God; every imagined Discovery of an Error held by others, to be a supernatural Revelation; every fine and curious Thought that steals into his Mind, a Pledge of the divine Favour, and a singular Illumination; every staring and rampant Fancy, every unbridled, bold and confident Obstruction of his own uncouth and supine Invention to be a special Truth, and the Power and Presence of God in his Soul: He esteems his Pride and Tumour of Mind, his stiff, inflexible and unyielding Temper, his steady and obstinate Resolution to admit no Demonstrations against his Opinions, and to suffer Torture or Martyrdom, to be the special Support and divine Assistance of God, and his ardent Zeal, and implacable Desire of Revenge towards all who oppose him, to be the more than ordinary Influence and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, for the Extirpation of Heresy; whereas the Enthusiast is only intoxicated with Vapours ascending from the lower Regions of his Body, as the *Pythian* Prophetess of old, in her prophetic Trances, was by the Power of certain Exhalations breathing from subterranean Caverns; for all these Appearances are easily resolvable into the Power of Melancholy, which is but a sort of natural Inebriation, the same Effects being produced often by Wine; and it is observable that such high-flown and bloated Expressions, Rapsodies of slight and lofty Words, and rolling and streaming Tautologies, which fall from Enthusiasts, [I-402] generally happen to Persons before they are stark Mad.

The particular Disposition of the Blood, which produces this Temper of the Mind, seems to be the Predominance of adust Melancholy, well impregnated with Gall; the first gives presumptuous Confidence, and the latter Insolence and Impatience of Contradiction; which if it prevails so much in speculative Questions, which regard no Man's Profit or Power, and that both sides agree, are to be determined by the Rules of Reason (insomuch, that People of this Complexion, can converse with none but of their own Opinions,) what Havock must it make in Matters of Religion? Upon which Subject almost all Mankind seem to have agreed by universal Consent to talk unintelligibly, and by that Means have endeavoured to destroy or take away the only Criterion between Truth and Falshood, Religion and Superstition; every side pretends to Visions, Revelations, Miracles and Mysteries, expect to be believed upon their own Authority, and pursue all who dare oppose them, with Vengeance and Destruction, as perverse Unbelievers, Heretics, Deists and Atheists; which charitable and polite Language is promiscuously given by and to all Parties and Factions in Religion.

Though at first Sight it appears very absurd, that all Mankind should be concerned in the Visions and Revelations of two or three Men, when few of the same Nation or District can know their Persons, fewer their Sincerity, and whether they are inspired by God, are deceived themselves, or intend to deceive others; it must be more so, to expect Nations distant in Situation, Language and Customs, to leave their Affairs and Habitations to hunt after Prophets, Miracles, and Revelation Mongers, or give Credit to the fabulous or uncertain Stories or Legends of People they know nothing of, when we can hardly believe any thing said, to be done in the same Town or Neighbourhood, and scarce in the same House, or tell a Story of ever so simple Particulars, that we can know again when we hear it; it is yet more ridiculous to oblige all the World to rake into the Rubbish of Antiquity, to learn all Languages, examine all Systems, and [I-403] thereby discover all Impostures, Forgeries, Interpolations, Errors and Mistakes, or else submit to the Guidance of others, who are neither honester nor wiser than themselves, and besides have an Interest to deceive them; yet the true Enthusiast sees none of these Difficulties, starts at no Absurdities; is very sure that he has received frequent Revelations, is thoroughly satisfied of his own Inspiration and Mission, and expects all Mankind, both now and hereafter to be so too; he has given them sufficient Notice, by promulgating his Doctrine amongst a few that he can persuade to hear him, and condemns all the rest as obstinate contumacious Heretics, and wilful Transgressors against Demonstration and evident Light: Aversion, Pride and Fury in the Shape of Zeal, like a mighty Storm ruffles his Mind into beating Billows, and boisterous Fluctuations; at last he is all in a Rage, and no Church-Buckets to quench his fiery Religion, Religion and the Glory of God drives him on: The holy Enthusiastic longs to feast and riot upon human Sacrifices, turn Cities and Nations into Shambles, and destroy with Fire and Sword such who dare thwart his Frenzy, and all the while like another *Nero*, plays upon his Harp and sings *Te Deum* at the Conflagration.

***The End of the First Volume.***

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[I-407]

*This Day is Published,* ↻

Lord *SOMERS* Third Collection of Tracts, 4 VOLS. *In which are inserted among many other Valuable Tracts.*

A Discourse of the most Illustrious Prince *Henry*, late Prince of *Wales*, written 1626. by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Knt. sometime Treasurer of his Highness's House.

A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of *Azores*, the last of *August* 1599. betwixt the *Revenge*, one of Her Majesty's Ships commanded by Sir *Richard Granville*, Vice Admiral, and an Admiral of the King of *Spain*, penned by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

A Letter sent from the Earl of *Strafford* to his Lady in *Ireland* a little before his Death, *May* 11. 1641.

Mr. *St. John's* Speech or Argument in Parliament, whether a Man may be a Judge and Witness in the same Cause: By way of Preface I shall return a Distinction between a doubtful and scrupulous Conscience, 1641.

A worthy Speech spoken in Parliament by Mr. *Pym*, concerning evil Counsellors about his Majesty; also manifesting the particular Advantages that would redound to this Kingdom if the said evil Counsellors were removed from about his Majesty, 1642.

Advertisements concerning the Impeachment of the Queen's Majesty of high Treason, by the prevailing Party of Lords and Commons which remains at *Westminster*, *May* 23, 1643.

An Act of the House of Commons for the *Prosecution*, and the Manner of *Proclaiming* the *Trial* of the *King*, 1648.

His Majesty's Reasons for Executing Sir *Walter Raleigh*, 1618.

[I-408]

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge* in his Case spoken to and argued on the Behalf of the Commonwealth before the High Court of Justice. By Mr. *Steel* of *Grays-Inn*, 1649.

A brief Relation of Sir *W. Raleigh's* Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castles of *Sherborne*. Presented to the House of Commons, 1659.

Father *la Chaise's* Project for the Extirpation of Hereticks.

An Account of Queen *Mary's* Method for introducing Popery, and procuring a Parliament to confirm it.

A Short and Sure Method for the Extirpation of Popery in the Space of a few Years, by a Person of Quality, 1670.

*Humanum est Errare*, or, False Steps on both Sides, 1680.

*A Melius Inquirendum* into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; or an Account of the several Depositions and Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and the final Decision of that Affair by the Grand Inquest of *Europe*: Being a Supplement to the Depositions published by Authority, 1689.

Proposals tendered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament for uniting the *Protestant* Interest, and preventing Divisions for the future. Together with the Declaration of King *Charles II.* concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, &c.

Some Proposals of Terms of Union between the Church of *England* and the *Dissenters*, by Dr. *Sherlock*, 1689.

The Memorial of the State of *England*, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Administration: design'd to rectify the mutual Mistakes of *Protestants*, and to unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty. By the E. of *Nottingham*, 1705.

*English* Advice to the Freeholders of *England*, by Dr. *Atterbury*, 1714.

Ditto, in Answer to the above.

Her Majesty's Reasons for Creating the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, a Peer of this Realm, 1712,

A Secret History of one Year, by *Robert Walpole*, Esq; 1714.

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## Endnotes to Vol. 1 ↩

(a) Daniel, p. 148.

(b) Item, Tempore quo idem Rex in Parlamento suo fecit adjudicari Docem Gloucestriæ, & Comites Arundell & Warwick ut liberius possit exercere Crudelitatem in eosdem, & voluntatem suam injuriosam in aliis adimplere, sibi attraxit multitudinem magnam Malefactorum de Comitatu Cestriæ, quorum quidam cum tra[Editor: illegible characters]euntes per Regnum, tam infra Regis hospitium quam extra, Ligeos Regni crudeliter occiderunt, & quosdam verberaverunt, vulneraverunt, & deprædarunt bona populi, & pro suis victualibus solvere recusarunt, & Uxores & alias mulieres rapuerunt, & licet super eorum hujusmodi excessibus graves querimoniæ deferebantur ad audientiam dicti Domini Regis; Idem tamen Rex super his justitiam, seu remedium facere non curavit, sed savebat iisdem gentibus in maleficis eorum; Confidens in iis & eorum præsidio, contra quoscunque alios Regni, propter quod sideles regni sui magnam commotionis & indignation materiam hab[Editor: illegible character]erunt *Decem. Scrip. Col.* 2748.

\* *Defence of the Exposition, &c.* page 81.

(b) *Page* 12.

(c) *Serm.* p. 13.

(f) *State of the Church, &c.* P. 3.

(g) P. 307.

(h) P. 308.

(i) *Dedication to the Appeal, &c.*

[\*] *Item*, Dat so wat Persoon binnen onsen Lande van *Brabant* ende van *Over Maeze*, ghevangen wort, dat wij dien niet en sullen doen voeren, noch laeten voeren ghevangen buijten onsen voorsz Lande.

*Translated verbatim.*

*Item*, That if any Person within our Territories of *Brabant* and *Over Maeze*, be made a Prisoner, that we shall not order such a Person, nor permit him to be carried Prisoner out of our aforesaid Territories.

[\*] *Beaumont of Spirits*, p.396.

[\*] *Problems*, Sect. 30.

A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
TRACTS.

By the Late

JOHN TRENCHARD, *Esq;*

AND

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VOL. II.

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Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle Temple Gate*, in *Fleet-street*; and T. HARRIS, in the *Minories*, 1751.

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[II-3]

*The Sense of the People concerning the present State of Affairs, with Remarks upon some Passages of our own and the Roman History. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.* ↪

By *John Trenchard* and *Tho. Gordon*, Esquires.

*Si esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.* Cic. 3. Epist.

*Cum Pecuniam Publicam averterit, num fraude poterit carere Peculatus?* Id. in Ant.

Anno 1721.

**PREFACE.**

I Am commissioned by the Author of the following Sheets, to acquaint the Reader, that the first Part of them was writ in Haste, before the late Recess, at the Request of a [II-4] Gentleman in the Country; who, observing the great Uneasiness the People were in there, desired he would let him know what the Sense of the Town was; and that, in their own

Language, as near as he could. How for his Demand is complied with, I leave him to judge. The Historical Relations that follow, though now joined to the former, were begun with a very different View; and if he finds some of them too prolix, he may be assured the Author (who is now at a Distance) did so too; and had he had more Time, they would have been shorter. There is one Thing more I am to tell him, and that is, that he is obliged to another for some Things in the latter Part; which, he hopes, will not be liked the worse for coming from a greater Man than himself. And now my Orders are obeyed. But since I have taken Pen in Hand, I think I'll try my Talent too; and as my Friend has told him in the following Papers, how the great Men among the Romans acted in relation to their Country, I'll shew him how the best and wisest of them used to talk upon the same Head.

“ When you have looked over all the Ties in Nature, you will find nothing dearer, says Cicero, no Obligation of greater Importance, than that by which we are every one of us tied to the Commonwealth. Our Parents, Children, Friends, are all dear to us; but our single Country is more than all the rest; and every honest Man is ready to lay down his Life for the Advantage of that sacred Interest. How execrable then is the barbarous Impiety of those Men, who have torn their Country to Pieces by all Sorts of Villany, and who not only have been, but are at this Instant, conspiring its Ruin and Destruction?

“ It is the Duty (says one of their great Men) and should be the principal Care of those that have the Administration of public Affairs, to see that every Individual be protected in his Property, and that the Poor and Simple may not be circumvented by the little Arts of cunning Men, or oppressed by the Power of great Ones: In short, that private Men may not be dispossessed of their Rights and Estates, under the Pretext of a public Good. And if to make my own Fortune (continues he) by the impoverishing another, is declared unlawful, not only by the Dictate of Nature, and the Rights of Nations, but by the particular Laws and Constitutions of all States; how detestable must [II-5] those Governors be, who abusing that Confidence the plain and honest Part of Mankind, who are always Minors, repose in them, as their Trustees and Guardians, draw them, by plausible Appearances, into their Net, and so enrich themselves at the Expence of their Country.

“Plato's Rule, says the abovementioned Orator, ought to be observed by all that are intrusted with the Administration of the Public. It was this: That they should in such Sort assert and defend the public Interest, that all their Actions should refer to that, without any Regard to their own private Advantage. Therefore, above all Things, let such keep themselves clear from the least Suspicion of Avarice. It is not only a mean Thing, but an impious, to make a Prey of the Commonwealth. This is a copious Subject, but I shall confine myself; only hinting at a Law of this brave People, which I would recommend to the Consideration of my Countrymen, and it being made by the Wisdom of the Nation, that is by the Senate, will shew, at once, the Sense of the whole Nation, with respect to the Conduct of Persons in the Administration. Donum ne capiunto, neve danto, neve pretenda, neve gerenda, neve gesta potestate.

***The Sense of the People concerning the present State of Affairs, &c.***

SIR,

IT is intirely in Obedience to your Request, that I send you this long Letter; which is nothing else but a plain and natural Account of the People's Resentment of their common Injuries and Misfortunes; or, to put it in your Terms, *The Sense of the People*, as far as my Memory will serve me, *in their own Words*. The Authors of their Grievances are at last become intolerable to them; and Vengeance, however unprofitable, as they are told, is one chief End, which they propose as their future Security. Whoever thinks fit to withdraw or excuse himself from the Share he ought to bear in this Design, is suspected to be engaged in a Confederacy, which he is ashamed to avow: This Suspicion is so far from being just of you,

that I could wish you would come and vindicate your Character to the [II-6] Public, which was never so miserably necessitous of all honest Help as at present.

As I am now upon the Decline of a public Life, I have had an Opportunity of observing a great deal of the Variety and Inconstancy of public Affairs; but I never yet knew so great a Ferment, so prevailing a Dissatisfaction, as at present we see throughout the whole Kingdom. Parties have been preferred, discarded, restored, mixed, and the several Friends of each have, by Turns, complained of reciprocal Violence and Injury, Mismanagement and Corruption; but I don't know that any of them have ever persuaded the whole Body of the People into their Quarrel. No private little Wrongs could have effected a Discontent so universal. That Administration must affect every one, which every one complains of. Indeed, when a Nation is plundered and oppressed, they cannot but feel and resent it.

They imagine now, that at the Opening of this Session, there was a Design carried on by some, whom they will needs have to be very ill Men, to secure, even in some Degree, the very late Directors; but we (say they) were not tame enough to admit or endure such an Attempt; so that they were forced to drop the Design, and join (at least) in the Cry against them, though they trembled at the Apprehension of every Fact that should be discovered. They could have been glad to have stood by their old Friends; but since that must not be, the next Trial was to compound for their own Security, by the Sacrifice of their Allies. But this Artifice is not satisfactory; the People tell you that the best and likeliest Means to come to the Bottom of their Misfortunes, is to begin at the Top. It is of very little Value to them how the lesser Cheats are disposed of; they were so by Profession, and have acted intirely in Character. If *Daniel* had been devoured in the Den, it is presumed that no body could have thought hardly of the Lions: No, no, the Authors of the Villainy are the Criminals; it is those that deliberately formed the Mischief, and that hired and retained their little Creatures to execute it, who chiefly deserve the Enquiry of a Parliament.

How comes it to pass, say they, while lesser Villains are punished every Day, that those who have pillaged [II-7] the whole Country, shall escape? The greatest Subjects of the *British* Crown did not use to be too great to be accountable to a *British* Parliament. 'Tis in vain for me, or any one to answer to this, *But you would not condemn any one without sufficient Evidence*; they can all immediately reply, that they can point to Instances, and those modern ones too, where Resolutions have been taken, Censures founded, and other Persons have been condemned, and all this very justly, upon the same or less Evidence. But suppose (not grant) the Evidence defective; in Courts of Justice it often happens, that where there is not legal Proof enough to convict a Cheat, yet there is sufficient to satisfy any one present, that it would be Folly to trust him any more. A suspected Minister ought to be used as *Cæsar* did his Wife, he did not expect Demonstration. Reasonable Grounds of Suspicion are enough in both Cases, there being seldom above two privy to the Fact in either. If one tells them it is Prudence to wink at some Things, otherwise the whole may be thrown into Confusion, and then where are our Estates? The Answer is, that when such a Confusion is introduced, our Estates may indeed possibly be lost; but by the Toleration of the late Iniquity, and thereby the Encouragement of all future Villainies, by the Increase of Debts, the Decay of Trade, the Destruction of Manufactures, the Ruin of Credit, the Mismanagement of the Revenue, the Loss of Money to other Kingdoms, or the locking it up at home, and all this while, the Continuation of Taxes; by these, say they, Confusion is actually introduced, and our Estates are already lost.

T'other Day I happened to be in a Company, where, to my great Surprize, I heard a Gentleman endeavouring to moderate the public Displeasure. He told us, that as he sincerely lamented the Ruin of his Country, he was impatient for Redress, and hoped to see it made for ever unsafe for any one to play the same Game over again; but he ventured to add, that by going too fast, or changing Hands too soon, we ran a Risk, at least, of altering for the worse:

That as we had, at present, a Possibility of extricating ourselves from our Misfortunes, by Length of Time and careful Management, we should take the surest Course, and not commit ourselves to the [II-8] Administration of a Party, who, as they secretly rejoiced at our Miseries, will not fail to improve them to their own Advantage; whose Principles have often endangered the Liberties of these Kingdoms, and have entailed Slavery on the greatest Part of *Europe*.

But the whole Company, not enduring the Declaration, cried out, What then is *Whiggism* supported by Rapine and Injustice? If that be the Case; if the two Parties have changed their Ground; if those formerly reckoned Anti-courtiers are turned fawning, obsequious Dependants, in God's Name let them fall. *Whiggism* carries in it the very Notion of Liberty, and Love to our Country; and then it follows, that the Punishment of public Horse-leeches, Parricides, must be the only Way to settle *Whiggism*, and to lay a Foundation for the Happiness of future Times.

In short, these are Pretences to screen some favourite Offenders; but when Things are come to Extremity, you can hoodwink us no longer. And we know very well, says one, what good Use was made of this Pretence, by the Event of a late Examination; so shallow, or so corrupt, are *Englishmen* grown. But give me the Man, *Tros Rutilusve*, *Whig* or *Tory*, that prefers the true Interest of *England* to that of any other Country or People whatever; that encourages Trade, and studies to administer the Treasure of the People thriftily and prudently.

Such, Sir, is the *Sense of the People*; and if I give it you in their *own Words*, it is because it was your Desire I should do so, *that you might the better judge at what they drive*.

I perceive it is Matter of great Admiration to some, the extraordinary Address that has been shewn in the secret Management of this Affair: That the whole Transaction of 574,500 *l.* fictitious Stock should only be with the Privacy of one single Man, that, in case of Danger, *all* might be stifled by his withdrawing, and all other Proof neglected and discouraged by the Name of *Hearsay Evidence*; though, by the By, some will have it that Letters and Notes under one's own Hand are more than Hearsay Evidence, and that the Practices of burning, blotting, razing, and interpolating, have been thought so much more than Presumption, that they have, upon [II-9] less Occasion, been admitted as a tolerable Degree of Proof in a certain Place.

But what I would infer, says another, from *Knight's* Withdrawing, is the premeditated Villainy of the whole. The Actors, whoever they were, had indeed prodigious Foresight, by the Caution taken to prevent Discovery; they foresaw their Guilt, the Success of it, the Turn of Affairs, the universal Calamity, and consequently their own Safety in the Secrecy of one: Had there been more, some of them might have squeaked, or at least not all of them escaped; or if they had, it would have had a worse Aspect than at present. In fine, they foresaw this very Examination; but the Want of Judgment, as I hope, at least, appeared in believing they had provided sufficiently against it, and imagining they were to be at Ease in the Affluence of princely Fortunes, amidst the Misery of their Fellow Subjects.

Some People have observed, that the Execution of the late pernicious Scheme, was scarcely attended with more Villainy than Madness and Folly; *Furor rapiendi ac prædandi occaecavit oculos*. The monstrous Avarice of our Plunderers has undone themselves as well as the Nation: Each of the thirty little Cheats might have got their 100,000 *l.* a-piece, and a few others have doubled that Sum, without running any Risk; nay, perhaps, have received Thanks for their great Care of public Credit. So mean, fawning, obsequious, as well as indolent and corrupt are we grown, that nothing but the prodigious Enormity of the Guilt, the Universality of our Misery, has forced us into the Enquiry we are now making.

As to the Event and Success of this Enquiry; I shall not be disappointed (says another) if nothing comes of it. The Nature of the Task is attended with so many Difficulties, and the Discouragements the Enquirers meet with from other Quarters so great, that they have need of more than ordinary Constancy and Resolution to persist in the Discharge of so uneasy a Trust: However, they have the Satisfaction to know, that the whole Weight of the Nation is on their Side; that they have the Blessings of all honest Men at present, and shall be ever mentioned with Honour in the Annals of their Country.

[II-10]

Yes, says one that stood by, their Country can never do them too much Honour, while they continue to have the same Regard for it they have hitherto shewn: And as for what some People would insinuate, it is done with an ill Design; that they will grow cool, and their Courage abate from the many Difficulties they meet with, and so prove like the Dog of *Antwerp*, who had used a long while to carry home his Master's Meat from the Market with great Integrity: At last, being harder beset by some more resolute Curs than ordinary, when he found he could defend it no longer, he fell on himself: *Since it is to no Purpose to hold out*, says he, *I had as good have my Share*.

For my Part, says one that had been listening to this Discourse, I am apt to think Matters might have been carried, long ago, with more Ease, if some of another List had been employed. As now the Enquiry is prosecuted with an Air of Business and Concern, it might then have looked like an Affair of Pleasantry and Amusement, and been received and supported with a tolerable Degree of good Humour; but we see what would be the Consequence of frequent Ballots.

The Conversation is still the same, wherever you go. I must own I heartily wish that they, whose Business it is, would put a Stop to it; which is only to be done, as far as I can guess, by giving up Offenders be they who they will. Some will have it that Matters were managed wrong at first: They ought to have been secured immediately. If one should reply, *Would you have condemned and punished them before you had heard them?* No, say they, they were sufficiently heard (unless you'll quibble upon the Word) when the Books were first produced, which, in an Hour's Perusal, discovered Villainy enough to have justified their Confinement; and then we had not been sending to *Vienna, Brussels, &c.* then we had at least hid our Shame, and not been refused this little Fellow; than which, I think, nothing shews our Misery more.

The Contempt which our good Friends and Allies have for us, is evident from the little Art they use to hide it: And their refusing to deliver him up under the Pretence of some Privileges of the High and Mighty [II-11] States of *Brabant*, can't, methinks, but raise Indignation in every *English* Breast. We are poor, and it seems our Allies know it, and therefore despise us. But let them beware how they rouse the Lion; other Answers have formerly been returned the Crown of *England*: And though a *British* House of Commons may and will always hear Reason, they will not suffer themselves to be trisled with, whoever else may.

As for me, cries another, I am so fully persuaded of the Emperor's Justice and Gratitude, that nothing will be wanting on his Part, I am sure, to deliver up a Man, who, as he was last Year made a Tool for the Destruction of the Nation, may now be the Instrument of saving it. And his Imperial Majesty, I think, can't but have Interest and Authority enough with his own Subjects, to gain so small a Point; who, it is well known, though he is as just and mild a Prince as any upon Earth, yet has formerly shewn those very Subjects, that he knows how to assert his Prerogative, and punish all their Pretences to Right, which contradict his just Will and Pleasure.

We rather expect to see Mr. *Knight* in *England* (as others say) not so much, because it is such a Trifle to the Emperor to grant, and at the same time so valuable a Favour to us; but that we are informed, that his coming over is earnestly desired, even by those who cannot but have Weight in what they ask of that Prince; and who seem concerned in the Discoveries which he is expected to make, as the only Way to clear up their Innocence, and wipe away the Suspicion which has been most unjustly thrown upon their Characters. If these People are in earnest, they are very happy in having an Opportunity of pressing this Matter more successfully than others can. We own, say they, we should be glad to see *Knight*, were it only to be satisfied that such a Parcel of Stock was honestly paid for; such a Name and Letter was forged; such a mysterious Transaction, such a blind Account was clearly upon another Score than is generally supposed, and had no Relation at all to *South-Sea*.

This Discourse was followed by a needless Calculation of the Length of Time in which we might hope to see *Knight*, if he was sent over at all.

“As the nearest Way to *Vienna* has been lately found out to be by [II-12] *Brussels*; so, for ought we know, the nearest Way from *Brussels* may hereafter be thought to be by *Vienna*. And though Gentlemen should be persuaded to attend the Service of their Country till he comes, to the Detriment of their own private Affairs; whether other Persons will think proper to desire or impose such a Hardship upon them, we cannot determine.”

However, continued they, 'tis certain there was a shorter Way of going to work at first, which is not yet altogether too late to try. The old Parliamentary Method was to represent their Grievances, and get them redressed as soon as they met, before they would go upon any other Considerations whatever. It was not for Want of Grievances, some tell us, whatever else might be wanting, that this Method was not used at first. If this Way of Proceeding had been taken, *Knight* could hardly have withdrawn, or perhaps it might have been convenient to have had him here again ere this, to have avoided the Explication of many other Complaints of a different Nature that might have been set on Foot; but whether that Point had been gained, several other valuable Advantages would have been secured.

There is a remarkable Proof of this Right of Parliament in *Richard* the Second's Time, and Things of this Sort are never the worse for being old.

“Some undeserved Favours, says my Author, shewn to a Minion, the Exorbitances of great Officers, and other public Miscarriages as to the Revenue, had made no small Impressions on the Minds of many of the Lords, as well as Commons, when *Richard* called a Parliament. They, soon after they were assembled, joined in this Message to him ( *Henry Knighton's* Words, who lived at the very time, are these) *That the Chancellor and Treasurer ought to be removed from their Offices, because they were not for the Good of the King and Kingdom; and because also they had such Matters to treat of with one of them, as could not be treated of, while he remained in that Office.*”

The King, who no doubt, thought this a very bold Way of proceeding in his Subjects, assured them, *He would not remove his meanest Scullion Boy at their Instance*, and advised them to hasten the Business of Parliament; [II-13] by which is meant the Supply of his Expences for his Wars, Houshold, and other Charges. But the Lords and Commons, by joint Consent, replied, That they *neither could nor would dispatch the least Article*, till he (who, as the Historian says, was then *lingering at Eltham* ) would come to them, and remove *Michael de Pole*, the Chancellor, from his Office.

The King's Answer to this, not pleasing them, the Parliament sent him this Message.

“ *Sir, The Prelates, Lords, and whole People of the Commons of England,* after several loyal and honest Wishes, *intimate these Things unto you,* that they have it confirmed by ancient Constitution, which none can contradict, that the King ought to call a Parliament once a Year, as the highest Court of the Realm, wherein Equity ought to shine bright, where, as well Poor as Rich, ought to find Refreshment, by removing all kind of Abuses, where public Grievances are to be redressed, and with the most prudent Counsel, *the State of the Nation* is to be treated of, that the King’s and Nation’s Enemies *at Home,* as well as *Abroad,* may be discovered and punished, and the *necessary* Burdens of the King and Kingdom may with more Ease (*the public Want considered*) be supplied. And they conceive also, that since they are to support the public Charge, they should have the ordering and supervisal too, how and by whom their Goods and Fortunes are expended.

What follows in this Remonstrance is still freer; to which the King making a threatening Answer, the Lords and Commons, after giving him some seasonable Advice, relating to his Threats, proceed in these Words.

“The People of *England* have, in your Time, sustained so many Taxes for the Support of *your Wars,* as that now they are reduced to such incredible Poverty, that they can neither pay their Rents, nor assist their King, nor even afford themselves the Necessaries of Life: And all this is brought to pass by the evil Ministers of the King, who have ill-governed both King and Kingdom to this Day: And unless we do quickly set our helping Hands to the Work, and raise the healing Prop, the Kingdom of *England* will, in less Time than we think of, be miserably subverted.

[II-14]

“But there is yet one Part of our Message on the Behalf of your People to be imparted to you, That we have an ancient Constitution (not many Ages since experimented) it grieves us to mention it: That if the King, through any evil Counsel whatever, or through a weak Obstinacy, or Contempt of his People, shall alienate himself from them, and refuse to govern by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; if he shall throw himself headlong into wild Designs, and stubbornly execute his own singular arbitrary Will,

— — — Then follows the Right of the People, dreadfully asserted. But they afterwards go on,

“That this Kingdom may not, by your evil Counsellors be subverted, this Kingdom so honourable, and above all the Nations in the World, most famous in War, may not now, in your Time, through the Distractions of ill Government, be miserably laid waste; That the Title and Inscription of these Miseries, may never be placed as a scandalous Mark upon your Reign, and this unhappy Age: Recal, we beseech you, your Royal Mind from such foolish and pernicious Counsels; and whosoever they are that suggest such Matters to you, do not only not hearken to them, but totally remove them from you; for in Time of Danger it will be found they can no ways effectually serve you.

The Reason and Honesty of this wrought so much upon the King, that in three Days Time he came to his Parliament, though with some Reluctance; when *Michael de Pole* was impeached of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, and turned out of his Office, and another put in his Place by Consent of Parliament, as was likewise the Treasurer, another Favourite.

But it ought to be remembered, for the Instruction of these Times, that upon the King’s desiring a Supply at the same time, that he seemed to hesitate at the discarding *Pole,* the Commons answered, *That he did not need the Tallage of his Subjects, who might so easily furnish himself of so great a Sum of Money from him that was his Debtor, as the Articles of*

*Impeachment set forth.*

As for *Robert de Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, the King's most dangerous Favourite, the Parliament, to shew their [II-15] Prudence and Moderation, chose rather to give him a vast Sum of Money, upon Condition that he would go to *Ireland*, than to endure the Influence of his Counsels near the King's Person. But after all this, the good Commons had no sooner gained their Points, than they freely gave the King a Supply.

Before they broke up (continues my Author) the Parliament observing, by the Covetousness of the King's Ministers, that the public Revenue was vainly lavished, the King insufferably abused (partly through Negligence to search out the Truth, partly through a resolute Humour to support those beyond Reason, whom he had once advanced) that the common People, by continual and grievous Burdens, were miserably impoverished; the Rents of the great Men much impaired, and their poor Tenants, in many Places, forced to abandon their Husbandry, and leave their Farms empty and desolate; and that by all this the King's Officers alone became immeasurably rich: They therefore chose a Number of considerable Men to inspect, treat of, and determine, all Affairs, Causes and Complaints, arising from the Death of *Edward III.* to that Time; as likewise of the King's Expences and his Ministers, and all other Grievances happening within that Time.

The Historian farther observes, That when the Parliament endeavoured at an *Act of Resumption*, the just and frequent Way to repair the languishing Condition of the Nation, *Michael de Pole* told the King, it was to the King's Dishonour, *ad dedecus Regis*, and forced him from it; to which the Commons answered,

“Although they were wearied out by Toils and Expences, they would never grant the King a Subsidy, until, by Authority of Parliament, he should actually resume all that belonged to the Crown of *England*. And that it was more to the Dishonour of the King to leave so many of his poor Subjects in intolerable Want.”

Yet could not all good Counsel work, till by Parliament that great Man was banished; which was no sooner done, but an *Act of Resumption* followed; so true it is, and it ought to be a perpetual Lesson to Posterity, *That whenever the People of England desire to redress Grievances, and recover what they have been plundered of, the Work must begin [II-16] with the Impeachment of corrupt Ministers.* The Weight of a Parliament will ever bear down a bad Man, how great soever.

It is certain, a King who would reform the State for the general Ease and Benefit of his People, must expect to meet with some Difficulties, especially if those nearest him, and who have his Ear, are Partakers in the Abuses he would correct: All Sort of Rubs will be laid in the Way, and the Fears of such as may be called to an Account, will make them set all kind of Engines at Work. They who are conscious of their Guilt, and apprehensive that the Justice of the Nation should take Notice of their Thefts and Rapines, will try to give all Things a false Turn, and fill every Place with their false Suggestions; they'll accuse innocent or less guilty Persons, that so by putting the People upon a wrong Scent, they may avoid the Pursuers, and escape unpunished.

Sometimes they will spirit the Chief, if not the only, Evidence away: At other Times they will endeavour to blast the Reputation of such as would enquire into their Actions. And though, perhaps, there are no other possible Ways left to supply the State, but by making them disgorge, and bringing them to a Restitution, yet they will pretend that all Motions leading thereto, and all Enquiries of this Nature, are nothing but Spite, the Effects of Discontent, and the Result of Faction. And that the full Knowledge of their Crimes may never reach the Prince's Ear, they endeavour to engross him to themselves, by



misrepresenting all that are not of their Cabal, as dissaffected to his Person and Government. They'll find out false Colours for their Proceedings, and cover their Corruption and Rapine with the Pretence of their Master's Service; nay, rather than fail, they'll throw the Odium of the whole upon him.

By these false Suggestions, well meaning Persons have often been frightened from reaching at great Offenders: And even the best Patriots, by seeing with what Warmth and Zeal Corruptions are defended, have been wearied into Silence; and this has made some of our Kings believe, that either the Offenders were got above the Laws, or that the People consented to those Things they did not think fit to punish. But wise Princes see through all this. [II-17] They know that an honest Minister will be content with moderate Gains; and that no Merit can give a Man a Title to rob the Public: That a few may complain without Reason; but that there is Occasion for Redress when the Cry is universal.

They see through all their little Artifices, and cannot but be sensible, whatever Colours they may give to their Villainy, that Mankind must abhor to behold a few enriched with the Spoils of a whole Country, and to see private Persons securing to themselves, in spite of Parliament, a vast ill-gotten Wealth in the Poverty of the Public; and therefore they will be the first to desire every Thing should be looked into, and all possible Thirst set on Foot that may ease the People: They will make Choice of such Ministers as are likeliest to handle the Nation's Money with the cleanest Hands: They will propose, with Pleasure, themselves, that those Evils may be corrected, which a few have committed at the Expence of the whole Kingdom; that the Thefts upon the Public be looked into and punished. They will not stay to be asked, that those Servants may be called to an Account who have broken their Trust, and in their Offices consented to the Plunder of the Nation, though they should have had no Share in it themselves, knowing that our Laws put little Difference between a Minister that contracts actual Guilt himself, and him who permits others to commit a Crime, which by the Authority of his Office he might have prevented.

And indeed the Reason is plain; for it is the Interest of Princes, when they come to understand the true State of Things, so to do. They cannot be unwilling to prevent their own Ruin; and such a King never wants Assistance, who will look into Abuses: And their Faction, who have been guilty of Mal-Administration, will be found very weak, when he is once in earnest to have what has been amiss amended, because but a few are Gainers by Misgovernment, and a Multitude are injured by it.

'Tis true, Plunderers have now and then out-braved the Laws and escaped, when in their Depredations upon the Public, there have been a great many concerned, and they became safe by the Multitude of those who [II-18] have been Partakers in the Booty; and yet there are Examples in former Reigns, where the true Lovers of our Constitution have courageously attacked and brought to Condemnation Men in the highest Posts of Authority, and those fortified by the Multitude of the Persons concerned in the Plunder; and shall not the popular Hue and Cry, which so hotly pursues the Robbers at this time, the Wants of the Nation calling so loud for Vengeance, the universal Voice of the People, crying *Refund, Refund*, awaken some honest Patriots, some brave Spirits, to insist upon the most rigorous Punishment of a few; I say a very few Miscreants (would I could call their Booty small too) given up by the whole Body of the Kingdom, and detested by all Mankind, but their Associates?

And how is this great and honest Design likely to be better executed than by imitating the Parliaments of *Richard* the Second, (though perhaps it had been as proper sooner) in asserting the immediate Necessity of redressing Grievances, and rejecting every other Consideration, till that is done; which is not only the ancient Constitution of this Government, but the most probable Way to come at Offenders, when timely taken, by shewing a proper Resolution in their Prosecution, and by that Means giving them no

Opportunity to concert Measures with the Accomplices in their Crimes, or to withdraw themselves or their Effects from Justice.

Whether or no *Richard's* Parliament did prudently in giving so great a Power to a select Number of Men, after they were dismissed, I shall not decide; but they certainly took one Method, not only wise but Parliamentary; I mean, that they themselves, during their Session, went into a Committee of the whole House, *to consider of the State of the Nation*; and this plainly gained them their Point. This is always the great Day of a Parliament, and valuable to *Englishmen*: Then the Subject feels his Strength, and vindicates his Liberties. And whether the Representatives of the People assembled at this Day in Parliament (than which I am sure there never was any that better understood their Duty to their King and Country) will follow the same Method, Time will shew.

[II-19]

This was the Way the Parliament took in the Reign of *Edward* the IId. when they wanted to get rid of a most pernicious Favourite, *Pierce Gaveston*, a *Frenchman*, who had so possessed the King, that he entirely neglected the Counsels of his Nobles, and the Affairs of State. In his first Parliament, they unanimously besought the King to advise and treat with his Nobles concerning the *State of the Kingdom*; and at the same time falling themselves into a very strict Examination of Affairs on their Part; they urged the Matter with such good Success, that the King consented that they should reduce into Articles, all that was necessary for the Good of the Nation, and took an Oath to ratify all their Resolutions. Amongst the e Articles, after requiring the Observation and Execution of *Magna Charta*, with all other necessary Ordinances; They insist that, *all Strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdom; and all ill Counsellors removed; That the King should not begin any War, or go any where out of the Kingdom, without the Common Council of his People*. *Walsingham* says upon this Head, p. 99, That the Barons *librato utrobique periculo, inveniunt, quod vivente Petro, esse non poterat Pax in Regno, nec Rex abundare Thesauro*: So they never rested till he was banished the Kingdom.

It seems likewise, that in this Reign the Ladies were begging and intriguing at Court: For the Lady *Vescey* was accused of having procured to Sir *Henry Beaumont*, her Brother, and others, several Lands, Rents, Tenements, Franchises, and Offices, by which means the Kingdom came to be loaded with Taxes and Impositions; for which she was ordered to leave the Court, without ever returning to make any Stay there.

The very Talk only of such an *Enquiry into the State of the Nation*, has made a Ministry sometimes very wisely produce an Offender, give up one or more of their own Number, or redress some Grievances chiefly complained of, lest by not preventing such an Enquiry, they might run a Risque of being obliged to redress more Grievances than perhaps at first were thought of. A principal Point shall be yielded sometimes to avoid farther Trouble.

[II-20]

This has no relation to us at present. We all know how far our Great Men are from such Apprehensions; how little Reason a Ministry have to fear any thing that might be trumped up upon such an Enquiry. I am satisfied *Gibraltar* is still in our Hands; and I am as well satisfied, notwithstanding the Expence of our Fleet, with so many Thousands on board, there can be no Danger of a War with the *Czar*, which indeed can never be of any Service to *England*.

As for what is past in the *Mediterranean*: If it has cost us Money, we have got Honour, by shewing how well we can fight upon the least Ocession. No, no, when those who are suspected of having had Part in the late traiterous Design, and the Gains of it, have acquitted

themselves in that Point, to the Satisfaction of all honest Men, I will venture them innocent of a hundred other Miscarriages, which some peevish People pretend to charge them with.

In the Reign of *Edward II.* the Instance happened which the Parliament of *Richard II.* referred to in their Message, as we have cited it above. The Story is this: *Hugh Spencer*, being made Lord Chamberlain, and a Man of equal Insolence and Ambition with *Gaveston*, so insinuated himself with the King, that he succeeded to all that Favourite's Authority, and also to the Hatred of the People. *Spencer* the Father was, for his Son's Sake, taken into Play, and made Earl of *Winchester*, as he himself was Earl of *Glocester*.

Upon which the Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*, with many other Barons, assembled and swore mutually to live and die in Maintenance of the Rights of the Kingdom; and in procuring the Banishment of the *Spencers*, whom they held as the Seducers of the King, and Oppressors of the State, suffering nothing to be obtained but by their Means, which was a Mischief most intolerable to the State:

“For that when all Graces and Dispatches were to pass out but at one Door, the King's Benignity was diminished, and Corruption was introduced to the Overthrow of Justice and good Order.”

In short, these Lords procured the *Spencers* to be banished in Parliament. May all Ministers, who exercise the same Monopoly, meet with the same Fate.

#### [II-21]

However, as the King was rather forced to this, than convinced of his Duty in it, Means were found to elude the Effect of the Sentence, and *Spencer* the Son made shift to hide himself in *England*, with the King's Connivance, till a fair Occasion should offer for his Return, which happened soon after, but to the utter Ruin of both; for the Queen being disgusted, as well as Lords and Commons, she ordered Matters so, as to get a sufficient Power; who declaring that their Design was only to deliver the Kingdom from evil Counsellors, they were easily successful. The Favourites were hanged with the utmost Ignominy, and the unhappy King solemnly deposed, as unfit to govern, for these Reasons among others:

“For that in all his Reign he had been misled, and governed by others, who gave him evil Counsel, to the Dishonour of himself and the Destruction of his People, not considering or knowing whether it was good or evil; nor would remedy those Things, when he was petitioned by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, nor suffer them to be redressed.”

So wrong is it to trifle with a Parliament, who by their Misfortunes are become seriously in earnest.

A late Great Man of the same Name with those just mentioned, who was certainly a wise Man too, no sooner found he began to be pecked at, with some Eagerness, by a House of Commons, but he came to the King and resigned his Staff, telling him he found he was not able to do him any Service in a public Post: He did not expose his Master for his own private Interest, nor attempt to screen himself behind the Affection which the People might bear to the Person of the King. There ought to be no absenting for a little while, no laying down one Post and keeping others. When a Nation is exasperated, and a Minister is become heartily disagreeable, the only Way for an honest Servant to express his Love to his Master, is to yield up all; and the most popular Thing a Prince can do, is, to give up those that are disgustful to his People.

Thus did *Harry* the Eighth, than whom certainly there never was a more positive Prince. Because, says the Historian, the Authors of Oppression and Injustice are always most odious; and nothing gives a People [II-22] more Satisfaction, than to see their Persecutors punished: He caused *Empson* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors in the *late rapacious Proceedings*, to be committed to the *Tower*; and divers of the inferior Agents, called Aiders and Abettors, to be set in the Pillory: Soon after this he calls a Parliament, where the principal Proceedings were, with regard to *Empson's* and *Dudley's* Extortions: Upon which the King, that he might enlarge the People's Confidence and Affection towards him, was willing to restrain something of his own Authority. In short, *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treason; and the King, to satisfy the importunate Clamours of his People, caused them both to be beheaded; by which he gained the Affection of the Nation, and was in perfect Peace and Safety with his People.

If a House of Commons cannot attack a Minister, or even a Ministry, upon a popular Grievance, but immediately the King and Ministry must be blended together; and they are wicked enough to try to cast the Odium upon him, or to screen themselves by him; there is an End of our Constitution. 'Tis indeed, a very true and a very just Maxim with us, that *the King can do no wrong*, but it ought to be carried no farther; we must not add *nor his Ministry neither*; for in that Case, none but the Tools of Ministers can ever be punished for the greatest Abuses; which would be a sad Case in the present Misery and Poverty we are reduced to.

Let us suppose that *Harry* the Eighth had tacitly encouraged *Empson* and *Dudley* in plundering the Subjects, and had had no inconsiderable Share of the Gains himself, as it is certain *Harry* the Seventh had; would it, or indeed ought it, to have availed them any Thing, (when the Parliament were enquiring into their Actions) to have told the King,

“Sir, you have had your Share of this Booty; they strike at you more than at us; you must screen us (happen what will) or else more may come out than is proper to be known.”

Could any thing have raised the Indignation of the whole Nation against them more than this, if it was known? And as for the Prince, he might well have answered them;

“I will not be accountable for this Mischief, by taking it upon myself; I was not let into the Secret; I understood [II-23] no Harm by it; You ought to have advised me better; but since I now find that you only drew me in to hide your own Avarice, depend upon it, I shall the more willingly give you up to the just Resentment of my People, and I am justified in it, both by the Laws of God and my Kingdom.”

Having made a few Remarks upon some Passages in our *English* History; it may not be amiss to give some Instances of the good Oeconomy, and the steady and unbiassed Virtue of the *Romans*, since it was by these, and these alone, they became so great and powerful.

*Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, was very desirous to conclude a Peace with the *Romans*; in order to which, having got *Fabricius* alone, he tries in the following Speech to corrupt him.

“As I desire to have all the rest of the *Romans* for my Friends, so especially you *C. Fabricius*, who I esteem as a Person that excels all others for your Conduct, as well in Civil as Military Affairs; yet I am sorry to see you wanting in one Point, I mean of an Estate, that may enable you to live in that Port, which becomes a Person of your Quality. But I will not suffer this Injury of Fortune to be any longer troublesome to you, and I will bestow on you so much Gold and Silver, as shall make you richer than any of your Fellow-Citizens; for I reckon it becomes one in my Condition to relieve such great Men as are poor, who have always aimed more at getting Honour than Money: Yet I would not have made

you this Offer, if the Honour of this Benefit accrued to me with Dishonour to yourself; but now because you come not upon any perfidious Design, or that which is at all unworthy your Character, why should you refuse a small Present offered you, out of Kindness, by a Friend; for I ask nothing of you but what may, yea, and ought to be done by any honest Man, that is a Lover of his Country; *that you will endeavour to carry it for making Peace with me in the Senate, who have already gained a Battle, and bring them off from their Obstinacy to a more moderate Temper.*”

*Fabricius* had too much Honesty to accept the Money, and too much good Sense not to know he could not [II-24] long be of that Weight he was of, in his Country, if he had. After a short Pause, he made this Answer.

“If I am observed to have any Skill in the Management of Civil or Military Affairs, ’tis needless for me to say any Thing in it, since you have believed others so much concerning it. But if you suppose I am in a worse Condition, because I am poor, than any other *Roman*, you are mightily mistaken; for whilst I do my Duty with Contempt of Wealth, I feel no Misery: I bear the greatest Offices among us; I manage the most important Wars: I am employed in the most honourable Embassies; the Charge of Religion is committed to my Care; I am called to the Senate, and consulted with concerning the weightiest Affairs of State: Therefore as much as being the poorest of all. I come not short of any of the Wealthiest in what is good and commendable, why should I complain of my Fortune? This as to my public Capacity. In my private one, my Poverty is so far from being a Burthen to me, that, on the contrary, when I compare myself with your rich Men, my Condition seems insinitely happier than theirs; and I count myself one of those few, that have attained the greatest Happiness of this World: For since it seems but an idle Thing to me to cover Superfluities, and with all, my little Spot of Ground, which I labour myself, if well cultivated, will supply me with Necessaries, I do not know why I should be solicitous for more Wealth: But if the Possession thereof renders a Man any thing happier, as to you Kings the Matter seems; which is the best way of getting Wealth, to receive it from you dishonourably, or to get it myself hereafter honourably? My good Successes in the Service of the State have given me brave Opportunities to improve my Fortune, as at other Times often, so especially four Years ago, when being Consul, I was sent with an Army against the *Lucanians*, *Samnites* and *Brutians*, and wasted their large Territories; and having routed them in several Battles, took and rifled their rich Towns; from which Booty, after I had given Largesses to my Soldiers, and repaid private Persons, whatever they had lent [II-25] the State, upon the Occasions of the War, there remained the Sum of 400 Talents, which I laid up in the public Treasury. Seeing therefore, that I have thus refused to make my Fortune by honourable Means, out of this Booty, which was in my Hands; and like *Val. Publicola*, and many other noble *Romans*, who have raised the State to this Pitch, preferred Honour before Interest; shall I now take Bribes of you, quitting an honest Way of getting an Estate, for one as infamous as dangerous? But now what do you think would be the Issue of the Matter, if the Thing should be discovered (and it cannot be concealed) to those Magistrates called *Censors*, from their Authority in reforming Manners, and that they should impeach me of Bribery?

’Tis added by most, that *Pyrrhus* tried his Constancy and Resolution more importunately a second time: After other large Promises, offering to him Part of his Kingdom. All this I thought pertinent and useful to mention, as related by several Authors, to shew how the Greatness of the *Romans* took its Rise, as well from the Thrift that was shewed in all Matters relating to the Public (this wise Nation making almost every foreign Expedition bear its own Charge) as from the Integrity and Disinterestedness of their great Men and Ministers. These were the Manners of those Days; such the Tempers and Dispositions of those Persons by whom the *Roman* State being buoyed up through so many Difficulties and Calamities, arrived at such an incomparable Grandeur of Empire and Renown. By these, and the like Instances, we may learn how Men ought to be qualified, if instead of being cried up by a few Creatures

of their own, pensioned for that very Purpose, they intend to be heartily admired, cherished and beloved by the Body of their Fellow-Citizens; and to leave their Posterity a more flourishing State than they received from their Forefathers. Great Men did not then strive to exceed in Wealth and Luxury at their Country's Cost, but in Courage and Conduct, in Resolution and Fidelity to their Country: And these which I have cited, and the like, were no warm Expressions arising from Passion, nor premeditated by the Speakers, the more plausibly to [II-26] carry on some secret Intrigue; but these Men being rather admirable than imitable in our Days, by the constant Tenor of their Actions verified their Words.

This same *Fabricius*, when he had but two Pieces of Plate in his House, a Salt-seller, and a Dish, with a Stand of Horn to hold it, and the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* would have presented him with Money and rich Furniture, he told them, "As long as I can rule my Appetite, I shall want nothing; carry you the Money to them that want it." In fine, he lived so all his Life, that he left nothing at his Death, and his Daughters were portioned by the Senate. The chief Men lived then with the same Continnence and Moderation. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, a Person who had often borne the greatest Offices, having been once Censor, refused the Office a second Time, saying, It was not for the Interest of the Commonwealth to have the same Men often chosen Censors. He likewise died so poor, that his Son was forced to receive Money from the Public for his Funeral. *Curius*, out of a like Generosity and Greatness of Mind, contemned the *Sabines* Presents, as *Fabricius* had done those of the *Samnites*. *Paulus Æmilius*, upon his Victory over *Perseus*, brought so much Money into the public Treasury, that one Captain's Booty delivered the People from any farther Need of Taxes; and this he did without any other Advantage to his Family, than the honourable and immortal Memory of his Name and Action. *Africanus* the younger got as little by the Destruction of *Carthage*, and his Fellow-Censor *L. Munimius* as little as either of them, by the Ruins of the rich City of *Corinth*. But his Business was rather the Ornament and Lustre of his Country, than that of his House: Although in giving Reputation to the one, he could not fail of doing the like to the other.

I have been the longer upon this, because of the Usefulness of such Examples. The chief End of History being to give us good Rules, whereby we should square our own Actions, and to point out to us the several Steps by which a Nation arrives at, and preserves, a strong, vigorous, and flourishing Constitution, and becomes great and considerable with its Neighbours. Here we have a great Man behaving himself like a faithful Steward [II-27] to the Commonwealth, accounting exactly for what Monies he had taken, and lodging them in the public Treasury. Here's a Statesman treating *all* the Offers and advantageous Conditions made him with Contempt, and refusing even a Share in a Crown; and that when the Thing desired of him seemed rather of Service than prejudicial to the Commonwealth; at least, it was of such a Nature as might have bore the most plausible Colours, and the Author of it very easily have been screened: But an honest Man will always reason thus; Sure I need no such Inducements to promote the Good of my Country, and nothing shall tempt me to wrong it.

There is nothing more common among this brave People than Examples of this Sort: *Scipio*, *Cato Uticensis*, *Flaminius*, and an hundred more, are Patterns for such to follow, as will handle Matters of Government with Integrity and Virtue. These did not think of building up Fortunes to themselves, but of enriching the State. They were so far from taking Presents to facilitate the passing of a Bill in the Senate, or appropriating to secret Services what was designed to raise public Credit, and pay the Nation's Debts, that, like good Trustees, they treasured up, for the Services of the Public, what they drew from others, and scorned to convert any Part of it, by little under-hand Subtilties and Distinctions, to their own Use. Thus they took Care that Poverty should not grow upon the Public, as the only Means good Rulers have to prevent the burthening the People with Taxes, a Matter with them ever studiously

avoided.

By this honest Oeconomy (for I cannot repeat it too often) *Rome* arrived to that high Pitch of Greatness, which they had never reached, had their Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, and what is worse, their Quæstors, Treasurers, been permitted to dissipate the Revenue, take Bribes with Impunity, and, leaving the Nation still in Pawn, to enrich themselves by what was laid up to discharge the heavy Engagements they sometimes lay under by long expensive Wars. *Habere quæstui Rempub.* (it is a *Roman Consul* speaks) *non modo turpe est, sed etiam sceleratam & nefarium.* No; they knew this would reflect upon the Dignity and Majesty of the Commonwealth, which they always kept sacred; that by such [II-28] Proceedings public Credit must sink at once; and then, if a War had overtaken them, their Ruin was inevitable; for when the Public is exhausted, and when private Men are so impoverished as not to be in a Condition to help the Public, the Nation must be left naked and defenceless, they must become contemptible to their Allies, and a Prey to those that will invade them.

Nor is this the Business only of good Rulers in a well ordered Republic: The best and wisest Princes have ever been the most frugal of the public Money, and have looked very narrowly into their own Affairs; and chiefly such as relate to their Income and Revenue. And, indeed, there is this good Reason for it, among many others; if a good Prince neglects that which is so much his own Concern, and leaves a Matter so important to himself wholly to his Ministers, they will ever endeavour to keep him in Ignorance, that they may, with the greater Impunity, prey upon him: They grow corrupt and ravenous, the Commonwealth is devoured, and nothing but Want and Misery ensues: And when he finds out his Fault, and sets himself seriously to disengage the Public, and put the Revenue in Order, he is forced, against his Inclination, to add heavy Burthens, and oppress the People with Taxes; and so he loses their Hearts, and they that Reverence they ought to have for him. *Vespasian*, though a very excellent Emperor, and one that aimed at nothing but the Good of Mankind, that he might put Things in Order, and discharge the Public of a great Debt, was forced to continue the old Impositions, add new ones, exercise divers sordid Monopolies, and make open Traffic of Places and Preferments: By all which he lost the Character he so well deserved by his many other excellent Qualities; and Posterity will scarce allow him a Rank among good Princes. Thus it appears how much it imports the Ruler of a Nation with careful Eyes to look after his Treasure himself, since the Want of it will compel the best of Men to the worst of Actions, by which he becomes odious at the present, and in After-ages his Virtue will be censured.

However, next to preventing so great an Evil, the safest Way, if it does happen, is, as is already said, [II-29] frankly to give up the Offenders; and make them answer for their Actions in that Place, to which the Constitution has entrusted the Enquiry into, and Punishment of such Offences. A Prince should never suffer any thing that is corrupt or venal in his Palace. We have a very remarkable Instance of this in *Constantine*: An Instance never to be forgotten, either by a good King or a free People. He, without staying for Addresses or Petitions from the several Cities and Provinces of the Empire, proceeded, of his own Accord, to remedy the Disorders crept into the Government by a rapacious Ministry. He thought it below him to protect and screen a Minion or Favourite for any Reason whatsoever, but corrected Rapine, Oppression, and Bribery, in the ministerial Parts of the Government, by a solemn EDICT, inviting all sorts of People, to accuse such of his Ministers and Officers as had been corrupt.

I know, says a celebrated Author, many Obstacles will be thrown in the Way, to baffle such a Reformation. But a wise and resolute Prince, will easily surmount all Opposition. The Cabals of a Party, the Difficulties some may pretend to bring upon his Affairs; no, nor the vast Sums of Money, at first fraudulently gotten, and now laid out to prevent Enquiry; neither them, nor a thousand other Obstacles, will ever terrify or discourage such a one, bent to reform the State, who has the Love of his People, and whose Interest is one and the same

with theirs. Much less need he apprehend the mercenary and unconstant Crew of Place-Hunters, whose Designs are always seen through, who are despised as soon as known, and who only lead one another. We have never yet heard of a Tumult raised to rescue a Minister, whom his Master desired to bring to a fair Account; on the contrary, to see a few enriched with the Spoils of a Country, has been the Occasion of many popular Seditions, which wise Kings have appeased, by a just and timely Sacrifice. To conclude: If a King be severe in looking into his Accounts, if he be careful of the public Money, if he examine into the Corruption of his Officers, if he enquire into the sudden and exorbitant Wealth of those [II-30] who have had the handling of his Treasure, if he rigorously punish such as, in breach of their Trust, and contrary to their Oaths, have converted to their own Use what belongs to the State; if he abandon and resigns into the Hands of Justice such as have robbed him and the Public; and if he take back what was too great to give, and much too great to be asked, it is with the universal Applause of the People, whom this Care relieves from frequent and heavy Taxes, he will be justified by the Voices of all Mankind, in pursuing the Ends for which he was called by the People, and his Name will be great to all future Generations.

*Nemo est tam stultus qui non intelligat, si dormierimus hoc tempore, non modo crudelem & superbam Dominationem nobis sed & ignominiosam & flagitiosam esse ferendam.*

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***A compleat History of the late Septennial Parliament; wherein all their Proceedings are particularly enquired into, and faithfully related; with proper Remarks, and many secret Memoirs interspersed, concerning the late Times. To which is prefixed, Honest Advice to the Freeholders of Great-Britain.*** ↩

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

Anno 1722.

**PREFACE.**

*THIS Preface, to my History of the Septennial Parliament, is principally designed for the Freeholders of England. And I hope, after what I have communicated to the Public, there will be very little Occasion for much to be said, to biass Them in the Choice of proper Representatives, at the approaching Election.*

*I think that they ought, in Justice to Themselves, to be very cautious in the Electing many of our late Representatives; I would have them well consider of their past Behaviour, before they venture to chuse them again; they have already done Mischief sufficient, and more than their Children, or even their Grand-children, will ever see remedied.*

*But as several Members of the last Parliament were made by the worst of Means; by double and false Returns, by Bribery, and every Thing else that could promise and foretel Miseries to the Subject, what could we expect but extraordinary and unprecedented Proceedings from Them?*

*If in the present Election, the like Measures should be taken, our future Parliament, instead of retrieving the late Misconducts, will undoubtedly compleat the Ruin their Brethren not only begun, but made such a Progress in: I must [II-32] therefore warn all our Freeholders of this just Apprehension; and endeavour to rouse them from a Negligence and Supineness which may be otherwise fatal to these Kingdoms.*

*I am to tell them, That if they put themselves on the Footing of Slavery, by selling themselves, they must expect nothing less than Slavery, and then to be abject Slaves: That the Members of Parliament do not Buy without an Intention of Selling them; and that, by Means of Bribery and Corruption, they may sell their latest Posterity (and many others) as well as themselves.*

*This should be well weighed and considered: And further, if they accept of Bribes, through the Necessity of the Times, this will, in a very short Space, encrease their Necessities, because the Times will inevitably grow worse, by the Management of corrupt Members; and none but corrupt Members will offer them Bribes. And if Elections are publickly bought in a certain Alley, may not our Liberties be as publickly sold in a more noted Place?*

*A great many ill Men will endeavour to squeeze themselves into Boroughs, in the present Election, to be thereby skreened from the just Resentment of an injured People. I hope our Electors will be upon their Guard against these Men, who are Enemies to the Public. It will be a Step to public Justice to oppose them, and a Justice to themselves to spew them out with Contempt and Ignominy.*

*Our Electors are in the reverse Condition to the Wife of Lot: They have the last Necessity of looking back, at the same time they look forward; and they must not, like Watermen, look one Way and row another; if they do, they will not, like them, escape the Rocks and Dangers in their Passage.*

*They must be steady and indefatigable in pursuit of what alone can make us a happy People; in the Pursuit of Honesty and Integrity. They must not be tempted by the golden Apple; nor their Wives and Partners of their Cares be misled, to influence them, by the Intrigues of Men, who will espouse them only till their Election is sure.*

*I shall wind up all with this short Advice to our Freeholders, and other Electors. Let not such Members be chosen, for the future Parliament, who are suspected of being Pensioners to a Court, or who are capable of being [II-33] bribed into Silence. Let none that advanced the Septennial Law, have your Votes and Interests; the Mischiefs from hence are but too apparent. Those worthy Gentlemen who had provided us Barracs, and themselves Palaces, are by all Means to be excluded: So are likewise our South-Sea Scheme-men, and the Setters up of Bubbles; the Rejectors of good Laws, and the Enactors of bad ones. Let not those be elected, who are the Skreeners of Villains, and Plunderers of the Public.*

*Chuse such for your Representatives, who are fit to represent you; such as are just, honest, and uncorrupted; such as have Estates and Possessions amongst you, too great to be lost; such as will attend the Business of the Kingdom, upon all Occasions; and such as will repeal the bad Laws the last Parliament enacted, and enact the good ones they rejected.*

*Then will you acquit yourselves, like Englishmen; like Lovers of your Country, and of yourselves; and secure to Posterity those Blessings, that will make your Names and Memories venerable to future Ages.*

#### ***A true History of the Septennial Parliament, &c.***

WHENEVER any Thing has happened, in any Age or Country, that is memorable and extraordinary, whether it has a Tendency either to Good or Evil, it is no more than what is common for some bold and faithful Historian to transmit it to Posterity.

That we have in our Times, had great and extraordinary Events, none will be so bold as to deny: We have seen, and that fatally too, that every Thing may be in Danger under the plausible Appearance of doing Good; that Men of all Ranks and Degrees have, without Distinction, plundered one another; that the Widow and the Orphan have been totally despoiled, to add to the Grandeur of public Robbers (for such I must term the Authors of our Miseries) that Honour and Honesty, in most Parts of the Globe, have nothing remaining but [II-34] their very Names; and that even common Humanity is banished this Kingdom.

I do not wholly attribute this Depravity of human Nature to the powerful Influence of the Parliament of *Britain*; but as Examples are in all Cases forcible, and incite Imitation, I cannot excuse our late Representatives; many of whom have been justly prosecuted for unprecedented Crimes, some been imprisoned, some accused of Bribery, and many of Corruption; and if they have not met with the Punishment that has been their Due, it has not been owing to the Innocence of themselves, or of their Judges and Companions.

A general Corruption spread its baleful Qualities throughout the whole Body; they sported at the Calamities of the Persons they represented; they relieved their Fellow-Subjects, by taking farther from them; and with some other Persons, they endeavoured to dispose of the Remainder of their Properties; as if, to take away a Half or two Thirds of our Fortunes, were not enough, without stripping us of All.

So much Mischief has been done in one fatal Year, that a History of that alone would furnish a Volume; so black a Catalogue of Crimes, I am confident, never appeared against any Set of Men, as some lately in Power; and though the *South Sea* Directors were the apparent Actors in this national Tragedy, yet others were concerned with them. We have had L—ds and C— —ns accused of taking Bribes, who accepted of Stock, to pass a Law for the Ruin of their Country; for what could it mean but universal Ruin, where a Company of Sharpers had an unlimited Power to act as they pleased, by Authority of Law.

I never knew till lately, nor I dare say any other, that an Act of Parliament of any Importance relating to the Public (as this was the greatest) was wholly without one single Proviso, or conditional Clause; as was the Case of this Law. There was granted every where Power to cheat and defraud, and no where any Guard provided against it; as though in the Affairs of Money, and of the Cash of a Kingdom, where there is the greatest Temptation to be Rogues, all were to be supposed [II-35] to be honest Men, and not so much as one to be suspected.

If this Statute was drawn up by the *South Sea* Directors, or any Council employed by them, and the Members of Parliament were actually bribed into it (by the Acceptance of Stock, or otherwise) as one would think it might, there is no Infamy or Calumny so great as they do not deserve: And if, speaking more favourably, they were drawn into it, either by Surprise, or want of considering it, or through their own Ignorance, they are even then justly to be blamed; for the Consequence is the same, whether a Man, or a Society of Men, be robbed of Possessions, either by the Design or Negligence of the Agents concerned.

We read of an *Insanum Parliamentum*, in the Reign of King *Henry III*. But what Title will be due to the *Septennial Parliament*, beyond its common Acceptation, I leave the Members themselves, as well as some future Historian, to judge. I do not say they were an Assembly of R—bb—rs (such an Expression is too harsh for me to be guilty of) but if any other Persons had taken the same Pains to ease us of our Money, as they have done, we should have justly conferred the Title upon them. There is not a Man in the Kingdom (not let into the Secret) but has been a Sufferer by them; and the just Complaints and Petitions of the Injured, who have only petitioned for their own, have been rejected with Scorn and Indignation.

It was never questioned, till in the late Times, that an injured and oppressed Subject had a Right in a peaceable manner to petition for Relief, at least to those who were only Servants to the Public: But alas! this has been disputed; and our Servants, whom we invested with Power to take Care of our Rights, Liberties, and Properties, have been the greatest Invaders of them; and instead of advancing, have prevented our Redress; which I think is apparent in the Case of the subscribing Annuitants.

Indeed, in the Upper House of Parliament, we have had Patriots, who have exerted themselves for the public Welfare, to their immortal Honour: A noble Peer, who lately adorned the highest Station in our Courts of [II-36] Judicature, has shewn his Eloquence like a *Cicero*, though he had not *Cicero's* Success; but we have not now a *Roman* Age, or a *Roman* People, to expect it. He early protested (joined by many others, the true Protectors of our Liberties) against what was pernicious to the Public, and which occasioned the altering some of our Laws; but the great Law (the Law of Ruin) which he gloriously opposed, it was not in this Power, after all his Endeavours, and arduous Struggles, to prevent or annul.

It is more to the Honour of this noble Lord, and his glorious Associates, that they have made this Stand against the enacting of some Laws, than to be Makers of all the Laws some Parliaments have passed, and particularly the late one, though it has been of longer Duration than any Parliament since that of the Rump, to which, its Proceedings, in many Instances,

may be very justly compared.

But when I give myself a Liberty of speaking of the *Septennial* Parliament, I would not be thought to mean every Member of it. There were several very honest well-meaning Gentlemen in it (and some I could particularly mention) who would not, on any Terms, be the Authors of Miseries to their Fellow-Subjects; but these were but few in Number, and (what has been the greatest Excuse to them) there always appeared a great Majority against them.

Yet so much have our Parliaments in general in this Age degenerated from their ancient Constitution, that as formerly they were composed of all Men of Honour, Honesty, and Integrity, and Patriots of their Country's Service, we have lately seen a Member of the House of Commons, convicted at a Bar of Justice, of the highest and blackest Frauds; one supposed to be a Confederate with Highwaymen and Pick-pockets; from whence one might imagine, that some of the excellent Qualities instilled into the Pupils of the famous *Jonathan Wild*, were a necessary Qualification for a M— — — r of P— — — t.

For what is as strange, as the other is monstrous, our Houses of Parliament have suffered one thus convicted of Frauds and Deceits, to have the Honour to sit with them, without voting his Expulsion, which is a sufficient Scandal to that August Assembly; though I do not pretend [II-37] to insinuate from this, that they are all equally guilty with the Criminal condemned, whatever Construction may be some Persons be put upon their Silence.

If punishing the Guilty, be an Argument of Innocence in the Persons condemning, this should have been done: And I for my Part, if I had been a Representative of the *Septennial* Parliament, and were to have sat in the House but three Hours longer, I should not have been easy till I had voted an Expulsion of an unworthy Member, who was a Reproach to the Whole; I should have endeavoured to sit at least two of the Hours free from the Imputation of looking over Crimes.

A Negligence of this Kind is undoubtedly criminal; Crimes are inferred from it; and it certainly behov'd every Member of the House of Commons, whether guilty or not of Offences of the like Nature, to have excluded him their Body; because without it, they not only bring a Disgrace upon themselves, but also upon future Parliaments which shall be their Successors.

We have experienced Negligences of Omission as well as Commission: We have had slender Houses on the greatest Debates, in Matters of the greatest Importance; some Members have withdrawn for one Reason, some for another; some out of a Consciousness of their own Guilt; some to serve some great Person; others in Expectation of Places and Preferments, and others perhaps for M— — — . It is not long since that above Sixty withdrew in the Space of a Day, when a Case of Bribery, laid to the Charge of a Minister of Justice, was tried at their Bar.

Oh *England!* what wilt thou come to, if the Executioners of thy Laws, and those who ought to be the Punishers of Crimes, are found to be guilty, and the Promoters of them! But what can we say, when Bribery is so common, as to have little or no Notice; like a beautiful prostituted Whore, who by Custom becomes fashionable, and the Object of Esteem, in a vicious Age. Whether this be a proper Allusion, I submit to the Dealers in Elections, who buy their Seats in the Parliament House, in order to sell their Country, and stock-job Boroughs in *Exchange Alley*, with no other Views than to [II-38] secure to the Purchasers a National Plunder, or Places of Profit at the public Cost.

As to what has happened for some Years past, great have been the Artifices used to make Corruption universal; one Member of Parliament has endeavoured to corrupt another, to justify his own Conduct; as if by Numbers of Guilty, Innocence were preserved: One has

laughed at another who has been less in the Mire than himself, and at all Times given his helping Hand to plunge him into Circumstances equal with himself: And Honesty and Plain-dealing have been so long ridiculed, that, besides the Jest of it, Ruin and Destruction are the general Attendants that wait upon them.

This is a melancholy Reflection, and very discouraging to all honest Spirits; it makes Life almost a Burthen to a religious and even a moral Mind; but such is our Case, and it must be submitted to; though not upon the whole, to be imputed to our Senators; but this I must own, they have had a very great Share in these direful Misfortunes, which have rushed in upon us like a Torrent, and overset every thing.

Thus much as an Introduction to what I have to say: I shall now examine into the several Proceedings of the *Septennial* Parliament, which will set what I have asserted in a clearer Light, by illustrating that which has been the Foundation of it, and make appear particularly what our great Representatives have done for the public Benefit, and what they have done with more private Views; what they have designed in favour of Liberty, and what they have done against it; what they have transacted to favour Religion, and in what they have checked it; and lastly, what has been enacted with the Wisdom of Senators, and what has been done thro' Ignorance or Error.

Soon after the Accession of King *George* to the Crown, a new Parliament was called, and in the first Year of his Reign a great many Statutes were enacted: The first Act was for the better Support of his Majesty's Houshold: It granted the Duties of Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, that were granted to King *Charles* II. King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and the late Queen, to his present Majesty: And to extinguish the Hopes of the [II-39] Pretender and his Friends, it ordered a Reward of 100,000 *l.* to any Person who should seize and secure the Person of the Pretender, whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's Dominions.

This was the first Law made in this Reign; and I have no Comment on the Christian Usage of setting a Price upon any Man's Head, though it may be here expected from me. The first Laws enacted by the *Septennial Parliament* were for granting an Aid to his Majesty, to be raised by a Land Tax of 2 *s.* in the Pound, for the Service of the Year; and for charging and continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, &c. And these were necessary for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown on his most excellent Majesty's coming to the Throne.

Other Statutes were for further Limitation of the Crown; for the better regulating the Forces; for preventing Mutiny and Desertion; for the further Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession of the Crown; for making the Militia more useful; for Payment of Arrears for Work and Materials employed in the Building *Blenheim* House; for the Attainder of *James* Duke of *Ormond*, *Henry* Viscount *Bolingbroke*, and others, of High Treason; for encouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords, and Tenants, in *Scotland*, who shall continue loyal to King *George*, and discouraging those as shall be guilty of rebellious Practices; for enabling his Majesty to settle a Revenue of 50,000 *l. per Annum* (to be paid out of the Revenues of the Post-Office and the Duties of Excise) on her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*, in case she shall survive his Royal Highness the Prince: The Revenue of the Prince, as first settled by Parliament, was 100,000 *l.* a Year, out of the Duties of the Post-Office, &c. And out of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Pound-age, the King has 700,000 *l.* a Year allowed him for Supporting of his Houshold.

Besides these Laws, many others were enacted; as for enlarging the Capital Stock of the *South Sea* Company; for appointing Commissioners to take, examine, and state the Debts due to the Army; to prevent Disturbances by Seamen and others, and to preserve Naval Stores; to

impower his Majesty to secure and detain [II-40] Persons suspected to be conspiring against his Government, to indemnify such Persons who acted in Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government, and for the Preservation of the Peace, in the Time of Rebellion, from Suits and Prosecutions; to appoint Commissioners for enquiring into the Estates of Traitors, and Popish Recusants, and for raising Money out of them for the Use of the Public, &c.

But the most extraordinary Laws that were made, during this Session of Parliament, were, the Statute for repealing so much of the Act of the 12th and 13th of King *William*, intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, as enacts, that no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown, should go out of the Dominions of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament; the Act for the more easy and speedy Trial of such Persons as have levied, or shall levy War against his Majesty; and an Act for preventing Tumults, and riotous Assemblies.

By the former of these Laws, the Restraint on the Prerogative, which obliged the King to a constant Residence amongst us, is taken off; so that his Majesty may at his Pleasure, at any Time, go into his Foreign Dominions, or into any other Country, without any Account to, or Leave of, his Parliament; which in general Opinion has very much contributed to the Impoverishment of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and doubtless had a different Effect as to some other Towns and Cities abroad. By the Second of these Statutes, Persons guilty of Treason, and who were in Arms in the Rebellion, were to be tried for the same before such Commissioners, and in such County as his Majesty should appoint; whereas before this Law, the Offenders were to be tried in the County where the Fact was committed, by Jurors of the same County, who were supposed to be the best Judges of the Fact committed, it being within their Knowledge: And by the last of the Laws I have mentioned, the Rioters were executed in *Salisbury-court*, as guilty of Felony, who, before this Law, would have been only punished with Fine and Imprisonment.

#### [II-41]

How far these Statutes, with the Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of Parliaments from three to seven Years (also past in the first Session of the *Septennial* Parliament) have altered our Constitution, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, built upon former Laws, is too obvious for me to expatiate upon. It was expected from our great Legislators, after a temporary Use of extraordinary Laws, made on an extraordinary Occasion, that when the Occasion ceased, the Laws would also cease; but this has been forgotten by them, as has also every Thing else, wherein they have not found their immediate Advantage.

In the second Session of the *Septennial* Parliament, few Acts were made. A Land-Tax of four Shillings in the Pound was granted, and the Duties on Malt, Mum, &c. for the Service of the Year, continued: Several Laws were made for redeeming the yearly Funds of the *South-Sea* Company, and the Bank of *England*; and settling on those Companies other yearly Funds, after the Rate of 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament; and for obliging them to advance further Sums to the Government. There were also made, An Act for the better regulating of Pilots for the conducting of Ships up the River of *Thames*; for the better Preservation of the Game; for the better enabling Sheriffs to sue out their Patents and pass their Accounts; and an Act for the King's most gracious, general, and free Pardon.

The last mentioned Law runs thus:

“All his Majesty's Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, of the Realm of *Great Britain*, their Heirs and Successors, and all Cities, Boroughs, Shires, &c. shall be by the Authority of this Parliament, acquitted, pardoned, released and

discharged, against the King, his Heirs and Successors, from all Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Felony, treasonable and seditious Words and Libels, seditious and unlawful Meetings, and all Offences of *Premunire*; and also from all Riots, Routs, Offences, Contempts, Trespasses, Wrongs, Deceits, Misdemeanors, Forfeitures, Penalties, Pains of Death, Pains corporal and pecuniary, and generally from all other Things, Causes, Quarrels, Suits, Judgments and Executions, in this Act not excepted, which have [II-42] been committed, incurred, or forfeited, before the 6th of *May*, 1717.

The Exceptions in the Act extend to all such as were, on the said 6th of *May* in the Service of the Pretender; all who had levied War against his Majesty, &c. all voluntary Murders, petit Treasons, and wilful Poisonings, burning of Houses, Piracies, and Robberies on the Seas, Burglaries and Robberies, Sodomy and Buggery, Rapes, Perjury, Forgery, &c. and also particularly, as to Persons, *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, *Simon* Lord *Harcourt*, *Matthew* Prior, *Thomas* *Harvey*, *Arthur* *Moor*, &c. Esquires; and all such Persons who had been impeached in Parliament before the 6th of *May* 1717, whose Impeachments remained undetermined.

The Exception in respect to Persons in subsequent Statutes, I think has been omitted; nor, by what has happened since, is it thought any Reflection on them, that they were ever inferted in any Exception: The Acquittal of the Earl of *Oxford*, after impeached by Parliament, and brought on his Trial, by a Disagreement of the two Houses, as to the Form and Manner of the Prosecution, especially of the House of Commons, sufficiently justifies the Conduct of that Earl, or sufficiently blackens the Character of others; for it cannot be supposed that the Niceties of Form only, should permit a Traitor to his Country to pass with Impunity in that High Court of Justice, unless there were some other Artifices used to skreen him from Punishment, such as it is said have been lately practised with the like Success.

Some will have it to be occasioned by a Disgust the chief Manager against him took at a Disappointment he met with in the satisfying his Desires after Places and Preferments (since liberally conferred on him and his Family, even to almost one hundred thousand Pounds a Year Revenue) but I take it to be a different Cause; and that no Opportunity but the Want of Matter sufficient for Conviction of Treason, gave the Occasion of the Acquittal of the Earl abovementioned.

But what may be the Reflections on this extraordinary Event? The Ax was carried before the Offender not to be used, but to amuse; to blacken and not to execute; to mock the most august Court of Judicature in the [II-43] World; or to convince Mankind that the sharpest Edge of the most destructive Instrument, in the Hand of Justice, may be blunted by Metal more soft, and of a different Hue.

The third Session of this Parliament began with a Land-Tax, the usual Business, of three Shillings in the Pound: The Statute for Continuance of the Duties on Malt, &c. and for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. And an Act was passed in this Session, to enable his Majesty to be Governor of the *South Sea* Company: The Statute enacted, That his Majesty is, and shall be, capable of being and continuing, Governor of the *South Sea* Company, for such Time or Times as are prescribed by the Charter granted to the said Company for the Continuance of any Governor therein: And his Majesty is exempted from the Oaths necessary to qualify a Subject to be Governor of the said Company, and all other Acts, unless it be relating to his Majesty's Share of the Capital Stock. Thus was his Majesty qualified to be at the Head of a Set of Men who have plundered the Public.

The other Acts of this Session were for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters: For vesting the forfeited Estates in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* in Trustees, to be sold for the Use of the Public: For empowering the

Commissioners appointed to put in Execution the Act of the 9th and 10th Years of Queen *Anne*, for building fifty new Churches in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to direct the Parish-Church of *St. Giles's in the Fields*, in the County of *Middlesex*, to be rebuilt instead of one of the said fifty new Churches: And an Act for the further preventing Robbery, Burglary, and other Felonies, and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons.

The first of these Statutes is a temporary Law, often renewed, as the Exigency of Times requires it, to regulate that Body of Men who are the Guardians of our Liberties, next to the Laws, and the great Bulwark of the Protestant Succession, on which our Hopes (by no Means frustrated) have so much depended. The second mentioned Statute has indeed very well ordained, that the forfeited Estates should be vested in Trustees, viz. *Richard [II-44] Grantham*, Esq; *George Treby*, Esq; *Arthur Ingram*, Esq; *George Gregory*, Esq; *Sir Richard Steele*, *Sir Henry Houghton*, *Patrick Haldane*, Esq; *Sir Thomas Hales*, *Robert Munroe*, Esq; *Henry Cunningham*, Esq; *Denis Bond*, Esq; *John Birch*, Esq; and *Sir John Eyles*, to be sold for the Use of the Public: But *Quere* how much of the Money arising by the Sales of these Estates has been hitherto appropriated to any public Use? I do not remember that any particular Disposition of this Money has been made by Parliament; and, till this appears, the Public has a Right, if not to enquire into it, at least to expect that it should be thus disposed of. The third mentioned Statute I have no Comment upon, further than to observe, that it was not intended by the Act made by Queen *Anne*, that fewer than fifty new Churches should be built in this City: But she was truly religious, and for encouraging the Church, which is more than can be said of all our Princes.

As to the Act for Transportation of Felons, it is the only good Law that has been made by the *Septennial* Parliament, which is put in Execution: It has freed us from a great many Robbers, Thieves, and Pick-pockets, who have been taken in the Facts; but the greatest Robbers, the Robbers of the Public, have escaped this Law; and if, instead of it, an Ordinance had been made for Transportation of the Parliament, before the Year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, it would have been happy for this Nation: We should then have escaped the general.

Transportation is the least a great many of our Members have deserved at our Hands; some have deserved more; many late Offenders have ended their Lives ignominiously at the Gallows, by far less criminal, and who have been driven to a Necessity of extraordinary Means for the Support of Life, through the extraordinary Conduct of some Persons, who, deserving the like Punishment, are in the Possession of Titles and Honours, Affluence and Plenty, and feed luxuriously on the Spoils of the Widow and Orphan. But the Poet has observed,

*That little Villains must submit to Fate,  
That great Ones may enjoy the World in State.*

[II-45]

The Statute for Transportation of Felons, requires particular Notice, as it is a Law for the public Benefit; wherefore I insert an Abstract of the most material Part of it. By this Statute it is enacted,

“That where any Persons have been convicted of any Offence within the Benefit of the Clergy, and are liable to be whipt or burnt in the Hand, or have been ordered to any Work-house before a certain Time: As also, where any Persons shall be hereafter convicted of grand or petit Larceny, or any felonious Stealing of Money, or Goods and Chattels, either from the Person or the House of any other, or in any other Manner, and who by Law shall be intitled to the Benefit of Clergy, and liable only to the Penalties of Burning in the Hand or



Whipping (except Persons convicted for receiving or buying stolen Goods, knowing them to be stolen) it shall be lawful for the Court before whom they were convicted, or any Court held at the same Place, with like Authority, instead of ordering such Offenders to be burnt in the Hand, or whipt, to order that they shall be sent to some of his Majesty's Plantations in *America* for *seven* Years; and that Court before whom they were convicted, or any subsequent Court held at the same Place, with like Authority as the former, shall have Power to transfer, and make over such Offenders, by Order of Court, to the Use of any Persons, and their Assigns, who shall contract for the Performance of such Transportation for seven Years: And where any Person shall be convicted or attainted of any Offences, for which Death, by Law, ought to be inflicted, and his Majesty shall extend his Royal Mercy to such Offenders, on Condition of Transportation to any Part of *America*, on such Intention of Mercy being signified by one of the principal Secretaries of State, it shall be lawful for any Court, having proper Authority, to allow such Offenders the Benefit of a Pardon, under the Great Seal, and to order the like Transportation to any Person who will contract for the Performance, and to his Assigns, of any such Offenders, for the Term of *fourteen* Years, if the Condition of Transportation be general, or else for such other Term as shall be made [II-46] Part of the Condition, if any particular Time is limited by his Majesty: And the Persons contracting, or their Assigns shall, by Virtue of such Order of Transfer, have a Property in the Service of such Offenders for such Term of Years.

“Persons convicted of receiving or buying stolen Goods, knowing them to be stolen, are liable to Transportation for *fourteen* Years: And if any Offender ordered to be transported for any Term of *seven* or *fourteen* Years, or other Time, shall return into *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, before the End of his Term, he shall be punished as a Person attainted of Felony without Benefit of Clergy, and Execution shall be awarded accordingly. But his Majesty may, at any time, pardon the Transportation, and allow of the Return of the Offender, he paying his Owner a reasonable Satisfaction.”

The other Statutes of Importance in this Session, were for regulating the Trade in the Bone-lace, and the Wearing of Buttons; by the last of which, Taylors, &c. are prohibited to make Cloaths with Buttons made of Cloth, Serge, Drugget, Frize, Camblet, &c. under certain Penalties.

In the fourth Year of the *Septennial* Parliament, a great many Laws were enacted, both public and private. The first of a public Nature was for granting a Land-Tax of three Shillings in the Pound: The next for continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, &c. for the Service of the Year: And for applying of Monies to be raised by Way of Lottery: And these are succeeded with an Act for strengthening the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms: An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and the better Payment of the Army: And an Act for quieting and establishing Corporations.

The Act for strengthening the Protestant Interest is placed in our Statute Books under the Head of Religion, and was made for repealing Part of a Law made in the 10th Year of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, and of another Law made 12<sup>o</sup> *Anno* of the same Reign: One was intitled, An Act for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of *England*; and the other for preventing the Growth of Schism: The former enacted, [II-47] That if any Person, who had any Office, Civil or Military, or who received any Pay or Salary, by Patent or Grant from the Crown, or who should receive any Fee or Wages of the Queen, her Heirs or Successors, or should have any Place of Command or Trust in *England*, &c. or be admitted into any Employment in the Houshold; or if any Magistrate of a Corporation, who by the 13 and 25 *Car. II.* or either of them, were obliged to receive the Sacrament, should, after their Admission into their Offices, or after having such a Patent or Grant, or Place of Trust, and during their Continuance in such Office, be present at any Conventicle for the Exercise of Religion, at which there should be ten Persons or more assembled, or should

be knowingly present at any Meeting where the Royal Family should not be prayed for in express Words, though the Liturgy of the Church of *England* were used, they were to incur a Penalty of 40 *l.* and be disabled to hold any Office or Employment whatsoever. This was what was called the Act of Conformity.

The Law against Schism ordained, that if any Person should keep any public or private School or Seminary, or teach any Youth as Tutor or Schoolmaster, before he should have subscribed the Declaration of 14 *Car. II.* ( *viz.* That he would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of *England* ) and should have obtained a Licence from the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese, he should be committed to the common Gaol for three Months. Persons keeping Schools were also to receive the Sacrament of the Church of *England*, to take the Oaths, and subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation; and they were not to resort to any Conventicles or Meetings.

These were the Laws relating to the Church of *England*, made by the late Queen *Anne*, and repealed by the 5 *Geo.* It seems the Protestant Interest was to be strengthened by annihilating a Law made for preserving the Protestant Religion, and better securing the Church; and of a Law against Schism, which did not extend, as to Seminaries of Learning, to the Tuition and Teaching of Youth in Reading, Writing, or Mathematical Learning in the *English* Tongue.

#### [II-48]

I have mentioned thus much of the Statutes made in the late Reign, to shew to the Reader what it is that has been repealed, that he may the better judge of the Conduct of the *Septennial* Parliament in this Particular, and see what was our Law before it was altered. But this must be said in Behalf of our Parliament, in the second Section of the Act of Repeal, they enacted, That if any Mayor, Bailiff, or other Magistrate of a Corporation, shall resort to, or be present at, any public Meeting for religious Worship, other than the Church of *England* as by Law established, in the Gown or other peculiar Habit, or attended with the Mace, or other Ensigns of his Office, every such Mayor, &c. being thereof convicted, shall be disabled to hold such Office or Employment, and be adjudged incapable to bear any public Office.

The Act for quieting Corporations, was made on a Neglect of taking the Oath and subscribing the Declaration of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (difused for many Years, though required by the Act 13 *Car. II.*) to confirm Members of Corporations in their Offices, notwithstanding the Omission to take the said Oath, or to subscribe the said Declaration; and to indemnify them from all Incapacities, Disabilities, and Forfeitures, arising from such Omission. It also repeals so much of the Statute as required the taking the said Oath, and subscribing the Declaration. The Objection to this Omission, was first started by a cunning Attorney in the West, to make his Terms with the Officers of a certain Corporation, with whom he was at Variance: And he carried his Point, having proved, that by the Omission of a Part of their Qualification, the Acts of all the Corporations in *England* were null and void.

By this Law in favour of Corporations, it is also ordained, That all Members of Corporations, and every Person in Possession of any Office at the Time of making this Statute, required by the said Act of 13 *Car. II.* to take the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, within one Year next before their Election, shall be confirmed in their several Offices, notwithstanding their Omission to take the said Sacrament, and be indemnified from all Incapacities, Disabilities, &c. And none of [II-49] their Acts shall be questioned or avoided by Reason of such Omission.

The further Acts of this Session of the *Septennial* Parliament, are, An Act for continuing Duties upon Coals, &c. for establishing certain Funds to raise Money, as well to proceed in the Building of new Churches, as also to compleat the Supply granted to his Majesty: An Act

against clandestine running of uncustomed Goods, and for preventing of Frauds relating to the Customs: An Act to continue the Commissioners appointed to examine, state, and determine the Debts due to the Army, and to examine and state the Demands of several foreign Princes and States for Subsidies during the late War: A Statute for the better securing the lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East Indies*: An Act for recovering the Credit of the *British* Fishery: Acts for preventing Mischiefs which may happen by keeping too great Quantities of Gun-powder in or near the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; for Prevention of Inconveniencies arising from seducing Artificers into foreign Parts; for the better preventing Frauds committed by Bankrupts; for making more effectual the Laws for Discovery and Punishment of Deer-Stealers; and the several Statutes for Repairing and Amending the Highways of this Kingdom.

The Law for recovering the Credit of our Fishery, was a well designed Law; but why did not our Parliament examine into this sooner? When a Trade is wholly lost, it is then too late to make Laws for its Preservation; which I fear is the Case of the *British* Fishery. The Statute for preventing the seducing of Artificers into foreign Parts, might also be a good Law; but unless our Artificers are encouraged at home, no one can blame them for going abroad: If they are here starving, through the Badness of the Times (as I am very apprehensive too many are) they are then under a Necessity of going into those Parts of the World, howsoever remote, where they can acquire a Subsistence in Life: And as to the Law against Bankrupts, it has been found to be necessary, when we have a large Army of these Sorts of People, and it has been justly observed, that it is almost unfashionable not to be a Bankrupt.

#### [II-50]

Our Parliament, in this Session, shewed themselves industriously inclined to the Preservation of the Game, particularly of Deer; expecting, I presume, soon to enlarge their Landed Territories, out of the Plunder of their Fellow-Subjects, (for we are now advancing to the fatal Annal) they enacted,

“That if, after the 1st of *May* 1719, any Person shall enter any Park, Paddock, or other inclosed Ground, where Deer are usually kept, and willfully wound or kill any Red or Fallow Deer, without the Consent of the Owner, or Person intrusted with the Custody of such Park, &c. or shall be assisting therein; on his being indicted for such Offence, before any Judge of Gaol Delivery for the County wherein such Park shall be, and Conviction thereof by Verdict or Confession, he shall be sent to some of his Majesty's Plantations in *America* for seven Years; and the Court before whom he shall be convicted, or any subsequent Court, held at the same Place, with like Authority, shall have Power to convey, transfer, and make over such Offender, by Order of Court, to the Use of any Person who shall contract for the Performance of such Transportation.

“If the Keeper, or other Officer, of any Forest, &c. where Deer are usually kept, shall be convicted on the Statute 3 and 4 *William* and *Mary*, for killing or taking away any Red or Fallow Deer, or for being aiding therein, without Consent of the Owner, or Person chiefly intrusted with the Custody of such Forest, &c. he shall forfeit 50 *l.* for each Deer so killed, to be levied by Distress: And for want of Distress, be imprisoned for three Years. without Bail or Mainprize, and be set on the Pillory two Hours, on some Market-day, in the Town next the Place where the Offence was committed.”

By these Clauses, in this Law, we may see how careful our Representatives have been as to the preserving of Beasts *Ferae Naturae*, originally in common to Mankind, and which all had a Property in. I do not question the Authority of our Senate in making of Laws; but those Things wherein the People had an original Right, they will think hard to be taken from them, without parting [II-51] with that Right in a Manner agreeable to the general Disposition of Property.

So careful, I say, have our Members of Parliament shewn themselves in a Case of Diversion only, and a disputed Property; they have made Transportation, Fines, and Imprisonment, the Punishment of Offences in the Injury of Beasts (nay, some have gone farther, by proposing it to be Felony to kill any Sort of Game) when they have intirely neglected the highest Concern of the Nation; a Concern relating to the Lives, the Fortunes, and established Property of the Human Species, and their Fellow-Subjects, who chose them for their Representatives,

This will sound but illy to Posterity; and to shew that this blessed Parliament delighted in Trifles attended with Mischiefs, as well as in Matters of Moment that were fatal, I shall here insert a Part of the Statute made for the more effectual amending of the Highways. It is enacted,

“That no Waggon travelling for Hire, shall have the Wheels bound with Streaks or Tire of a less Breadth than two Inches and a Half, when worn, on Pain of forfeiting all the Horses above three in Number, with all the Geers, &c. If any Person shall hinder, or attempt to hinder, with Force, or otherwise, the seizing, distraining, or carrying away of any Seizure or Distress, for the Forfeiture aforesaid, or shall rescue the same, or use any Violence to the Persons concerned in making such Seizure, every such Person, on Oath thereof made by one or more Witnesses before a Justice of Peace, shall be sent to the common Gaol, there to remain for three Months, without Bail, and forfeit the Sum of ten Pounds, to be levied on his Goods and Chattels, by Warrant from the Justice of Peace before whom convicted.

By Virtue of this Law, all our Waggoners in *England*, who travelled for Hire, were immediately obliged to furnish themselves with new Waggon, to avoid the Penalties, and carry on their Business: They were forced to part with their old Waggon, experienced to be good, and perfectly useful, for any thing they could get; and to take up with new Waggon that were considerably worse for their Service at the dearest Prices; [II-52] and, at the same time, limited to the same Number of Horses as before, though adding to the Breadth of the Wheels makes a very great Difference on this Account; and all this was done to satisfy the Revenge of a Member, who had the woeful Misfortune of pitching his Head into a Mire, in a Road which was never known to be good.

It is by this Statute our Waggoners, and inland Traders, who have Dependence upon them for the Carriage of their Goods, have been liable to great Hardships and Expences, without any Redress, though they lately petitioned our wise Law-makers to take their Case into Consideration.

Before I quit this Session of Parliament, I am to take some Notice of the *Peerage Bill*, brought into the House of Lords, for limiting the Number of Peers to sit in that House. This Subject employed all Conversations for a considerable Time, and made so great a Noise in Town, that many were the Pamphlets that were written for and against it: The Court was for this Bill, which was a politic Game the Public could not easily understand, for it was parting with a Branch of the Prerogative; the Lords, you may be sure, joined with the Court, as it might be a Means of preserving the Dignity of the Peerage, and the Commons vigorously opposed both, for they expected themselves all to be Lords, so that the Bill, after many Debates, dropped in its Progress.

A great many discerning Persons were Sticklers for this Bill, who were of neither House of Parliament, because they apprehended ill Consequences from the Increase of the Number of our Peers (above sixty Promotions to the Peerage having been already made in this Reign): By that noble Body's growing too great, the Commons of *England*, who ought to be the Protectors of our Liberties, may be in Danger of losing their Rights and Privileges, and other Inconveniencies may ensue, which, at the Time of this Bill, was foreseen; though it is likely

the Court had another Reason for their advancing a Law of this Nature, not safe to be mentioned, when we have a Successor to the Crown now amongst us.

The History of the particular Debates on this Bill, is too long to be inserted in this Treatise; I shall therefore [II-53] omit it, and proceed to that Annal of our *Septennial Parliament*, which will sound dreadful to Posterity, the fatal Year 1720.

The fifth Session of the *Septennial Parliament*, began with a Land Tax of three Shillings in the Pound; an Act for continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, &c. A Statute for laying a Duty on wrought Plate; An Act for the Prevention of Frauds in the Revenues, Excise, Post-Office, &c. A Law for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and an Act to appoint Commissioners to examine, state, and determine the Debts due to the Army.

But the greatest Act of this Session, was the Act for enabling the *South Sea Company* to increase their Capital Stock and Fund, by redeeming public Debts; and for raising Money, to be applied for lessening several of the public Debts and Incumbrances. It recites, That the Commons being desirous to lessen the public Debts, as fast as might be, and that the public Duties might be settled, so that the *South Sea Company's* Annuity, or yearly Fund, for their then present and to be increased Capital, might be continued to *Midsummer* 1727, and afterwards reduced to four Pounds *per Cent.* and thenceforth be redeemable by Parliament, did grant that the Rates of Excise, and Duties on Pepper, &c. granted in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, and the Duties on Coals granted 5 *Geo.* should be continued and made perpetual, to secure to the *South Sea Company* the Payments intended to be made by this Act.

The *South Sea Company*, in Consideration of the Liberty given them of increasing their Capital Stock and Fund, (I think to forty millions, an immense Sum) by taking in of all the redeemable Debts, &c. were to pay into the Exchequer, towards discharging the Principal and Interest of such national Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th of *December* 1716, the Sum of four millions one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds and upwards; and also four Years and a Half's Purchase on the Terms of Annuities that should be taken in by Subscription; for which they were to be paid an Annuity (by weekly or other Payments) out of the Moneys arising by the public Duties above mentioned, ordered into the Exchequer for their Use.

#### [II-54]

To enable the Company immediately to raise the four millions and one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, and the four Years and a Half's Purchase on Annuities, they were empowered to make Calls of Money upon their Members, to open Books of Subscriptions, or grant Annuities redeemable by the Company, or to raise Money by any other Methods they should think fit. And the Company was likewise enabled to borrow Money upon any Contracts, Bills, or Bonds, under their common Seal, or on the Credit of their Capital Stock, at such Rates of Interest, for any Time not less than six Months, as they should think proper, and should be to the Satisfaction of the Lenders.

They were empowered to take in by Subscription all or any of the Annuities, for long and short Terms of Years (formerly granted for Money lent to the Crown) as the only Means of paying those Debts and public Incumbrances.

This is a Part of this Law, enacted by the *Septennial Parliament*: Let us now examine a little into the Use that was made of it. This Act was no sooner passed into a Law, but the *South Sea* Stock considerably advanced; in a few Weeks Time it rose from 100 to 200, and 300 *per Cent.* Price. This drew a vast Concourse of People of all Ranks and Conditions, to *Exchange-Alley*; Stars and Garters were here more frequently seen than at Court; and our Ladies of the greatest Quality abandoned their Palaces, and promiscuously mixed with

Thieves, Stockjobbers, Lords, and Pickpockets: They attended the *Exchange* both Day and Night, to try their Fortunes with a Set of Sharpers, and for some Time were considerable Gainers by the Stocks.

The Directors observing this Success, immediately set on Foot their Money-Subscriptions; the first they took in low, I think at 300 *per Cent.* and finding it full sooner than they expected, they set others on Foot, till they came to 1000 *per Cent.* for 100 *l.* Stock; and such was the Madness of the People that they ventured in all the Subscriptions; but it was in a great Measure owing to the Management of the Directors, who gave it out to be a Favour, that they permitted any to be Subscribers [II-55] but their Friends, and filled up what was wanting with fictitious Names.

These Subscriptions not only raised the Stock to almost ten Times its Value, but likewise drew in the Subscribers of Government Annuities; which the Directors also at first made a Favour to them, that happy was the Man (in the then Opinion) who could first subscribe to his Ruin. Our greatest Men of the Kingdom for Sense and Abilities, as well as Fortunes, were drawn into it; for we had Statesmen, Judges, and Bishops, who were taken with the Bait, as well as Tinkers, Coblers, and old Women. But when the Subscribers and Buyers of Stock began to consider what they had done, and the great Disproportion between the real Value and the Prices they had given, they then reflected on their Conduct, and were more fond of selling out (especially the Foreigners, here in great Numbers) than ever they were of buying in, which occasioned the first Fall of the *South Sea* Stock.

The Directors finding that they had gone too far in taking in Subscriptions, to keep up the Spirit of the People, and the Price of their Stocks, lent to the Proprietors 400 *per Cent.* on their Capital, by which Means they were enabled to purchase further: They made a Declaration of Dividends of 20, 30, and 50 *per Cent.* the latter for the Term of twelve Years, and cooked up a fictitious Contract with the Bank, which supported the Stock for some Time longer: But the Price being so very exorbitant, and more than all the Money in *England*, or in *Europe*, could satisfy, if all the Stock were to be sold, which now was the Case, for all would be Sellers, it fell from 1000 *per Cent.* in a very few Months, to 400 and 300, before the Parliament could meet to pass any Law, or do any Thing in its Favour.

For the King being abroad, at *Hanover*, he could not easily quit his *German* Dominions to come to our Assistance; and a Parliament could not well be called at this extraordinary Juncture without his Royal Presence: His Majesty's Absence, on this Occasion, was a great Misfortune to his Subjects; it was at least three or four Months before the King came over; and by what happened in the mean time, we were sufficiently sensible [II-56] that the Complaisance shewn to our King by his condescending Parliament, in repealing the Clause in the Act of Succession, which had obliged his Majesty's Residence in *England*, was a Complaisance as disagreeable to his People, as it could be acceptable to his Majesty.

But when our Parliament met, what did they do for the public Benefit, and to retrieve Misconducts? Why truly, they made several Votes and Resolutions, and ordered a Committee to be appointed, to enquire into Proceedings, which were succeeded with some Laws for restoring Public Credit: But all was too late; the Mischief was already done, and could not be undone; instead of raising the Stock, they brought it to 100. And the *South Sea* Dividends of 30 and 50 *per Cent.* which had been formerly declared, were now sunk in their Books to 10, 8, and 7.

The Subscribers for Stock at 1000 and 500, were not now able to go on with their Subscriptions; they were released by the Parliament; the *South Sea* Company had remitted them a great Part of their Debt to the Government, on Condition of allowing additional Stock to Proprietors: But the Subscribers of Government Annuities were obliged to the Terms of

300, when the Stock would not yield 100, and prevented by a Law from asserting their Right at Law in contesting their Subscriptions, which being agreed to on the Side of the Directors only, and not of the Proprietors, as the Statute directed, were in all legal Construction no Subscriptions at all, but a notorious Fraud and Imposition of the Directors, and those employed by them.

Instead of paying the public Debts, the *South Sea* Managers brought every body in Debt, and Ruin upon All Men but themselves: Nay, they did not stick to plunder their dearest Friends and Relations, to raise their own Fortunes; and those who were not let into the Secret, were one Day in a Coach, and the next in a Prison, but the latter they were sure of: Strange were the Reverses of Fortune in a very few Weeks; we saw the lowest and most awkward Mechanics surrounded with Equipages, and in the Palaces of Noblemen; and our ancient Gentry destitute of Habitations, and reduced to the extremest Poverty.

[II-57]

Suicides and Self-Violences were now become so common, that we seldom had a Week without many Occurrences of News of this Kind, besides great Numbers who submitted to their Fate, by pining away with Grief, Penury and Want. This has been the Case of many of the Annuitants, as to whom the public Faith has been more broken by the Septennial Parliament, than in any other extraordinary Transaction they have been guilty of: The Annuitants could not expect that in an Affair of lending their Money to the Government, and for which our former Parliaments had engaged, that they should be tied down by a Law to their Ruin and Destruction.

But as what I have mentioned is not sufficient to display the whole Scene of Villainy of the *South Sea* Directors, and others concerned with them, and the several Steps and Proceedings of our Parliament concerning the same, I shall here insert the Resolutions and Orders of the House of Lords and Commons, made and passed, relating to the *South Sea* Managers, and the dreadful Punishment that ensued thereupon.

*Resolutions of the Lords and Commons, relating to the South Sea Directors.*

*The Lords Resolutions.*

*January* 13, 1720. After Accompts were ordered to be given, and a Committee to be appointed by the Commons, the Lords first *Resolved*, That the Directors in making Loans on their Stock and Subscriptions, were guilty of a Breach of Trust, and ought to make good the Losses which the Company has sustained thereby out of their private Estates.

*Jan.* 16,— *Ordered* a Bill to incapacitate the Sub and Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South Sea* Company, from being Directors in any of the three Corporations of the *Bank*, *India*, and *South Sea*.

*Jan.* 27,— *Resolved*, That the taking in Stock without a valuable Consideration, for any Person in the Administration, during the Time that the Bill of the *South Sea* Company was depending in Parliament, was a dangerous and notorious Corruption.

[II-58]

*February* 1.— *Resolved*, That the Directors of the *South Sea* Company having bought Stock for the Company, under Pretence of supporting Public Credit, and at the same time gave Orders to sell their own Stock, was a notorious Fraud, and a Breach of Trust, and are the Causes of the Turn of Affairs with respect to public Credit.

*The Commons Resolutions.*

*December 29, 1720.— Ordered* the Directors of the *South Sea* Company do lay before the House an Account of the Reasons that induced them to take the 3d and 4th Subscriptions at 1000, and to declare the Dividends of 30 and 50 *per Cent*.

*Jan. 4.— Resolved*, That a Bill be brought in to prevent the Directors of the *South Sea* Company going out of the Kingdom, or disposing of, or alienating, any Part of their Estates; and to make it Felony to depart the Realm, &c.

*Jan. 20.— Resolved*, That all Subscriptions of public Debts shall remain in the present State, unless altered for the Ease and Relief of the Proprietors, or set aside by due Course of Law.

*Feb. 13.— Resolved* not to reject the Petition of the *South Sea* Company, praying to be relieved with respect to the Seven Millions, all the Money the *South-Sea* Company was to pay the Government.

*Feb. 17.— Agreed* to postpone the Payment of the Seven Millions a Year longer.

*Feb. 18.— Resolved*, That the Loss the *South Sea* Company may sustain by the Monies lent on Stock and Subscriptions (above Two Millions) shall be made good out of the Estates of the late Sub and Deputy-Governors, and Directors of the said Company: And that the taking in of Stock for any Member of either House, while the *South Sea* Bill was depending, was a dangerous Corruption.

*Feb. 21.— Resolved*, That all those Persons who had Stock taken in for them, whilst the *South Sea* Bill was depending, and paid no Money for it (about Seven hundred thousand Pounds worth) ought to refund the Difference to the Company. And ordered in a Bill.

[II-59]

*Feb. 25.— Resolved*, That the Deficiencies of the Payments on the 3d and 4th Subscription (amounting to above a Million) ought to be made good out of the Estates of the Directors; and referred to the Secret Committee to proceed in the Affair relating to the Stock taken in whilst the *South Sea* Bill was depending.

From all these glorious Resolutions, which discover the most secret and vilest Frauds of Persons in Power, as well as in Directors of the *South Sea* Company, we had Reason to expect a great deal would be done: That the Directors were to give in Reasons for what they had done; that an adequate Punishment would be inflicted on those who had been guilty of such notorious Corruptions and Breaches of Trust; and who had accepted of Stock while the *South Sea* Bill was depending, without paying any Money for the same; but instead of it, this mighty Noise vanished in Smoak.

'Tis true, Acts of Parliament were made to restrain the Directors of the *South Sea* Company from going out of the Kingdom; to raise Money out of their Estates; and to disable them from holding any public Places and Preferments. And the Secret Committee, which was composed of some very honest Gentlemen, as the Lord *Molesworth*, *Archibald Hutcheson*, Esq; *Thomas Broderick*, Esq; Sir *Jos. Jekyll*, *Edward Wortley Montague*, Esq; *Edward Jeffreys*, Esq; *Dixey Windsor*, Esq; and several others, by their diligent Enquiries, made a Discovery of vast Quantities of Stock transferred to Persons without any apparent Consideration; especially of Fifty Thousand Pounds to a noble E—1, and considerable Sums to others in the House of Commons, not to mention particularly the Ladies at Court: Yet what did this end in, any further than the acquitting of one Gentleman, and the imprisoning of another? And if the noble L—was in any manner of Danger from so vigorous a Prosecution, he was afterwards sheltered by an Act of Indemnity.



This was all that was done by the Septennial Parliament, after all this Clamour; but therein, perhaps, they have shewn their Prudence, more than in any other Proceedings; they best knew how far a Charge of this [II-60] Kind might affect their whole Body. And as to the Directors Estates, they gave in Inventories so very inferior to their real Fortunes, that the whole amounted to little more than two Millions; when many of the Directors were very well known to be singly worth near a Million of Money: And yet our Parliament was satisfied with them, and through a great deal of Christian Compassion to these Agents of Iniquity, their Fellow Labourers, allowed them above three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds (some of them their whole Money) out of the Estimates they had given in.

The Schedules of Estates and Allowances are as follow:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sir <i>John Fellows</i> , Bart. the Sub-Governor }	239,596	0	0
<i>Charles Joye</i> , Esq; Deputy-Governor	40,105	0	0
<i>William Astell</i> , Esq; Director	44,051	0	0
Sir <i>Lambert Blackwell</i> , Bart.	83,529	0	0
Sir <i>John Blunt</i> , Bart.	183,349	0	0
Sir <i>Robert Chaplin</i> , Bart.	45,875	0	0
Sir <i>William Chapman</i> , Knt.	39,161	0	0
<i>Robert Chester</i> , Esq;	140,372	0	0
<i>Stephen Child</i> , Esq;	52,437	0	0
<i>Peter Delaporte</i> , Esq;	17,151	0	0
<i>Francis Eyles</i> , Esq;	34,329	0	0
<i>James Edmonson</i> , Esq;	44,950	0	0
<i>Edward Gibbon</i> , Esq;	105,043	0	0
<i>John Gore</i> , Esq;	38,936,	0	0
Sir <i>William Hammond</i> , Knt.	22,707	0	0
<i>Francis Hawes</i> , Esq;	40,031	0	0
<i>Richard Horsey</i> , Esq;	15,222	0	0
<i>Richard Holditch</i> , Esq;	39,527	0	0
Sir <i>Theodore Janssen</i> , Knt. and Bart.	226,278	0	0
Sir <i>Jacob Jacobson</i> , Knt.	50,928	0	0
<i>Arthur Ingram</i> , Esq;	12,100	0	0
Sir <i>John Lambert</i> , Bart.	17,814	0	0
Sir <i>Harcourt Master</i> , Kt.	11,814	0	0
<i>William Morley</i> , Esq;	1,869	0	0
<i>Ambrose Page</i> , Esq;	34,817	0	0
Col. <i>Hugh Raymond</i>	64,373	0	0
<i>Samuel Read</i> , jun. Esq;	117,297	0	0
<i>Thomas Reynolds</i> , Esq;	18,368	0	0
<i>Jacob Sawbridge</i> , Esq;	77,254	0	0
<i>William Tillard</i> , Esq;	19,175	0	0
<i>John Turner</i> , Esq; (all Directors)	881	0	0
<i>Robert Surman</i> , Deputy Cashier	112,321	0	0
<i>John Grigshy</i> , Accountant	31,687	0	0
Total	2,023,347	0	0

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
To Sir <i>John Fellows</i> , Sub Governor	10,000	0 0
To <i>Charles Joye</i> , Esq; the Deputy-Governor }	5,000	0 0
To <i>William Astell</i> , Esq; Director	10,000	0 0
To Sir <i>Lambert Blackwell</i>	15,000	0 0
To Sir <i>John Blunt</i>	5,000	0 0
To Sir <i>Robert Chaplin</i>	10,000	0 0
To Sir <i>William Chapman</i>	10,000	0 0
To <i>Robert Chester</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Stephen Child</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Peter Delaporte</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Francis Eyles</i> , Esq;	20,000	0 0
To <i>James Edmonson</i> , Esq;	3,000	0 0
To <i>Edward Gibbon</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>John Gore</i> , Esq;	20,000	0 0
To Sir <i>William Hammond</i>	10,000	0 0
To <i>Francis Hawes</i> , Esq;	5,000	0 0
To <i>Richard Horsey</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Richard Holditch</i> , Esq;	5,000	0 0
To Sir <i>Theodore Janssen</i>	50,000	0 0
To Sir <i>Jacob Jacobson</i>	11,000	0 0
To <i>Arthur Ingram</i> , Esq;	12,000	0 0
To Sir <i>John Lambert</i>	5,000	0 0
To Sir <i>Harcourt Master</i>	5,000	0 0
To <i>William Morley</i> , Esq;	1,800	0 0
To <i>Ambrose Page</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Hugh Raymond</i> , Esq;	30,000	0 0
To <i>Samuel Read</i> , Esq;	10,000	0 0
To <i>Thomas Reynolds</i> , Esq;	14,000	0 0
To <i>Jacob Sawbridge</i> , Esq;	5,000	0 0
To <i>William Tillard</i> , Esq;	15,000	0 0
To <i>John Turner</i> , Esq;	800	0 0
To <i>Robert Surman</i>	5,000	0 0
To <i>John Grigsby</i>	2,000	0 0
Total	354,600	0 0

By these two Schedules (the first valuing *South Sea* Stock at 150 *per Cent.* ) it appears how sparing our Directors were in giving in the real Estimates of their Estates; and how truly indulgent to them the Septennial Parliament have behaved themselves, at a Time it was expected, and that very justly, that the *South Sea* Directors would have been rewarded with Halts, and not have had Allowances so considerable, as Fifty Thousand Pounds to any one Man, for ruining their Country.

What I have said, may serve as a short History of the Parliament's Proceedings relating to the *South Sea* Scheme: I shall now take Notice of the other Statutes made and passed in this Session of Parliament, particularly concerning the *Bubbles*.

Besides the Statutes I have mentioned, the following Laws were enacted: An Act for making forth new Exchequer Bills, not exceeding One Million, at a certain Interest, and for lending the same to the *South Sea* Com-Company, upon Security of repaying it into the Exchequer, for Uses to which the Fund for lessening the public Debts, called the *Sinking Fund*, is applicable. An Act for securing Powers granted by Charters for Assurance of Ships and Merchandize. An Act for Relief of Insolvent Debtors. And another for the Building and Repairing of Goals. And Acts for making the Rivers *Idle*, *Douglas*, &c. navigable.

As to the first of these Laws, I do not admire that the *South Sea* Funds were called by the Names of the *Sinking Funds*; I take it they have sufficiently sunk our Pockets: The Statute in favour of the Corporations of Assurances, were granted to raise 600,000 *l.* for the Use of his Majesty, to discharge the Debts of his Civil Government. The Act for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, was the first of the Kind that had been made in his Reign (in other Reigns, Acts of Grace were more frequent) and subjected the Debtors to unusual Hardships: And the Statute for building of Gaols, was an Act that was convenient, when our Gaols would not contain the Number of Debtors liable to Commitment to our Prisons.

The Statutes for making the Rivers *Idle* and *Douglas* navigable, were immediately converted into Bubbles; for this being the Year of Bubbles, wherein above one Hundred of all Sorts were set up, encouraged by the Grand National Bubble, the *South Sea*, if a Man had but a House to build, an Elbow Chair, or a Table to make, he was for raising Money upon his Project, before any thing was done, and where nothing was intended to be done; and even Necessary Houses were a Bubble amongst the rest, though but few of the Proprietors could live upon the Product, when their Money, which should have bought them Provisions, was distributed to the Projectors.

Mines of all Sorts were now the greatest Bubbles; all Persons expected Silver and Gold, Brass and Copper, though none could find it in any Situation, but in the Continuances of the Cheats that set them on foot: Yet all of them succeeded a while, till by the Clause in the Act for securing to the Corporations for Assurance of Merchandize certain Privileges, they were declared to be Cheats and public Nusances; which at once crushed them, and gave the *South Sea* Company the greatest Blow it had then received, though it was manifestly designed for its Service.

The Traders in *Exchange Alley* having a greater Advantage in the small Bubbles than in the National One, had employed their Money in those, and neglected to deal in the *South Sea* Stock: And this occasioned the [II-64] Clause I have referred to; for the *South Sea* Managers were resolved to have the whole Game of Bubbles (so exceeding profitable) to themselves only; but the Consequence did not answer their Expectation: With the Bubbles sunk the Stocks, which the politic Managers could never afterwards rise: People began now to mistrust every thing, when the Use of Patents was denied; those who acted in Bubbles, erected on Patents, thought they had the same Right to proceed, as those that had the Sanction of an Act of Parliament: And it being denied, public Credit immediately dwindled, and fell away to nothing; whereupon the general Calamity soon ensued.

Thus much for the Bubbles, as to their Rise and Overthrow; which extended to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as well as to *England*: And the Kingdom of *Ireland* is very much obliged to the Septennial Parliament for a Law of a different Kind from what I have taken Notice of. In this Session, a Statute was made for the better securing the Dependency of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *Great Britain*; wherein it is enacted, That the House of Lords of *Ireland* have not, nor of Right ought to have any Jurisdiction to judge of, assurm, or reverse any Judgment, Sentence, or Decree, given, or made in any Court within the said Kingdom; and that all Proceedings before the said House of Lords, on any such Judgment, Sentence, or Decree, shall be null and void to all Intents and Purposes.

I presume the Design of this Law was to aggrandize one House of Lords at the Expence of another; and though I am no Advocate on either Side, I doubt not but the Lords of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, at the Time of passing this Statute, thought it an Infringement on their Rights and Privileges.

In the sixth Session of the Septennial Parliament the Statute was made for restraining the Directors of the *South Sea* Company from leaving the Kingdom, for the Space of one Year, that they might be upon the Spot to receive the Doom that was reserved for them, the terrible one I have mentioned, of parting with a quarter Part of their Estates (a great deal of it returned them) as an Atonement for the Crimes they had been [II-65] guilty of, in cheating a whole Nation, and doing their utmost towards its Destruction: They were now obliged to deliver, on Oath before one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, the Inventories of their Real and Personal Estates, such as I have already inserted to their Honour.

The Clause for Allowances to the Directors was now also passed, being included in the Statute for vesting their Estates in certain Trustees, viz. Sir *John Eyles*, Sir *Tho. Crosse*, *John Rudge*, *Matthew Lant*, *Roger Hudson*, *Edmond Halsey*, *John Lade*, *Gabriel Roberts*, and *Richard Hopkins*, Esquires, to the Intent to be sold for certain Uses. We had also an Act passed this Session, for raising a Sum not exceeding five hundred thousand Pounds, by charging Annuities upon the Civil List Revenues, till redeemed by the Crown; which shews, that the Civil List was still in Debt, notwithstanding the extraordinary Provision of the last Session of Parliament.

The further Acts were; for a Land Tax of 3 s. in the Pound; for continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, &c. for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; to state the Debts of the Army; to prohibit the Wear of Callicoes in this Kingdom, out of Respect to the Ladies, it being their favourite Dress; to regulate Journeymen Taylors, who having extraordinary Employment in making the fine Cloaths of the *South Sea* Directors, were grown very mutinous; an Act to enable the *South Sea* Company to ingraft Part of their Capital Stock and Fund into the Stock and Fund of the Bank of *England*; and another Part thereof into the Stock and Fund of the *East India* Company; a Statute for the Restoration of public Credit; an Act for the King's most Gracious, General and Free Pardon; and a Statute for Repealing an Act made in the late Reign, obliging Ships to perform Quarentine; and for the better preventing the Plague being brought from foreign Parts into the Kingdom of *Great Britain*.

The Act for Ingraftment of *South Sea* Stock into the Stock and Funds of the Bank of *England* and *India* Company, has been an Encouragement to the Directors, and others, to endeavour to force an Ingraftment on those Companies without any Act of Parliament, and without the Consent of the Proprietors of Stock. Mr. [II-66] *Hopkins* and some others, on a late Motion in the *South Sea* House, made extraordinary Speeches, to shew how reasonable it was for an *Englishman* to part with his Estate without his Consent; and menaced the Proprietors to comply with his Proposition, for that otherways some Great Persons, in whose Power it was to do them great Injury, would highly resent it. Though all would not do, for a General Court carried the Question against them, though the Endeavours to obstruct it were very extraordinary and unprecedented.

A certain Courtier very much laboured for this Ingraftment to be made, to lessen the Power of the *South Sea* Company: He was for bringing the Capital Stock of the three great Companies, as near an Equality as might be, that he might the more easily bring them into all his Schemes, or on their Refusal, ruin them at his Pleasure. This was foreseen; which occasioned the Stand that was made, and disappointed, for a Time, the great Expectations of the Person that promoted it.

The Statute relating to the Restoring of Credit, I have already observed, had a contrary Effect to the Design and Intention of it, for the Reasons I have mentioned: It indeed gave an Addition of Stock to Proprietors, and remitted great Sums due from the *South Sea* Company to the Government; but at the same time sunk the Price of the Stocks: And what was a little uncommon, to make an Opportunity for enacting this Law, the Septennial Parliament was prorogued for a Week only, to create a new Session, that they may proceed to tie down the

subscribing Annuitants after they had voted, That the Subscriptions should remain as they did, unless set aside by due Course of Law; which they could not do without a new Session: So that the Law, by this Act of Parliament, was interrupted in its Course, and the Annuitants forced to accept of Stock which did not amount to above a third Part in Value of their respective Debts and Annuities.

But there is one good Clause in this Statute, relating to Contracts, at this Time very numerous, and impossible, by the Fall of Stock to be complied with: It enacted,

“That no Special Bail shall be required in any Action brought upon any Contract made since the 1st of [II-67] *December* 1719, and before the 1st of *December*, 1720, for the Sale or Purchase of any Subscription or Stock of the *South Sea* Company, or any other Company; and that no Execution shall be awarded upon any Judgment obtained in any Action brought upon such Contract, until the End of the next Session of Parliament.”

This Interruption of the Law, was very favourable to a great many Persons; and, I think, this Clause has been since continued.

In respect to the Act for a General Pardon, it is easily known for whom it was designed: I have hinted at the Use of this Law, in my Notice of the Punishment of the late *South Sea* Directors, and others their Confederates. It enacts,

“That all his Majesty’s Subjects of *Great Britain*, their Heirs, &c. shall be Acquitted, Pardoned, and Discharged, from all Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Felonies, &c. And all Riots, Routs, Offences, Trespasses, Wrongs, Deceits, Misdemeanors, Forfeitures and Penalties, which are not excepted, done before the 24th of *June*, 1721”.

Now, I don’t know any Persons that had at this Time been guilty of Treason or Felony, to require a Statute of this Kind, unless it were the Directors of the *South Sea* Company, who were under Prosecution, and Excepted out of the Act; which plainly shews, that this Act was made for no Use at all, or to skreen some Persons not called to Account, from Crimes of another Nature, though equal in Consequence.

As for the Quarentine Act, it being a Statute that has made a very great Noise, more perhaps than any other Law that has been enacted within the Memory of Man, I shall here insert an Abstract of such Parts of the same as are mostly necessary to be communicated to the Public; and I hope the Length of it will not be a Burden to the Reader.

This Statute enacts,

“That during the Infection, and in all future Times, when any Country or Place shall be infected with the Plague, all Ships, Persons, Goods and Merchandises, coming in such Ships into any Port in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, from any Place so infected, or from any Place the Inhabitants whereof are known to trade with any Country actually infected, or from [II-68] any Place from whence his Majesty, with the Advice of the Privy Council, shall judge it probable that the Infection may be brought, shall be obliged to make their Quarentine in such Place, for such Time, and in such Manner, as by Proclamation shall be directed and notified: And till such Ship, Persons, or Goods, shall be discharged from Quarentine, no Person or Goods shall be brought on Shore, or be put on board any other Ship, in any Place within his Majesty’s Dominions, unless by proper Licence: And all such Ships, Persons and Goods, and all Vessels receiving any Goods or Persons out of them, are to be subject to such Orders concerning Quarentine, and the Prevention of Infection, as shall be ordered by Proclamation.

“When any Country shall be infected, and an Order shall be made and notified as aforesaid, concerning Quarentine, as often as any Ship shall attempt to enter into any Port, the principal Officer in such Port, or others authorized to see Quarentine performed, are to go to such Ship, and at convenient Distance demand of the Person having Charge of the same, the Name of the Commander; at what Place the Cargo was taken on board? what Places the Ship landed at? whether such Places were infected? how long the Ship had been in her Passage? how many Persons were on board when the Ship set sail? whether any Persons during the Voyage had been, or shall be then infected? how many died in the Voyage, and of what Distemper? what Ships he or his Company went on board, or had any of their Company come on board his Ship? and to what Place such Ships belonged? and also the true Contents of his Lading? And in case, on the Examination, it appears that any Person on board is infected, then the Officers of any Ships of War, or Forts, or Garisons, and all other Officers, &c. on Notice given to them, are to resist the Entrance of such Ship into any Port, or to oblige such Ship to depart, and to use all necessary Means, by firing of Guns, or any kind of Force and Violence whatsoever: And if such Ship shall come from Places visited with the Plague, or have any Persons or Goods infected on board, and the Master, or other Commander [II-69] shall not discover it, he shall be guilty of Felony, and suffer accordingly: And if he shall not make a true Discovery in any of the other Particulars, he shall forfeit 200 *l*.

“If any Master shall quit the Ship, or suffer any other so to do, before Quarentine is performed; or shall not, after due Notice, cause the Ship and Lading to be conveyed into the Place appointed for Quarentine, then every such Ship shall be forfeited, and the Master shall also forfeit the Sum of 200 *l*. And if any Persons shall quit the ship by going on shore, or on board any other Ship, they may, by Force and Violence, be compelled to return on board; and shall be imprisoned six Months, and likewise be subject to 200 *l*. Forfeiture.

“If at any time hereafter, any Place in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, &c. shall be infected, and the same shall be made appear to his Majesty in Council, during the Continuance of such Calamity, his Majesty may make such Orders concerning Quarentine, as shall be necessary for the Safety of his Subjects, and notify the same by Proclamation: And all Persons Civil and Military are to render due Obedience to all Orders and Regulations so made and notified.

“His Majesty may order Ships to be provided, or cause Lazarets for entertaining Persons infected, and obliged to perform Quarentine, and Sheds and Tents to be erected, to continue for such Time as his Majesty shall think proper, in convenient Places, to be allowed by Justices of the Peace, in any waste Grounds, &c. And the proper Officers may compel all Persons infected, or obliged to perform Quarentine, and all Goods to be conveyed to some of those Ships, Lazarets, or Tents, according to the Orders made and notified.

“If any Persons infected, or obliged to perform Quarentine, shall refuse to repair, after due Notice, to the Places appointed; or having been placed there, shall attempt to escape, the Watchmen may, by any kind of Violence, compel them to repair, or to return, to such Ship, Lazaret, &c. and such refusing or escaping shall be Felony. And if any Persons, [II-70] not infected, shall presume to enter any Ship, or Lazaret, whilst any Person infected, or under Quarentine, shall be therein, and shall return, unless by Licence, then the Watchman may, by any kind of Violence, compel them to repair into such Ship or Lazaret, there to continue and perform Quarentine; and such Persons returning shall be guilty of Felony.

“If any Place shall be infected, his Majesty may cause Lines or Trenches to be cast up about such Place, at a convenient Distance, to cut off the Communication between the Place infected, and the rest of the Country; and prohibit all Persons and Goods to be carried over such Lines, unless by Licence: And if any Person within the Lines shall attempt to come out of the same, the Watchmen, &c. may, by any kind of Violence, compel them to return: And Persons coming out of the Lines without Licence, shall be guilty of Felony.

“Any two Justices of the Peace, next to the Place where any Ship shall be performing Quarentine, or wherein any infected Place shall be situate, or Lines made, may order the Inhabitants about the same to keep sufficient Watches by Day and Night, who are not to permit any Persons or Goods to depart out or be removed from such Lines: And if any Inhabitant refuse to keep such Watch, on Conviction thereof he shall forfeit not exceeding 100 *l.* nor less than 10 *l.* at the Discretion of the Justices, and shall be committed to Prison for two Months.

“If any Officer of the Customs, or any other Officer, shall be guilty of any wilful Breach of Trust, he shall forfeit his Office, and be incapacitated, and also forfeit 200 *l.* And if any Officer appointed to see Quarentine performed, or any Watchman, shall knowingly suffer any Person, Ship, or Goods to depart, or to be conveyed out of a Town or Place infected, he shall be guilty of Felony.

“If it shall appear, that any Ship shall come from any Place infected, or be loaden with any Cargo taken on board at any Place infected, or from any Ship infected; or there shall be any Persons or Goods on board actually infected, his Majesty, by Order of [II-71] Council, may order such Ship, with the Goods, &c. to be burnt, for preventing the Spreading of the Infection.

“All Goods, after Quarentine performed, are to be opened and aired, in such Place, and for such Time, and in such Manner, as shall be directed by his Majesty’s Order: And on Proof thereof, by two credible Witnesses, before the Customer, or others appointed, such Goods shall be forthwith discharged.

“When a Ship has performed Quarentine, on Proof made of it upon Oath by the Master, and two Persons belonging to the Ship, and of two credible Witnesses, that the Ship and Persons have duly performed Quarentine, and that they are free from Infection, then the Customer, &c. with two Justices of the Peace, are to give Certificates thereof, and thereupon such Ship and Persons shall be liable to no further Restraint.

These are the most material Clauses in the Quarentine Act; and some of them are so very extraordinary, that if our Protestant Parliament had not exactly copied after *France*, it is impossible they could ever have been thought of. In *France*, the poor miserable People visited with the Plague, were, by Force and Violence, removed from their Habitations (the only Place of Comfort in time of Sickness) to stinking Lazarets, where, by their Removal, and want of Necessaries, they soon saw a Period of their Lives: And thus, it seems, were the People of *Great Britain* to be served. In *France*, Lines and Trenches were cast up to confine the Distemper and the People within due Bounds, and to prevent the bringing them Provisions; and in *England* the same Methods were to be taken. In *France*, Pest-houses were built, for the Reception of Persons that should be infected; and here we were to have Barracks erected, though perhaps for another Purpose, to wit, to receive an armed Force.

The Barbarity and Inconsistency of these three Clauses, are so very apparent, that no Country, but an arbitrary Government, could possibly have furnished us with Precedents for them: And we may observe, with what Artifice the Statute is penned to make them go down. The Statute enacts, That his Majesty may order Ships, or cause Lazarets to be provided for entertaining Persons infected [II-72] and obliged to perform Quarentine. Here the Word *Ship* is put before the Word *Lazaret* (which is observed throughout the whole Act) to make us understand the Act only related to Quarentine at Sea; which the generality of the People believed, without knowing or considering rightly, the Meaning of the Word *Lazaret*, and *Posthouse* at Land.

Then the Words *Tents*, and *Sheds*, are inserted just before the ordering the opening and airing of Goods, as if only designed for those Purposes. But when the Populace were alarmed with Reports of Designs to build Barracks in several Parts of the Kingdom, to receive Persons infected with the Plague, and the Plague had made its Approaches nearer to us, they then grew very uneasy and turbulent, and by their perpetual Clamour against the Contrivers

of this Law, at length they got the extraordinary Clause repealed.

But it was above a Year after the Act was granted that this was done: And after Petitions had been presented to both Lords and Commons, which in one House were rejected, and, at first, by the other House received with very little Notice, though afterwards it was carried, on the repeated Outcries of the People, when a new Election was near approaching, and on duly considering the excellent Protest made by the Lord *Cowper*, and others, upon rejecting the Petition of the City of *London*.

Whether our Parliament passed this Law designedly, or not so, is not material to enquire into: That some of them must design it is certain; for certainly all of them could not be ignorant of what they were doing: And if the generality of our Representatives, by their great Penetration, could not discover the Design of this Law, I think I may say, that the Members of the *Septennial* Parliament have shewn themselves as remarkable for their Wisdom as their Honesty.

Now I come to the seventh and last Session of this glorious Parliament. When the Parliament was assembled, the first Thing they took into Consideration was the Charges of the Year, and the Debts of the Nation, of which they ordered Estimates to be given in, particularly of the Navy Debt, and Debts due to the Army. They also ordered Accounts to be laid before them of [II-73] the Customs, and other Revenues, and seemed, for some time, to be pretty warm in calling Persons to Account for Mismanagements.

The Lords went into a Committee to consider of the Causes of contracting so large a Navy Debt, when every Year Provision had been made for the Navy. Great Debates arose on this Head, at several Meetings, but they came to no Resolution. The Lords were for having the Treaties with *Spain* laid before them; but this was opposed, and on the Question being put, it was carried against it. They also resolved, that an Address should be presented to his Majesty, for an Account how the *Spanish* Ships of War, taken in the Engagement in the *Mediterranean* (on our espousing the Cause of the Emperor against *Spain* ) had been disposed of: And the Address being presented by the Lords, the Papers were delivered them, which not being satisfactory, a Motion was made for a Representation to the King, but it passed in the Negative.

By these Negative Proceedings in the Upper House, it was easy to be seen that every thing here went in favour of the Court, or the Court Favourites: And this manifested itself further, when the Lords rejected, by a very great Majority, the Petition of the City against the Quarentine Act. In the Lower House of Parliament, there appeared the same kind of Spirit; for the Commons had very great Debates before they would order in a Bill for the Repeal of this Statute: There were 75 Members against it, when the House was so thin as not to exceed the Number of 190 on this great Occasion. A List of this Number of 75, and also several other Lists of this Nature, would be an acceptable Curiosity to the Public; and there's no doubt but they will be published.

Upon many Occasions, this Sessions, there were very thin Houses: And tho' frequent Orders were made for a Call of the House, yet it was never once called. I don't see to what Purpose our Members of Parliament are elected, if they are not constantly to appear, and sit in the House: And it is undoubtedly, rightly considered, a very great Breach of Trust in them, not to be present when any Thing of Importance is transacting in the Senate.

[II-74]

But to proceed to the Business of the Parliament: They resolved, That seven thousand Seamen should be allowed for the Service of the Year; and to continue the Number of Forces of the former Year, *viz.* fourteen thousand three hundred Men; they made a Provision for



paying them, and granted to his Majesty one Million of Money to discharge the Debts of the Navy. They granted a Land Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, and no more; continued the Duties on Malt, &c. and made an Act to punish Mutiny and Desertion.

They passed a Law to enable his Majesty to prohibit Commerce with any Kingdom or Country, for the better Prevention of the Plague being brought to us; at which Time, and not before, the Objection was found out to the Quarentine Act, in the Manner I have mentioned: They likewise made a Statute against the clandestine Running of customed Goods, and also to prevent the Plague; which has a Clause in it very disadvantageous to our Merchants. A Bill was now passed for the further Encouragement of the Importation of naval Stores; for taking off Duties on Merchandize, and annulling Duties on Soap and Candles; and for the better suppressing of Pyrates at Sea, which were now very numerous, and grown very formidable.

Amongst other Statutes, a Law was made to empower the *South Sea* Company to sell so much of their Stock as would enable them to pay their Debts; though the Parliament refused to comply with the Petition of the *South Sea* Subscribers, praying to be relieved by a Distribution of the two Millions (in the Hands of the Company) which they thought they had reason to expect.

The *Septennial* Parliament also, in this Year, passed an Act for altering the Form of the Quakers Affirmation, which, I am informed, exempts them from the Use of the Word *God* in their solemn Declarations: And this was carried in both Houses, notwithstanding the Clergy of the City of *London* petitioned against it, as impious, and contrary to Religion; but our Members wanted the Assistance of these People in their Elections, and thought it no great Difficulty to give them a Licence to have nothing [II-75] to do with that great and awful Power they had themselves so little Concern with.

Next to this, in Complaisance to the City, and to do what they could towards the Ruin of it, a Bill was brought into the House for building a Bridge over the *Thames* at *Westminster*: It seems the Archbishop's Horses had received great Colds in passing the *Lambeth* Ferry, and to prevent this Mischief, thousands of People were to be ruined at the other End of the Town; but on hearing the Council for the City, and on the very great Clamour made against it, this Bill was dropped.

About this Time also a Bill was ordered, to prohibit the Practice of building Ships for Foreigners; it is observable that this was done after a Fleet of Ships of 60 and 70 Guns each had been built for *France*, under the Notion of *Mississippi* Merchantmen, though every one knew, by the Manner of building them, that they were otherways designed, and that they might one Day meet us to dispute the Empire of the Sea: But this, as it had all along been connived at, so now it was only considered in the House of Lords, without ever being examined into by the House of Commons, to the best of my Remembrance.

The Bill for better securing the Freedom of Elections, was now brought into the House of Commons, on a Motion made by Mr. *Archibald Hutcheson*; and it pretty easily passed this House, though it was generally apprehended, that it was owing to a good Understanding with the House of Lords, and to an Assurance that there it would be rejected, as it was on its second Reading: The Lords adjudged it incompatible with their Privileges, and therefore threw it out; but to the Honour of some of our Peers be it remembered, the rejecting this Law was opposed: for Protests were entered against it, by many noble Lords, though Debates arising upon them, the Protests that were made were ordered to be expunged.

As this Bill, which proposed the securing to us, what is most valuable to a free People, the Freedom of our Elections, has many excellent Clauses in it, tending to the Suppression of Bribery, from whence is our greatest Danger, I shall insert it at large, whereby the Reader may the better judge of its Use, if it had passed.

*The Copy of a Bill for better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament.*

FOR better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, and further regulating such Elections, and for more effectual preventing corrupt and irregular Practices and Proceedings, in electing and returning such Members; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that the Messenger attending the Great Seal, or other Officer, or Person who shall be appointed, employed, or intrusted by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the time being, to carry, send, or deliver, any Writ or Writs, to be issued after the 25th of *March 1722*, for the Election of any Member or Members to serve in Parliament for any County, City, Borough, Town, or Place, within *England, Wales*, or the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, shall deliver, or cause such Writ or Writs to be delivered to the Sheriff, or other proper Officer, to whom the Execution thereof doth belong, and to no other Person whatsoever, within the respective Times following (that is to say) to such Sheriff, or Officer, whose then Place of Abode shall be within thirty Miles of the City of *Westminster*, within one Day next after the Delivery of such Writ or Writs to such Messenger, Officer, or Person intrusted as aforesaid; and to such Sheriff, or other Officer, whose then Place of Abode shall be above thirty Miles distant from *Westminster*, and within sixty Miles thereof, within two Days next after the Delivery as aforesaid; and all such Writs shall be so delivered in like Proportion of Time, for any greater Distance than sixty Miles from *Westminster*: And that every Messenger, or Person having or carrying any such Writ or Writs, shall not delay the same, but shall be obliged to travel immediately therewith, with all Expedition, after the Rate of thirty Miles [II-77] every Day at the least, after the Receipt thereof, until the Delivery of the same to the Sheriff, or other proper Officer aforesaid; and any Person wilfully offending in the Premises, shall, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of 100 *l.* of lawful Money of *Great Britain*, to be recovered and applied in the manner hereafter mentioned.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that the Messenger, or Person carrying such Writ or Writs, shall upon the Delivery thereof to the Sheriff, or proper Officer aforesaid, take a Receipt or Receipts for the same, which Receipt or Receipts the Sheriff, or proper Officer, is hereby required to give *gratis*, expressing the particular Days of the Receipt of such Writ or Writs, and the same Receipts shall be delivered by such Messenger, into the Office of the Clerk of the Crown, there to be filed and kept.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that all Bonds, Contracts, or Agreements, given or made to any Sheriff, or other Returning Officer, to indemnify, or save harmless such Sheriff or Returning Officer, for making a Return of any Member to serve in Parliament, or to pay to such Sheriff or Returning Officer, any Sum or Sums of Money, by Way of Gratuity or Reward, for making such a Return, or otherwise in respect thereof, are hereby declared to be null and void.

And be it further enacted, That every Person giving or making, and every Sheriff or Returning Officer accepting or taking such Bond or Agreement, shall respectively, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of one thousand Pounds, to be recovered and applied in manner herein after mentioned, and shall, from thenceforth, be incapable of holding or executing any Office or Employment of Profit or Trust under the Crown, or of being elected to serve in the House of Commons for any County or Place whatsoever.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That upon every future Election of any Member or Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, every Elector, or Person having, or claiming to have, a Right to vote, or to be polled, at such Election, shall, before [II-78] he is admitted to poll at the same Election (if required by any of the Candidates or Electors present) take the following Oath (or being one of the People called Quakers, shall make the solemn Affirmation appointed for Quakers) that is to say,

*I, A. B. do swear ( or affirm ) that I have not received, or had, by myself or any other Person whatsoever, directly, or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, Employment, Gift, or Reward, or any Promise or Security for any Money, Office, Employment, Gift, or Reward whatsoever, in order to give my Vote at this Election.*

Which Oath, or Affirmation, the Officer, or Officers presiding or taking the Poll at such Election is, and are hereby impowered and required (upon such Request) to administer *gratis*, upon Pain to forfeit for every Neglect, or Refusal so to do, the Sum of forty Pounds of lawful Money of *Great Britain*.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person taking the Oath or Affirmation herein before mentioned, shall be guilty of wilful and corrupt Perjury, or of false affirming, and be thereof convicted, he and they, for every such Offence, shall incur and suffer the Pains and Penalties which are by Law enacted or inflicted in Cases of wilful and corrupt Perjury; and from and after such Conviction, shall be incapable of Voting in any Election of any Member or Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That if, after the 25th Day of *March*, 1722, any Person or Persons, who, by Virtue of his or their Office or Employment, Offices or Employments, shall have the Power of issuing, or directing the Issuing, of any public Money or Moneys belonging to the Crown, shall order, give, issue, or promise to be concerted, in the ordering, giving, issuing, or promising any Sum or Sums of Money belonging to the Crown or the Public, to any Person or Persons, in order to influence the Election or Return of any Member or Members, to serve for the Commons in Parliament, or the Vote or Votes of any [II-79] Elector or Electors in such Election, every such Officer, knowing the same to be issued for such corrupt Purposes, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the Sum of 1000 *l.* of lawful Money of *Great Britain*, to be recovered and applied as herein after is directed, and shall be, ever after such Conviction, incapable of having, holding, enjoying, or executing any Office, Employment, or Place of Trust or Profit under the Crown, or of having or receiving any Benefit or Profit arising by, or from any such Office, Place, or Employment, or of having any Allowance or Pension from the Crown whatsoever; and shall be also disabled to sit or vote as a Member of the House of Commons.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the 25th of *March* 1722, every Person who shall be elected a Member of the House of Commons, for that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or returned as such (except the eldest Sons of Peers, or of Persons qualified to serve as Knights of Shires, and the Members to serve for the two Universities in that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, ) shall be incapable to vote or sit in the said House during any Debate there, after their Speaker is chosen, until such Member shall have given into the Clerk of the House of Commons, a Paper signed by himself, containing a Recital or Particular of the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, whereby he makes out his Qualification required by an Act passed in the 9th Year of the Reign of her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, (intituled, *An Act for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by the further qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons* ) and of such Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, whereof the Party hath not been in Possession, and in actual Perception of the Profits for one Year, to his own

Use, before the Election: He shall also insert in the same Paper from what Person, and by what Conveyance or Act in Law, he claims and derives the same; and also the Consideration, if any paid, and the Names and Places of Abode of the Witnesses to such Conveyances and Payment, and until he shall have also taken the following Oath, *viz.* *I A. B. do swear, that I truly and bona fide, have an Estate in [II-80] Law or Equity, to or for my own Use or Benefit, of, or in Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments ( over and above what will satisfy and clear all Incumbrances that may affect the same ) of the annual Value of 600 l. above Reprizes, which do qualify me to be elected and returned to serve as a Member for the County of — — —, according to the Tenor and true Meaning of an Act passed in the 9 th Year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, ( intituled, An Act for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by the further qualifying the Members to fit in the House of Commons) and that my said Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments are lying, and being within the Parishes, Townships, and Places mentioned in the Particular by me given in to the Clerk of the House of Commons: And in case such Person is returned to serve for any City, Borough, or Cinque-Port, then the said Oath shall relate duly to the Value of 300 l. per annum, and be taken to the same Effect ( mutatis mutandis ) as is hereby prescribed for the Oath of a Person to serve as a Member of such County as aforesaid: Which Oath shall be solemnly and publickly made between the Hours of nine in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon, by every such Member of the House of Commons, at the Table, in the Middle of the said House, and while a full House of Commons is there duly sitting, with their Speaker in his Chair.*

And whereas, contrary to the true Meaning of the Laws now in being, for regulating the Electors of Parliament, to serve in Parliament for the Shires and Stewartries of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, some of the Freeholders and Electors have sometimes presumed to separate themselves from the general Meeting of the Freeholders and Electors, and have, to make disputed Elections, elected separately a Member to serve in Parliament, and certified such Election to the Sheriff, or other Returning Officer; which Practices are of dangerous Consequence: For the preventing the like for the future, Be it declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all such Separations and Certifications are, and shall be taken and deemed to be illegal, and utterly null and void, and that no Preses or Clerk, or other Person whatsoever, shall presume to return any Person to the Sheriff or Returning Officer (other than, and except [II-81] the Preses and Clerks chosen in the Place where the Sheriffs Court, or Steward's Court, is usually held, by the Majority of the Freeholders and Electors, inrolled, and upon Pain to forfeit as in the Case of a false Return).

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That any Sheriff, or other Returning Officer, who shall take upon him to make a Return of any other Person but who is certified to him by the Clerk and Preses of the said Meeting, to have been elected by the Majority of the Freeholders inrolled, shall be liable to forfeit and pay 1000 *l. Sterling*, over and above the Penalties by Law, intituled upon Returning Officers making false Returns. And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That all pecuniary Penalties inflicted by this Act, shall be to the Informer or Prosecutor, who shall prosecute the Offender or Offenders, to Conviction, with full Costs, where such Penalties shall not exceed the Sum of 100 *l.* And of all other Penalties hereby inflicted, two Thirds shall be to such Informer or Prosecutor, with full Costs, and the other Third to the Poor of the Parish, or Place where the Offence shall be committed; and the said Penalties shall be recovered by Action of Debt, Bill, Complaint, or Information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at *Westminster*, or before the Lords of the Session in *Scotland* respectively. And in none of the Cases aforesaid, shall any Essoign, Privilege of Parliament, or other Privilege, Protection, or Wager of Law, be granted or allowed, nor any more than one Impar lance. Provided always, that every Information, Action, or Prosecution, grounded upon this Act, shall be commenced within the Space of one Year, next after the Cause of Action shall arise, or the Offence be committed, and not afterwards.

The first Part of this Bill was drawn up upon occasion of a pretended Election for the Borough of *Minehead* (on a Vacancy there) in favour of Mr. *Richard Lane*, who took the Writ from the Person ordered to convey it to the Returning Officer, and kept it in his Pocket till the very Day of Election, and yet he escaped unpunished, though the Messenger directed to carry the Writ was taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms: The other [II-82] Parts of this Bill are home against Bribery, false Returns, and the Influence of the Exchequer, and to the utmost strict as to the Estates and Qualifications of Members of Parliament. Upon the whole, this Bill was gloriously designed; and I hope to see the Time (though it may not be very soon) when it will be enacted into a Law.

Thus I have gone through my Narrative, or History of the *Septennial Parliament*, the first of its Kind in *Great Britain*; whereby I have demonstrated how truly they have distinguished themselves in the making many excellent Laws, and rejecting of others; in their strict Attachment to our ancient Constitution, and not altering the same above once in a Session; in guarding the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject, like true Watchmen, upon all Emergencies; in relieving those Persons for whom the public Faith was engaged, and the punishing of Cheats and National Robbers; in easing our Pockets of the Burden of our Coin, and designing us Barracks for our future Residence; and lastly, in all these their Wisdom and Penetration, as well as Justice and Equity; on all which Accounts, I think, I may say, they have vastly exceeded all that ever went before them.

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*An Essay on the Practice of Stock-jobbing, and some Remarks on the right Use, and regular Improvement of Money. In a Letter to a Gentleman, and a Proprietor of South-Sea Stock.* ↩

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq*;

Anno 1724.

SIR,

SINCE you was pleased to communicate your Desire to know my Sentiments and Opinion concerning the modern Practice of Stock-jobbing; in Compliance with your Request, I send you my impartial Thoughts in this Letter; which comes to acquaint you, that the irregular Method of acquiring Riches by Stock-jobbing, was always inconsistent with my deliberate Judgment, as being contrary to the natural and clear Dictates of Reason, as well as the plain Admonition of Conscience, directing and instructing us to govern our Words and Actions, according to the strict Laws, and sacred Rules of Truth, Justice, and Equity.

By the Practice of Stock-jobbing, I think it necessary to inform you, that I apprehend and mean those guileful Arts, and unjust Attempts, which are used to raise and sink the public Stocks of this Nation with no other View, or better Design, than to gratify the immoderate and insatiable Desires of some covetous and ambitious Persons, at the Expence of lessening the Substance, and procuring the irreparable Loss and Calamity of others.

These irregular and deceitful Methods of growing rich, and obtaining a plentiful Estate with great Dispatch and Speed, have been (sometimes) maintained and carried on, partly by spreading false Reports concerning the public Affairs, either Foreign or Domestic, in such a manner, as may influence the Buyers and Sellers [II-84] of Stock; and partly by forming clandestine Clubs, and secret Cabals, to invent divers Schemes, and various Projects, promoting the unequal Advantage and Interest of separate Parties, and exciting Discord and Sedition.

But more especially these extraordinary Means, and effectual Measures of attaining and increasing Wealth, have been further advanced, and in a great Measure, supported by a peculiar Custom of giving Money for the Refusal of Stock, and obliging one Person to transfer and deliver it to another at such a distant Time, and particular Price, as is agreed on between the several Parties concerned, who generally make it a verbal Contract. By Advantage whereof, it happens at certain Times, that a large Quantity of Stock is locked up, and kept from being bought or sold for a considerable while, and the Remainder being reduced to a lesser Bulk, more easily is raised to an immoderate Height, by the leading Men, and chief Managers of their Design, who always embrace the sudden Opportunity of selling large Parcels of their own Stock, in such a favourable and lucky Season; whilst that which continues unsold, soon after sinking faster than the former rose, by this crafty Device, is brought to a much lower Price, and smaller Value; which often occasions an irretrievable Damage in the Estates and Fortunes of the other Proprietors.

Some Persons, who endeavour to disguise and colour bad Actions with quaint Words, and specious Phrases, call this artful Management by the *French* Terms of *Finesse* and *Chicanery*, which really is no better, nor worse, than gainful Fraud, and profitable Knavery.

By which Means, and by the Invention of such subtle Projects, and cunning Contrivances, a great Number of honest and well-meaning People, are not only liable to be deprived of Part of their lawful Property, and are exposed to the constant Hazard of many bitter Disappointments, and grievous Misfortunes; but the *English* Nation in general, perhaps, at some Time or other, will be in Danger of having its Strength impaired, and Riches exhausted; in as much as the extraordinary Profit, and excessive Gain which redounds to the Stockjobbers Interest, will always encourage and invite Strangers [II-85] and Foreigners to come hither, in hopes of pursuing the same delightful Game, and making the same Advantage, as others have done of the Rise of Stock; which being exchanged for current Money, by several Ways may be transmitted, and conveyed from this Nation, to other remote Countries.

I do not pretend positively to assert, or foretel, that the common Practice, and fashionable Custom of Stock-jobbing, will certainly be attended with any such terrible Calamity; but I am fully persuaded by impartial Reason, and convinced by Experience, that those many artful Means, and particular Measures which have been concerted, and usually are employed to raise Stock to an excessive Price above its due and intrinsic Value; and chiefly the forementioned Practice of giving Money for the Refusal of Stock, and making fictitious Contracts and Bargains, does naturally tend to produce great Disquietude, anxious Trouble and Sorrow in the Minds of private Persons; and in like manner does contribute to sow the Seeds of public Contention, wild Disorder and Confusion; and seems to presage (if not by proper Authority prevented) further Mischief, and other future Disasters.

As the general Happiness and Welfare of any particular Kingdom or Nation, does very much consist and depend on the common Industry and Frugality of its numerous People and Inhabitants, the regular Improvement of Trade, the free Circulation of Money, and its just Application to all the useful Ends and Exigencies of Life; so nothing contributes more to impoverish a Nation, than to encourage and countenance crafty and ill-designing Persons to invent unrighteous and self interested Schemes (under the specious Pretence of doing Good) and give an ill Example of getting Riches by dishonourable and injurious Ways, by restraining or suppressing the current Coin, by an unequal and lavish Distribution of it to some, and by prohibiting the Use of it to others, and by hindering the necessary Growth and Increase of Trade and Commerce.

If we truly reflect on the unhappy Circumstances of those who have lately formed a black and execrable Conspiracy against a just and merciful Prince, and well-regulated [II-86] Government, it appears very probable, that several of those Gentlemen, and others, concerned in that Conspiracy, have been made the wretched Tools of mercenary Stock-jobbers.

Such Persons who delight to fish in troubled Waters, never fail to watch and improve every convenient Opportunity of embroiling the peaceable State of public Affairs, whensoever it serves their private Interest, or gratifies their covetous Desires; and forasmuch as any sudden or surprizing Tumult raised among the Populace, gives them a greater Power to depreciate the Credit of the Nation, and sink its various Stocks, when it promotes their ambitious Designs, or turns to their personal Advantage.

It is a melancholy Consideration, and cannot but excite painful Impressions of sincere Grief, and lively Sorrow in every generous and compassionate Person, that surveys the ruinous Effects, and pernicious Consequences of Stock-jobbing.

How many [\*] People of all Ranks and Conditions, have suffered the Loss of a considerable Part of their rightful Property, and necessary Means of their Subsistence, and have Reason to date their Affliction from that very Time in which they consented to submit

their various Estates and Fortunes to the adventurous and unskilful Management of unjust [†] Directors, and ambitious Stock-jobbers.

If we consult the Wisdom of former Ages, and enquire into the ancient Customs and Usage of other Nations, justly celebrated for their prudent and excellent Conduct, in governing the People committed to the supreme Magistrate's Charge, we shall find by searching their respective Records, that the most eminent Legislators have framed several good and righteous Laws, to punish all criminal Disorders of this Nature.

The [‡] ancient *Romans* had no less than Five Laws to reform the common and excessive Abuses of Money, and many others were made and enacted by them, to regulate extravagant Expences.

## [II-87]

The *Jews* inhabiting a fertile and plentiful Country, and being amply furnished with the distinguished Blessings of Nature and Providence, were expressly commanded by God, not to receive any Profit or Advantage from [‡] Usury amongst their Native Countrymen.

Although this Precept does not immediately concern us, who dwell in a different Climate, and being a trading People, are governed by different Laws; nevertheless, it ought to instruct us, that true Riches does not consist in collecting useless Hoards of Pelf, and perverting the needful Aids and Service of Money, to promote the base and little Designs of covetous and worldly-minded Persons; but ought rather to be employed in Acts of Piety and Charity, in setting the industrious Poor to work, in improving and increasing the natural Products of the Earth, in cultivating useful Arts and Sciences, and advancing solid Learning, and universal Knowledge to the utmost Perfection.

Amongst the many excellent Laws and Statutes which our *English* Legislature has formed for the Benefit of Mankind, and good of Posterity, such of them as heretofore have been enacted by our Ancestors, to rectify the irregular Abuse of Money, and reform the vicious Excess and Expence thereof (excepting those Laws which relate to Gaming and Usury) are either disused, as exceeding old, and out of Date, or being temporary, and limited to a particular Time, are now expired.

As nothing is more evident than that Money is an unprofitable Drug, and carries little or no intrinsic Value, unless it is circulated in Trade, and exchanged for Things more valuable; whereas Land and live Stock increase by keeping, and Manufactures are useful whilst kept. It would be a noble Design, and richly deserving the due Applauses of all honest and upright Men, if some proper and expedient Method could be invented, to turn our current Money into its right Channel, by augmenting foreign and domestic Trade, and especially by promoting the necessary and laborious Arts of Tillage and Husbandry; a competent Portion whereof employed this way, would be found more profitable and conducive [II-88] to the real Welfare and Advantage of Mankind, than the Wealth of both the *Indies*, should it be locked up, and lie unimproved in covetous and uncharitable Persons Hands.

According to the Computation of an ingenious [\*] Author, it appears a manifest Truth, that the yearly Revenue arising from the Labour of our *English* People, amounts to near eight or nine Times as much as the annual Rent of all the plowed Lands throughout the Kingdom.

And supposing there are ten Millions of Acres of waste Land, if Five Thousand Poor that want Employment, were set to work in cultivating the sixth Part of the foresaid waste Lands, would make the whole yearly Product to the Kingdom worth above two Millions *Sterling*; which annual Profit computed at twenty Years Purchase, it adds more than forty Millions *Sterling* to the general Stock and Value of the Nation; and upon the whole Tract and Extent of



waste Land throughout the Kingdom, we might keep two Millions and a half of People more than we have, and by this Means add an immense Treasure to the Value thereof.

From whence it may plainly be inferred, and clearly seen, that next to the Favour of God, upon the Increase of regular labouring People, does very much depend the greatest Wealth, Strength and Honour of the Nation.

The Kingdom and Empire of *China*, is ten times as big as *Great Britain*, and yet there is no waste Land in that spacious Country, and (as it is generally said) they are the richest People in the World; and though they have twenty times more Inhabitants than we, yet the Poor there are well and decently clad, and are all employed; they providing suitable Work even for the Lame, Blind and Dumb.

Our Riches consist very little in our Money, in Comparison of the other Parts of our Estates; for, what is fourteen Millions of Money in this Kingdom, to three hundred Millions which the Nation may be valued at; or the Money every private Man is Master of, in Comparison [II-89] of the Value of all the rest of his Estate in Land, Houses, or Goods.

I remember the late celebrated Archbishop of *Cambray*, in some Part of his Book (called *The Adventures of Telemachus*) compares a rich and populous City, abounding with a great Number of useless Artisans, and a barren uncultivated Country around it, to a Person that has a Head of an extraordinary Bulk, and prodigious Size, and all his other Parts extremely consumed, and almost wasted to a Skeleton.

Wherefore no Person has Reason to overvalue himself on account of his imaginary Wealth, consisting in Heaps of hoarded Money, numerous Stocks, or costly Furniture; since all these are but the Carcase of Riches, without the Labour of the People, and so long as Covetousness eats out the Life and Soul of them.

As it is the undoubted Right and Privilege of every Subject of *Great Britain*, to seek and implore a Redress of Grievances, from the supreme and illustrious Assembly of the Nation; with due Submission it is earnestly desired by many sincere and public-spirited People, that some peculiar and effectual Means would be used to prevent and suppress the Mischief of fraudulent Stock-jobbing; either by declaring all fictitious Contracts hereafter illegal and void, which shall not be immediately complied with, and punctually fulfilled; and by inflicting a proper Punishment on all Persons assuming a false Power, and pretending to sell and buy Stock for themselves, or others, who have neither Money to purchase, nor Stock to deliver; or by such other Ways and Means as shall seem most adviseable and agreeable to the sage Council and consummate Wisdom of the Parliament.

At the same time it is much to be wished, and further desired, that some additional new Laws, by the supreme Legislature, would be made and established, as well for the Advantage and Benefit of Trade, as for the Improvement of Manufactures, for the Enlargement of Hospitals and Workhouses, for the Relief and Support of the miserable Poor residing and continuing in Gaols and Prisons (as being reduced to extreme Distress, and treated with greater Rigour and Severity in this Nation than other Countries.) But more particularly for employing [II-90] the industrious Poor in tilling and improving some Part of those waste Lands within this spacious Kingdom, which hitherto have lain neglected, and never been cultivated.

By which Means, and by the Favour and Protection of divine Providence, it is exceeding probable, that the public national Credit, which has lately been diminished by the unhappy Schemes, and unsuccessful Projects of Stock-jobbers, at length would be restored to its former Lustre, and ancient Dignity; our Trade, and various Stores increase, and solid Wealth and Plenty, lasting Prosperity and Happiness, be transmitted to future Ages, and succeeding

Generations.

*I am, SIR,*

*Your most obedient,  
And faithful Servant, &c.*

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*An authentic Narrative of the late Proceedings and cruel Execution at  
Thorn; with two Letters written upon that Occasion by Britannicus, in the  
London Journal. To which is prefixed, An Account of the Rights and  
Privileges of the City of Thorn.* ↪

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

Anno 1725.

*The INTRODUCTION.*

TO give a particular Account of *Prussia*, and the Privileges of its Cities, I must begin from the first Institution of those Knights who conquered it. This happened about the Year 1100, or very little after; but so inconsiderable was the Foundation, that no Notice was taken of them till the Year 1190 or 91, when an Expedition to the *Holy Land* was undertaken by *Richard I. of England*, and *Philip of France*; but these Actions are foreign to my present Purpose. I shall just observe, that these Knights were called *Fratres Hospitii Hierosolymitani*, for their great Hospitality; *Mariani*, for their Devotion to the *Virgin Mary*; *Teutonici*, from their Nation, being all *Germans*; *Equites Cruciferi*, from their Arms; and are still known by the Name of the *Teutonic Order*.

About the Year 1203, another Order of Knights, called *Ensiferi*, appeared in the North; and in 35 Years, the whole Time of their Duration, they took from the *Danes*, *Revel*, *Estonia*, and all that belonged to them in *Livonia*. But finding the Enemy too strong for them, and the second Great Master being dead, they proposed calling in to their Assistance the powerful *Teutonic Order*, which was upon the Point of being [II-92] quite driven out of *Palestine*, as not having sufficient Forces to withstand the *Saracens*. These readily embraced the Offer, and in the Year 1238, they were united in the Presence of the Pope, retaining the Name of the *Teutonic Order*.

*Prussia* was at this Time inhabited by Heathens, who were very troublesome to *Conradus*, Duke of *Masovia*, who called the *Teutonics* to his Assistance; and they readily engaged in a War against the Pagans: But notwithstanding all their Bravery, and several *Crusadoes* that were raised in their Favour, they were 53 Years before they conquered all *Prussia*, and extirpated the Natives; but at length they effected it, and all that Tract of Land became subject to the great Master of that Order.

But in Process of Time, these Knights, corrupted by Wealth and Power, grew very degenerate, and exercised such Tyranny over the People, that *Prussia* was ripe for a Revolt; and *Uladislaus Jagello*, the brave King of *Poland*, having in a pitched Battle, overthrown the Knights, the most adjacent Parts of the Kingdom shook off the Yoke they groaned under, and put themselves under that Monarch's Protection; and all *Prussia* had done the same, had not the Pope interposed between them; and by his Mediation it was agreed, that seventy Towns and Castles, which were specified, should be delivered to the King of *Poland*, and the remaining Part of *Prussia* should be held by the *Teutonic Order*, as a Fief of the Kingdom of *Poland*. In which State it continued till 1657, when all that Tract called *Ducal Prussia*, was, with Sovereign Power, transferred to the illustrious House of *Brandenburgh*, and that Part called *Royal Prussia* was to remain to the Crown of *Poland*; which, however, was not at that Time wholly under its Subjection, some Part of it, particularly *Thorn*, being then taken from them by *Sweden*.

The Knights of this Order, or at least the Remains of them who were under a Heer-Meister, were obliged to retire to *Livonia*, where they again carried on several Wars. After the Reformation of *Martin Luther*, they accepted the Confession of *Augsburg*, as did the greatest Part of *Prussia*; and the full and free Exercise [II-93] of their Religion was granted them, provided they would tolerate the Roman Catholics amongst them; but the Knights being at last worsted by their Neighbours, were obliged to seek the Protection of the neighbouring Potentates. The Town of *Revel*, with Part of *Estonia*, made Peace with *Sweden*, and paid Homage to *Ericus*, whilst the Heer-Meister and the Marquis of *Brandenburg* did the same to the King of *Poland*, for themselves and all those Places which had formerly belonged to them, and which, as fast as they could be recovered from the Enemies, should also appertain to the Crown of *Poland*, and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; but upon Condition, that the King and his Successors should maintain them in the Confession of *Augsburg*, and not suffer any Innovations to be made therein; but should confirm to all the Provinces their Privileges, Laws and Liberties in Temporal and Spiritual Things, &c. This *Pacta Subjectionis* being concluded, was sworn to on both Sides, at a Dyet held at *Wilna*, the 28th of *November*, in the Year 1561, and is confirmed by every King of *Poland* in the Oath he takes at his Election, when the Maintenance of the established Religion in the several Parts of his Dominions, is solemnly promised.

In the War between *Charles Gustavus* of *Sweden*, and *John Casimir*, King of *Poland*, some Part of *Polish Prussia* was conquered; amongst others, the *Swedes* took *Thorn* in the Year 1655; but the King dying, and his Successor being but five Years old, the Treaty which had been begun in his Life-time was renewed, and the Monastery of *Oliva* pitched upon for the Place, where it was at length concluded, and signed the 3d of *May*, 1660, between the *Poles* and *Swedes* as Principals, and the Emperor and Elector of *Brandenburgh* as Allies, each Party becoming Guarantee for the whole Treaty. The King of *France* too appeared as Mediator and Guarantee; but the Emperor refusing to accept him as such, he was not named in the Treaty exchanged with his Imperial Majesty. It was at the same time stipulated, that at the Exchange of the Ratifications, each treating Party should have the Liberty of naming other Guarantees, by which means the Elector of *Hanover* also became one.

#### [II-94]

By this Treaty, *Thorn* and the other conquered Places were restored to *Poland*, with this Covenant [ \* ],

“That the Towns of *Polish Prussia*, which, during this War, have been in the Emperor and the King of *Sweden*’s Power, shall likewise preserve all their Rights, Liberties and Privileges, in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, which they had enjoyed before this War (in preserving the free Exercise of the Catholic and Protestant Religion, as they had before the War) and his *Polish* Majesty shall have, for the future, the same Goodness he formerly had for them, and defend with the same Care the Territories of those Towns, their Magistrates, Communities, Citizens, Inhabitants, and Subjects. They shall likewise have Power given them to repair and rebuild the public and private Edifices ruined by the War, &c.

The City of *Thorn* is governed by a President, a Vice-President, a Burgrave, a Vice-Burgrave, and the City Council, who, according to their Charter, ought all of them to be Lutherans: They dispose of the Command of the Militia, and the Officers too should be Lutherans; but they are to tolerate the Roman Catholics amongst them. There has, since the Reformation, been a very fine College there, where the Lutheran Youth of *Poland* in general, used to be educated, the best Churches of the Place were theirs, even since the Peace of *Oliva*, that is, within these 65 Years: But they have been, by Degrees, very much encroached upon by the Roman Catholics, especially by the Jesuits, who having got a College there also,

seduce as many of the Lutheran Youth as they can: Nor do they care by what Means they compass their Ends; for if they can but once excite a Quarrel, they are sure to get by it; for though the Mob should do no Mischief, they'll take Care to do enough, and lay it upon them.

The *Poles* are very great Bigots; and having now intirely subjected these Towns, which at first only put themselves under the Protection of the King, they use them in a very arbitrary Manner; and if a religious Difference arises, they have generally no Regard to Justice [II-95] or Treaties, but sacrifice all that dare oppose the Catholics. By these Means *Thorn* has suffered more than once; and the Jesuits, who are never accused of being over conscientious, know how to make the best Use of this Spirit of Bigotry, and to acquire new Possessions, and new Riches, which they have no Title to. An Example of which was seen in this last Commotion; for though it was evidently known, that the College of the Jesuits, with all their Furniture, &c. was not worth above 30,000 Florins at most, yet they offered to swear the Damage they had sustained at 30,600. The Commissioners, after having examined into the Mischief done, allowed them 22,000, which was about double of what they really suffered, whether from the Mob or themselves, besides which, the Vice-President's House and Gardens, adjoining to the College, was given to them.

In the other Differences that have happened between the Jesuits and the unhappy Lutherans, the latter, tho' always the least guilty, have always been punished, and the former rewarded; but this was never done in so flagrant a Manner before: Till now they contented themselves with fining them, or taking a Church at a Time; but by this last Judgment against the Protestants, they have deprived them of their Rights, Estates, Religion, and Lives.

That what I here suggest has real Foundation, and that the Jesuits themselves were the original Contrivers and Fomenters of this Tumult, with this View, appears clearly from the Letters of the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*; and that the Roman Clergy have been at all Times capable of such a Conduct, is also undeniably evident, from a Letter written by Sir *Henry Neville*, Ambassador in *France*, to Secretary *Cecill*.

“There happened upon *Corpus Christi* Day last at *Limoges*, a Matter which doth easily discover the Passion and Malice yet remaining in the Popish Side here against the Protestants. Certain Priests themselves went into the Church in the Night, and broke down some Images, and (as they say) cast the Sacrament about the Church. In the Morning the People assembling, a great Exclamation was made by the Priests of this Outrage, and some principal Men of the Religion [II-96] in that Town, charged by Name to be the Doers of it. The People by and by grew in Fury, and would have proceeded to the present Execution of them, taking Arms, as I am informed, for that Purpose, and the other Side arming themselves likewise for their own Defence. Monsieur *de Salignac*, Governor of the Town, arriving and examining the Matter, found that one of the Religion was charged by Name to have been an Actor in it, who had been in his Company all that Night: Whereupon, suspecting the Matter, he caused some of the principal Accusers to be severely examined, and namely, one offered to depose that he had seen this Man there, whom Monsieur *de Salignac* knew to be absent; and threatening him with the Torture, drew the Confession from him of the whole Practice, and that they had done it to the Intent to have moved the People to a Sedition, and to have cut the Throats of them of the Religion: Hereupon some of them were apprehended, and some fled. What Justice will be done hereupon is much expected. This Matter will be disguised, I am sure, to your Honour, by the *French* Ambassador; but this is the Truth of it, as I received it from Monsieur *de Bellievre*, of whose Sincerity I find more Cause daily to believe than in Monsieur *de Villeroy's*; who, when I was with him at *Constans*, denied that there was any such Matter at all, and since hath sought to disguise it to me as much as he could, suppressing all that toucheth the Priests.” *Winwood's Coll.* Vol. I. p. 55. *Ann.* 1599.

The Behaviour of the Roman Catholics in *Poland* upon this Occasion, is very remarkable, and agreeable to the Conduct of this worst Part of their Clergy; for the Letters from *Warsaw, Cracow, Lemberg*, and other Places in *Poland* say, that the dreadful Execution at *Thorn*, has filled both the Romish Clergy and common People with extraordinary Joy; and as there is no other Popish Country, where People of Distinction, as well as the Vulgar, pay more Reverence and Devotion to Images than they do in the abovesaid Kingdom, some are still of Opinion, that this Execution, as severe as it was, is no sufficient Atonement [II-97] for the Prophanation of such an Image as that of the holy Virgin.

But we hope there will soon be some effectual Methods taken to redress these unhappy Sufferers at *Thorn*; for besides the Letters inserted in the following Papers, it is assured that the King of *Great Britain* has written to the King of *Poland* with his own Hand, on their Behalf; and from *Berlin* we have Advice, that his *Prussian* Majesty having been informed, that the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding their enormous and unheard of Proceedings at *Thorn*, are still going on with their Persecutions, and labouring at the total Oppression of the Protestant Citizens of that Town, has sent to his *Polish* Majesty at *Dresden* another Letter, in much stronger Terms than the former, concluding that his *Polish* Majesty would be pleased to interpose and exert his Royal Authority to put a Stop to these farther Proceedings; in Default whereof, he says, he must expect to see this Affair redressed in another Manner, and with great *Eclat*.

*An authentic Narrative of the late Proceedings and cruel Execution at Thorn.*

THE Tumult at *Thorn*, and the Proceedings thereupon, have made so much Noise in the World, and the Affair so nearly concerns the Protestant Interest and the Reformed Religion in general, that it is highly requisite an authentic Account of it should be delivered down to Posterity, and every original Piece preserved that relates to it.

This Affair was long talked of, before we could come at any real Account of it. The first Piece which can be called authentic, was that which was sent by the Council of that City to the King of *Poland*, and is as follows:

ON the 16th of *July*, ( *O. S.* ) the ordinary Procession being arrived at St. *James's* Church-yard, which Church had been taken from the Lutherans, contrary to the Peace of *Oliva*, there were there a great Number of the Citizens Children to see the Procession pass, with [II-98] their Hats under their Arms, according to Custom; but a Student of the Jesuits College, not satisfied with that Mark of Civility and Respect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad Language and Blows. About two Hours after the Procession, the same Student, with several of his Comrades, came again, and insulted several other young People, without the least Provocation on their Part; but in the End, this troublesome young Man was seized by the Soldiers of the Garison, and brought to the Guard, after he had wounded several Citizens with Stones. Next Day the Students got together again, and meeting one of the Citizens whom they had abused the Day before, they would oblige him to get their Comrade set at Liberty; but the Man had the good Fortune to get out of their Hands, and went for Safety to his own House, whither they pursued him Sword in Hand. In the mean time, the President of the City had given Orders for setting the Student at Liberty, at the Request of the Rector of the Jesuits College; but another Student being likewise carried to the Guard-Room, his Comrades would oblige the President to set him at Liberty also, which he refused to do till he had spoke to the Rector. Upon this the outrageous Students ran furiously to the Guard-Room, to rescue their Comrade; but being repulsed, they sought to revenge themselves upon a Townsman, whom they pursued Sword in Hand to the Burgrave's House, where he took Shelter. After that, they attacked a Lutheran Student, who was at the Door of his Lodgings in his Night-Gown; whom they dragged by the Hair as far as their own College, threw him into the Canal, and beat him severely: Which done, they sallied out with Sabres in

their Hands, and wounded several People that came to the Student's Assistance; but the President having sent thither the Town-Guard, they were obliged to betake themselves to their College. The President, at the same time, reclaimed the Lutheran Student, but the Rector would not let him go till the Student of his College was set at Liberty first. Whilst this Exchange was making, some of the Trained-Bands of the Town were ordered to post themselves before the Jesuits College, to protect them from the enraged Populace; but when the Students [II-99] fired upon them, and threw Stones from within, it was not possible to restrain the People, who forced open the Gate, and were doing what they could to revenge the Students Cruelty; when in that very Instant, the Town-Clerk, who had got the Lutheran Student set at Liberty, came and obliged them to retire. It was then thought that the Riot was over; but the Guards that were posted before the College had scarce marched off, when the Students from within fired again, and threw Stones at the People, who forced open the Gate again, plundered the College, and committed great Disorders, till a Detachment of the Garison and Trained Bands came to the Jesuits Assistance, and dispersed the People, &c.

To invalidate this Account, the Jesuits drew up another, which they also dispatched to Court, which ran thus:

*A faithful and true Catholic Account of the horrid Tumult, and most barbarous Profanation of the Chapels, and sacred Oratories, together with the overthrowing of the Altars, pulling down and afterwards sacrilegiously burning, in the open Street, the Images of our Saviour, the most blessed Virgin, and other Saints, accompanied with infinite Blasphemies and Mockeries; and lastly, of the pillaging of the whole College of the Jesuits at Thorn, committed by the Hereticks of the same City, on the 27 th of July 1724.*

LEST the Heretics should, according to their Custom, excuse and palliate, by artful Lies and Calumnies, their impious Attempts and Outrages, we shall here give the Reader a short, but faithful, Account of what has passed. But first of all it will be necessary to lay down a fundamental Caution, sufficient to enervate and invalidate any Accounts that come from Heretics, on what Head soever. This Caution is grounded upon the very Principles of their Faith: By which it will appear, that even in worldly Affairs, infinitely more Credit is to be given to a Catholic Evidence or Writing, than to those of the Dissenters; since the Roman Catholics assert and believe, that they are able, and ought, on [II-100] Pain of eternal Damnation, to keep God's Commandments, whereof the following is not the least, *Thou shalt not bear false Witness* (much less in Writing, because it descends to Posterity) *against thy Neighbour*, were he even a *Jew*: Which Commandment the Catholics hope and strive, with the Grace of God, to observe; whereas the Heretics are of a quite different Opinion, maintaining an Impossibility to keep God's Commandments, and consequently the abovesaid. For which Reason, the Observance of God's Laws is what troubles them the least: Nay, they are justly afraid, that the more they strive to act and to live up to God's Commands, the more they trespass upon their System of Faith, by obstinately resisting God's pre-necessitating Will, by which they are actuated and forcibly influenced in all their Doings, whether good or bad; insomuch, that should they tell any Truth, or do any Good, through their own Choice and Free-will, they would (in their Opinion) betray a Diffidence as to the only saving Faith, and detract from the Fulness of Christ's Satisfaction, and his infinite Merits.

On the 27th of *July* last, being one of the holy Virgin's Festivals, when the holy Sacrament was carried in Procession round about St. *James's* Church, a mean Lutheran Burgher came to gaze at it with his Hat on, and uttered several Blasphemies, with an Intent to provoke the Catholics; for which a Student of the Jesuits, being fired with a holy Zeal and Indignation, chastised him only by pulling off his Hat. No sooner was the Procession over, but the Lutherans gathering together in the abovesaid Church-yard, without regard to that

sacred Place, and the Church Immunities, fell upon the said Student, beat him barbarously, and dragged him, covered with Blood, to the Guard-House, where this Avenger of God's Honour was ignominiously kept till the next Day: Upon which some Catholic Students, according to their Duty, went peaceably to the Burgrave of the City, most humbly desiring him to release the Prisoner, assuring him withal, that he should appear when required. But they were answered, Let those who committed him release him. Then they went to the President of the City, who having likewise given them a frivolous Answer, [II-101] they followed the Burgrave's Advice, and applied themselves to the Burgher, whom they desired, in a civil manner to get the Student set at Liberty, since he had been the Occasion of his Confinement, engaging for his Appearance before any competent Court; but instead of complying, the said Burgher got one of those interceeding innocent Students also committed, without the least Cause or Offence given. The Students being thus baffled, went again to the President, in order to solicit the Release of their Comrade, who was last committed; but the President's Domestics, far from admitting them, laughed at them, and forcibly turned them out of Doors with opprobrious Language. When the Catholics perceived that nothing would do, and being no longer able to bear the Injuries this Uncatholic City had done them, and especially of late, when a Student of a noble Family was seized in his Chamber at Midnight, almost undressed, to the great Disgrace of the Catholic Nobility, and from thence kicked down Stairs, and hurried away to Prison, where he was kept all Night; and though his Innocence appeared next Day, he could never obtain any Satisfaction for the Affront given him. The Jesuit Students and the Nobility, having often met with such premeditated Treatments from the Lutherans, and being afresh irritated by what happened last, they seized and carried away a Lutheran Student, though without the Knowledge of the Fathers Jesuits, and brought him into their College; however, without any Design to return the same ill Usage, but only in View to exchange this Dissenting Student for the two Catholics under Arrest, assuring him that he should be set free again without any farther Molestation. But then it was that the Mob rose, not so much by the Connivance, as by the Instigation of the Magistrates, the Gates being purposely shut sooner that Day than usual, having for their Leader the Town-Clerk, who excited the People to break the Windows of the College, instead of demanding the Lutheran, who would have been immediately delivered: By which it was evident, that they aimed not so much at having the Lutheran Student released, as to shew their Fury and long premeditated Vengeance against the Jesuits, for having brought over so many Lutherans to the Catholic [II-102] Church. Afterwards they broke open the Doors, whilst the City Guards which were come up, far from checking them, encouraged them, in Hopes of sharing in the Booty, in case of Resistance: But seeing that the Aggressors were in no Danger from those within the Schools and the College, who were only armed with religious Innocence, they withdrew, by Order of one of the Consuls, who did not so much as give the least Rebuke to the Aggressors. Whereupon the enraged Mob seeing their Censor gone, and their Crime countenanced, rushed furiously into the Schools, broke and overturned whatever they found in their Way, and afterwards forced open the Chapel and Oratories, where they demolished the Altars, hewed down the sacred Statues, and tore and hacked to Pieces the Images, and especially that of the holy Virgin; and what is most abominable, dragged to the public Square before the Schools, the Statues of the blessed Virgin, of St. *Xaverius*, *Casimir*, and others, where they burnt them openly, impiously exulting and leaping all the while over the Fire, borrowing these blasphemous Words from the *Jews* and Heathens, *Now, now, Woman, save thyself! since the Papists boast so much of the Help thou offerdest them;* and then scoffingly cried out, *Vivat Jesus, Maria, Joseph!* And not contented with having thus insulted the greatest Saints, they returned a second Time to the College; where having with still greater Fury forced the Gates, they beat and abused most cruelly all those of the holy Order that came in their Way; most of which were obliged to hide themselves in Holes and under the Roof to save their Lives, whilst those Miscreants were busy in breaking open their Cells, and carrying away their Goods: Which done, they forced open the Chapel



Door, which was curiously carved, with their Hatchets, cut to Pieces all the Images of Saints, and vented their unbounded Fury even upon two Crucifixes, one of which was split with an Ax, and the other stabbed with Swords and shattered with their Fire-arms. Having now nothing left to demolish and to rob, they went to find out God's Servants to put them to Death; upon which the Commandant of the City, whose Assistance was till then vainly implored, under Pretence that his Men were to be employed against the Enemy, and [II-103] not against the Citizens, being informed of the utmost Danger the Fathers and others of the College were in, thought fit to appease the Tumult at Midnight, by forcing out of the College those impious Wretches: Without which Succours, though they came very late, all the Jesuits, and even all the Roman Catholics of that Heretic City, would probably have lost their Lives. How they have behaved themselves in the following Days, and what they have done after more mature Deliberation; how they braved afterwards the King and the Senate's Authority; and how they almost renewed the Sedition when the Crown Troops were sent against them, is sufficiently known, and shews a premeditated Conspiracy against the Catholics; which, however, we refer to the Judgment of those who have the supreme Judicature and Power in their Hands. As for us, we pray heartily for their Repentance, and that they may be converted, and return to the Communion of their Forefathers, and so live.

[ *Thus far the Jesuits Account.* ]

I shall observe here, that this Tumult happened much about the Time when they were chusing Nuncios for the Dyet; or, to give the *English* Reader a juster Idea, Members of the *Polish* Parliament; and these, as well as their Electors, the Jesuits thought necessary to spirit up beforehand in their Cause: Every *Sunday* they appeared in the Pulpits, and filled the Minds of their Hearers with the *Danger of the Catholic Church*, and the *Peril* they were in *amongst false Brethren*. Their Discourses produced the desired Effect; as will be seen when I come to speak of the Dyet.

But lest any Time should be lost, they dispatched other Emissaries to Court to deny and confute all the Protestants might say; and with such Success there, that Commissioners were appointed to go to the City and examine into the Matter, in order to make the Report; but these did not consist of an equal Number of *Catholics* and *Lutherans*, as the Nature of the Cause required, but was a Commission wholly composed of Papists, Men whom the Jesuits knew they could very well depend upon.

[II-104]

Alarmed at the News of this Commission, the Lutherans immediately dispatched an Express to Court, to desire that the Persons appointed to examine into this Affair, might be half Lutherans and half Papists; but in the mean time the Commissioners proceeded, and soon dispatched their Business.

The Report being made, Instructions were given to the Assessorial Tribunal, or High Court of Justice, to proceed to the Trial of the Protestants of *Thorn*; the Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute, and the Jesuits sent in their Depositions.

The Lutherans now saw a Storm gathering against them, and began to apprehend the Consequences of it; but yet they flattered themselves, that when brought to a Trial, they should be honourably acquitted, it being their Right and Privilege to be tried by a Commission, one half of which should be composed of Protestants; but they only flattered themselves, that Regard would be had to Right. The Assessorial Tribunal consisting also of all staunch Roman Catholics, were the Persons ordered to take Cognizance of the Affair, and Sentence was soon passed upon the Magistrates and others, and that in a very extraordinary manner; for far from being present at their Trials, they did not so much as know the Day when they were to come on; nor was the Cause judged upon the Place, or in the County

where the Fact was committed; the Criminals, as they were deemed, being at that Time exercising their Office, or at least in their own Houses at *Thorn*, whilst the Prosecution against them was carrying on at *Warsaw*.

The Sentence or Decree pronounced by the Assessorial Tribunal on this Occasion, was, that the President and Vice-President should lose their Heads, for not having endeavoured to appease the Tumult, as they were by their Offices obliged; and that their Estates should be confiscated to defray the Charges the Town had been at on this Occasion.

*Gerard Thomas*, Burgrave, and *Quinmerman*, Vice-Burgrave, both Lords of *Thorn*, were declared infamous, and incapable hereafter of holding any Place of Trust, and were also to be imprisoned, and to pay a certain Fine for Neglect of their Duty, in not having pacified [II-105] the Tumult: And two Officers of the Garison of *Thorn* were fined and committed to the Tower, because they did not hinder the Populace firing again upon the Jesuits College.

*Harder*, *Moab*, and Thirteen more specified in the Sentence, were condemned to lose their Heads, as having been the first Aggressors in the Jesuits College; and some others accused of having burnt the sacred Image of the Virgin *Mary*, were sentenced to have their Right Hands cut off, then to be quartered, and their Bodies to be burned under the Gallows.

The Church of *St. Maria* belonging to the Lutherans, was by the same Sentence taken away from them, and given to the Roman Catholics, and the Lutherans ordered to buy Plate for the Altar to be there erected. The Lutheran College, to which all the Protestant Youths of *Poland* and *Lithuania* used to be sent, is to be removed a League out of Town. The Town is to pay the Jesuits for the Damage they have received in the Tumult. The Magistrates and Council of *Thorn*, which were all Lutherans, according to their Constitution, are for the future to consist of half Protestants and half Papists, and all the Officers must henceforward be Roman Catholics. Several other Citizens were sentenced to be whipt and imprisoned, and to pay a Fine, which is to be employed in erecting a Pillar in the Place where the Image of the Virgin *Mary* was burnt, for a perpetual Memorial.

The Nuncios of the Dyet, as I before observed, had been spirited up in this Cause, and that to such a Degree, that when they assembled, they refused entering upon any Affair, till the Jesuits should have received Satisfaction, and the City of *Thorn* be punished for the Riot; and this certainly hastened the Sentence.

The Dyet not content that this Decree was given by the Assessorial Tribunal, fearing lest it should be mitigated, ordered it to be brought before them; although it was an Affair that they had not the least to do with, nor was it their Business to take any Cognizance of it: But notwithstanding all this, it was brought before them, and they unanimously (the only Instance of their Unanimity during their six Weeks sitting) confirmed it into a Law. The whole Resolutions of the Dyet consisted [II-106] but of four Articles; and *This*, which was the Third, was much longer than the Two first, though they related to the Safety and Protection of the Kingdom. I am not willing to quote Authorities, without inserting them at length, and therefore shall give my Readers a Translation of this Article.

III. 'As the Inhabitants of *Thorn*, in Defiance of the Constitutions, and the Decrees of our serene Predecessors, and even in Contempt of all Laws both Divine and Human, have, by the Connivance of their Superiors, and upon a slight Occasion, lifted up their insolent Hands against the Persons and Places dedicated to God, wherein they have behaved themselves with the greatest Boldness and Assurance, because the like Disorders passed formerly with Impunity; insomuch, that the orthodox Religion, the public Safety, and the Liberty of the Church, have not only suffered great Violence, but, which is yet more scandalous, the Laws are become contemptible.

‘And forasmuch as it highly concerns us, and the States of the Republic, that our Subjects and Inhabitants should live peaceably, and mutually support one another; therefore, to the End, that instead of so manifest Contempt of God and the whole Coelestial Hierarchy, sacred Persons and Gods upon Earth should be revered and respected according to the divine Will, and that the Laws of the Kingdom be likewise maintained, the Decree issued from our Assessorial Tribunal at the Instances of our Sollicitor-General, and the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits of the College of *Thorn*, against the Magistrates of the said City, the Seditious and Ringleaders of the Tumult, shall be forthwith executed in its full Extent: We hereby strictly charge our Crown Generals to assist the Commissaries appointed to execute that Sentence, to furnish and to march as many Troops as will be necessary for that Purpose, but without departing from the Military Discipline established by the new Law.’

When this Decree came down to *Thorn*, it very much surprized its Inhabitants; but there was Time enough [II-107] left for his *Prussian* Majesty and the other Protestant Princes to interpose, and stop the Execution of the Sentence; and immediately accordingly the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark* dispatched Expresses to his *Polish* Majesty, with the following Letters.

*The King of Prussia’s Letter to the King of Poland.*

WE cannot forbear acquainting your Majesty how deeply we have been afflicted by the severe Sentence lately passed and published against the Inhabitants of *Thorn*, on account of the unhappy Tumult arisen there. Nothing indeed could more move our Compassion, than to see these poor People of our Communion proceeded against, not only with Fire and Sword, under the Pretence of avenging God’s Honour, but also with taking away their Church and School, and overturning the Constitution of that City, in order to compleat the Oppression of the Protestant Inhabitants. Had the City of *Thorn* been guilty of an open and avowed Rebellion against your Majesty, and even of the highest Crimes, what harder Decree than this could have been pronounced against them? But as the whole Matter in Question turns upon inflicting Punishments for a Tumult raised by the Populace against some wretched Jesuits, though the same Tumult has been maliciously occasioned and fomented by the same your Majesty cannot but judge, according to your great Wisdom, that the severe Punishment determined by the Sentence, bears no manner of Proportion with the Excess committed; and that it is against all Reason, that for the Sake of a few People’s Miscarriage, so many Innocents should suffer, and a whole Town be ruined. Nay, all the reasonable World will naturally conclude, as it is too manifest by the numberless Circumstances of this Affair, that such a terrible Sentence, far from being founded upon an impartial Administration of Justice, intirely proceeded from a venomous Hatred on account of their Religion, inflamed by all the Artifices and false Suggestions of the Jesuits; and that they boldly laid hold of this Opportunity to take away the Lives and Estates of the poor Dissenters at *Thorn*, and even to deprive them at once of their [II-108] Rights and Privileges. Your Majesty’s Justice and Propension to protect Innocence oppressed, being so well known, we hope you will never permit the Execution of such a bloody Sentence, by which the Glory of your Majesty’s Reign would be for ever tarnished. We therefore most earnestly desire your Majesty to put a Stop to that Execution, and to have the whole Affair a-new and thoroughly examined by an impartial Commission, composed of just and moderate Members of both Religions; to admit the Impeached to plead and defend their Innocence; and if any be found guilty, to shew rather Mercy than the strictest Justice; and especially to protect and maintain that City in their Privileges and Liberties; but above all, to prevent the Effusion of so much Christian Blood, which cannot be spilt without the greatest Cruelty. Your Majesty will not take it amiss that we concern ourselves so far for that City, since we are bound in Conscience to do it, in an Affair which affects those that are of the same Communion with us; besides, that we are fully intituled by the Peace of *Oliva* to stand up for the Preservation of that City, and all that has been stipulated for them, as well as for the other Cities of *Polish Prussia*, by the Instrument

of the said Treaty, and to defend them as far as it is requisite. We are likewise convinced, that the other Powers concerned in the Peace of *Oliva*, and particularly the Guarantees, cannot see with Indifference, the said Treaty of Peace thus infringed and invalidated by the abovementioned Execution. On the other hand, your Majesty may be assured, that you will highly oblige as well Us as all other Protestant Powers in *Europe*, by taking under your Protection this poor City, almost reduced to Despair, and preserving it from the utter Ruin it is threatned with, and which may be attended with dangerous Consequences. We refer Us to what our Major-General and Envoy Extraordinary *Van Schwrin*, and his Brother our Counsellor of Finances, &c. will have the Honour to represent further to your Majesty on that Head. In Expectation of a favourable and so much desired Declaration, We remain, &c.

*Berlin, Nov. 28.*  
1724.

*Frederick-William,*  
King, &c.

[II-109]

*The King of Denmark's Letter to the King of Poland.*

YOUR Majesty will undoubtedly call to mind the several Representations we have made to you, and to the Republic of *Poland*, in a brotherly and cordial Manner; and among others, those we have made by our last Letter of the 14th of *June*, in favour of those of our Communion in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, who are called *Nonconformists*, and who are daily oppressed by the Romish Clergy.

We flattered ourselves, that our Intercessions would have engaged your Majesty to put a Stop to those unheard-of Proceedings, to protect their Churches, to cause those that have been taken from them since the Peace of *Oliva* to be restored, to maintain them in the peaceable Exercise of their Religion, and to redress all their other Grievances; and we founded our Hopes upon your Majesty's known Equity.

But we have seen with Grief, that not only your Majesty and the Republic of *Poland* have entirely disregarded our just Representations, but also that they continue to take away their Churches; and that they are more and more endeavouring, under any Pretext and by indirect Means, to deprive them entirely of their Rights and Privileges, confirmed to them by the fundamental Law of the Kingdom of *Poland*.

Our Concern increased beyond Expression, when we saw the dreadful Sentence of the last Assessorial Tribunal of *Warsaw* against the poor City of *Thorn* and its Protestant Inhabitants, by which several Persons of Note and others have not only been condemned to one of the most cruel and infamous Deaths, on account of a Tumult and some Excesses of the Populace against the Jesuits, but their Church moreover taken from them, their Schools demolished, the Form of their Regency subverted; in a Word, their Privileges so dearly bought and confirmed by the Peace of *Oliva*, destroyed, and all without other Ground than the false Depositions of the Jesuits, and the Declarations of Witnesses of the same Stamp with the Jesuits, without giving the Accused a sufficient Time to prepare for their Defence, nor so [II-110] much as a Hearing; having thus being condemned in such a hasty and tumultuous manner, that few Instances can be produced of such a Partiality and Injustice.

This affords us ground to believe, that the Jesuits have themselves raised this Tumult, with a View to have an Opportunity to deprive at once the Protestants in a most horrid manner of their Lives, Honours, Estates and Privileges: The rather, since the Hatred of the Roman Clergy is grown to such a Pitch, that unless God interposes, the Protestant Religion

will be utterly extinguished in all *Poland* and *Lithuania*, notwithstanding the Precautions taken to assure their Liberties and Privileges, as well by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom of *Poland*, as by the Capitulations confirmed at the Election of successive Kings, and even by your Majesty in a most solemn manner, and by the most sacred Oaths.

Your Majesty will easily judge, that we cannot see, without the deepest Concern and Compassion, all those unprecedented Persecutions against those of our Communion: And we hope your Majesty will have Regard to the just Prerogatives of that poor City, and take to Heart the sad Condition it is reduced to, by reversing the unjust Sentence of the Assessorial Tribunal of *Warsaw*, and by establishing an impartial Tribunal, composed of just and moderated Members of both Religions, in order to examine a-new and determine that Affair.

By so acting, your Majesty will not only do a Work acceptable to God, who can no ways delight in the bloody Sacrifice of so many innocent Persons, and who has reserved to himself alone the Power over Consciences; but you will likewise prevent your Glory from being tarnished by the Execution of so many valuable Persons, whose Blood would cry to Heaven for Vengeance And by relieving those of our Communion, your Majesty will give us a signal Proof of your Friendship towards us, which will engage us to shew, on all Occasions, that we are with Attachment, &c.

FREDERICK IV.

[II-111]

These Intercessions produced no Effect, for about the Beginning of *December*, Prince *Lubomirsky* came before *Thorn* with 2400 Men, of the Crown Troops, which were posted in all the Avenues; after which, he sent a Detachment of 150 Dragoons into the City, to secure all such as were specified in the Decree issued out of the Court of Chancery at *Warsaw*. Mess. *Rosner* and *Czarnich*, one the President, and the other Vice-President, were seized in the Morning in the Church, during divine Service. The Dragoons having thus executed their Orders, Prince *Lubomirsky* entered the City with 800 Men, and ordered presently a Scaffold to be erected. The City Council would have made an Appeal to the King, but the Prince opposed it; however, three or four Expresses were dispatched, one of which was sent to the King, with most submissive Representations and Entreaties to grant a Respite, to get Time for the Protestant Powers to interpose their good Offices; urging withal, that the Clemency the Emperor has of late shewed to the City of *Hamburgh*, might serve as a Precedent for that of *Thorn*; and the rather since by the Tumult at *Hamburgh*, where the Imperial Ambassador's Hotel and Chapel were demolished, the Majesty of the Emperor was struck at; whereas the Tumult at *Thorn* was only attended by some Disorders committed in the College of the Jesuits; and yet his Imperial Majesty contented himself with laying a Fine upon the City of *Hamburgh*, and obliging the Magistrates to send a solemn Deputation to *Vienna* to ask Pardon. But the Jesuits fearing these Representations should take Effect, engaged Prince *Lubomirski* to dispatch likewise an Express to the Court, not only to prevent the suspending of the Execution, which was fixed on the 15th of *December*, but to get Leave to have it done eight Days sooner; in which having succeeded according to their Wishes, it was performed on the 7th, when ten Persons were executed: The Particulars of which are as follow:

At One o'Clock in the Morning, the Cavalry entered the City, and surrounded the old Town House: At Five o'Clock M. *Rosner*, First President, was conducted thither from his own House by twenty Soldiers, and immediately [II-112] beheaded in the Inner Court by the Light of Flambleaux. At Eight o'Clock the Infantry were posted at the four Avenues of the Market, in the Middle whereof the Scaffold was erected; and an Hour after Mess. *Masout*, *Hermets*, *Becker*, *Marty*, and *Meus*, were publickly beheaded, their Right Hands having been first cut off. Soon after, Mess. *Karoefe*, *Haffen*, and *Schulten* underwent the like Execution

upon the same Scaffold, with this Addition, that their Bodies were afterwards burnt under the Gallows. A Butcher's Boy, who closed that bloody Scene, had his noble Parts torn from him, and slapped in his Face, before he was beheaded, whose Body was afterwards quartered. At three o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Commissioners who had assisted at this horrid Execution, went to the great *Lutheran Church* of *St. Maria*, accompanied by some *Bernardine* and *Carmelite* Friars, to take Possession of it; and the next Day they sung *Te Deum* in it, assisted by the Jesuits and the other Roman Clergy of that City, to give solemn Thanks for having their Vows accomplished.

M. *Czarnich*, Vice-President of *Thorn*, has obtained his Pardon from the King of *Poland*, but he loses his Place, and his House adjoining to the Jesuits College is confiscated for the Benefit of those Fathers; besides which, he is to pay a considerable Sum of Money. A Citizen named *Heyder* who in the Tumult had returned one of the Students of the Jesuits a Slap on the Face, and stood condemned to die for it, is likewise pardoned, after having abjured the *Lutheran* Religion. M. *Rosner*, the President, might have saved his Life on the same Condition, but he manfully preferred Death, which he suffered like a true Martyr. Since the Execution of the 7th, several Citizens have been whipped. The Writings of the *Lutheran* Ministers, who have made their Escape from *Thorn*, have been burnt by the common Hangman at the four Corners of the Town House. The Keys of the great *Lutheran Church* having been delivered, tho' with Protestation, into the Hands of the Commissioners, they gave the same on the Day of the Execution, to the *Bernardine* Fryars, who consecrated that Church the next Day; so that the *Lutherans* were obliged to perform divine Service in the House where the Elders meet. The [II-113] Jesuits had drawn up and given in an Account of the Damage they pretend to have suffered in that Tumult, amounting to 30620 Florins; but the Palatine *Rebinski*, one of the Commissioners, reduced it to 22000 Florins, half of which Sum has been already paid down, and the rest assigned upon the Revenues of the City Lands. This done, the Commissioners made the Inventory of all the Effects of the President who had been beheaded.

They tell us, at the same time, that the King of *Poland* would willingly have moderated this Sentence, and spared the Lives of those who suffered, had he not been prevented by the Precipitation of the Commissioners of the Assessorial Tribunal, who hastened the Execution, and had it performed eight Days sooner than was at first intended: And to prove this, they quote a Letter written by him to those Magistrates of *Thorn*, who had petitioned in behalf of the Vice-President, and of which the following is a Copy.

THE Contents of your most humble Intercession in favour of *John Henry Czernick*, Vice-President Burgomaster, dated the 9th Instant, have been respectfully communicated to us: As we take much at Heart the sad Condition which the good City of *Thorn* has been reduced to by the late Tumult, after having been otherwise exposed to great Calamities, we had heartily wished that the Conjectures could have permitted to pronounce, in our Name, a less rigorous Sentence, or at least to moderate it in its Execution: And the Pardon we have granted of our own Accord, even before your Letter of Intercession arrived, will shew you, that we are rather inclined to act according to the Impulses of our fatherly Tenderness, than conformably to the Rigour of Justice.

But those who do not judge so favourably of his *Polish Majesty's* good Intentions in this Case, on the other hand alledge, that he has punished some of them further than he had need; strict Orders having been sent to the Magistrates of *Dantzick*, not to give the Fugitives of *Thorn* any Shelter, Lodging, or any other Assistance [II-114] in their City; but on the other hand, to arrest and deliver them up into the Hands of Justice.

What may be the Consequence of such a severe Execution is not yet known: But the King of *Prussia* thought this Affair so much concerned every Protestant Power, that, not content with barely writing to the King of *Poland*, he dispatched Expresses to the Courts of *Great Britain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, with Letters to the several Monarchs, with which I shall close this Piece.

***The King of Prussia's Letter to the King of Great Britain.***

[N. B. *This is the same with those written to their Danish and Swedish Majesties, save only that in the Letter to the King of Denmark, the last Paragraph is left out, and that the same Paragraph in that to the King of Sweden, has the Word Compaciscent instead of Guarantee.*

YOUR Majesty cannot be ignorant of the most dreadful Sentence issued from the last Assessorial Tribunal of *Warsaw* against the poor City of *Thorn*, and its Protestant Inhabitants, by which several considerable Persons, and others of the same Communion, on Account of a Tumult raised by the Populace against the Jesuits, and the Excesses committed on that Occasion, have been condemned to a rigorous and most infamous Death; the City deprived of their Church and School; the whole Constitution of their Magistracy overturned; and, in a word, all their Privileges, acquired at so dear a Rate, and confirmed to them by the Treaty of *Oliva*, taken from them; and all this upon the false Reports of the Jesuits, and the Evidence they have suborned to make their Relation more plausible, and without so much as giving the Impeached a due Hearing for their Defence; the whole being carried on in so unjust and crying a Manner, that few Precedents of such cruel Injustice can be produced. The Fury of the *Romish* Clergy in *Poland* is come to such a Height, that they are now endeavouring not only at the total Ruin of the City of *Thorn*, but likewise at the utter Extirpation of all the [II-115] Dissenters in that Kingdom, which they do not scruple to boast publicly of: Accordingly, certain Constitutions tending thereto were ready prepared, and would have been published, had the last limited Dyet been brought to its designed End, whereby the Remainder of the Protestant Churches in *Poland* and *Lithuania* had been at once destroyed.

The Constitutions of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and especially the *Pacta Conventa*, or the Capitulations which the Republic makes with the Kings at their Election, and particularly those made and corroborated by the most solemn Oaths by the present King, concerning the Protection of the Dissenters, are indeed couched in Terms so binding and advantageous to them, that nothing more could be desired; but no Manner of Regard is had to it, and the Court of the King of *Poland*, by an unaccountable Connivance and Relaxation, gives the *Romish* Clergy in *Poland* such a Latitude in all their projected Persecutions against the Protestants, that if God Almighty does not interpose by some extraordinary Ways and Means, nothing can be expected from it but the Loss of all the Protestant Churches still subsisting in *Poland* and *Lithuania*. In short, this Affair is come to that Pass, that it is not possible for the Protestant Powers in *Europe*, and particularly your Majesty, who has already given so many glorious Instances of your indefatigable Care for the Preservation of God's Church, to look on the total Oppression of those of their Communion, without being moved with the deepest Compassion, and animated to an equally pious and glorious Endeavour to rescue and protect oppressed Innocence. As for my Part, I am ready and willing, as bound in Conscience, faithfully to assist your Majesty in every Thing which you will judge fit and expedient for this End, and to contribute the utmost of my Power towards it. I have also wrote a Letter to his *Polish* Majesty, in favour of the City of *Thorn*, of which I send your Majesty a Copy here inclosed: But as I am apprehensive that my Intercession alone, without being backed and seconded by your Majesty, will not be powerful enough to avert the great Calamity that City, and all the Protestants in *Poland* and *Lithuania* are threatened with, I leave it to your [II-116] Majesty's great Wisdom, whether it would not be proper to send an express Minister to *Poland*, and to take other convenient Measures in behalf of this distressed People. I have

already ordered my Ministers in *Poland* to act in such Case in Concert with your Majesty's Minister, in order to prevent the Effusion of so much innocent Christian Blood; to preserve and maintain that City in their Constitution, Privileges and Liberties, and to procure some Relief to the rest of the Protestants in *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Your Majesty, by being a Guarantee of the Treaty of *Oliva*, is every way intitled to concern yourself, in a particular Manner, for the City of *Thorn*, and the Preservation of their Rights and Privileges; which leaves me no manner of Doubt that your Majesty will magnanimously resolve it, and do all that will be requisite on this Occasion. I remain, &c.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, R.

*Berlin, Dec. 2.*  
1724.

*Two Papers written by BRITANNICUS, upon Occasion of the foregoing cruel Execution at Thorn, and printed in the London Journal.*

#### PAPER I.

THERE is nothing more observable in human Nature, than that Forgetfulness and Insensibility of the greatest Evils which is seen to come upon Men (even of those Evils which have threatened Ruin to themselves, and every Thing that is dear to them) when a little Distance of Time or Place has intervened, and they have found themselves for a Season at Ease from the immediate Apprehensions of them. What one Man or Woman was there amongst us, who, in the Year 1688, did not start at the Dread of Popery, and of the Methods of Support which constantly attend it, and were then understood to be inseparable from it? But, as the Years have run on, and Ease and Freedom with them, and Opportunities been given, of dressing it up in a more [II-117] pleasing, or less horrible Gain [Editor: word?] the Impression is almost worn away in some, and in others, even a Discontent at the Expence and Trouble of keeping it out, is sprung up in the Room of it. Thus again, it struck Protestants to the Heart once, to see whole Families, and numerous Crowds of unhappy Men and Women, driven from their native Country, where they lived under a warm Sun, and in a fruitful Abundance, and forced to seek Refuge in the Charity and Hospitality of other Nations: But a Tract of Time has had its Course since, and all this can be now looked upon with a much more calm and sedate Temper. It pleases Providence therefore, at several Intervals of Time, to permit Appearances and Facts, which may either keep us awake, if we are so; or, if we are not, may rouse us up from a Sleep, which, if it continues, must be a *Sleep unto Death* and Destruction. I own, I have Enthusiasm enough to lead me to interpret what has passed abroad at *Thorn* in some such Manner as this. The Protestant World seems to be in a Lethargy. It is Goodness in the Governor of all Things, to alarm and shock it into some Sense of those Evils, which are never far removed from it, and ever going forward, in the Contrivance of some Men, against it. Here, therefore, is an Instance presented before its Eyes, of the implacable Malice and great Power of its greatest Enemies, and a flagrant Proof of what all are to expect, wherever the same Powers, and the same Malice, can prevail. And if Men will not be roused by such Terrors as these, they have nothing to blame but their own wilful and mad Stupidity.

Far be it from any of us to imagine, that Tumults and Seditions, Uproars and Outrages, should not be severely judged; and every Man concerned in them punished, in Proportion to the Part he bore in the Guilt, and this let the Pretence be what it will. No Zeal for, or against, any thing in Religion, can justify the Breach of all or any of the Duties of social Life. Nay, I will say, such Evils are rather aggravated, by making what was designed for the Peace and Quiet of the World, the Instrument and Occasion of Violence and Disorder. Did any Protestants therefore break into the temporal Rights and Privileges of others, moved by a



mistaken and misapplied [II-118] Zeal, who would have blamed a due Punishment of the Persons concerned? Did others provoke them to this, by any improper Behaviour, let those also suffer something, or else let it pass as some Mitigation of the other. This is not the Point. The Particulars which give the greatest Apprehension, and raise the most uneasy Sensations, are these: The Power and Interest which the Jesuits, upon every Occasion, shew themselves to have, and which they, in a particular Manner, have made too manifest in this Affair: The Sentence and Manner of executing it, enough to strike Horror into every Heart, that comes to the Knowledge of it, and to make every Ear tingle that hears it: The Consequences of it, beyond the Punishment of either the real or supposed Delinquent: The Evidence from the whole, that the great View was to the diminishing, and, in Time, extinguishing, not only that particular Branch of Protestantism, but every Thing that presumes to exalt itself against arbitrary Decisions and implicit Obedience.

The Society of Jesuits were the chief and original Movers of this Tragedy: And that they have Interest enough in States and Kingdoms, to display such Scenes when they please, is but a melancholy Consideration to any Protestants or Freemen, who have ever heard of that Name. That every Member of that Society is of the same fiery Make, or inflexible Bigotry, it is rash and groundless to imagine. But that, speaking of them as a Body, they are the worst, the most terrible, the most to be dreaded by all who value any Rights, whether Religious or Civil; for this we have the Testimony of the very best of the Romish Communion, both for Temper and Learning, to bear us out, besides the Experience of many Facts to appeal to. That there is a certain and established Difference between some Members of that Church and others, is not to be denied or disowned; though, whether any of them can be truly such, and not be liable to the Commands of their Superiors, even so far as as to be put off from the Bias of all their Good-nature, and to extinguish every Spark of their natural or religious Humanity, for the Propagation of their Sect, I will not now enquire. But it is certain, that there is thus far a Difference, that many of them have not such [II-119] a blind Bigotry, as to be perpetually busy in the forming and carrying on those Schemes of pernicious Ruin and Destruction, in which others take a Delight to be the first and principal Designers and Actors. Amongst the latter, none more remarkable than those who have honoured themselves with the sacred Name of *Jesus*: not in order to imitate his unbounded Love, but under so good a Title to cover, if possible, from unwary Eyes, their own contrary Temper, and opposite Schemes of Action. From small Beginnings, this Society has raised itself to an immense Bigness and Power. Their Reputation was high some time ago, for the Learning and Knowledge of some of their Members; and these gained them Access into many Places where their other Qualities would not have done it. But as all Knowledge and Enquiry into any Truths, become suspected as dangerous to a Religion which hates the Light, because *that which makes manifest is Light*; and because one Truth may unfortunately lead to another not so harmless: This Path to Reputation and Interest has been rather shut up of late Years, and they have (after Riches, and all the Strength Riches can procure, have flowed in upon them) chose to gain Ground by a greater Zeal, a hotter Bigotry, a more unlimited and voluntary Obedience to the Holy See, and a more determined Laboriousness in the extensive Propagation of the Romish Profession, than any other Sect of that vast Body has been able to do. When this Society therefore gains Ground, and shews its Strength, amongst the Rulers of this World, all Protestants, and every Soul that has a Feeling of what the Freedom of social Creatures, and the Happiness of rational Creatures, in any Degree mean, must mourn at the Sight, and esteem it an Appearance of a growing Evil, which threatens them all with the same Miseries, which it executes upon some, as fast as Power and Opportunity shall give Leave. Whoever they are that come into such Hands, have no Remedy left but cursed Hypocrisy, or uneasy Patience, under the inexpressible Discipline of hardened Hearts and darkened Understandings.

The Sentence, and the Manner of the Execution of it at *Thorn*, was worthy of such Movers, and agreeable to [II-120] those who had Interest enough to bring it about. But here, what shall we believe? The Jesuits have already begun their After-game; and putting all their Strength upon the Weakness of others, would persuade the World that the Suffering Part is not at all to be credited in their Relation either of the Crime or the Punishment, and that for this Reason, because they are Heretics. This impudent Reason, stupid as it is, may move their own Partizans, and weigh with Bigots and Slaves. But I am speaking to others; and I affirm, that we are justified, even in thinking the worst we can think (in this Case) of the triumphant Side, and the most favourably of the other, from this very low and mean Proceeding, from this senseless Reason given, merely to prevent every one of their own Religion asking a Question about the Truth of the Facts. The Crime, I may conclude, was not quite so great as a Papist himself is made to think it, and the Punishment much greater than the Crime, even to a Degree sufficient to raise an universal Horror; because the Society which managed the whole, the Society so famous for Sincerity and Truth, claim to themselves the sole Privilege of telling the whole Story, and of being believed in what they say. The poor Lutherans must not be regarded, because they are Heretics. Thus, I say, they may deal with their own Scholars and Slaves, if there are any Slaves enough to bear it.

But the Facts in the public Face of the World speak enough, without intirely relying on the Relations of either Party concerned. A Tumult raised, and in this popular Tumult Outrages committed, as it is too often and almost always seen; the Magistrates not able to compose this so soon as it ought to have been; for, as to their Will to do it, Interest and Self-Preservation, and the certain Prospect of Punishment, are Demonstrations of it; the Jesuits, the Sufferers, prosecute the Complaint; a terrible Sentence is obtained; an Army is sent to protect the Execution of it; when there were some Hopes, upon humble Submissions, to obtain so small a Favour as a Respite, the General is engaged by these cruel Men, to cut off all Hope of that, and by his Letters to procure an Order to proceed to the Execution eight Days before the Day appointed in the Sentence; a [II-121] Circumstance, I believe, hardly heard of in any other Case, and intirely to be ascribed to the restless Zeal of this Society, and their Impatience to bear the Thought of even a Possibility of Mercy: Thus, before any Interposition from other Powers could be, several of the chief Magistrates are destroyed; insulting Cruelties added to the Execution of some others; and (what adds to the Pageantry, and makes the whole look like a Work of Zeal for their Church, and not of a due Sense of their Privileges invaded) some mean Persons saved from Death, merely on Account of the changing their Religion, and the brave Man who died first, tempted and tortured with that wicked Offers, whilst a cruel Death stared him in the Face. This was adding Insult to Cruelty, and a much greater inward Barbarity to the external Terror of the Sword. This, and the other Proceedings, Banishments, Confiscation of Goods, Alteration of the governing Council, seizing the Lutheran Churches, and instating the Romanists in them.

What are all these Excesses of Rigour, but strong Presumptions that the whole Scene was originally laid with this very View; and that those who have had Interest to profit so enormously by a Tumult, had Cunning and Power enough in the Town, to nurse and cherish and provoke it into what at last it came to? But this is only a Surmise, perhaps weak and without Ground. I need it not. What appears is alone sufficient to create Horror in the best Part of the Romanists themselves, and once more to shew all Protestants their Danger, their Interest, and their Duty. I shall proceed upon this Subject in the next Paper.

BRITANNICUS.

*PAPER II.*

IN speaking of the Affair at *Thorn* (which has lately made so much Noise in the World, and I hope will make a great deal more) one hardly knows either where to begin or where to leave off. I have already considered the chief and original Movers of that Tragedy, and the terrible Sentence procured against the Protestants, and the cruel Execution of it. I will now go on to some other Points, arising from this Subject, of the utmost [II-122] Importance to all who love, or hope for, Freedom in Religion, or Happiness in Civil Life; two Things which constant Experience has shewn to be so inseparable from one another, as infallibly to flourish and decay, to live and die together.

The Consequences of this Scene of Power without Mercy, ought to be thought of by every Protestant, as they extend much beyond the Punishment of those unhappy Men at *Thorn*, who fell under the Rage and devouring Fury of it. And thus, I think, is it to be taken by all who differ from the Church of *Rome*, that, when they see so much Power in the Hands of the Jesuits, they see it in the Hands of Persons determined to use it to their Destruction, hardened in all the Paths that can lead to it, and devoted, more than any other Body in the World, in Heart and Soul, to the good Work of propagating their own Faction, and enlarging the Bounds of their own Church, by all the Methods that the Wit of Man can invent, and the Strength of Man can execute. I know how natural it is for Protestants in *Great Britain*, who have been long at Rest, and out of all View of the Scene of such Actions, to think inwardly with themselves, we are at a Distance from the Influence of this Matter, we are sorry for the Sufferings of miserable Men; but hope this Affair does not nearly touch us, under a Constitution like ours, and in our Situation, fenced round, as we are, by the natural Bulwark of the Sea, from the rest of the World. But let not any one thus think or say, What is this to us? Give me Leave to affirm, that it is of the most concerning Consequence to us all, from the highest to the lowest, from the Prince upon the Throne to the meanest of his Subjects. And as, abroad, the Calvinist as well as the Lutheran is touched by it, so, at home, from the most rigid Churchman to the most distant Quaker, through all the intermediate Differences of moderate Men, Latitudinarians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, every Church, and every Man, whether orthodox or heretical, whether regular or irregular, is intimately concerned in this Affair. Nay, abstractedly from all Considerations of Religion, every Man who has the least Sense of civil Liberty, the least Regard to the Happiness of himself or his Fellow-creatures [II-123] in human Society, must think himself interested in it.

Every Advance, and every Step which the Power of such Bigotry makes in the World, is an Advance and a Step towards the total Suppression and Ruin of every one of these, and of all other Denominations distinct from those who are Slaves to *Rome*. You cannot think that such Policy and such Zeal mixed together, confine their Views within the narrow Bounds of a single Town, or that it can be any sufficient Satisfaction to the Bigotry of Jesuitism, to get the better of the Lutherans at *Thorn*. Alas! these are but poor Morsels for such Appetites. It is every Town and every Country, every Church and every Kingdom of the known World, that they make the constant Care and Burthen of their religious Ambition. They pant after us all in the Bowels of their tender Mercies, which are as cruel as Cruelty itself, and can never be at rest till our Hearts or our Tongues (for it is much one to them which of the two they procure) till our Religion, or our Estates, are all theirs. Unlike all other Sects, and all other Bodies in the same Communion, they are never diverted, either by Learning or Devotion, either by their own private Studies, or pious Exercises, from the one main constant View of subjugating all to the Faith, not of *Jesus*, but of the *Society of Jesus*. To this Design they have consecrated all their Labours, and from this they are never known to decline. When we see them therefore, powerful in the Cabinets of Princes, and successfully dextrous in recommending themselves to the mighty Men of this World, by their Intrigues, and by their Interest in managing the Bigotry of those under them; if we forget or deny that this touches us, that this is so much gained against us, that this points very terribly at every Protestant, and every Christian in *Europe*, who is the Disciple of *Christ*, and not of *Rome*: If we forget this, I

say, we forget ourselves, and what we are, and what our Interest is, and what our only Hope and Desire ought to be. Every successful Exercise of Power is an Accession of more; and every Act of Violence, not redressed, gives Strength and Encouragement to proceed to others. A Terror and Feebleness is thus struck into the opposite Parts, and Spirits and [II-124] Vigour are added to the Oppressors: And when they find their Strength, and that they can shew it effectually in the Destruction of some they hate, what shall hinder them, as Power and Time come on together, from exerting the same upon all others whom they equally hate, and are equally sworn to destroy from off the Earth?

But we of this Nation have still a nearer Concern in this Affair, if all religious and civil Rights are of any Concern to us. Every Advance of the Power of Bigotry abroad, threatens us with a Popish Pretender at home; and, together with him, all the Train of his Attendants, Superstition and Cruelty. None such fast Friends to his Cause; none so unmoveable in the Prosecution of it; none so desperate in what they once admit into their Hearts, as that Society which was the Mover of this Tragedy we have now been speaking of. Every Experiment, therefore, of their Strength, tends, by Degrees, to shake the Throne of our King, and to weaken our future Hopes of Happiness under the succeeding Branches of his Family, as it paves the Way to every thing contrary to a Protestant Establishment. And this, methinks, should weigh with all Protestants who would not be miserable, whether they have the same Notions of Happiness with others, or not. The Point to such Persons is not, whether they love their present Superiors, or whether they perfectly approve of their Administration; but whether they can bear all the Miseries of Popish Bigotry, and will choose to exchange Liberty for Chains, Property for arbitrary Will, the Ease and Security of a Subject of a Protestant Prince, and of a Member of a Protestant Church, for the fiery Operations of Jesuitism, and the Cruelties of *Thorn*, and indeed of every other Place where the same Zeal has had the same Room to display itself. This should be no light Consideration to the most discontented Protestant amongst us, who is one truly and sincerely; that, as a Protestant, he is not concerned in any the least Accession of Power to that Popish Interest abroad, which, if it increases, will, sooner or later, end in a Popish Interest, and a Popish Settlement here; and that, as the Pretender (who is to reap the Benefit of this) is as famous for determined Bigotry, as the Body of Jesuits themselves, let him but once get Footing here, by [II-125] what Means they please (even by the Help of Protestant Hands lifted up against themselves) yet still it can end in nothing but the Administration of those whom his own Bigotry will point out to his Choice, that is, in nothing but the same Measures of Ruin and Devastation, by which the same Bigotry has ever worked, and ever will work, till human Nature be totally altered. And if they can have any Comfort in such a View, much Good may it do them! But let them sometimes, in the Midst of it, cast their Eyes abroad upon the Protestants at *Thorn*, and think within their own Breasts, whether, if they themselves ever come within the Sphere of Action of the same Body, they will not feel the same destructive Force, and be swallowed up in the same Whirlpool. Let not a little Prejudice, or the imaginary Want of something we may wish for, extinguish all common Sense, or take away all Regard to ourselves, and our latest Posterity.

But we must not leave this Affair here. If Protestants do not learn some good Lesson from it, besides a Zeal against an implacable Enemy, it is, if I may say so, an Act of Providence lost upon them. They have, many of them, been often very busy in interpreting Providences: Here is one that may very easily be understood; but, perhaps, as many others have been, it will be applied by the Multitude only to their Neighbours, and not to themselves. The Cruelties at *Thorn*, which you are so moved at, should make you cast your Thoughts upon that Spirit which is the Cause of them; and those Thoughts should make you abhor and fly from the first Motions, the least Beginnings, of that Temper in yourselves. Inward Censures of one another, on Account of religious Differences; hard Sentences and Judgments of private Men against one another; the Violence of Words; the Refusal of mutual

Communications of Friendship; the calling in worldly Assistances to aggrieve or hurt or ruin one another, in any Degree, or in any Instance; these are the Motions of the same Spirit, going on from one Degree to another, till it ends in the open Avowal of Fire and Faggot, Swords and Gibbets. These, whenever they are seen amongst Protestants, are the Strength of your Enemies, the only Defences of their Barbarities, and the only Arguments by which they can [II-126] cover or excuse their own Practices. Take from them these Arms, and you leave them utterly indefensible in that Conduct, which God and Nature, Reason and Revelation, all condemn. The Outrage of Persecution did not begin all at once, but grew up by slow Degrees. If it had not, the Notion of it could not have been borne by any human Mind. First, it was only a mental Uneasiness at those who differed. Then it proceeded to verbal Declarations, at which it stopped but a short Time. For when it was once come to hard Words, it was natural to proceed to Blows, almost as soon as the Balance of Power weighed on one Side more than the other. Moderate Penalties were the first Essays; but when they had no other Effect but to provoke the Spirits of Opposers, Punishments too great for human Nature easily to think of, succeeded in their Place. And upon these now the Popish Interest rests itself.

God be thanked, the Protestant World is generally come to a much greater Sense of the Duty of mutual Love and Forbearance than once was experienced in it. But when by such an Instance as this at *Thorn*, their Sense is again quickened, and they are called upon to see and acknowledge the Deformity of the Spirit of Cruelty, made keen by religious Differences, it is their Duty to search to the Root of the Matter, to guard against the first Motions of such a Spirit amongst themselves, and to implant in their Souls the contrary Temper of universal Charity; from the mere Want of which, such unspeakable Evils have come upon human Society, and such inexcusable Scandals upon the Christian Name.

BRITANNICUS.

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*A short View of the Conspiracy, with some Reflections on the Present State of Affairs. In a Letter to an Old Whig in the Country. By CATO.* ↩

Anno 1723.

*Id facinus ego in primis memorabile existimo, sceleris atque periculi Novitate. Igitur de Conjuratone, quam verissimè potero, paucis absolvam: eo magis quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus Reipublicæ Animus liber est.*

Sallust.

*By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;*

SIR,

THE late execrable Design against the *British* Liberty does not employ the Thoughts of this Nation only, but affords Matter of Speculation for all *Europe*. The *Danish* Conspiracy is scarce thought to deserve that Name, when compared to what was carrying on in *England*; and *Paul Juel's* Schemes are accounted trifling, to the far more black and hellish Designs of our Jacobites here.

In your last you desire my Sentiments on the present State of Affairs, which you say would be useful not onto yourself, but to many others in your Country. As I can refuse you nothing, I shall endeavour to give you a faithful Abstract of the most material Transactions; which that I may do with the greater Clearness, I shall look back on some past Occurrences, which the Hurry of your own Business may have hindered you from reflecting upon, or perhaps has since made you forget.

You may very well remember, Sir, how every Thing stood when you left the Town; the Distractions and general Uneasiness which attended the fatal Execution of the *South Sea* Scheme; the Apprehension of the Plague, and the Alarm given on the first Discovery of a Plot, which every one received just as they were disposed to [II-128] receive any Information from the Ministry: The Factious secretly rejoiced at the Opportunity which they thought was now given them of compassing their Ends; the Lovers of their Country trembled at the Thoughts of the dark Designs and artful Cabals of *Rome* at so dreadful a Juncture; whilst we, who fancied ourselves the only wise Men in the Nation, laughed at and ridiculed all that was advanced on this Head, thinking it only a politic Step, a new Subject invented to drown all Thoughts of the old One; and in short, a Plot to stifle our Resentments against the *South Sea* Transactions.

But we now see the Greatness of our Folly in the midst of our fancied Wisdom; we had then forgot the previous Steps always taken by the Jacobites when they had schemed out any important Design, and that they never attempted any thing of Consequence, but they first paved the Way for it, by poisoning the Minds of the People from the Press, which at such Times always groaned under the Weight of Scandal and seditious Libels.

Accordingly you cannot but remember the numerous Pamphlets published against the Administration, besides many of my Writings, which were all forced into their Service. In one Paper we had the Chief Minister exposed under the Character of *Cataline*; in another, the whole Iniquity of the *South Sea* Scheme was charged, as if contrived by the Men in Power; though at present we all know that it was only the casual Effect of the Madness and Avarice of the People, joined with the Villainy of some of the Directors. In a Third, a great Man who

was contriving to save us from Ruin, was exposed to the Rage of the Populace, under the Character of a *Screener of the Guilty*. In a Fourth, the Sense of the People was assumed, and the general Voice was wrested to be turned against all in the Administration. Nor did they stop here: The King himself was in one of the Prints represented under the Image of the most odious *Roman* Tyrant; and in two other infamous Libels, his Person and Family were abused in the vilest manner, under the Title of *The Benefits and Advantages of the Hanover Succession*. So little indeed was their Design perceived by myself, that I own many Things dropped [II-129] from my Pen, which seemed calculated for the Service of the Faction; and so insensible was I of the projected Insurrection, that I inveighed against the Forces encamped on that Occasion, with the Zeal always shewn by us *Old Whigs* against standing Armies. The Fears of arbitrary Government were set in the worst Point of Light, and the very Means of preserving us were represented as the designed Means of enslaving us; for had these Fears and Clamours prevailed, and the King's Forces been disbanded, their Success would have been unquestionable.

A Parliament being to be chosen about this Time, all Methods were taken to get one least averse to their grand Purpose; and the better to succeed, the *Freeholder* was brought upon the Stage; a Paper fraught with the utmost Malice against the present Government. They knew full well that their own Faction would take the Hint, and they were in Hopes of biassing the honest unthinking Men of the Nation; the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* was forgot, and the Lawfulness of Resistance preached up in many Places. To destroy the King's Title to the Crown, the Revolution was openly censured and condemned, particularly in *A short Review of the English History*; and another Work of the same Nature, by a very great Man, was prepared for the Press, and designed to be published about the same time.

It was not in the least surprizing indeed, that the *South Sea* Business should be the constant Topic of so many People: In a General Court of that Company it was their Business to talk of it, in the Senate their Duty, in order to redress the Grievances of the People, and to restore public Credit. The Merchant, scarce able to pursue his Trade, might be allowed to complain; and it was natural in the unhappy Sufferers to rail, and, as it is usual, though without any just Grounds, blindly to attribute every thing that miscarries in a State to the Persons then in Power. The Ministry were railed at, whilst they with Pity looked on the Misfortunes of their Fellow Subjects, and compassionating their Losses, were above resenting their opprobrious Language. In all this, I say, there was nothing surprizing: But to hear those who should be the Ministers of God's Word, amusing [II-130] themselves with Mercantile Affairs, and a Scheme for paying National Debts, descanted on in a Place so sacred as the Pulpit, was something shocking indeed; and this not by a Sufferer, but by a Country Curate, or petty Town Lecturer, perhaps, who never had a Groat to lose in this or any other Company. What could be the Aim of their Reflections and Insinuations? Is it not natural to suppose, that it was to persuade the Vulgar, that Heaven was angry at what was done, and had marked out the first Contrivers of it for the Objects of its Wrath and Vengeance; and who at that time were supposed, or at least insinuated to be, the Contrivers of it, I need not inform you. Yet cannot *the destructive Execution of a felonious Scheme* be mentioned by a Preacher, without his having a Fling at the late Parliament: This, it seems, was a

‘National Judgment for the National Crimes of Avarice and Ambition, which spread themselves almost over every Order and Degree of Men amongst us; and in attempting to corrupt the Representatives of our Nation, would have made them, like the *Jewish* Sanhedrim and Consistory; which, by the Prophet's Account, must have been a Body of as designedly wicked Men, as ever met together to betray a Constitution.’

Nor must, in such a Case as this, the Ministry be forgotten. As I would not be thought to advance what is not strictly Fact, I will not assert, that in any of the printed Sermons a Priest had the Impudence to charge them with Bribery and Corruption; but I'll take notice of one Paragraph in a Sermon preached about the Time I have been talking of, and leave you to judge whether or no there be any such thing strongly insinuated.

‘We shall be less surprized at these Things, says the Preacher, when we pass into the Temple of the Lord, and see the *wonderful and horrible Thing* — — — *The Priests teaching for Hire, and the Prophets divining for Money or Preferment:*’ (By the by, I should be glad to know whether this very Sermon was preached *gratis*; but to my Purpose) ‘suting their Doctrines to the Times, and forbearing at least, if not allowing the Vices of the Great and Powerful. I do not remember to have read or heard of any modern Sermon at Court against [II-131] the Vices and Temptations most incident to high and exalted Stations; such as Bribery and Corruption, or Riot, or Luxury, or the probable Iniquities of a Masquerade. But Love, and Peace, and Charity, and Forbearance, and Toleration, the Duty of Ministers of the Gospel, and *Cæsar’s* undisputed Title, which are in themselves very good Topics, properly insisted on, are there excellently well displayed and inculcated into an Audience, whose Sphere of Action requires, for the most Part, monitory Discourses of another Nature. And would to God this were the worst; and that Fearfulness, or Flattery, or Omissions, were our greatest Faults. But when Doctrines are advanced in direct Contradiction to the plainest Words of Scripture — — —”

I will not trouble you with a longer Quotation, I dare say you are already beforehand with me, and imagine what Subject he is going upon; and indeed it would be surprizing to meet with such a Sermon, and not one Fling at the Bishop of *Hereford*; to whose eternal Praise be it recorded, that he has been reviled in almost every Writing, which since his Majesty’s happy Accession to the Throne has been published, reflecting on his sacred Person, the Protestant Succession, or his faithful Ministers. Mistake me not, Sir, I only observe this in passing, to the Praise of that great good Man, but do not pretend to say that there are any such Reflections in this Sermon, either on the King or his Ministry; but vile ones there are upon the Bishop, unbecoming the Stile of a Gentleman, and ill suiting with the Charity we might expect in a Priest; but take his own Words.

‘I cannot but affirm, that I look upon the modern Growth and Encouragement of Schism, the open Profession of Heresy, the numerous daily Attacks made upon our Church, to be justly chargeable upon the corrupt Explication of those Words of our Saviour— *My Kingdom is not of this World*; whereby a greater Latitude has been given to Men desirous of Change, than ever yet the CHURCH thought of or approved. Nay, Popery itself, to which it directly tends, [II-132] never at its worst allowed such unconditional Indulgences. I say it directly tends to Popery — — —

For my Part, I have Charity enough in me to believe this Preacher very ignorant; for upon entering on this Subject, he repeats what he before said, to wit, that he disclaimed all Hypocrisy and Dissimulation: And in a Place so sacred, sure no Man could condemn Prevarication, and at the same time prevaricate. It must therefore be the very Extreme of Ignorance to advance, that the Doctrines of this pious Man tend directly to Popery, when all his Aim, all his Labour has been only to root out the very Appearance of Popery from amongst us; which one while seemed like a Torrent rushing in upon us, when all Christian Charity was banished from amongst us, and Persecution shook her Iron Rod over this Nation.

You will be apt, I am afraid, to say, that I digress from my Purpose, and ask what these Doctrines have to do with the late Conspiracy, which was the Subject you desired me inform you of. Reflect a little, and the thing will answer itself: Dr. *Hoadley* owes his Preferment to his present Majesty, and that just and sagacious Prince not only raised him to the Episcopal



Dignity, but has since translated him to a better See; he has taken him under his gracious Protection, and defended him from the ravenous Vultures that would have devoured him: The Reflections do not therefore fall upon him only, but on the best of Princes at the same time; and when the Bishop is railed at from so sacred a Place, the credulous deluded People are taught, that either the King knows not whom he prefers, or prefers impious Men, unfit for the Charge of Pastors, and who betray the Trust reposed in them.

Nor are these the only Insinuations that are to be met with in Sermons of that Time; you know what Noise the Bill for preserving us from the Plague, made in the World, and what handle the Building of Barracks was made both against the King and his Ministers. This indeed might be a proper Subject for the Politician to discuss, or a Senate to debate; but to hear a Pulpit-Orator cry, *In vain shall we build Barracks for restoring the Sick, and preserving the Sound*, is Impudence to the [II-133] highest Degree. In the same Author we find a much stronger Insinuation, for after mentioning the Blessings of Peace (meaning the glorious *Utrecht* Peace) he tells us, that God *has preserved our Religion, and not yet deprived us of our Liberties*. But I am really surprized at nothing that could come from a Man, who, in reckoning the Punishments we have suffered for our Sins, says, *Hence we have seen Princes become Vagabonds, and beg their Bread, and Nobles seek it out of desolate Places*.

I cannot drop this Subject without taking Notice of two other Sermons, though I shall not dwell upon them, the Preachers not having been imprudent enough to print their Discourses; the former in a Country Congregation, just at the Time that a Report was spread, that there was another Rising in *Scotland*: The Discourse was introduced as a moral one, and in the *Proëmium* nothing was touched upon but the Heinousness of Sin; but when he came to describe a Sinner, we had the Character of an *Old Whig* drawn in the Light he is usually set off by a Jacobite Pencil; nor was the 30th of *January*, and the Repeal of the Schism Bill, forgotten. In short, when we were all made sensible whom he meant, the Discourse was concluded with a Quotation of one of the Prophets (for you may observe, that at such times they are always fond of dealing in Prophecies) *Let them remember that Destruction shall come upon them from the North*. But the Preacher having since given an Account of his Stewardship, and received the Rewards or Punishments he deserved, according to the Works done in the Flesh, whether they were good, or whether they were bad; I shall leave him, and proceed to the other, whom I still believe living.

It was at about ten Miles Distance from Town, in a very large Village, and at a Season of the Year when all People of Quality and Fashion are retired to their Country Seats; and I know no Church that at such time has a more polite Audience. Here our brawny Pastor came as a Missionary, for he was a Stranger to the Place; and what is not usual for a Stranger, twice ascended that Pulpit in one Day. That his Audience might be the better prepared to receive what he had to say, the Morning was employed in insinuating the Dignity [II-134] of his Calling, and teaching his Hearers, that implicitly to believe what was taught by orthodox Priests, was the ready Way to Heaven. This was an excellent Foundation to build upon, and such a Position once laid down, what might not be advanced? His Afternoon's Text was, *If I say the Truth, why do ye not believe me?* And in his Introduction he told the Audience, that his Words might much better be applied to *Christians* now-a-days, than to the *Jews* of old; and coming to shew the Cause of our Unfaithfulness, he attributed it to Ignorance and the Prejudice of Education, or to the Sanctity and Sublimity of the Gospel. That he might have the more Time to dwell upon his second Head, he soon went through the first, and in a Trice dispatched all Kinds of Dissenters promiscuously to Hell. In his second Part he introduced, I really cannot tell you how, but introduce he did, the then Bishop of *Bangor*; for, as I before observed, he never escaped the Censure of such Men as these, who always honour him with their Reproaches; for the Revilings and Scoffs of wicked Men are always an Encomium to

the Just and Pious.

The *Danger of the Church* was a worn-out Cant, and therefore he determined to try what Effect the Danger of Religion in general could have on the Minds of sober and well-disposed People. To this End he took care to insinuate, and that grosly too, that every Man in Power was little better than an Atheist, when such heterodox Men were raised to the Prelature; but lest there should be some of the Bishop's Friends present, who were not to be taken with such an Example, he went on to shew us how in the Days of old, when Piety flourished, Persecution was deemed a Christian Virtue, and that the *Arians* were openly branded and punished; but that there now was no pious Man in Authority, for there was no Inquisition established to punish Deists and Free-Thinkers, and to rack such heterodox Wretches as pretended to expose the Ministers of the Gospel in so scandalous a manner as the *Independent Whig* had done. But this is a Subject, which for some particular Reasons I shall chuse to drop.

I would not have you think that I strain or wrest the Meaning of this Preacher; I do not indeed tell [II-135] you that these were his very Words, but I can assure you they were the Sense of them, and not only understood so by myself, but by several Persons of Worth and Honour who were there present; nor can I have forgot what was then said, though now very near two Years ago; for there was something so remarkable in the Sermon, that I that very Evening took Notes of it, to which on this Occasion I have had Recourse.

As I do not in the least question but that this Letter will be communicated to some of your Tory Acquaintance, I would be beforehand with them, and answer an Objection which I am certain they will make, to wit, that in so large a Body of Men 'tis impossible they should all be good; but that we ought not to cast a Reflection upon the Clergy for three or four Sermons; for, say they, your Correspondent has quoted no more. True, I have not, though I can say I have heard a great many more of the same Nature, but durst not trust my Memory so far as to cite them, lest I should commit an Error, and wrong any Person; and indeed after having been scandalized with these and several other virulent Libels, I always took Care beforehand to enquire into the Character of the Preacher, and never expose myself to the Hearing of false Doctrines delivered from a Place so sacred. But notwithstanding this, I am afraid Jacobitism has been too often favoured by those who stile themselves *Christ's Ambassadors*, nor have they yet done with the Topic, witness the late Presentation of the Grand Jury at *Winchester*.

Besides these, a vast Number of them came Volunteers into the Service, and very artfully spread the Poison amongst the honest well-meaning Part of the People; for such generally are the Frequenters of our Charity Sermons, whose Design in coming to Church at those Times is to bestow their Mite towards the Education of poor needy Children and forsaken Orphans; but lest some of them should resent whatever might be advanced reflecting on the Government, our common known Preachers would not venture at such a Thing, but some itinerant ones came and offered their Service; Country Curates, most of them, I suppose, who, safe in their own native Obscurity, came up to Town; conceited [II-136] and ambitious, thought Preferment their due, vented their Spleen against the Ministry, because they were not preferred, and did all that in them lay to stir up the People, then trembling at the Thoughts of what they had done, hurried down in the Country again, and were never heard of more. I need not dwell upon this Article, the Truth of it is sufficiently known, and such Men were too frequently made use of to raise the Seeds of Discontent in the Minds of their Hearers, and to pave the Way for an Invasion.

I would not by any thing I have here advanced, be thought to reflect on the whole Body of the Clergy; Heaven forbid! that for the Crimes of some, I should condemn all. I know there are a great Number of them, who tread as closely as they can in the Steps of the

Primitive Christians, and not meddling with *the Kingdom of this World*, strive to inculcate Piety and Morality, and sound Doctrine in their Audience; whilst others, truly zealous for the Church and Protestant Religion, engage their Adversaries, and without much Difficulty convince the Impartial, that this Church and Religion is much more secure at present, than it would be under a Popish Prince.

Whilst the Reverend Zealots in this Cause were thus taken up, Means were thought of for seducing the very Vulgar and the Scum of Mankind, Fellows unfit for any thing but heading a Mob, or Heel-piecing a Shoe; and as Sermons were above their Sphere, they must be amused in their favourite Alehouses or respective Stalls; for this End, Numbers of seditious Ballads were printed, and sung about the Streets. How greedily did the deluded Mob suck in the Poison, when the Praises of pretty *Jemmy* were chaunted; and the listening Wretches were encouraged, they say, by the surrounding Wenches, who, as I have been informed, upon a solemn Promise that they would be true to the Cause, often granted them the Favour; for our *Filles de Joye* have ever been very zealous for the Chevalier, whom, with his Followers, they constantly remember in their Prayers, and whom they are fully determined to stand by to the last.

[II-137]

The mentioning of treasonable Ballads, publicly sung in the Streets, will perhaps surprize you; but I can assure you, that nothing was more frequent here one while, and which the Records of *Bridewell* and the *Work-house* will still justify; several of them having been committed there by some worthy Magistrates of the City, who were resolved to put a Stop to this growing Evil, but in vain; they were of the *Hydra* Nature, and one was no sooner taken off, but two started up in its room; and this Method was constantly practised whilst they had Hopes left, and there was any Spirit remaining in the Party; such doubtless was the Encouragement given to these petty Retailers of Treason.

I will not trouble you with any farther Retrospects, but proceed directly to the Time when the grand Business was to have been brought upon the Stage, and that was at the Election of a new Parliament. As to what foreign Correspondence was carrying on at that Time, what Application made to Potentates for a Supply, what Schemes projected among themselves, and things of this Nature, I must refer you to the Report and Appendix, which I now send you, and in which you will find all the dark Designs and hellish Contrivances of the blackest of Traitors, traced out and unravelled by a wise and sagacious Committee of the Honourable House of Commons; who have not more distinguished themselves by the prudent Choice of such a Committee, than the Committee distinguished themselves by their indefatigable Pains and deep Penetration. And indeed to this Report most of your Friends are indebted for the Share of Reason they at present enjoy; it thoroughly convinced them of their Errors, and they have not been ashamed to own it; even your old Crony Mr. — — —, who was always the loudest in ridiculing the Plot, not only in Company, but in all Places, has very frankly recanted, and that in a public manner too, and ingenuously confessed, that no Man in his Senses could read the Report, and doubt the Truth of the Plot.

It was on all hands believed, and by the Jacobites entirely depended upon, that while the several Counties, Towns, and Boroughs of this Kingdom were proceeding [II-138] in the Choice of Representatives in a new Parliament, his Majesty would make a Tour to his *German* Dominions; and what time so proper for their Undertaking as when the King was absent, and we had no Parliament? and therefore now or never the grand Work was to be done.

The very Day the Parliament was dissolved, which, to the best of my Remembrance, was the 10th of *March*, the Heads of the Party got together, and, in order to amuse the People, and see what Numbers they could raise on Occasion, ventured to make some Bonfires, imitating the Rejoicings which were made at the Dissolution of *Oliver's* Rump Parliament; and our Streets rung with the Cries of the Hawkers, who were dispersing *the last Will and Testament of the old deceased Parliament, the Character of the Rump Parliament, &c.* But on this Occasion none exerted themselves with such undaunted Impudence as the *Freeholder*; who, I think, had not made his Appearance in the World above six Weeks before, and therefore for what Purpose set up we may easily imagine. He had, from his first coming out, dealt in very bitter Invectives, but the Moment the Parliament was dissolved, he gave an unbounded Loose. I would not willingly repeat any - thing after him that should give Offence, but, as I suppose, this Paper was confined to the Town, and probably never reached you, I'll give you a Paragraph, and that one of the modestest too, published in the first Paper, which came out after the Proclamation, and in which he gives, at least as he pretends, an Account of whatever was transacted by the late Parliament.

'The second and third Sessions, says he, had nothing remarkable in them but the Act for a general Indemnity, and the Tryal of the Lord *Oxford*, which was the only Case but one wherein the two Houses differed during so long Continuance: and if they had differed in some more material Points, others, perhaps, might have escaped Misery as well as that noble Lord. They likewise passed a famous Act, to qualify his Majesty to be Governor of the *South Sea* Company, without taking the Oaths necessary for that Office; and another against wearing Cloth Buttons.'

[II-139]

I must take notice of one Thing more in the same Paper, and that is his Observation upon the repealing of the Schism Bill. This zealous Churchman, fond of Persecution, endeavours to represent one of the most glorious, most charitable, and most Christian-like Acts of that Parliament, as a Thing prejudicial to the Church, nay to the Protestant Religion: But take his own Words.

'These Laws made by one Parliament for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*, were, by another Parliament repealed, for the Security of the *Protestant Interest*.'

I have already told you, that I would not repeat any of those Passages which had given Offence; and if these are his modest Expressions, you may easily guess what the others must be: And yet, when the Printer was brought to his Tryal, it was insinuated by the Party to be a Breach of the Liberty of the Subject, who was no longer now allowed to complain of his Grievances; that it was for siding with the Church Party, with a great deal of Common-place Cant of the same Nature. And now I mention the Prosecution against him, I suppose you'll be curious to know what Punishment he met with; he was tried and convicted, but not yet sentenced.

I would have Men, who have met with such Mildness and undeserved Mercy, seriously reflect on what they might have expected, had they been guilty of libelling a Government any where amongst our Neighbours; and that I may not be thought to quote the severest, I would only have them imagine, that they did the same thing at *Paris*: If they do not know what Fate they might have expected there, I can easily inform them; they would have gone, with all their Abettors, to the *Bastile*, and never have seen the Day-light more till they had been removed to *Grave-Square*, there on a Wheel or Gibbet to have ended their Days. But I am digressing from my Purpose.

The Conspirators here having, in vain, applied themselves to several foreign Potentates for Assistance to carry on their treasonable Designs, resolved now to venture upon their own Strength; and, as I before observed, thought no Time so favourable as that of the Elections, when Mobs and Riots are too frequent. How restless [II-140] their Endeavours were, we are all very sensible; the repeated Cries which were every where heard, of *No Septennial Parliament* (a Word that was made Use of as a Bugbear to frighten and bias the People) the repeated Huzzas of *Down with the Rumps*, often mixed with the Shouts of *High Church and Ormond for ever!* plainly demonstrate, that there were too many whose whole Time was employed in seducing and deluding the Vulgar: and I wish to God some of the Clergy had not a considerable Share in all these Disturbances, especially as you will find observed in the Report, that the two most riotous Elections of any throughout the Kingdom, were that of *Westminster*, a Place under the immediate Influence of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and that of *Coventry*, which appears to have been animated by *Carte*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, an Agent of the Bishop's, and one employed by him in managing his treasonable Correspondence.

But as a Mob was not of itself sufficient to bring the mighty Work to bear, Money was raised here in *England*, partly, I suppose, given by those who most impatiently longed to see their Country involved in Blood and Ruin, the other Part lent upon the Chevalier's Notes; and with these Sums, Ships were provided, such as the *Revolution*, and some others yet untaken, and some hired here in *England*; and the late Duke of *Ormond*, with a great Number of Officers, and large Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, was to have come over and headed the Enterprize.

But we now see that we had a wise and vigilant Ministry, who had nothing at heart but the Service of their King, and the Good of their Fellow-Subjects, who denied themselves Rest that they might give it to their Country, and were perpetually labouring to procure Ease to others. How indefatigably they countermined every Measure of the Conspirators, the Event sufficiently witnesses; and that with such Prudence, that the Conspirators never mistrusted that their Designs were betrayed. How were they surprized to see every Step they took prove a wrong Step, their Intentions abortive, and all their Projects miscarry! Little they thought that the Ministers, like so many Guardian Angels of the Land [II-141] were perpetually watching for its Welfare, turned the Edge of their Arrows, and diverted the threatening Fate. In short, they had the Mortification to see all the Elections of *England* over without having been able to strike a Stroke; and what was a double Mortification to them, began to be pretty well assured, that their restless Endeavours were all in vain, and that we had a Parliament returned to whom our Liberties and the Protestant Interest were equally dear.

If I may presume to dive into the Secrets of those who are at the Helm of Affairs, I am apt to imagine, that they did believe all these Disappointments, joined together, would intirely damp the Jacobite Party, and make them sit down contented with the Enjoyment of what they willingly would, but could not, deprive themselves of; but such was the Infatuation of these Wretches, they were not to be baulked. One would have thought them something of the Nature of the Tyrant *Antæus*, and if from every Fall they did not gather new Strength, at least they did new Rage; which grew to such a Height from their last Disappointment, that it was thought unsafe to conceal it any longer, and Preparations must be made to repel their desperate Rage by open Force. Accordingly on *Monday* the 7th of *May* 1722, a Camp was marked out in *Hyde-Park*, to which the Troops of his Majesty's Household marched the next and following Days. All Officers were ordered to repair to their respective Commands; Lieutenant-General *Macartney* was dispatched to *Ireland*, to bring over some Troops from thence into the West of *England*, and Instructions were sent to Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who some few Days before went over to *Holland*, to desire the States to keep the Guaranty Troops in a Readiness to be transported to *England*; for his Majesty was very tender of putting his

Subjects to any more Charges than what were absolutely necessary for their own Security; and therefore he would not bring over the *Dutch Forces*, till it should be unsafe to delay it any longer. And his Majesty was pleased to give Notice of the Conspiracy to the Lord Mayor, thereby to prevent any Tumult in the City.

[II-142]

*My Lord,*

*Whitehall, May 8, 1722.*

HIS Majesty having nothing more at Heart than the Peace and Safety of his good City of *London*, the Protection of its Inhabitants, and the Support of public Credit; has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship, that he has received repeated and unquestionable Advices, that several of his Subjects, forgetting the Allegiance they owe to his Majesty, as well as the natural Love they ought to bear to their Country, have entered into a wicked Conspiracy, in concert with Traytors abroad, for raising a Rebellion in this Kingdom in favour of a Popish Pretender, with a traiterous Design to overthrow our excellent Constitution both in Church and State, and to subject a Protestant free People to Tyranny and Superstition: But I am persuaded, that it will be a great Satisfaction to your Lordship and the City to find, that at the same time that I am ordered to inform you of this Design, I am likewise commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that he is firmly assured, that the Authors of it neither are, nor will be supported, nor even countenanced by any foreign Power. And as his Majesty has had timely Notice of their wicked Machinations, and has made the proper Dispositions for defeating them, he has no Reason to doubt, but, by the Continuance of the Blessing of Almighty God, and the ready Assistance of his faithful Subjects, this Effort of the Malice of his Enemies will be turned to their own Confusion.

His Majesty makes no doubt but your Lordship, pursuant to the Trust reposed in you, will, in Conjunction with the other Magistrates of his good City of *London*, exert, with the utmost Care and Vigilance, your Authority, at so important a Conjunction, for the Preservation of the public Peace, and the Security of the City. I am, &c.

TOWNSHEND.

The next Day his Majesty in Council was pleased to sign and order a Proclamation forthwith to be published, *for putting the Laws in Execution against Papists and Nonjurors, and for commanding all Papists, and reputed [II-143] Papists, to depart from the Cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten Miles of the same; and for confining Papists, and reputed Papists, to their Habitations, and for putting in Execution the Laws against Riots and Rioters.*

The Conspirators, who were always upon the Watch to gather some Advantage, if possible, even from every Disappointment, took this Opportunity to spread several Reports detrimental to public Credit, and those amongst them who had any Money in the Bank began a Run upon it; and *South Sea Stock*, which at that time was about 90, fell to about 77: And by these Means they hoped to spread new Discontents amongst the People, especially amongst the unhappy Sufferers in this Company; but this Design also miscarried, and in some Days Stock gradually rose till it reached its former Value.

But still the Party had some Hopes left, or rather were resolved to attempt something for their Cause; and in this they were the more encouraged by the Death of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who died at *Windsor* on the 16th of *June*, about four in the Morning; and as they were satisfied that he must have a magnificent Burial, at which there would be a vast Concourse of People, they thought it might be a very proper Time for putting their Design in

Execution, and we are told that they had accordingly taken Measures for this Purpose; but the Burial was not on the appointed Day, and the deferring of it, once more disappointed their Projects.

The last time they fixed was at the breaking up of the Camp; to which End they had taken Care to corrupt some of the old Serjeants, and were endeavouring to corrupt as many more Veterans as they possibly could; but this Attempt you will find much more particularly related in *Layer's* Tryal, which I have already sent you, and in the Report, which you will receive with this Letter.

That you may read the Appendix with much more Ease than I have done, I have herein inclosed you an Explanation of all the fictitious Names made use of by the Conspirators, that you may at once see who are the Persons meant, without being obliged to turn over to the Report, in which they are explained.

[II-144]

<i>ABel</i>	His Majesty.
<i>Armstrong and Company</i>	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Burford</i>	E—of O— — —y.
<i>Bonnville</i>	<i>Christopher Glascock, Dillon's Secretary.</i>
<i>James Baker</i> }	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>Brisac</i> }	
Beautiful Squire	<i>Christopher Layer.</i>
Mr. or Mrs. <i>Burton</i>	<i>Mrs. Spelman, alias Yellop.</i>
<i>B — — —</i>	<i>Brown, an Irish Merchant at Bilbca.</i>
Brokers	Agents.
Barrels	Army.
<i>Barker</i>	Some considerable Person in <i>France</i> , whose true Name is not yet discovered.
The Chief }	Pretender.
Mrs. <i>Chaumont</i> }	
<i>N. Clifton</i> }	L. N — and G — .
<i>N. Crone</i> }	
<i>N. Cleaton</i> }	
Lord <i>Crawford</i>	L. L — — — .
<i>Cane</i> }	General <i>Dillon.</i>
<i>Chivers</i> }	
<i>Chitwood</i> }	
Sir <i>John Christy</i>	Sir <i>John d'Obrian</i> , another of <i>Dillon's</i> Secretaries.
Carpenters	Scots Soldiers.
<i>Coutade</i>	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>Crow</i>	<i>James Talbot.</i>
<i>Colins</i>	<i>Colin Campbell of Glenderoul.</i>
<i>Clynton</i>	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Dixwell</i> }	General <i>Dillon.</i>
<i>Digby</i> }	
<i>Duplessis</i> }	
<i>Disode</i>	<i>Glascock, Dillon's Secretary.</i>
<i>Du Bois</i>	Bishop of <i>Rochester.</i>
<i>Dupuy</i>	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>Dumville</i> }	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Dodsworth</i> }	
Fly	Sir <i>Redmund Everard.</i>
<i>F. M.</i>	<i>Francis Macnamara.</i>
Freeman }	Pretender.

Farmer }	
Mr. <i>Frampton</i>	Mr. <i>William Moor</i> .
<i>Finch</i> }	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Fox</i> }	
<i>Forester</i> }	
<i>D. Gainer</i> }	General <i>Dillon</i> .
<i>D. Gregory</i> }	
<i>Glasgow</i>	<i>Glascock</i> , <i>Dillon</i> 's Secretary.
<i>Gerrard</i>	Sir <i>John d'Obrian</i> , <i>Dillon</i> 's Secretary.
<i>G. H.</i>	<i>George Kelly</i> , alias <i>Johnson</i> .
Goods	<i>Irish</i> Soldiers.
Girt	A hundred Men.
<i>Hews</i>	His Majesty.
<i>Houlder</i>	The late Duke of <i>Ormond</i> .
<i>Howell</i>	<i>Glascock</i> , <i>Dillon</i> 's Secretary.
<i>Hatsfield</i> }	<i>George Kelly</i> , alias <i>Johnson</i> .
<i>Hawksby</i> }	
<i>Hubberts</i>	<i>Dennis Kelly</i> .
<i>Ho</i> }	Sir <i>Harry G</i> — — g.
<i>Hore</i> }	
<i>Hawley</i>	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Hancock</i>	<i>George Kelly</i> , alias <i>Johnson</i> .
<i>Hacket</i>	Not yet decyphered.
<i>Jackson</i> }	Pretender.
<i>Joseph</i> }	
Mrs. <i>Jones</i>	D. of <i>N</i> — — .
<i>T. Jones</i> }	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> .
<i>T. Illington</i> }	
<i>J. J.</i> }	<i>George Kelly</i> , alias <i>Johnson</i> .
<i>James Johnson</i> }	
<i>Ireton</i> }	
<i>Justus</i>	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> .
Mrs. <i>Kinders</i>	Mrs. <i>Hughes</i> , Nurse to the young Pretender.
<i>Kirton</i> }	<i>Dennis Kelly</i> .
<i>Killigrew</i> }	
<i>Lane</i>	Late Earl of <i>Mar</i> .
<i>Lunelle</i>	<i>George Kelly</i> , alias <i>Johnson</i> .
Law Suit	Pretender's Cause.
<i>Lowty</i>	The Ministry.
<i>Malcom</i>	Pretender.
Mrs. <i>Malcom</i>	The Pretendress.
<i>Masorneuve</i>	<i>George Kelly</i> .
<i>M.</i>	<i>Morgan</i> .
<i>Mansfield</i> }	Late Duke of <i>Ormond</i> .
<i>Medley</i> }	
<i>Musgrave</i> }	Late Earl of <i>Mar</i> .
<i>Morfield</i> }	
<i>Moore</i>	<i>Nicholas Wogan</i> .
<i>Maxwell</i>	A Relation of the late Earl of <i>Mar</i> .
<i>Naunton</i>	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> .
<i>Nowell</i>	Captain <i>Halstead</i> .
<i>Quitwell</i> }	<i>Glascock</i> , <i>Dillon</i> 's Secretary.
<i>Querry</i> }	
Sir <i>Red</i>	<i>Redmund Everard</i> .
<i>Rig</i>	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> .
<i>Rogers</i>	<i>John Plunkett</i> .
<i>G. Roberts</i>	<i>Glascock</i> , <i>Dillon</i> 's Secretary.



<i>Standwell</i>	Pretender.
<i>Steele</i>	Regent.
<i>St. John</i>	<i>Glascoock, Dillon's Secretary.</i>
<i>Anthony Saunders</i> }	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>Arthur Stephens</i> }	
<i>Stanford</i> }	<i>Dennis Kelly.</i>
<i>St. George</i> }	
<i>Mr. Sandford</i> }	
<i>G. Sampson</i> }	Sir <i>Harry G——g.</i>
<i>G. Saunders</i> }	
<i>G. Stephenson</i> }	
<i>G. Sandford</i> }	
<i>Sanders</i>	<i>Thomas Carte, a Nonjuring Parson.</i>
<i>Saddles</i>	Regiments.
<i>Saddlers</i> }	<i>Irish Soldiers.</i>
<i>Sophisters</i> }	
<i>Symms</i> }	<i>L. N —— and G ——.</i>
<i>Symons</i> }	
<i>Skinner</i>	<i>Stanley.</i>
<i>Stocks</i>	The Conspiracy.
<i>Tom</i>	Late Duke of <i>Ormond.</i>
<i>Thomas</i> }	<i>Thomas Carte.</i>
<i>Trotter</i> }	
<i>Tanners</i>	Tories.
<i>Joshua Vernon</i> }	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>James Vernon</i> }	
<i>Watson</i>	Late Earl <i>Marishal.</i>
<i>Weston</i>	Bishop of <i>Rochester.</i>
<i>Wilkins</i>	<i>George Kelly, alias Johnson.</i>
<i>Mrs. Williams</i>	Mr. <i>Harvey of Comb.</i>
<i>George Williams</i>	<i>Thomas Carte.</i>
<i>Waggs</i>	Whigs.
<i>Wine</i>	An Invasion.
<i>Walton</i>	One <i>Morgan</i> , Intendant of the Pretender's Ships at <i>Cadiz.</i>
<i>Xoland</i>	<i>Nicholas Wogan.</i>
1387	Bishop of <i>Rochester.</i>

I am afraid that I have been something tedious in the narrative Part of my Epistle, and therefore, without detaining you any longer, I'll just take Notice of the present State of our Affairs, and answer some of the Cries which are often heard amongst the disaffected and deluded Part of the Nation.

Although we may, from the Measures which have been taken to prevent the intended Stroke of the Conspirators, hope that we now are safe, yet ought we not to rest too secure, and thereby give our Enemies an Opportunity of compassing their Ends. Their Endeavours, we find, are restless: *George Kelly* had been taken up on Suspicion of treasonable Practices, he was bailed out; you see the first Use he makes of his Liberty is to settle a new Key of fictitious Names with his Correspondents abroad, and the very Moment that, by the Indulgence of our Constitution, he had got out of Custody, he employed the Liberty he had recovered to subvert that Constitution by which he had obtained it. Nor is he the only Example I can quote; after the imprisoning of the Chiefs of this Design, they could not give over, and [II-148] *Mackintosh* was seized at *Gravesend*, as he was coming here to form new Schemes, in Conjunction with the yet undiscovered Traitors.

But, say you, when the Chiefs are seized, and all their Projects countermined, what Need have we of an Addition of Forces? of what Service is an Army when our Enemies are defeated? New Taxes must surely be laid, in order to make a Provision for an additional four thousand Men, and this is what the generality of the People so loudly complain of; and I suppose you would go farther, and say, Are our Liberties and Properties intirely safe, whilst there are such Numbers of Forces on Foot?

Look a little backwards, and reflect on the loud Clamours which were lately made against a Standing Army, and to bear a Part in which we also were drawn. What was the Aim of the Jacobites in all this? To get the Army disbanded, which, if done, they had certainly compassed our Ruin, and subverted our Constitution, and we should not only have lost all that was dear and valuable, but should have been perpetually cursed with the tormenting Reflection, that we ourselves had contributed all that in us lay to our Ruin, and vigorously assisted the Conspirators in the Completion of it.

I allow you, indeed, that a great Number of their Chiefs are taken up, and thereby, one would think, incapacitated to do further Mischief; but are we therefore safe? I wish I could say we were; but you will find by the Report, that a great many were engaged in the criminal Correspondence, whose Names are not yet discovered, and who, perhaps, are capable of doing the greatest Mischief. The Example of those two I have just above quoted, sufficiently convinces us how restless the Faction is, and spite of all the Vigilance of their Guards, there are those of greater Distinction than *Kelly* or *Mackintosh*, who, even from their Prison, have sown the Seeds of Discord; who, under all Adversities, take Care to keep up the Spirit of their Party, and with their Blessings endeavour to curse the Nation. Nor ought we ever to rest secure, and without Apprehension, whilst there are such turbulent Spirits as an *Alberoni* or *Francisco* living. It is a Catholic Cause they are carrying on, and therefore [II-149] the Number of our General Officers ought to answer that of the *Roman* Conclave, and we should at least keep as many Soldiers on Foot as there are Jesuits abroad.

But if you seriously consider the Charges which must arise from the keeping up these additional Forces, you will find them to be much less than you perhaps at first imagined. Here are no Officers of any kind to be provided for, but such a Number of private Men who are incorporated into the old Regiments. And at the very first opening of the Parliament, when the carrying on of a Conspiracy was declared from the Throne, his Majesty did not from hence take Occasion to ask for large Supplies, as ancient Stories say has been often practised; far from it, he directed the Commons, who doubtless would raise Money sufficient for the Defence of the Nation, to order the Provisions they should make for defraying the Expences which the treasonable Practices of our Enemies had put us to, with such Frugality as very little to exceed the Supplies of the last Year. And indeed such Measures are now taking, that it is to be hoped our Catholics will be obliged to pay the Charges of their Catholic Plot.

But suppose the Expences had been much greater, suppose that they had all fallen upon us, are then our Liberties of so little Value that they are not worth our being at some Charges to preserve them? Have so much Blood, and so many Millions been spent, since the Revolution, in the Defence of our excellent Constitution, and shall we at once destroy the Work of thirty-five Years, rather than add a few thousands to the already disbursed Sums? Or shall we lose all that we have, rather than give an inconsiderable Part of it to secure the rest? For Shame, after having been so zealous in this Cause for so many Years, and engaged in so many prudent Undertakings, don't let us slacken at once, and act like Madmen. If we must bow to the Yoke, we had much better have done it at once, and all our Resistance would serve only to sharpen the Resentment of Popish Zealots, and our former Endeavours after Happiness increase our Misery.

The other Objection, though not mentioned by you, I have often heard from several deluded People, and [II-150] very well know you mean it: I know it, because I have several times inconsiderably asked the Question myself, Whether we could depend upon our Liberties and Properties being entirely safe, whilst there are such Numbers of Forces on Foot;

I have already answered the latter Part of this Question, to wit, that our Standing Army is not greater than what is absolutely necessary for our Defence; but suppose it considerable enough to inslave us, suppose (tho' there be not the least Ground for such a Supposition) that we had Reason to apprehend his Majesty designed to make himself absolute, shall we therefore clamour for the disbanding of the Army, and make ourselves an easy Prey for the Pretender and his Faction? If we do, we are sure of having one bred up in the Notions of absolute Monarchy, Tyranny, and Persecution. We shall not be a Monarch's Slaves, but a Slave's Slaves, for such he is to Priests and Jesuits. A holy Office of Inquisition would soon be established, before whose dread Tribunal we must all appear; Church Lands must be restored to Popish Priests; we should see the Scum of Mankind wallowing in Riches, and lording it over their Betters, with all the haughty Insolence of Churchmen, whilst we must crouch beneath their Feet, and never presume to contradict or question one Syllable of what they say; for certain as we do, we should be hurried to a Bishop's Dungeon, or Inquisition Prison, there to pine on Bread and Water, and ever now and then to taste the Torments of a Rack, till, out of Compassion to our Sufferings, the merciful Priests should condescend to put an End to our Pains, by exposing us to the Crowd on a Wheel, or exalted Gibbet, as Traitors to God and his holy Ambassadors, and Blasphemers against his Word, thereby to deter the rest of Mankind from presuming to offend a Priest.

Were we, on the other hand, to be subdued by his present Majesty, were he to gain an absolute Power over us, we should still be governed by the Temporal Arm; which, compared to the Ecclesiastic, is Liberty indeed. We should have on the Throne a Prince, whose Laws would be absolute, but whose Will is mild; who, though truly pious, is not to be Priest-ridden, or swayed by [II-151] superstitious Fears: A Monarch whose Principles make him averse to Persecution, and whose Fault (if I may presume to charge him with any) is a Temper too much inclined to Mercy; of which we have had so many, and such conspicuous Examples, that 'twould be needless to quote any. Had he been less compassionate, this Conspiracy would not probably ever have been formed; doubtless several of the Chief would have been taken off at the Time of the *Preston* Rebellion, and the ungrateful Wretches would not have had it in their Power to have attempted against the Life of a Prince, to whose Mercy they owe their own.

But, thank Heaven, we have not the least Reason, the least Grounds to apprehend any such thing. What Attempts have been made towards it? Whose Properties has his Majesty seized upon? What Alteration has he made in our Religion? Whom has he persecuted? Whose Heritage has he plundered, and whom has he unjustly put to Death? Far from it, he has always been tender of the Liberty of the Subject, has always shunned the least Occasion of giving us any Umbrage. When the Bill for better preserving us from the Plague, and for building Barracks, was passed and signed, what Prince but himself would have parted with the extensive Power given him in it? and yet when his Majesty was informed that his Subjects were uneasy at it, when he had seriously considered and found that the Power given him there might touch their Liberties, if he pleased to make an ill Use of it, how readily did he give it up! the Parliament had another Sessions chiefly for the Repeal of that Bill, and it was at the Desire of his Majesty, and by the Interest of his Ministry, that it was repealed.

When a Man has ignorantly been led into wrong Measures, the best, the wisest, the most honourable thing he can do, as soon as he opens his Eyes, is to abandon his wicked Companions, and, as much as in him lies, to make Atonement for the Mischief he may have

done. This at present is our Case; the Monkey has too long made use of the Cat's Paw: By artfully spreading the Poison amongst us, they have made us the loudest in the Clamours raised against the best of [II-152] Kings, and the wisest of Ministers. But e'er yet it be too late, let us convince them, that we tread in their dangerous Footsteps only whilst we are hood-winked, and that having recovered the Light of Reason, we all unanimously join against the common Enemies of our Country, of our Religion, and of our Liberties; and that we will never bow down our Necks to a bigotted Fugitive, or court the Yoke of Superstition and Slavery. We were upon the Brink of Ruin, and just ready to throw ourselves down the Precipice; but let the Danger of the Fall, and the Horror which presents itself before our Eyes, warn us, whilst yet 'tis time, to fly the Destruction which would inevitably attend us.

As for those infatuated Wretches, with whom solid Argument has no Weight, who shut their Eyes lest they should see, or who are obstinately bent to pursue their destructive Purposes, let such, if they won't give themselves Time to reflect on their own Ruin, but for a Moment consider what they entail upon their Posterity, and I dare say it will fright them into Reason, and shock them into Understanding: Beggary, Ignorance, and Slavery will be the undoubted Portion of their Children, and they may account themselves happy if they are allowed to enjoy these unmolested.

The Noble ought to consider that he will soon be upon a Level with the very Scum of the World; for besides protecting Cardinals, Confessors, and such like People, who often rise from the Dunghill, let him turn his Eyes upon the mock Monarch's Court, and see Titles conferred upon base-born Beggars, Persons adorned with Robes and Garters, who were born to Liveries and Shoulder-knots, zealous Persecutors made Prime Ministers, and unskilled Attornies at once leaping into the Chancellor's Seat. Let our Commoners remember, that they must never more expect to represent their Country; for what has an absolute Monarch to do with Parliaments? Their Estates will be taken from them to reward those who, in the worst of Times, as they call it, have been true to his Cause; or suppose they should not, all the Church Lands, which are half the Lands of the Kingdom, must be restored; and of what remains, twenty Shillings in the Pound would not suffice [II-153] to pay the Interest of the Chevalier's Debts. The Merchant, who has ventured his Life, and all his Wealth upon the tempestuous Seas, returning home, must, after the Example of some of our Neighbours, unlade his Treasure in the Royal Storehouses, and be content with what Part of it his Monarch pleases to give him. The Soldier must rest at home in inglorious Ease, and if there be a War, must see fawning Cowards enjoy those Places of Honour which are due to his Valour, for such doubtless would be his Favourites. What else can be expected from one, who when he had an Army more numerous than that by which he was opposed, and had not a single Foot of Land to stake against three Kingdoms, yet would not draw a Sword, or venture one Combat, for the glorious Prize? And what Man of true Valour would fight for such a one?

Let a Man of Learning consider, that in such Days Learning would be a capital Crime, and that nothing less than Fire and Faggot would be the Reward of one who would pretend to understand the Scriptures, or to have them by him in his Mother-Tongue. Let the Oppressed, and those who would seek Protection under a Monarch's Wing, reflect, what Compassion, what paternal Love he could have for his People, who has none for his Child; an Infant who never was capable of offending him, but whom he would have exposed [\*] to the Rage of a Civil War, that he might have continued safe at home.

Is there a Man truly devout, or that has one Grain of Religion in him, that will stand up for one bred in *Italian* Superstition, or a true *Englishman*, who desires a King nursed up in *French* Politics? The Man who really loves his Country and Fellow-subjects, cannot want to see them governed by one, who has all his Life-time been taught to look upon them as Traitors.

But here is another Set of People, amongst whom I could heartily wish that there were none in this Interest, because their Influence over the Minds of the People is very great; I mean our Clergy. I will not pretend to point out any particular Persons amongst them, and if [II-154] I do suspect any, I heartily wish I may wrong them; but if there be any such, how great must their Infatuation be? Can they pretend to be Ministers of God's Word, and want to see that Word abolished? for such in effect it would be, and its Place usurped by human Tradition. Can they stile themselves zealous Protestants, and want to put themselves under the Government of a Romish Bigot? Can they cry out, *that the Church is in Danger*, and yet endeavour to bring in a Papist to rescue and defend her; the very Fundamentals of whose Religion teach him, that 'tis his Duty to destroy it, and believes that neglecting an Opportunity of doing it would be Damnation eternal.

What End therefore can any mistaken Reverend Zealot propose to himself in an Attempt of this Nature? his Interest probably; for, say they, the Church Lands would then be restored to us. True, they would be restored, but not to them. The Chevalier would bring over Priests enough to take double Possession of all our Livings, were the Number of them double, and the abounding Convents would swarm with preaching Monks and Jesuits; but not a Member of the Church of *England* must expect any Preferment, not even if they should renounce their own Religion, and embrace the Catholic. Indeed, should there happen to be some petty Cure, unworthy the Acceptance of an old staunch Believer, the Proselyte might hope to come in for it; but that's the highest he must ever aim at.

To convince them that this is not a new-started Notion, I will take the Liberty of quoting a Fact which happened in the Year 853, with the Opinion of the Ecclesiastics of those Days, relating to the Usage they must expect from a Prince of a different Persuasion, The Story is this,

' *Amand*, King of *Sweden*, having, by his tyrannical Government, justly enraged his Subjects against him, they rose and drove him out of the Kingdom, and called in *Olaus*, a pious Prince, to reign in his stead. This *Olaus* being converted to the Christian Faith by *Ansgarius*, afterwards Bishop of *Bremen*, took care that this Doctrine should be preached in his Dominions, and to that End called in some few Priests, whom he took under his Protection, and, who settling [II-155] at *Upsal*, formed a Convent, or kind of little University.

'Mean while the Heathens of that City began loudly to inveigh against the Christians, as having interrupted their Sacrifices (for they had a miraculous Idol at *Upsal*, to which they were wont to sacrifice human Creatures) and the Minds of the Superstitious were poisoned with the Danger of their Religion, tho' no Force had ever been used to make them embrace the Christian Faith. The Agents of *Amand* took Care to foment these Discontents, and managed their Affairs so very dextrously, that they at last won over even those infatuated Priests to their Party, who blindly embracing the Notion of *Amand*'s being their lawful Sovereign, preached up the Doctrine of Hereditary and Indefeasible Right. At length, but too late, they opened their Eyes, and saw their Folly; then it was they would willingly have atoned for past Crimes; and thoroughly convinced of their Error, they presented a Kind of Address to *Olaus*, to the Sense of which I have directly kept close, though I have somewhat altered the barbarous Phrase, and dressed it up in a modern Stile,'

***To his Highness Prince Olaus, King of the Swedes and Goths; The humble Address of the Ecclesiastics residing at Upsal, under the Protection of his Highness.***

REflecting on our former Crimes, 'tis with Shame and Confusion we approach the Throne of your Highness; but if a sincere Repentance, and a hearty Resolution of Amendment can make us find Grace in your Sight, none of your rebelling Subjects shall be better intitled to your Pardon. We confess, Great Sir, that we have endeavoured the

Subversion of your Government, and joining with your Enemies, have used our utmost Arts to bring in a bigotted Pretender. Strange Infatuation! that we should have been so blind to Reason, to the Dictates of Religion, and to our own Interest! for had we compassed our Ends, what could we have proposed to ourselves? How ridiculous is it [II-156] to think that a Heathen Tyrant would protect the Christian Faith, or that he would maintain us in the Enjoyment of the Property which your Highness has bestowed upon us. Far from it, our holy Scriptures would have been trampled upon, the Priests of the Idol would have taken Possession of what we now have, and all that we could hope, for having been instrumental in settling the Crown upon the Tyrant's Head, would be the Favour of being the last sacrificed to the Idol,

Full of these Sentiments we beg Leave to approach your Highness, and to assure you, that our future Doctrines shall, in some measure, atone for our past. We have indeed usurped a Province which in no wise belonged to us, and neglecting the Business of true Pastors, and the Concern of Souls, we have busied our Heads with Politics, and taken upon us to act as Ministers of State; a Fault which we never more would be guilty of, did we not in Conscience think ourselves obliged to set the Minds of those People to rights, whom we have led astray, and to remove the dangerous Notions which we have inculcated in the Youth committed to our Care. This done, we will always content ourselves with preaching the pure Christian Faith, and carefully instructing your Subjects in it, always remembering that we have nothing to do with the Kingdom of this World.

The Hopes we have of being intirely freed from those who shall prove actually guilty, is no small Joy to the Well-wishers of the Government. *Laver*, who has been a principal Agent in the Conspiracy, you know, lies under Sentence of Death; and as, 'tis said, that he has not been very ingenuous in his Confession, 'tis generally believed that he will at last be executed. *Plunket* has been found guilty, and he will be imprisoned during the Pleasure of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and 'tis made Felony for him to attempt to escape, or for any one to assist him in such an Attempt, and what he has is confiscated, *Kelly's* Fate is the same; and the Bishop, 'tis probable, will be deprived of his Ecclesiastical Revenues, and banished.

[II-157]

There are some who love to make a Noise at every Measure that is taken against Conspirators, and therefore 'tis no Wonder that proceeding against him, by way of Bill, should be clamoured at, though it was the Method those very Persons would lately have had used against the *South Sea* Directors. I know that you are well versed in old Law-Cases, and therefore I will not trouble you with the many Precedents that former Reigns have furnished us with, of Proceedings in this Manner; and indeed it is very necessary, that extraordinary Steps should sometimes be taken in Cases of Treason, without which a Nation never will be safe. I will not say that our Laws are deficient, but in some Cases they are too tender; and it is very possible for Wretches to compass and imagine the Ruin of their King and Country, and yet to screen themselves from what is called a legal Conviction. But in this Case it proves otherwise, and those who have been loudest in their Clamours, against such a Way of Proceeding, have since owned, that there was Evidence enough to convict any of them in a common Court of Justice, and that the Punishment inflicted on them was too small for their Crimes.

I will not trouble you any farther. I hope by this time that you are pretty well convinced, that we have too long been in Error; and do not let Pity for those, who would have shewn you none, move your Heart: Or, to arm your Mind with Resentment against Traitors, remember that, if you can forget the Injury that might be intended to you in particular, a *British* Soul ought never to forgive an Attempt to ruin his Country. 'Tis not our Cause only, but the glorious Cause of LIBERTY that we fight. LIBERTY, in the Defence of which so much

Blood has already been shed, such Sums have been spent; LIBERTY, which if we could not procure for ourselves, would be cheap bought for our Posterity with the Loss of our Lives; without which, Grandeur is nothing more than golden Fetters, Riches Beggary, and Life a State far worse than Death. But I need not dwell any longer upon this Subject, to one who knows the Value of it so very well, whose Birth and Principles have long since inculcated [II-158] that old *Roman* Maxim in him, That Slavery is worse than Death, and that to live is to be free. I am,

SIR,

*Your humble Servant,*

CATO.

**POSTSCRIPT.**

SINCE my setting down to write this Letter, there has been published a Report of the House of Lords, which I have also taken Care to send you, and which was made by the Duke of *Dorset*, and a Committee of six other Temporal, and two spiritual Lords. And can any Man in his Senses now doubt of the Truth of a Plot, when both Houses have concurred thus unanimously in acknowledging one, and proceeding against the Offenders? When the Facts have been enquired into by Men of such Sense, Justice, Honour, and Probity, and again confirmed by them in a judicial Capacity. I would have you carefully read over the Appendix, annexed to this last Report, and observe what is contained in the Papers taken about the Officers who were seized by Captain *Scott* on board the *Revolution*; and by these you will find most of those Things, which were only suggested in the first Report, absolutely confirmed.

But there has happened one Thing, which has gone farther in satisfying the Incredulous, and bringing them over to Reason. You know it was every where whispered by those who wish so, that the King had not Evidence sufficient legally to convince these Men; and as they have managed it, he did indeed not want any. In the Defence which they made, they thought fit to call their Evidences; but such, that out of their own Mouths they might have been condemned. What manifest Perjuries, what direct Contradictions, and what notorious Falshoods were heard from them? they have opened the Eyes of half the Blind; and indeed so very true is that Remark of *Ovid's*, *Heu! quam difficile est Crimen non prodere* — — — Some [II-159] of them in the Height of their Defence, and when they have been endeavouring to justify themselves, have accused themselves more effectually than all the King's Counsel could have done. Such may ever be the Fate of Traitors! Whilst they are endeavouring the Ruin of their Country, may they compass their own, and in attempting to enslave us, let them lose their *Liberties!*

I had almost forgot to take Notice of one Thing, and that is, if I may be permitted the Expression, the unprecedented Lenity shewn to those who stand accused of Treason. Several amongst them, who had a considerable Share in the Plot, and who, in any other Reign, would have been sent to *Newgate*, have been so far indulged as to be committed to the *Tower*. Those amongst them, who would have been unable to have supported themselves in a Prison, have been kept at a Messenger's House, and there fed at the Government's Charges; and those against whom there were very strong Suspicions, but no direct Proofs, have been admitted to Bail, and in Effect restored to Liberty, barely upon giving a pecuniary Security, that if called upon they would make their Appearance.

There is another Piece of Lenity which has been shewn them, and that is the extreme Patience with which they have been heard. It is indeed, you will say, but reasonable, when a Man's All is concerned, that he should be allowed to plead in Defence of his Property; I own

it, and whenever Justice has been strictly executed, great Regard has been had to Men in their Circumstances; but, at the same time, Care has always been taken that they should keep close to the Point in making what Defence they could, but never were allowed to amuse or trifle with a Court. Yet in the Case of these Criminals, not one, but several Days have been taken up with their Defence, and the Evasions and trifling Arguments they have made use of; and this, not before a common Court of Justice, but our supreme Court of Judicature. If any thing farther, that's material, relating to this Conspiracy, should offer, you may depend upon hearing from me very speedily again.

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**Royal Gallantry: or, the Amours of a certain K--g of a certain Country, who kept his C--rt at a certain Place, much in the same Latitude with that of W--st-m-nst-r, related in the unhappy Adventures of Palmiris and Lindamira; in which the Characters of Tersander and Cæsarina are vindicated from the Aspersion that have been, or may be, cast upon them; and the unfortunate Death of the former set in a true Light. Done from the French, by CATO. ↩**

*Ego intus & in cute novi.*

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1723.

IT is a standing Maxim with a great Number of People, that the evil Actions of K--gs ought never to be exposed; but the Justice of such a Notion I shall leave to the Determination of every impartial Reader: For once, however, I shall beg leave to transgress their Rule, that I may faithfully relate an Adventure, in which, should I offer to draw a Veil over the Actions of a certain M-n-rch, I must, in every Circumstance, depart from the Truth.

*Palmiris*, a Gentleman of an ancient *English* Family, losing his Father and Mother very young, found himself, when he came to Age, Master of an affluent Fortune. A Desire of travelling, natural to one of his Years, soon made him quit his native Shore, and the Kingdom of *France* was the first his Curiosity led him to, whose Scepter was then swayed by *St. Louis*. It was much [II-161] about the Time this pious Monarch was preparing for an Expedition to the *Holy Land*, with a Design to assist all the Eastern Christians, and *Palmiris* determined to accompany him thither, not so much out of Piety, for he was too young for any serious Thought of that Nature, but out of a Desire of signaling himself by some glorious Action.

To this End he appeared at the Court of *France* with an Equipage becoming his Quality and Fortune, and was extremely well received by the King and both the Queens; nor was it long before he found himself in the good Graces of the Ladies, and indeed how could he miss of being a Favourite amongst them! He was complaisant, generous and gallant, and equally indebted to Nature for the Beauties of his Body and the Endowments of his Mind. Several of them formed Designs upon his Heart; and as he was far from being of a savage Temper, as many as would fall in with him his own Way, had no Reason to complain of him. But Death and Love are two fatal Deities, whose Power every one must sooner or later feel. *Palmiris* had not long enjoyed the Pleasure of intriguing with the *French* Ladies, before he saw the beautiful *Lindamira*; he saw and loved her, but loved her to Madness, even to Marriage-Madness. On the other hand, *Lindamira* looked upon him as an agreeable Lover, as well as a Man who was able to raise her to that Fortune she so justly deserved; for her Friends, though Persons of Quality, had lived in a very extravagant Manner, and found themselves utterly unable to give her a Fortune.

Often would she think of the Advances made her by *Palmiris*, and one while fancy they were only the Effect of an habitual Gallantry; and at another time, that his Designs perhaps were not honourable, Then would she consider, if she did marry him, she must resolve to abandon her native Country, but this she found would be no great Difficulty to her, and she wished that there was no other Obstacle to prevent it: On the other hand, *Palmiris* felt as many Disquiets; he feared that *Lindamira* would never love him well enough to forsake her Friends, her Country, and her Relations, to follow him; another time he dreaded, that if she

should abandon all for him, not [II-162] Love, but Interest, might be the Motive of her doing it; and that it was not his Person but his Estate that she liked.

Our Lover resolved to come to an Eclaircissement with her, and frankly told her his Mind; she answered him in so very ingenuous a Manner, that he was both satisfied and inflamed, and he pressed her that Moment to compleat his Happiness, by letting the Priest join them: She consented, their Majesties approved the Match, the Nuptials were celebrated with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence, and their Majesties honoured them with their Presence.

Our Lovers now thought themselves completely happy; but alas! how short is the Date of human Happiness? The King was not to embark for this Expedition of three Months, and in that Time *Palmiris* determined to return to *Eng-d*, and put his *Lindamira* in Possession of his Estate, that if any Accident should befall him in the Holy War, no body might dispute her Title to it. Full of this Resolution they took their Leaves of the King, Queens, and all their Friends; and leaving the Court of *France* they landed in *Eng-nd*, just that Day Month after the Consummation of their Marriage.

At his Arrival, *Palmiris* waited upon the King of *Eng-d*, and presented *Lindamira* to him. I shall slightly pass over this Source of their reciprocal Misfortunes, and barely say that the Monarch thought her too beautiful, for the first time he saw her he admired her, nor was he satisfied in doing it himself, but every body round him must admire her too; he was lavish in her Praise, and the Courtiers who knew his amorous Disposition, were soon convinced that *Lindamira* was far from being indifferent to him.

The next Morning he sent to know whether a Visit from him would not be troublesome: *Lindamira* little suspected the Motive of his acting thus, but thought that it was all Complaisance to the Wife of the noble *Palmiris*, and one who was a Stranger in that Kingdom, She therefore returned a very respectful Answer, and held herself in a Readiness to receive him, though she made no Preparations for his Reception; she did not [II-163] deck herself to look lovely in his Eye, her whole Aim and Ambition being only to please her dear *Palmiris*.

Satisfied with her Answer, the Monarch flew to her House with all the eager Haste of an impatient Lover (for such he was already and though naturally very bold, yet when he came in her Presence, her Beauty and his own Love intirely dashed him, and he was not able to utter one Word of what he had just before resolved to say; all he could do was to praise the Choice of *Palmiris*, and tell her that he himself would take such Care to make his Court and Country agreeable to her, that he hoped she would never entertain the least Thought of leaving them; and to all his Compliments and Promises, she answered with so much Wit and Modesty, that it still further inflamed the Monarch's Heart.

The next Day he sent to invite her to a Ball, given by the Princess *Cæsarina* his Sister; and at the same time a very fine Set of Rubies and Diamonds in his Sister's Name, who invited her, in the most obliging Manner she could, to come that Evening to the Ball she gave, and to come dressed in those Jewels she sent her. *Lindamira* was not accustomed to Adventures of this Kind, and was at a Loss how to behave herself; but at length reflecting that this might be wholly an Action of the Princess, she accepted the Present, and appeared in it that very Night.

It was no Wonder that a Person made as *Lindamira* was, should be adored by all that saw her. Her Face was truly oval; her Eyes were large, black, and sparkling, full of Life and Fire; her Hair too was black, and fell in large Ringlets on her snowy Neck; her Nose was beautifully turned; in her Cheeks were the Roses and Lillies blended; her Chest was full, and might for Colour vie with the driven Snow; her Shape was one of the finest and easiest that

ever was seen, and her Gait at once majestic and genteel. Such was the beautiful *Lindamira*, and such she appeared at Court. *Cesarina* perceived her Brother's good Will towards her (for such only at that time she took it to be) and to make her Court, she scarce ever passed an Evening without sending for *Lindamira*: The King never failed being at his Sister's Apartment, where he saw his fair Charmer, but he never [II-164] offered to talk to her of Love, and she alas! little mistrusted his Thoughts or Design.

Things were upon this Foot when *Palmiris* received an Express from the King of *France*, to acquaint him that he was just preparing to embark. This News extremely afflicted *Lindamira*, and grieved *Palmiris* too, who could not unconcerned behold the Sorrow of one who was so dear to him; one by whom he was so dearly loved; the Thoughts of parting with her was almost Death to him, and yet he was obliged to do it; his Honour was engaged to follow *Louis* to the Holy Land.

What passed between this loving Couple at their Parting, would be something foreign to my Purpose. Suffice it that nothing could comfort *Lindamira* for the Absence of her dear *Palmiris*. *Cesarina* went to see her, but even *Cesarina*'s coming did but increase her Sorrow. As for the King's Part, nothing could exceed his Joy at the setting out of a Man whom he looked upon as his happy Rival; the oftener he reflected on his Merit, the more he hated him: However, to dissemble a little longer, he went to see *Lindamira*, and pretended that he was extremely grieved at the going of her Husband.

*Lindamira* was breeding when *Palmira* went, and even sicker than Women generally are at such a Time: This, joined to the Grief of parting with her Husband, threw her into a violent Fever; her Royal Lover sent all his Physicians to her, and was himself going every Hour of the Day to enquire how she did; in short, such Care was taken of her, that the King soon had the Satisfaction of hearing by the Physicians that she was intirely out of Danger; but though her Sickness wore off, yet did the Cause of it, her Grief, remain; every Method that could be thought of was used to divert her, but she refused being present at any of the prepared Diversions.

Things did not long continue in this State. The King's Love daily increased, and he no longer was obliged to lay himself under any Constraint on account of *Palmiris*, who was already at a sufficient Distance. Upon this he resolved to make the Fair-one acquainted with his Sentiments, and thinking that *Lindamira* would be with *Cesarina*, he went and found her there:

'How [II-165] long, Madam, said he, shall we see that Melancholly in your Looks; and how little does he deserve it who is the Cause of it! Had I the Happiness of being thus loved, I should not have thought of quitting — — —.'

*Hold, my Liege interrupted Lindamira, you injure Palmiris now; and could he break his Promise, and forfeit his Honour; a Promise given, an Honour engaged too before he was mine, I should think him unworthy of my Love.*

'Consider what you say, Madam, replied the King, Should you think that Man unworthy of your Love, who doated on you to such a Degree, that for your Company he could forget all Ties, all Obligations, and make it his whole Happiness to spend his Time at your Feet.'

*I have already told you my Thoughts on this Matter, replied Lindamira, I am heartily grieved that Palmiris ever engaged himself to accompany King Louis in his Expedition; but after such an Engagement, I should have been more grieved had he staid with me. But let us drop a Discourse which can by no means be agreeable to me.* As she said this she left him, and went close up to *Cesarina*'s Bed, and notwithstanding that he followed her, yet could he

not all that Evening, nor for several Days after, find an Opportunity of speaking to her in private, for *Lindamira* began to be too sensible of his Design, and her whole Study was how to avoid him.

This Method succeeded but a very little while, the *M-n--ch*, who was naturally very hasty, could not brook the frequent Disappointments he met with, and finding that *Lindamira*, whenever she saw him, mixed with Company, he came up to her, and made Signs for every body else to retire, and he soon convinced the Fair-one, that if good Words would not prevail, he would make use of violent Means. The two first Times, indeed, he spoke to her of Love, he pleaded his Cause like a Lover, but the third Time he put on the Master, and let her see he would be hearkened to. *You would have me bestow my Heart upon you*, said she one Day to him that he had been threatening, *but it is not in my Power to give it you, I have already bestowed it on my Palmiris, and for him will I ever reserve it. As for my Life, it is in your Power, you may dispose of it just as you please, my Heart is my own; you see, Sir, I Speak my Mind boldly, nor need I fear violating [II-166] my Duty in so doing, I am not born your Subject.*

‘But you are become my Subject, *replied the King hastily*, by marrying a Subject of mine, and one on whom I will revenge your Cruelty.’

*He is at such a Distance*, replied *Lindamira*, *that I need not much fear your Threats; and, as for my Part, I believe I might spend my Time, during his Absence much more agreeably in France than I possibly can in Eng—d.*

‘I am glad I know your Intent, *replied the K--g*, I shall find Means of disappointing it;’

and calling *Tersander*, one of the Captains of his Guards, he ordered him, on pain of his Life, strictly to watch *Lindamira*.

*I am a Prisoner then*, cried the Fair-one?

‘No, Madam, *said the M-n--ch*, you may go wherever you please about this Court or City, only *Tersander* shall always accompany you with twenty Guards, but at such a Distance, that they shall rather seem meant for Honour than Confinement.’

This Proceeding very much surprised and grieved *Lindamira*; and *Tersander*, whose Quality and Merits were very great, was really afflicted at being employed on so ungrateful a Task, nor could he forbear letting *Lindamira* know with how much Reluctancy he obliged the King his Master.

*Cæsarina* being informed of what her Brother had done, was very much surprised at it; she was not unacquainted with his hasty Temper, but did not think that his Passion could have hurried him on to so extravagant an Action. She went to see *Lindamira*, who complained to her of the Violence used towards her, and the Princess promised that she would use her utmost Instances to the King her Brother to have her set at Liberty again.

Mean while the fair Captive was very strictly guarded, but, however, with so much Respect, that had she been a Queen, *Tersander* could not possibly have shewn her more; at first Compassion and Civility were the Motives of his behaving himself thus towards her, but it was not long before he found himself more nearly concerned for her. *Lindamira* was young, was beautiful, was unfortunate, this was enough to touch the Heart of the generous *Tersander*: However, his Passion did not in the Beginning alarm him, he was really ignorant of it, and for a long time believed his Concern the Effect of [II-167] Pity; a Pity which

*Lindamira* deserved, and which he therefore indulged, insomuch that he did not perceive his Love, till it was grown to such a Height, it was no longer in his Power to banish or suppress it. All that he could do was firmly to resolve to hide his Passion from the beautiful *Lindamira* for ever.

Whilst *Tersander* thus privately languished for the Fair-one, the King constantly visited her every Day, and sometimes made use of Intreaties, at other times of Threats; but they both produced the same Effect, and conspired to make him the more hated; and she had determined, in case any Violence should be offered her, to put an End to her miserable Life; nor did she scruple intrusting *Tersander* with her Design, whose Merit and Generosity she was not unacquainted with, and he, charmed with the Confidence she reposed in him, promised her that he would leave no Means untried to divert his Master from the Execution of his unjust Designs. *Lindamira* thanked him in so civil and so obliging a Manner, that it touched his Soul.

‘Fear nothing, Madam, said he, such Virtue will be the immediate Care of Heaven, who will never abandon you to the Fury of a—, and should your Life be in Danger, I shall know no Master.’

*You are too generous, replied Lindamira, but it would be base in me to abuse so much good Nature, nor will I ever suffer you to expose your Life and Fortune for an unhappy Wretch; no, Tersander, you must live and be faithful to your Master, whilst I die innocent of the Ruin of so brave a Man.*

‘I have already told you, Madam, replied *Tersander*, that I shall not think any Man my Master, who can be base enough to attempt any thing against the Life and Honour of so deserving a Lady, in whose Defence, had I a thousand Lives, I would sacrifice them all.’

He added several other Things to the same Purpose, and then informed her, That he was not born a Subject of the King of *England*’s, but was a Native of *Scotland*; he conjured her therefore not to disquiet herself with Fears of what might happen; for if there should be any Likelihood of the King’s using Violence, he would take care to favour her Escape, which he might easily do, since the Guards round her were all intirely [II-168] devoted to him. Mean while he would go and make sure of a Vessel on board which they might fly. *Lindamira* thanked him as he deserved, and having accepted his Offer, she desired it might not be delayed, and left him to go to prepare every thing for her Flight,

Pursuant to her Promise, *Cesarina* spoke to her Brother, and urged every thing that she could think of to make him behave himself in another manner towards *Lindamira*. She represented the Noise his Treatment would make in all Foreign Courts, especially in that of *France*; that she had been brought up near the Queen Dowager *Blanche*, at present Regent of that Kingdom, who esteemed her in the highest Degree imaginable: But all that *Cesarina* could urge was in vain, and she was forced to rest satisfied with having fulfilled her Promise, though she found she could do nothing for the Service of her Fair Friend.

The *French* Ambassador at the *Eng—sh* Court happened to be pretty nearly related to *Lindamira*; upon which he went to the K—g, and desired to know the Reasons why the Fair-one was confined, and in what she had offended. This Pr—ce answered, That he was accountable to no one for his Actions. The Ambassador replied, That she was a Native of *France*, and that consequently the King his Master must interest himself in her Cause: She has lost that Quality, answered the M—n—rch, in marrying a Subject of mine, she is herself become mine, and if she offends, ’tis in my Power to punish her as I please; as he said this, he turned his Back upon the Ambassador, and left him extremely grieved, that it was not in

his Power to serve his Fair Kinswoman.

Before the K—g came to the last Extremity with *Lindamira*, he sent for an Aunt of her Husband's, by Name *Circe*; well knowing, that to debauch a Woman there was nothing like another Woman, and she was one of those who think that every thing ought to be sacrificed to one's Fortune, and that a Cr—ned Lover ought never to sigh in vain. This was the Tool this Pr—nce made use of, and having given her Instructions, she flew to her Niece's: Never, said she, was I more surprized, than at the News of your Disgrace. Is there any thing [II-169] that I can do for your Service? I can assure you I shall think nothing a Trouble that will by any means conduce to your Quiet. I thank you, Madam, replied *Lindamira*; 'tis very good of you thus to visit the Distressed. I come not only to visit you, replied *Circe*, but to advise you too, your Misfortunes have troubled me; Heaven knows! I could not love you dearer were you my own Child.

*Circe*'s Protestations of Friendship drew the Tears into *Lindamira*'s Eyes, and the subtle Aunt seeing her moved; You are unhappy, Child, said she, but you yourself are the chief Cause of your Unhappiness; you have behaved yourself too haughtily towards the K—g, and in Prudence you ought to have kept upon better Terms with one who has an absolute Power in his Hands. The very Motive which induced you to it, ought to have made you behave yourself in a quite different Manner; 'twas because you love your Husband, and yet you ruin both his Fortune and your own. I know the Merits of being strictly faithful and virtuous; yet for the Sake of appearing so to the whole World, we ought not to ruin ourselves, we ought rather to behave ourselves with Prudence and Mildness; even *Palmiris*, your beloved *Palmiris*, for whose Sake you do all this, will not thank you for having made the King his Enemy; he has some private Reasons for desiring to keep a good Understanding with him, such as may not perhaps be fit to be told his Wife.

If they are not, replied *Lindamira* hastily, you would do better not to mention them at all; however, I must beg the Liberty, Madam, of saying, that you do not thoroughly know my *Palmiris*, he is a Man of Honour, he sincerely loves me; and therefore, I am sure he will be well satisfied with my Behaviour, and if not, I shall at least have Reason to be satisfied myself, in knowing that I have performed my Duty.

I see, replied *Circe*, that you are obstinately resolved to maintain the Justness of your Proceeding; but I have Charity enough at once to undeceive you, by letting you know, that when your Husband left *Eng—nd*, he was desperately in Love with the Princess *Cesarina*, nor was his Love despised. No body, I am sure, can [II-170] better be acquainted with the Truth of this Amour than myself, since I carried all the Letters that passed between them. I hope, interrupted *Lindamira*, her Cheeks glowing, that for the future they will employ some body whom they can better trust, and who will not make it their Business to reveal Secrets which are not so much as enquired after. Your Reproach seems very just, replied *Circe*; but I can assure you, my Dear, I would not discover them to any one else, nor even to you, had it not moved my Compassion to see you ruin yourself for an ungrateful Wretch, who does not deserve your Love. You call that Compassion, replied *Lindamira*, which in effect is the greatest Cruelty: No, had you had any Pity, you would have concealed a Thing from me, which whilst I was ignorant of, could never injure me; but the Knowledge of which must certainly make me miserable.

As she spoke these last Words, one of *Cesarina*'s Servants came to tell her, that his Mistress was just coming to see her. This Name caused some Emotion in *Lindamira*, and filled *Circe* with Fear, lest her Niece should mention their Conversation to the Princess; upon this she resolved to retire, and recommending Secrecy to *Lindamira*, she told her, that the next time she came to see her, she would bring with her some of the Letters which passed between them, and as she said this, she left the Fair-one, who returned her no Answer, but

threw herself upon the Bed, and a Moment after *Cesarina* came up, and having caressed her, gave her an Account of what she had urged to her Brother in her Favour; *Lindamira* thanked her, but so very faintly, that the Princess found she must be ill, and rising, she drew near the Bed, and went to feel her Pulse, she found her without any Sign of Life; for it so struck *Lindamira* to the Heart, to think she had been obliged to thank her Rival, that through Grief she swooned away; the Princess called for Help, and upon the Application of proper Remedies, she was brought to herself again.

Nothing could exceed *Cesarina*'s Concern, to see her fair Friend thus afflicted, and she accused her Brother's Severity for what had happened; but was far from suspecting the real Cause of this immoderate Grief; little did she think that *Lindamira* looked upon her as a happy [II-171] Rival, who had robbed her of a Heart, the Possession of which only could make her happy; the more the Princess endeavoured to serve and assist her, the greater was her Grief. Unhappy Effects of Jealousy, that the best and most friendly Actions should thus appear odious to the Eyes of the Jealous!

As *Lindamira* was very faint and weak, the Physicians who had been called in, acquainted the Princess, that a longer Visit would be of dangerous Consequence, and that if any thing, Repose must do her good. Upon this, she embraced the beautiful Distressed, conjuring her not to give such way to Grief, and assuring her, that she would leave no Means untried that might restore her Liberty; *Lindamira*, unable to answer, pressed her Hand, and the Princess left her. As soon as she was gone, she desired that every body else might leave her, which they did, no one staying with her but the faithful *Belisinda*, her Nurse's Daughter, one whom from her Infancy she had retained in her Service, and who had always been the Confidant of her most secret Affairs.

*Lindamira* now seeing herself at Liberty, began loudly to complain of her Misfortunes, which before scarce deserved that Name. Is it possible, *Palmiris*, said she, that thou should'st prove faithless to me? Could not all my Love preserve me your Heart? That Heart in which is centred all my Happiness! Is it no longer mine? No, 'tis another's now. Heavens! Can I survive the Loss? What on Earth is now worthy staying for? Happy *Cesarina*! *Palmiris* loves you. Her Words were accompanied with such Sighs and Tears, that had even *Circe*, the Contriver of all this Mischief, been there, she could not, unconcerned, have heard and seen them, but moved with Compassion, she must have confessed her Falshood, and set *Lindamira*'s Mind at ease.

*Belisinda* hearing the Complaints of her Mistress, and the fresh Cause of her Grief, drew nearer to the Bed: Have you seriously reflected on the Words you are now uttering, Madam, said she, and have you certain Proofs of your Husband's Infidelity? Too certain, replied *Lindamira*, he loves the Princess, and is beloved again, and *Circe* has promised to shew me some of the Letters which [II-172] he sent by her to the Princess. You must excuse me, Madam, said *Belisinda*, if I cannot have an implicit Faith in all she says; nor do I see the least Probability of Truth in her Story; for had *Palmiris* given her Letters for the Princess, would she have dared to have kept them? Would a Lover, who has free Access to his Mistress, and who is beloved by her again, never have complained of Letters he had sent her, and to which he had received no Answer? There is certainly some Design in this Story, which, I must confess, I do not comprehend, but which Time will certainly discover. Besides, Madam, till this very Day, *Circe* never gave you such Assurances of her Friendship, as to persuade you that she would sacrifice the Princess to it; I very much suspect the Advice she has given you. Reflect seriously, Madam, on all she has said, and you will soon see that you have been too hasty in believing her, to the Disadvantage of your Husband. They tell you that he loves the Princess: Had he, Madam, it would have been impossible that their Amours should be a Secret. Those whom their Births and Fortunes have set up to view, in so elevated a Rank, cannot conceal their Actions from the busy prying World. Nor is this all that I can urge,

*Cesarina* has always behaved herself in a manner suitable to her high Station, and her Virtues have been admired by the whole Court. How many Princes and foreign Potentates have sought her Love, but sought in vain; and yet you'll believe that she has settled her Affections upon one who never made it his Study to win her Favour; a married Man, one newly married too, and that to a beautiful young Lady who dotes on him. These Things, Madam, seem contrary to Sense and Reason.

What is contrary to Sense and Reason, replied *Lindamira* hastily! To love *Palmiris*! Yes, Madam, replied *Belisinda*, for the Princess to love him. If she should, I am sure I should think her destitute of Sense and Reason; and that she is not, we all know. Believe me, Madam, this must be the Effect of *Circe*'s Malice, for some particular View, which will one Day or other be discovered, and then, Madam, you will repent your having unjustly suspected a Husband who passionately [II-173] loves you, and a virtuous Princess who is so much your Friend.

Spite of her Jealousy *Lindamira* was satisfied that there was a great deal of Truth in what *Belisinda* urged; with Patience she listened to her whole Discourse, and hoped that it was true, so fond are we of believing every thing we wish: However, she persisted in her Resolution of seeing the Letters which *Circe* had promised to shew her. *Belisinda* well pleased with the Effect her Discourse had over the Mind of her Mistress, would not, by any Means, oppose her Desire of seeing those Letters, justly believing that *Circe* had none to produce; and this prudent Girl timed her Discourse with so much Discretion, that she took an Opportunity of speaking of *Palmiris*, and the Love he bore her: What extreme Sorrow there appeared in his Looks whenever he was out of her Sight after receiving the Express from *France*, though in her Presence he endeavoured to conceal his Grief, that she partly restored to her Mistress that Peace of Mind which *Circe* had robbed her of, and being very sensible that Repose was the Thing her Mistress wanted most, she conjured her to get herself to rest, urging, that if she had no Regard to her own Life, she ought to have some for the dear Babe she was now big with.

*Lindamira* would willingly have followed the Advice of this faithful Girl, but the present distracted State of her Mind would not let her enjoy the least Quiet, and she spent the greatest Part of the Night in reflecting on the Words of *Circe*. As soon as she saw Day-light she called for her Table-Book, that she might write to her, which she did in the following Manner:

**LINDAMIRA to CIRCE.**

I Write to you, Madam to remind you of your Promises; compleat the Work, I beseech you, which you have begun, and convince me of the Infidelity of *Palmiris*. The State of Uncertainty I now live in, is ten thousand times more cruel than Death itself; to alleviate my Misfortunes you must confirm them.

*Lindamira* having made an End of writing gave the Letter to *Belisinda*, and bid her haste to *Circe*, and desire [II-174] her to send what she mentioned in it. The trusty Messenger flew to obey the Orders of her Mistress, tho' it was not yet a fit Hour to wait on Ladies; but she knew how impatiently *Lindamira* would expect an Answer, and therefore she went that Moment. At *Circe*'s Door she was told that she had been out of Order, and had not slept all that Night, that her Woman was in her Chamber with her, and therefore it would be impossible to receive an Answer from her, or so much as to deliver the Letter. Grieved at the Disappointment, *Belisinda* hastened to her Mistress, and told her of it, adding, that she believed her Aunt feigned herself ill; nor was she in the least out in her Guess, for *Circe* was gone to give the King an Account of the preceding Day's Conversation.



It was with a great deal of Concern that this Prince heard what she had to relate, but not with that Concern which might be expected from a Lover; he was not disquieted at the Thoughts of having given his Mistress any Uneasiness, but was enraged to think that she should so sincerely love the Man he hated, and he immediately formed the Resolution of having *Palmiris* put to Death. *Circe* heard him with a great deal of Patience, and gave way to the first Transports of his Anger, and then began to sooth him a little; she represented that this was not the way of gaining his End and enjoying his Mistress, that they must now think of the Means of satisfying the jealous Curiosity of *Lindamira*, who doubtless would be very pressing to see the Letters she had mentioned; that their Business now was to get some of *Palmiris's* Letters, that she might counterfeit the Hand, and feign one from him to the Princess; that to come at such a Letter they must bribe one of *Lindamira's* Maids, who could probably help them to one of them; that she had lately taken an *English* Girl into her Service, who might, she thought, be the more easily corrupted, she being, as it were, a mere Stranger to her Mistress, besides which she knew a Gentleman in whom she could confide, and who was acquainted with this very Maid, and by their Means she hoped to compass her Ends.

The King intirely approved of her Contrivance, and that she might the better execute it without Interruption, he advised her to feign herself sick, and to keep her [II-175] Chamber, that she might not be obliged to intrust any of her Women with the Secret; she promised that she would, and hastening home she sent for the Gentleman whom she designed to employ, and who, as the Writers of that Age assure us, was very intimately acquainted with her, and giving him his Instructions, she bad him hasten about the Business with all possible Speed.

Nothing could be a greater Pleasure to *Orontes* (for so was the Gentleman called) than the Errand on which he was sent. Two Years had he been in Love with this Maid, and had the Satisfaction of not being ill received whenever he dared go near her, but that was very seldom, so much did he dread the Jealousy of this wicked Woman, on whom he had a great deal of Dependance; but as she now gave him an Opportunity herself, he flew with eager Haste towards *Cleona*, and what is very natural in a Lover, he fairly discovered the whole Intrigue to her, and let her know on what Business he was employed. *Cleona* seemed very well pleased that he dealt thus ingenuously with her, and could not forbear expressing her Satisfaction to her Lover; but as she hated *Circe*, whom she looked upon as a happy Rival, she could not think of doing any thing for her Service, and therefore told him she would never consent to, much less be instrumental, in doing any treacherous thing by her Mistress; her Opinion therefore was, that *Lindamira* should be let into the Secret, and that *Circe's* Intent should be discovered to her, by which Means they would get the Letters of her, which would be of the same Service to him, being well assured that her Mistress would keep a Secret of such Importance to herself, and that if *Circe* had any Mind to do him a Piece of Service, she would now have a fair Opportunity of recommending him to the King.

Her Words put *Orontes* into a strange Confusion, being sensible that this was all the Effect of her Jealousy, and he urged every thing which he thought might divert her from her Resolution, but all in vain; and she at length desired him to leave her, being weary of seeing him so zealous in the Service of one who was really odious to her. This Command thunder-struck *Orontes*, and he heartily wished that he had never undertook this Business, in which he saw himself brought to a sad Dilemma; for [II-176] he must either betray one who confided in him, and on whom his Fortune depended, or for ever disoblige and lose the Object of his Wishes; he therefore said all he could to move her, but she, instead of hearkening to him, in a very imperious Manner told him, that he must either that Moment give his free Consent to what she had proposed, or resolve never to see her Face more. *Orontes* was obliged to comply; not only Love persuaded him to it, but he was very sensible, that she was Mistress of his Secret, and could make what Use of it she would.

*Cleona*, pleased with the Thoughts of his sacrificing her Rival to her, promised she would take care that his Confidence in her should never hurt him, and they then began to consider of the future Methods they must take, and of the Answer which *Orontes* should return; and after a little Consultation, they concluded he should go back to *Circe*, and tell her that all his soft Speeches and Gallantry had not had the least Effect upon *Cleona*; but that he had observed she was of a mercenary Temper, and might, he believed, be won by rich Presents. I do not suppose this Pair of Turtles left one another without cooing of their Love a little; but that being a thing foreign to my Purpose, I shall wholly pass it over.

As soon as *Orontes* was gone, *Cleona* ran to her Mistress's Apartment, and informed her of all that had passed. It is impossible to express the Joy and Surprize of *Lindamira* at what she heard; a thousand times she embraced her, assuring her she never should forget that to her she owed the whole Quiet of her Life; she then promised her, that she would give her some of *Palmiris's* Letters, and hoped, with all her Heart, they would contribute to the making of her Fortune, but that if they did not, she should always share hers. Then reflecting how unjustly she had accused her *Palmiris*, she begged his Pardon a thousand and a thousand times, after which she sent for *Belisinda*, and told her all she had heard; but *Belisinda* was not in the least surprized at it, she had all along believed *Palmiris* innocent and *Circe* false.

It was not long before *Tersander* came into her Chamber, and informed her, that Orders were given not to suffer any Courier to pass without examining his Letters:

'I believe, Madam, *said he*, that you have chiefly contributed [II-177] towards this Order, for they are certainly unwilling here that the Court of *France* should know in what manner you are treated amongst us.'

As he spoke, he observed *Lindamira*, but was surprized to see that, instead of appearing concerned, Joy sparkled in her Eyes, a greater Joy than she had shewn ever since the going of *Palmiris*.

'Ha, Madam, *said he*, what happy Change can occasion this unusual Gladness? Has the King given up his Pretensions to you, and will he torment you no more?'

*You mistake the Cause of my Joy, replied Lindamira, the King is still the same; but if there appears any Satisfaction in my Looks, I have good Reason to be satisfied; and such is my Esteem for you, that I shall not make you a Stranger to the Cause of it.* She then related to him all the Treachery of *Circe*, and the Discovery of it made to her by *Cleona*; *Tersander* was shocked at the Impudence of the former, and highly commended the Fidelity of the latter; then thanked *Lindamira* for her Esteem, and the Confidence she reposed in him.

Mean while *Orontes* returned to *Circe*, and gave her an Account of what had been done, at least of what *Cleona* and he had resolved to tell her had been done, and she was very well pleased with his Negotiations, pleased that *Cleona* would not hearken to his Gallantry and soft Speeches; and she rather chose that it should cost the King some fine Present than cost her the Heart of her Lover; for had he found Encouragement, who knew how false he might prove; *Cleona* was young, was lovely; how easily might she rob an old Woman of a Gallant, who had no Charms but those of Interest to retain him. Pleased therefore with his Success better than if he had succeeded, she immediately wrote to the King, acquainting him with the Negotiation of *Orontes*, and his Report, and he sent her for an Answer, that in less than an Hour he would come to see her, which he accordingly did, and brought a little Box set round with Diamonds, as a Present for *Cleona*; and at the same time he told *Circe* he had a Design to take *Orontes* into his Service, and to give him some military Post.

Nothing could delight *Circe* more than this Assurance that her Lover would be preferred; and she dwelt a considerable time in Praise of his Merit and Fidelity; that [II-178] done, she dispatched him to *Cleona* with the Bribe; there they agreed, that he should return and inform his Principals, that as soon as ever *Lindamira* was asleep, she would steal some of her Letters out of her Cabinet; and to prevent any Suspicion of there being a right Understanding between *Lindamira* and *Cleona*, *Belisinda* was twice sent to *Circe*'s House, to ask for those Letters which she had promised to shew her. The first time she was told that *Circe* was so very ill she could not be seen, the second she was introduced to her, and this subtle Woman assured her, that as soon as ever her Health would permit her to stir out of Doors, she would wait upon her, and would bring the Letters with her.

Mean while *Cleona* having got the rich Present which *Orontes* had brought her, hastened up to her Mistress and shewed it her, who immediately gave her two of *Palmiris*'s Letters. Betimes next Morning *Orontes* came and received them of *Cleona*, and carried them to *Circe*. Nothing could exceed the Joy of this wicked Woman at the Sight of the Letters. She immediately got a Person who was pretty well versed in that kind of Business, and having prepared a Letter for him, he copied it; and in it counterfeited the Hand of *Palmiris* so very artfully, that had not *Lindamira* been beforehand acquainted with what they were doing, she herself must have been deceived by it.

At soon as *Circe* was thus prepared, she went and paid *Lindamira* a Visit, and seeing her very much concerned,

'I am heartily sorry, my Dear, *said she*, that I ever mentioned to you the Love your Husband bears the Princess; had I thought it would have given you so much Uneasiness, as I find it has since done, I am sure I never would have said a Word of it: However, I advise you to rest satisfied with what you do know; you may have the Satisfaction of sometimes thinking that I have deceived you; and of what Service would the Sight of one of his Letters be to you, unless to confirm his Falshood. Be advised, my Dear, and do not endeavour to make yourself more miserable.'

*I know so much of the Matter already, replied Lindamira, that it is in vain to desire me not to enquire after more of it; do not fear therefore shewing me the Letter, which I can assure [II-179] you will not make me more miserable; I have already told you that there is nothing more cruel than a State of Uncertainty.* 'Since you will have it, answered *Circe*, I'll satisfy you.' As she said this, she gave her a Letter, in which she read the following Words:

***Palmiris to the Princess Caesarina.***

HOW can you suspect, my charming Princess, that another shares my Heart with you? Alas! did you know my real Sentiments, you would not thus unjustly accuse me, nor doubt the Sincerity of so violent a Passion; what shall I do to satisfy you? Shall I send *Lindamira* back into *France*? Let my divine Princess but say this would be grateful to her, and if I don't immediately offer her this Sacrifice, I am willing that you should for ever doubt of the Love of her

*PALMIRIS.*

Though *Lindamira* knew the whole to be Invention, and a Contrivance of the wicked *Circe*'s, yet could she not forbear being immediately vexed at what she read; so very disagreeable is even the Mention of all Sacrifices of this Nature to Persons who really love; but recovering herself, and willing to carry on the Deceit,

‘I should, *said she*, have been very much obliged to the Princess, had she sent me back to *France*, at least, I should not have been, as at present I am, exposed to the Violence of a Prince whom I dread.’

Will you still fly into Passions, replied *Circe*, which are so very prejudicial to you? You not only afflict yourself, but all those about you who wish you well.

*I am sorry, answered Lindamira, that I should make any one else uneasy; but to behave myself otherwise, I must be very insensible of my present Condition; I have lost my Liberty; would that were all; I have lost Palmiris too! And are those Losses to be tamely bore? No, surely I may have the Liberty of complaining, at least; nor need I care if my Complaints displease any one. I have nothing more but my Life to lose, which my Misfortunes have already made wretched, even odious to me.*

‘That is your own Fault, replied *Circe*, and it is still in your Power to change your Misery into Happiness. You are gay, [II-180] you are beautiful, you are served and adored by a potent M—n— —ch: How many thousands would almost give their Lives to be in your Condition! And, who would not, like you, oppose their own Fortunes? A Time will come when you will plainly see your Fault; but perhaps that Time and Repentance will come too late. Think seriously of what I say, you know my Opinion of the Matter; I have given you the best Advice I could, and if you have any Sense, I am sure you will follow it.’ As she said this, she left her, not caring at that Time to stay for *Lindamira*’s Answer.

We may easily judge how *Lindamira* received this Advice, and what Resentment she shewed the next time *Circe* came to see her; but notwithstanding this, the wicked Woman would come to her House, and perpetually plague her with her pernicious Counsels, and when she found that they were far from producing the desired Effect, she went to the K—g, and told him he ought to send her to some adjacent Castle, where no body should be allowed to visit her, and where she should not so much as have any of her own Women, except *Cleona*, whose Fidelity she was well assured of, and by whom they might from time to time be let into her Mistress’s Sentiments; that perhaps the Desire of recovering her Liberty would make her comply; above all, the Princess, she said, must not be allowed to visit her, lest she should say any thing of the Letter to her; and that it was her Opinion, that her Guards ought to be changed, that in having all strange Faces about her, the Confinement might seem more intolerable.

I have already observed, that the K—g was of a pretty violent Temper, his frequent Disappointments had increased his Passion, and it was now inflamed by the hellish Advice of a wicked Woman; upon which he promised that he would send her to a Castle about ten Miles distant from thence, and that he would make *Orontes* Governor of it, where he should have an Officer and fifty Soldiers under him; that he would go and see her himself, but that he would have *Circe* frequently visit her, and endeavour to make her change her Sentiments. This wicked Woman promised him she would, [II-181] adding, that he need not question her Service, since she had already sacrificed her own Nephew to him. The Pr—ce thanked her, and assured her, that she should not find him ungrateful.

As soon as she had left him, she sent for *Orontes*, and gave him an Account of his Commission, and he immediately waited upon and thanked the Giver, who ordered him to prepare every thing for his setting out in three Days time; when you are there, *continued he*, on pain of your Life, watch the Prisoner close, nor dare to stir out of the Castle till further Orders, and therefore ’tis I give you three Days, that you may get every thing ready which you shall have Occasion for. After this he bid him immediately hasten to *Cleona*, and know of her, whether as yet there was the least Alteration to be seen in her Mistress.

*Orontes* having received his Orders, hastened to *Cleona*, and told her what Measures had been taken to make her Mistress comply; upon which the frightened Maid flew up to *Lindamira's* Apartment, where *Tersander* at that time was, and knowing how much she confided in that young Nobleman, she told her before him, what she had just heard from her Lover. *Lindamira* one would have thought might, by this time, be pretty well accustomed to ill Usage, nor were there any fresh Persecutions but she might have expected; but yet she was unable to bear the Shock of this, and the near Prospect she now had of her Misery, surprised and frightened her in the greatest Degree imaginable.

*Tersander* perceiving the Trouble of her Soul,

'Why this Confusion, Madam, *said he*, 'tis no longer time to hesitate; you must resolve to fly whilst 'tis in your Power to do so, at the End of two Days more 'twould be fruitless to attempt an Escape'

*Since I must, I will resolve to go, replied Lindamira, and though the Thoughts of such a precipitated Flight are very ungrateful to me, yet are they not so cutting as those of staying here in the Power of a wicked Woman, and a Man who may perhaps use me with Violence. But, alas! there is another Thought as cruel as either of them, Must you, generous Tersander, abandon every thing for the Sake of an unhappy Wretch, who will not have it in her Power to make [II-182] you any Amends? Must you ruin yourself for me? Would that my Life only were in Danger, Heaven knows how joyfully I would lose it rather than — — —*

'How joyfully you would lose it, Madam, interrupted *Tersander*, how cruelly you talk. Do you envy me the Happiness of serving you; or, do you think me unworthy of it?'

*No, my Lord, replied Lindamira, I think you too worthy of it; and I must esteem you as much as I do, to be beholding to you for so important a Piece of Service, but how dear will that Service cost you, I shudder every time I think of it.*

'For Heaven's Sake, dear Madam, answered *Tersander*, do not grieve thus, but be persuaded that nothing can be greater than the Satisfaction I shall feel in delivering you out of the Hands of your Enemies, and this will be more than Atonement for the little I can lose in doing it. I must beg your Pardon for a little while, I'll hasten and prepare every thing necessary for our Flight, and in the Evening, Madam, I'll return and give you an Account of what I have done.'

*Tersander* having left her, *Lindamira* remained in a Condition not to be expressed, nor easily to be imagined. She thought her Condition miserable indeed, to see herself under the Necessity of flying with a young Nobleman, and to leave her Enemies such a probable Story to blacken her Reputation, and destroy her Fame. This Apprehension touched her very Soul, *Tersander* left a fine Estate, and an honourable Post, and would a censorious World, who did not know her, think that this was only an Effect of Friendship! This was the Subject of that Evening's Grief, but *Belisinda*, from whom she concealed nothing, comforted her a little; assuring her, that all *Eng—nd* knew what ill Usage she had met with, and therefore it would not be in the Power of her Enemies to injure her Fame. Every body knew she was confined, and what could be more natural, than an Endeavour to recover one's Liberty; that her Reputation would be more endangered by staying with one in whose Power she was, whose Love and whose Violence were too well known, than it could be by flying with a [II-183] Man, whose Virtue and Generosity few were unacquainted with.

There was so much Truth in what *Belisinda* said, that *Lindamira* could not possibly refute it; yet 'twas with Grief she found herself obliged to leave *Eng—nd* in that manner, and had there been any Possibility of avoiding it, without running a far greater Danger, she never

would have done it, but a just Dread of what might happen, and *Belisinda's* Persuasions, at length determined her to seek her Safety by Flight.

That Night *Tersander* returned to inform her, that by his Order the Vessel was sailed, and now lay concealed behind a Rock at some Distance from the Port, whilst the Long-boat, with six lusty Rowers, waited to carry them on board; he therefore desired her not to defer her going any longer than the next Night, and the better to conceal her Intent, he would have her feign herself very much out of Order, that no body might be surprized at her going to-bed sooner than usual. *Lindamira* returned him many Thanks for the Trouble he gave himself on her account, and promised that at the appointed Time she would be ready to go with him.

The Thought of leaving the Princess, who on all Occasions had been so kind, without seeing or thanking her, very much troubled *Lindamira*, at length she resolved to leave a Letter for her, which she immediately wrote in the following manner:

*Lindamira to the Princess Cæsarina.*

'TIS with the greatest Grief imaginable, Madam, I find myself obliged to fly this Country, without taking my Leave of you; I never could have done it, and would have trusted you with my Design, had I not feared that the King your Brother would have been incensed against you; I am fully persuaded that this great Prince will again become good and just, as soon as the unfortunate Wretch, whose Miseries he has occasioned, is out of his sight; and who, notwithstanding what he has done, wishes him all Health and Prosperity. His Honour bids him forget me, mine orders me fly this dangerous Place, lest by a longer Stay, a Blemish [II-184] might be cast upon it. Pity my Fate, illustrious Princess, which thus forces me from you; bestow a compassionate Sigh, and shed a friendly Tear when you reflect on the Misery of the unfortunate *Lindamira*.

Having finished this Letter, she sealed it up, and her Mind being a little more at ease, she looked for her Money and Jewels, and putting them up in a little strong Box, she gave it to *Tersander*, who carried it away with him. Pursuant to his Advice, she pretended to be much out of Order the next Day, and lay a-bed till Seven in the Evening; at which time *Tersander* came to her, and brought Man's Apparel, both for her and *Belisinda*, which they put on, and tying up their Hair, they turned them, Cavalier-like, under their Hats.

*Lindamira* could not forbear sighing to see herself in this Condition; and sending for *Cleona*, she asked her whether she would accompany her in her Flight; but this prudent Maid answered, That if she appeared to be in the Secret, 'twould be plain that *Orontes* had betrayed his Trust, and that it would be much better for her to stay, and pretend to be very much surprized at her Flight.

Notwithstanding that *Lindamira* would have been glad to have carried so faithful a Servant with her, yet was there so much Truth in what she said, that she could not urge her any further; but giving her all her Cloaths and a fine Diamond Ring, she tenderly embraced her, assuring her, she never should forget the Service she had done her. Then laying the Letter which she had written to the Princess upon the Table, she bid *Cleona* go down and tell the Servants they should make no Noise, for their Mistress was gone to Bed, charging her not to take Notice of her Flight till the next Morning.

This poor Girl could not see her Mistress going, without shedding a Flood of Tears; and after the necessary Adieus, *Tersander* conducted her down a private Stairs through the Garden, the Back-Door of which went out into a little Street, where they found six Guards waiting with three spare Horses for *Tersander* and the two disguised Ladies, who mounting, they hastened to the Port where the Guards left them, and they soon reached their [II-185] Vessel; that very Moment they hoisted Sail, and the Wind blowing fair, they were not long in

crossing the Seas.

*Lindamira's* Reckoning was now out, and she expected every Moment to fall in Labour; even on Shipboard she felt some Pains. This made her stay at *Boulogne*, where, in a Fortnight's time she was brought to-bed of a fine Boy. Before her Lying-in, she writ a Letter to the Queen-Mother of *France*, which *Tersander* was to carry, that he might at length inform the virtuous Princess of all that had passed; but as he could not think of leaving her in that Condition, he determined to stay till the great Danger was over.

Three Days after her being brought to-bed, *Tersander* set out for the Court of *France*; where he waited on the Queen-Regent, delivered *Lindamira's* Letter, and in order related every thing that happened to her since her leaving *France*. The good Queen, who sincerely loved her, was grieved at her Misfortunes, and commended *Tersander* for his generous Action in delivering her out of such a Danger; assuring him, that his Merit should go unrewarded: She further told him, that *Lindamira* should remain under her Protection, and that she would take care both of her and her Son; that she herself would write to her, and that as soon as she had recovered Strength enough to travel, *Tersander* should go down and fetch her up to Court with a suitable Equipage. This was as much as *Lindamira* could desire, and one would now have thought her Misfortunes at an End; but alas! they were to last as long as her Life. But to return to *Eng—nd*:

*Cleona* in every Particular observed her Mistress's Directions, and took no Notice till the next Morning ten o'Clock, the usual Time of her going into her Chamber, and then she pretended to be very much surprized. The undissembled Tears which she shed for the Loss of her Mistress, confirmed People in the Opinion that she was intirely innocent of her Flight, and she acted her Part so very well, that she was never once mistrusted; and happy for her it was she could act it so! for had the K—g in his first Passion suspected her, he doubtless would have sacrificed her in his Rage.

[II-186]

'Tis impossible to express his Concern, his Behaviour, his Despair, when the News was brought him, and on this Occasion he did a thousand things unworthy of so great a P—nce. At first he would have followed *Lindamira*, had not *Cesarina* represented to him that she was sailed the Night before with a brisk favourable Gale, and that before he could be well a-shipboard, she doubtless would have reached the Coast of *France*, that he might indeed send out some armed Vessels after her, but that his own Person was too precious to be exposed on so trifling an Occasion; that leaving his Kingdom might be of a dangerous Consequence, and produce evil Effects on the Minds of his Subjects, naturally too prone to revolt; that he ought to do nothing which might make People forget the Respect due to him, and that he would become the Laughing stock of all *Europe*, should he leave his Dominions to run after a Woman who did not love him.

This P—nce gave such Way to Grief and Despair, that he did not listen to what his Sister said, and heard only the five or six last Words, upon which interrupting her, he cried out,

'True, she does not love; but, is she less amiable? She scorns me, and therefore I love her, for her Resistance displays her Virtues and the Beauties of her Soul: Alas! had she seen me before she had *Palmiris*, she might have loved me instead of him; she might have done and felt for me, what she now does and feels for him. Had Heaven bestowed my Cr— —n upon *Palmiris*, and given me his *Lindamira's* Heart, how happy should I have thought myself! But if I must be miserable I am resolved not to be miserable alone, *Palmiris* and *Lindamira* shall share the Misfortunes which they have heaped upon me.'

As he said this he left his Sister, and immediately sent for *Circe*.

It was not long before this wicked Woman came, and seeing how ill her Master brooked *Lindamira's* Flight, she pretended to be full of Despair, and vowed that there was nothing but she would do to make *Lindamira* repent her Cruelty; that doubtless she must have been in Love with *Tersander*, else would she never have fled with him as she has done; that she would send her Husband Word of it; and in short, that she would [II-187] reduce her to so very low a Condition, that she should come and humbly implore his Protection.

'I could heartily wish, replied the M-n-rch, that she was under a Necessity of doing it; I am sure I would grant it her with all my Heart, but she's too haughty, and hates me too much to be obliged to me for it, even though I should offer it her, let her Condition be never so bad.'

*I cannot tell that, replied the fawning Wretch; however, I'll promise to reduce her to such a Condition, that she shall stand in Need of it; I'll immediately send Palmiris Word, that his Wife was desperately in Love with Tersander, that I suspected it, and did every thing I could to save the Honour of our Family, but in vain; for seeing that she could not indulge her Passion here, she had sled away with him by Night, and I think the best Way would be to dispatch an Express immediately with the Letter, lest they should be beforehand with us, and give him Notice of all that has passed. She said, and without waiting for an Answer, she set her down, and writ the following Epistle:*

**CIRCE to PALMIRIS.**

*Dear Nephew,*

IT is impossible to express the Grief I feel at being obliged to send you so ungrateful a Piece of News, but the Thing is already so very public, and so much talked of throughout the whole Kingdom, that it would be in vain to conceal it from you; I have done all that lay in my Power to divert the threatening Evil, but in vain, and find that the more Obstacles you lay in the Way of Lovers, the more ardently they love; we have seen a fatal Experiment of this Truth in our Family. Alas! How shall I tell you that *Lindamira* is run away with *Tersander*; when I perceived her growing Love, and found that all good Advice was thrown away upon her, I conjured the King our Master to command him never to see her more; he did so, but that in such a manner, that you never can enough express your Gratitude towards him; and I can assure you, that if she was in his Kingdom, he would leave no Means untried to get her out of his Hands again; but she is got safe with her [II-188] Paramour into *France*. You are a prudent and discreet Man, and know better than I can tell you what is to be done in such a Case. Alas! I cannot serve you, I can only pity your Misfortunes, and mourn the Disgrace of our Family, which is become the Jest of all *England*, and at which no body can be more afflicted than the unhappy

*CIRCE.*

Having sealed up this Letter, she sent for a Man in whom she could confide, one fit for her Purpose, and who was as wicked as herself; to him she delivered this Letter, ordering him to hasten with it to *Palmiris*, who was at that time with the King of *France* at the Siege of *Damietta*. She then gave him necessary Instructions how he should answer the several Questions which *Palmiris* might ask him concerning the Flight of *Tersander* and *Lindamira*, and what the World said of their Amours: This done he set out, and in a short time reached the Place he was sent to, and delivered his Letter.

I will not pretend to describe the Effect it produced on the Mind of *Palmiris*, and the various Tumults of his Soul whilst he read this; for he was a Man of strict Honour, and at the same time loved his Wife to Dotage. This may be sufficient to give the Reader an Idea of the Struggles he felt in his Breast whilst he was reading this fatal Letter, and having finished it,



he very abruptly left the Messenger and went into his Chamber and pondered as well as he could upon it. At first he determined to engage in the thickest of the Battle, and to seek certain Death to ease his raging Pain; but his Despair soon gave way to Thoughts of Vengeance.

‘He shall die, cried *Palmiris*, this Spoiler of my Honour, this *Tersander* shall die; and can the ungrateful *Lindamira*, whom I have so dearly loved, and who has so basely deceived me, can she hope to escape my Vengeance? No, the false Woman too shall die, and bear her Minion Company to the infernal Shades. Alas! I rave, how is it she shall die? Can I imbrue my Hands in her Blood? Can I so much as resolve her Death? Base and ungrateful as she is, and the sole [II-189] Cause of all my Misfortunes, yet cannot I be so unnaturally cruel. Let her live then, and let her Life be her Punishment, for she shall live to mourn the Loss of her beloved *Tersander*, she shall live to see him expire; for even in her Presence will I pierce his Heart. Thus shall her Grief be far worse than Death itself. For the Love I once bore her I will not offer any kind of Violence to her Person, but in another’s she shall doubly suffer: Ungrateful Woman! could’st thou but see what Heart thou hast betrayed, what Husband thou hast lost, one, who, spite of the many Injuries thou hast done him, cannot resolve to hurt thee; sure thou would’st repent thy base Perfidiousness.

He said a thousand other Things much to the same Purpose, and at last determined that very Night to set out for *France*, in quest of *Tersander* and *Lindamira*, and to this End he called his Squire, and bid him immediately go and prepare every thing for his Departure, adding, that he would have no body but himself and a Valet de Chambre follow him; as for the rest of his Equipage, they should wait till farther Orders.

This done he waited upon the King of *France*, and shewed him the Letter he had just received, at the same time giving him an Account of his setting out that Night, and the Reasons that induced him so to do. The good Prince read it, and heard him with a great deal of Surprize, then turning towards *Palmiris*,

‘It is impossible, *said he*, to answer for the Actions of others, but yet can I not believe what is said here of your Wife; she was brought up with *Blanche* my Mother, than whom a more virtuous and deserving Woman does not breathe, and *Lindamira* was very high in her Esteem; beware, lest you commit some rash Action, which you may vainly repent for ever after. Even suppose that *Lindamira* be guilty, yet ought you not to seek the Blood of her Lover; leave Vengeance to Heaven, who surely will repay it, but do you learn to forgive as you hope for Forgiveness. I would not hinder you from applying proper Remedies to the Dishonour of your House, but I would have you be beforehand assured, that they are proper ones; Corrosives have often [II-190] been used without Success, where Lenitives would infallibly have done.’

These were the last Words which the good Monarch spoke to him, after which he ordered him the necessary Passes and Guards to the Port, where *Palmiris* embarked, and during his whole Journey and Voyage, not the least Accident happened to him. On another Occasion one might have said the Wind was favourable, but now it was far from being so, since it contributed towards, at least hastened, his Misfortunes.

But to return to *Lindamira*, whom we left at *Boulogne*, where she was delivered, and now impatiently expected the Return of *Tersander* with an Answer from the Queen-Mother. Scarce had she been brought to bed a Fortnight, before she fell into a violent Fever, in a Place where she knew no body, and had no one but *Belisinda* to assist and comfort her, who was now far from being capable of doing it, finding herself in the utmost Want of Comfort and Assistance. She saw a Mistress whom she dearly loved lying dangerously ill, and knew no body to apply to for Advice: Often would she bewail *Tersander*’s going, and think that he left

*Lindamira* much sooner than he ought to have done; she wrote him a Letter, acquainting him with the present Condition of her Mistress, and how sensible they were of his Loss, conjuring him, by all that he held dear in the World, to return back to *Boulogne*.

We may easily suppose how afflicting this News was to *Tersander*, he recalled every Charm of *Lindamira*, all her Beauties and Virtues to mind, then reflected that these Charms, these Beauties, and these Virtues, would not, perhaps, much longer have a Being; and this Apprehension gave him all the Pain that a Love-sick Heart is capable of feeling at the Apprehensions of losing its adored Object; he then determined immediately to hasten to her, and therefore he went directly to wait upon the Queen, to whom he shewed *Belisinda's* Letter, desiring, at the same time, leave to hasten back to *Lindamira*. The good Princess having perused the Letter, seemed extremely concerned at her Illness, and told *Tersander*, that far from delaying him, she conjured him to make all the Haste back he could, telling him, that whilst he [II-191] prepared himself to get on Horseback, she would write to the Governor of *Boulogne*, to order him to take particular Care of *Lindamira* during her Illness, and not to let her want any kind of thing whatsoever.

The Moment *Tersander* had received his Dispatches he got on Horseback, nor would he have been long in his Journey, had not he met with an unfortunate Accident. Passing through a Forest he was set upon by four Highwaymen, who bid him deliver, but he, not daunted at their Odds, drew his Sword, and behaved himself with so much Bravery that he laid two of them breathless on the Ground, and the other two, dreading the Fate of their Companions, fled with all possible Speed. In the Engagement *Tersander* had received no other Hurt but a slight Wound in his Arm, which having bound up with his Handkerchief, he was about to continue his Journey; but on a sudden he heard a rustling amongst the Trees behind him, and ere he could turn about, an Arrow pierced his Body, insomuch that he did not ride above an hundred Paces before he fell.

This Wound he received from one of the Rogues, who had just fled from him, who not daring to encounter him again, yet willing to revenge the Death of his Companions, and his own Disgrace, fetched a Compass round, and came behind him whilst he was binding up his Wound, and shot an Arrow at him; but not knowing what Execution it had done, and seeing *Tersander* ride off, durst not follow him, but alighting from his Horse, he drew his Companions out of the Road into the thickest Part of the Forest, and then left it himself.

Mean while the brave Man was perishing for want of timely Assistance; and so great a Quantity of Blood did he lose, that he remained without any visible Sign of Life; when, as Heaven would have it, two Friars accidentally passed that Way, who at first believed him dead; but laying their Hands upon his Heart, and finding still some little Warmth there, they resolved not to despair; but one of them running hastily to a neighbouring Fountain brought some Water, and with it washed the Wound, and threw some in his Face; the excessive Cold of this Water made *Tersander* shew some Signs of Life, and the [II-192] good Fathers thanked Heaven for sending them thus timely to his Assistance.

He who had run for Water to the Fountain had met a Shepherd there, whom he immediately dispatched to the next Hamlet for more Help; as these good Fathers were very much esteemed all over the Country, the Shepherds left their Flocks, and the Labourers their Cottages, to come to them, and they found the two good Men very busy about one, who by some short, but deep Sighs, shewed that he might still be reckoned in the Number of the Living. Upon this, some of them began to gather Herbs, whose Virtues were well known to them; and which, as soon as applied to the Wound stopped the Blood, whilst others cut down Boughs, and with them made a Hand-Litter to carry the Patient to the Convent, where, as soon as he was brought, his Wounds were regularly dressed; all the Fathers were very busy about him, but none more than those two who had found him, and who continued with him,

not only the rest of that Day, but the whole Night too; during which time he never came to himself again, so as to have any Knowledge of Things, but was perpetually fainting away; so excessive a Quantity of Blood had he lost, and to so weak a Condition had that Loss reduced him.

Four and twenty Hours after the first Dressing of his Wound, his Apparel was taken off, at which time the Surgeon assured that the Wound, though large, was not mortal; and that if nothing extraordinary happened to him, he did not question but he would do well again. This News extremely rejoiced the Holy Fathers; but their Joy was short-liv'd, for the third Day he fell into a Fever, and was very light-headed, at which time he talked much of *Lindamira*; this first Fever continued thirty Hours upon him, at the End of which he recovered his Senses, and then it was that he first became sensible of his Condition, and thought on *Lindamira*'s; the Remembrance of her Danger drew Tears from his Eyes, and made him utter Complaints which would have touched the very hardest and most barbarous Hearts.

Would he cry, shall my Life, whose every Hour I devoted to the beautiful *Lindamira*, be of no Service to her then? Shall my cruel Fortune deprive me [II-193] of the Means of assisting her, and of doing her those good Offices which a Stranger, with the common Sentiments of Humanity, would joyfully have done? Perhaps, alas! this Moment is her last, and she is now closing those lovely Eyes, in whose Looks were centered all my Happiness: Even now, perhaps, with her dying Words she accuses me of Delay, and cries, Is this Neglect the Mark of that respectful Passion which was once your Boast? Instead of hastening to my Assistance, dost thou, for the Sake of a few Wounds indulge thyself, and by thy over Care endeavour to survive me? And yet you think you love me? No, ungrateful Man, you are as unworthy of the Name of Love as you are of my Esteem, with which I had hitherto all along honoured you.

Here he paused a little while, and then resuming his Discourse; And can I bear these Reproaches? No, let me rather die a thousand thousand Deaths than live to deserve them; especially seeing that my Life can be of no Service to *Lindamira*. As he said this, he began to tear off the Rollers, and other Things with which his Wounds were bound; but one of the Fathers being in the Room with him, and seeing to what Extravagance his Passion hurried him, ran and laid hold of him, nor was it a very difficult Matter to prevent his executing what he had threatened, for he was so very weak, one might easily master him. The great Difficulty was to calm his Thoughts and make him wholly alter his Resolution. To this End he represented to him the Heinousness of the Crime he was about to commit, and with Arguments and Instructions, both Divine and Moral, he convinced him of the Unreasonableness of his Action; but still his Passion was so great, that it prevailed over Reason; however, the Father inquiring further into as many Particulars of the Story, as *Tersander* thought fit to tell him, represented that the Lady he spoke of might still be alive, and want his Assistance, that if nothing else could weigh with him, at least, for her Sake, he ought to take Care of his Health; at the same time he delivered him a Packet which had been found in his Pocket, and in which were inclosed the Queen's Letters, with some Jewels and Money he had [II-194] about him. *Tersander* then first began to think of his Business, and he conjured the Father to procure him some body to go with a Letter to *Boulogne*; the good Man told him he would, upon Condition that he should endeavour to compose himself to Rest: *Tersander* promised he would do any thing, and then dictating a Letter to *Belisinda*, the Father wrote it for him, and with this and the other he dispatched a Courier.

Mean while *Lindamira* continued very ill of a violent Fever, and *Belisinda* laboured under the greatest Afflictions imaginable, her Mistress was as bad, and much weaker than ever. *Tersander* might easily have returned by this time, but he not only was not come, but had not so much as writ to her. This very much surprized her, she knew not what to think of it, and *Tersander* had till now behaved himself in such a manner, as to make her believe him

her Mistress's sincere Friend.

Things were upon this Foot, when the Courier dispatched from the Monastery arrived, and delivered *Tersander's* Letter to *Belisinda*. His Misfortune touched her to the Heart, and she related to *Lindamira* Part of what had happened; however, she concealed the Worst of the Story in not mentioning his Danger. She barely told her, that he had received a slight Wound, and that it was not safe for him to travel as yet. We may easily imagine how sensibly *Lindamira* was grieved, there being no Woman of a more grateful Temper, and *Tersander* having suffered this new Misfortune on her Account, and though it was dangerous for her to do it, yet could nothing dissuade her from returning an Answer to his Letter by the same Courier, and calling for a Table-book, she writ the following Words:

*Lindamira to Tersander.*

'YOU pitied my Misfortunes, generous *Tersander*; but how dear has your Pity cost you! I leave you to judge the Greatness of my Trouble, when I reflect on the many and great Obligations I lay under to you, and that I can make no return, but with my Thanks and Tears; poor Amends, for the many Miseries brought on you by the unfortunate

LINDAMIRA.

[II-195]

Whilst *Lindamira* was writing, the Courier hastened to the Castle, and delivered the Queen's Packet to the Governor, who received it with all the Respect and Deference due from a Subject to his Sovereign; and having inquired, and been informed where the Lady lived, who was by her Majesty recommended to his Care, he got into his Chariot, and hastened away to *Lindamira's* Lodgings, which he entered the Moment she had done writing to *Tersander*.

As much as her Sickness had altered her, yet was *Lindamira* still beautiful to a Miracle, nor could the Governor forbear admiring her, but, his first Surprise over, he saluted her with a great deal of Respect, and told her what Orders he had just received from the Queen; he therefore desired that she would suffer herself to be carried to the Castle, where she might be taken much better Care of than in her Lodging. *Lindamira* thanked him for his courteous Offer, but told him she was not in a Condition to be removed; but *Altamont* (for so was the Governor called) being a Man of Sense, and thinking that the Lady had some stronger Objection to the Castle, than her present Condition, smiled upon her. I am so very much accustomed, Madam, said he, to receive Denials from the Fair Sex, that I really now expected it; however, I'll hasten home, and send some body to you, who, if I may be allowed to say it, will deserve to be kindly received, and to have their Prayers granted, and I dare say, you will not be so cruel to them as you are to me. As he said this he left the Room, and without giving *Lindamira* Time to answer, he hastened to the Castle, to desire his two Sisters to wait upon *Lindamira*, who really were Ladies of infinite Merit.

The Eldest of them, named *Erminia*, was a regular Beauty, and there was something in her Gait so majestic, and at the same time so sprightly in her Face, that one could not look upon her without Admiration. *Harriot* was fair, and one of the most agreeable Women in Nature; her Features, indeed, if you took them to pieces, were not so regular as her Sister's; but if, without entering into such a Particular, you looked upon them both at once, 'twas impossible to know where to [II-196] give the Preference, nor did they rival one another less in Wit and good Sense than in Beauty.

As to oblige each other was the chief Study of the Brother and Sisters, they hastened to *Lindamira*, and kindly intreated her to accept of the Apartment which their Brother had offered. It was impossible to deny such fair Petitioners, *Lindamira* therefore consented, and they overjoyed at their Success, sent for their Chair, and had her carried to the Castle, where *Altamont* received her with all possible Deference and Respect. The two Sisters were perpetually with her, and unwilling to trust Servants, they themselves waited upon her, and gave her early Proofs of their growing Friendship. And, indeed, such was the Care they took of her, and such the Diligence and Skill of the Physicians, that within two or three Days after her being brought thither, her Fever was changed into an Intermitting one.

*Altamont* waited on *Lindamira*, as often as her Health and Decency would permit him, and he had the Satisfaction of seeing how careful his Sisters were of her. *Harriot*, who was naturally all Gaiety, endeavoured to cheer *Lindamira*'s drooping Spirits; but, alas! she was a Stranger to Joy, every Day almost did she write to her dear *Palmiris*, but received no Answer from him.

Observing the Friendship and Tenderness with which the two Sisters received her, *Lindamira* out of Gratitude related her Adventures to them, and by that shewed them how great a Confidence she reposed in them. Her Story increased their Love and Admiration, and *Erminia* embracing her as soon as she had done, dear *Lindamira*, said she, your Misfortunes are drawing to an End, Heaven has made a Trial of your Virtue, and will now take it under its immediate Protection, and safely conduct home your illustrious Husband. I can assure you, continued *Harriot*, that his Presence would rejoice me almost as much as the beauteous *Lindamira*, and I am already promising myself, that at sight of him, that Melancholy will vanish, and Smiles adorn that lovely Face. I am much obliged to you, Ladies, replied *Lindamira*, and am sorry that I cannot wear that Cheerfulness which I was once wont to do; but whether it proceeds from the Number of my past Miseries, or whether it be the [II-197] Foreboding of some new and dreadful one, I cannot tell; but my Heart has intirely given itself up a Prey to Grief.

Mean while *Tersander* dispatched a Courier every Week, to inquire how *Lindamira* did; *Belisinda* wrote to him as often as she could; and when any thing hindered her, the beauteous *Harriot*, who greatly esteemed him for what he had done, took the Task upon her, and in this manner they spent five Months; at the End of which *Tersander* found himself able to get on Horseback: He therefore took his Leave of the charitable Monks, and made them a considerable Present, particularly thanked those who had given him timely Assistance, who blessed him; and then taking one of the Couriers, whom he had often sent to *Boulogne* for his Guide, he hastened thither with all the little Speed his late Indisposition would allow of, and in a few Days reached the Place.

'Tis impossible to express his Joy at the Sight of one so dear to him as *Lindamira* was, and whose imaginary Death had made him attempt against his own Life. *Erminia* was present at their first Interview, yet did not entertain the least Suspicion of his loving her, such a perfect Master was *Tersander* of his Passion, that not one Look, or one Action, exceeded the Bounds of sincere disinterested Friendship.

On the other hand *Lindamira*'s Joy, at seeing him again was exceeding great, and presenting him to the beauteous *Erminia*, Sister, said she (for so they called one another) this is the generous *Tersander*, to whom I am so infinitely obliged. *Erminia*, without giving him Time to answer, approached him in the most obliging manner imaginable: As I have an infinite Value for that Lady, said she, and every thing that concerns her, I cannot without the greatest Pleasure, see a Gentleman, whose Friendship and Generosity has been so very serviceable to her. The beauteous *Lindamira*, interrupted *Tersander*, (whose Modesty would not suffer him to hear a Discourse of this Nature) is pleased to extol some trifling Services

which I have done her, and which the Honour of serving her has sufficiently over-paid.

[II-198]

Here their Conversation was interrupted by the coming in of *Harriot*, whom *Tersander* saluted with a great deal of Respect, and thanked for the Trouble she had taken in writing to him, and the Comfort she had thereby administered him, during the Time that he lay ill of his Wounds; but he had not Time for saying all that Gratitude could inspire, for *Altamont* being by *Belisinda* acquainted with *Tersander's* Arrival, hastened up to *Lindamira's* Chamber, and entered it with that Air of Gallantry which accompanied every Action of his Life.

This Interview had something very extraordinary in it; for this heroic Couple, who had never seen one another before, conceived as much Esteem for each other, as Sympathy can inspire in two noble Souls. Their mutual Surprize made them both continue silent for some little Time; at length they broke it, to express their Wonder and Admiration, and they protested to each other an eternal Friendship, and to give the first Proofs of it, *Altamont* obliged the other to accept of an Apartment in the Castle.

We may easily imagine *Tersander's* Joy, to see himself lodged beneath the same Roof with *Lindamira*, when every Pleasure of his Life, every Hope was centered in the Satisfaction of seeing and conversing with her, nor was there any thing which hindered him from being compleatly happy, but seeing her perpetually uneasy. He never sought an Opportunity of speaking to her in private, far from it, he always shunned such a one, and so disinterested was his Love, he would willingly have ventured his Life to have restored her to her dear *Palmiris*.

But whilst he thus privately sighed for *Lindamira*, he undesignedly made a glorious Conquest; for the gay *Harriot*, who had often derided the Power of Love, and unmoved, had beheld half the Nobles of *France* sighing at her Feet, could not with the same Insensibility behold *Tersander*. As soon as she perceived her growing Passion, she struggled with it, and did all she could to banish it from her Heart, but in vain; *Tersander's* superior Merit triumphed over all the weak Arguments of Female Pride: Nor did his Words and Actions, though unknowingly, contribute a little to the Feeding of this [II-199] Flame. *Harriot's* Letters had often, during his Illness eased his Pain, *Tersander* was of a grateful Temper, and laid hold on all Occasions to express his Gratitude. Lovers are too apt to flatter themselves. She interpreted every thing he said or did to her Advantage, and by this Means she confirmed her Passion, yet so carefully concealed it, that had not cruel Fortune accidentally betrayed it, 'twould still have been a Secret to the World.

*Lindamira* finding herself a little better, *Altamont* did every thing he could to divert her, Feasts, Music, and all Kinds of sumptuous Entertainments were frequently prepared; but this was far from producing the desired Effect; *Lindamira* wanted Solitude, nor was she ever easy, but when she could freely indulge herself in thinking on her dear *Palmiris*; she therefore desired the Governor, that for change of Air she might retire to his Country Seat, which was five or six Miles out of the Town, and situated in the midst of a Forest; hither *Erminia* and her Sister, with *Tersander*, accompanied her, and *Altamont* visited them as often as his Business would permit him.

Such a rural Situation could not be more agreeable to *Lindamira* than it was to *Harriot*, there were very fine Walks in the Forest, and which she frequented more than any of the rest. Early as the Morning dawned, for her Eyes were become Strangers to Sleep, she rose, and followed by one Maid only, she would go and lose herself in the thickest of the Forest; one particular Place she most delighted in, which Nature had embellished more than Art could possibly have done; there the interwoven Branches of the tallest Trees almost denied a Passage to the Rays of the Sun; beneath a crystal Spring bubbled up, and rolled its Silver

Waters through a natural Channel, on a fine yellow Sand: There the perpetual Working of the Water formed a Cavity, and shewed the wondering Eye a transparent Bason bordered with Moss. Here *Harriot* counterfeiting her Hand, lest it should be known, would wound the Bark to carve *Tersander's* Name, and sometimes mingling her Cypher with his, would crown them with a Lover's Knot.

[II-200]

One Morning having rose earlier than usual, she sought this Place, and amused herself in her wonted manner, sometimes reflecting on *Tersander's* Merit, sometimes carving his Name on the Trees; when on a sudden she was interrupted by the Sound of Feet which moved that Way, and not questioning but that somebody was making up towards the Fountain, she with her Maid retired behind the Trees, but in her retiring opened such a Passage that she could easily see two Men coming thither. He who by his noble Mein, and the Deserence paid him appeared to be the Master, wore black Armour, and round the Extremity of it a little Ridge of Gold; on his Head-piece streamed a large Number of Feathers, partly Flame-coloured, partly black; on his Shield a Lioness was painted tearing a Heart to pieces, with this Motto:

*How cruelly thou tearest the Heart I gave thee.*

Laying himself down near the Fountain, the Stranger unlaced his Helmet, and *Harriot* was surprized at the Sight of so noble and so beautiful a Face; for tho' it was pale, yet were the Features bold, just, and regular, and one might have sworn that the Paleness was occasioned by some corroding Grief. He did not long continue silent, but looking about him, then turning towards the other,

'Are you very sure, said he, that you have described the Place in such a manner, that he may find it?' *You need not doubt it it, Sir,* replied the other, *he told me he knew it well, and received the Letter in such a manner, that I am too fully persuaded he will not foil the Appointment.*

'Tis well, replied the former, I shall at least be revenged on him; but tell me sincerely what thou hast heard of my faithless Wretch. I am told, Sir, replied he, that she leads a very melancholy and solitary Life, and that she is seldom seen in public.'

*Then her Conscience does upbraid her with her Crime,* replied the Knight. *Alas! if her Reason does but out-live her Passion, she will see the Heinousness of her Sin, and never forgive herself; and yet, to my Confusion be it spoken, I still love this wicked Woman.* Here he stopped to wipe away [II-201] the Tears, which spite of what he could do, began to flow, and then resuming his Discourse, 'Fool that I am, cried he, to love one who has thus basely dishonoured me.'

He could not proceed, being interrupted by the Arrival of two Men; at the Approach of whom he hastily put on his Head-piece. *Harriot* was surprized to see that the foremost of these Men was *Tersander*, and so great was her Confusion, that she had not the Power to speak or move, neither was there much Time for her to consider what she ought to do; for *Tersander* approaching the other,

'Whoever you are, said he, who with so much Animosity pursue my Life, I come to convince you, that whenever I shall think fit to defend it, it shall be no such easy Matter to deprive me of it.'

At this the Stranger looking scornfully on him, *It will not, Traytor,* cried he, *be in thy Power to defend it. Justice and Honour fight my Cause; if your Courage be equal to your Insolence, follow me, and you shall know who it is you have injured.* He said, and hastening

to the Place where his Horse was tied, he mounted, and galloped into a neighbouring Vale, *Tersander* did the same, and without Loss of Time, each took a Lance from his Squire, and poising them well, they were in the very first Course shivered to pieces; upon which they drew their Swords, and a dreadful Combat soon ensued; for on the one hand, Honour and Jealousy excited *Palmiris*, the unhappy deceived *Palmiris!* whilst on the other, *Tersander* was enraged to see a Stranger, one whom he was assured he had never injured, pursue his Life so eagerly.

I here want Colours to paint *Harriot* during this fatal Combat, and the Struggles of Love and Honour within her; the latter bid her still conceal herself, for what besides Love could have brought her thus early to that solitary Place, and should she now endeavour to part them, in her Hurry and Distraction some Fondness might betray her Heart: However, Love soon prevailed, and all these Considerations were at once forgot. Swiftly she ran to the Place where our two Combatants with equal Strength and equal Courage were with redoubled Blows seeking each other's Life; she was [II-202] resolved to fling herself betwixt them, and to share the Danger with her dear *Tersander*; but, alas! the Resolution was formed too late, and the very Moment she reached the Field of Battle, our two valiant Knights gave each other a mortal Wound, and both fell from their Horses.

*Harriot* immediately ran, and catching *Tersander* in her Arms, she pulled off his Head-piece; but, alas! she could find no Life in him, his Blood flowed swistly from his Wound, but his Eyes were closed. Unable to utter a Word, she washed his Wounds, and sprinkled his Face with her Tears, and this joined to the Freshness of the Air, made him come to himself again. The first Object he beheld, when he opened his Eyes, was the beauteous *Harriot* drowned in Tears, upon which, fixing his dying Looks upon her, he spoke to her, tho' with a very faulting Voice,

'I die, charming *Harriot*, but die transported at your Generosity. How glorious, how worthy of Envy is Death made by those precious Tears!'

*Do not*, *Tersander*, replied *Harriot*, *attribute my Grief to my Generosity, whilst it proceeds from quite another Source: Alas! I rave, but you are dying, and must not die ignorant of my Passion.*

She had not time to proceed, or *Tersander* to answer; for *Palmiris's* Squire finding that his Master had some Life in him, and fearing that he might perish for want of timely Assistance, ran up and down the Forest calling for Help, when accidentally he met *Altamont*, followed by his Servants, who was coming to pay *Lindamira* and her Sisters a Visit; at sight of him, he threw himself at his Feet,

'For Heaven's Sake, Sir, *said he*, if generous Pity can move your Soul, shew it now, and haste to save the Life of the illustrious *Palmiris*. ' *The illustrious Palmiris, cried Altamont*, surprized and shocked at the Name, *What Palmiris is that, sure not the Husband of Lindamira!* 'Tis the same, *replied the Squire*, and that unhappy Marriage is the Source of his present Misfortunes.'

Grieved at what he heard, *Altamont* immediately dispatched some Servants to the next Town for a Surgeon and Litter, that they might carry *Palmiris* to his House, and then ordered the Squire to conduct him to the Place [II-203] where *Palmiris* was; but Gods! who can describe his Grief and Surprize, when coming there, he saw his dear Brother, for so he called *Tersander*, dying in his Sister's Arms. This Sight soon made him forget on what Occasion he came thither, and not once thinking on *Palmiris*, he ran and flung his Arms round his Brother's Neck, but so lively was his Sorrow, that it choaked the Passage of his Words.

*Tersander* broke Silence first,



‘My dear *Altamont*, said he, Death is about to part us, that grim Tyrant of Nature will no longer let me enjoy your Company, but spight of his Efforts still let me live in my dear Brother’s Heart. Oh! *Altamont*, let the Remembrance of me be lasting as your Life.’ *How dear, how precious, how painful will that Remembrance be*, replied *Altamont*, and who could have thought that the long-wished-for Return of *Palmiris* would have proved so fatal to us, ‘Of *Palmiris!* cried *Tersander*.’ Are you then ignorant, answered *Altamont*, that ’twas with *Palmiris* you fought. ‘Immortal Gods! cried *Tersander*, as loud as his present Condition would permit him, Are you Just, and could you suffer the unfortunate *Tersander* to draw his Sword against *Lindamira*’s Husband. Oh! wretched *Tersander!* you will die hated by *Lindamira*, and thy Memory will for ever be odious to her.’

Here his Weakness disordered his proceeding; but having recovered Strength enough to speak again,

‘My dear Brother, said he, taking *Altamont* by the Hand, by our past Friendship, I conjure you fly to the Assistance of *Palmiris*, unless you would see *Tersander* die in despair.’

*Altamont*, to please him, went towards *Palmiris*, having first given *Tersander* a Table book, which he asked for, and on which, with a great deal of Pain and Difficulty, he wrote the following Words:

***The dying Tersander to the virtuous Lindamira.***

‘I Die, Madam, and die the most unhappy, the most innocent of Men; I have shed that Blood which was dear to you, nor can I pretend to justify myself, by saying that I did not know *Palmiris*, for I ought to have known him. Accursed Hand! thus to deprive [II-204] you of your dear Husband; how wretched am I to be the Cause of so much Grief in you! Alas! did not my Wounds, yet would my Sorrows, soon put an End to my Life;— —My Strength fails me, and I cannot tell you all that I intended; but yet, divine *Lindamira*, even you yourself must own, that so much Love, so much Respect, deserved a better Fate. Pardon me, Madam, if sensible of my present Condition, I presume to reveal my Passion. Had I lived, you never should have known how dear you was to me, and I now talk of it at a Time when I can hope nothing, not even that you should bestow a Sigh upon my unhappy Destiny. I am too well acquainted with your Virtue to flatter myself with a Thought of this Nature; my only Comfort, after what I have done, is, that I am dying. Adieu, divine *Lindamira*. Alas! if it be possible, do not hate the Memory of the unhappy

TERSANDER.’

As soon as he had done writing, he gave the Table-book to the afflicted *Harriot*, who, with her Maid, was endeavouring to stop the Blood which flowed very fast, and he desired her to deliver it to *Lindamira*. Scarce had he done speaking when the Surgeons arrived, and examining his Wounds, they told him that he had not an Hour to live, nor must they pretend to remove him from the Place where he lay, for if they did, he inevitably would die that very Moment. *Tersander* heard his Sentence with a great deal of Courage, and desired that a holy Father might be sent for, in whose Arms he shortly after breathed his last.

Mean while *Altamont*, who had drawn near *Palmiris*, found him in a Condition which very much surprized him; his half-opened Eyes were fixed upon no Object, but wandered up and down, as looking for something which was not before him. Disdain sat plainly confessed in his Face, but that Disdain did not seem directed to any one present, and it plainly appeared that his Imagination was hard at work. *Altamont* upon this took him by the Hand, and called him by his Name, but he returned no Answer, nor did he seem sensible of [II-205] any one’s

being present before him. *Altamont* seeing this, would have left him, and returned to his dear *Tersander*, but that Satisfaction was denied him; he was told that his Brother had but a few Moments more to live, and those were justly due to Heaven.

I will not undertake to describe the Grief, either of the Governor, or of his beauteous Sister, when by their Retinue they were in a manner forced out of the Forest, and led towards their Seat. The Horror which plainly sat confessed in their Faces, alarmed the Servants, and some of them ran up to *Erminia's* Chamber, where *Lindamira* also was, and told them they feared some dreadful Accident had happened; for *Altamont* and *Harriot* were like People in despair; frightened at this News, they both ran to her Chamber, and found her on her Bed and *Altamont* near her. *Harriot* had no sooner fixed his Eyes upon the virtuous Matron, but she cried out, *Lindamira!* unhappy *Lindamira!* what will become of you; as she said this, she gave her the Table-book, in which *Tersander* had writ his Letter.

Thunder-struck at these Words, *Lindamira* had scarce Power to reach out her Hand to take the Letter; at length she did, and with much ado opened and read it; but, Gods! who can describe her in the midst of her Sorrow, Confusion, and Despair? It was too strong for Nature to support, and she fell down on *Harriot's* Bed, deprived of Sense and Knowledge. For full two Hours Space was every Art, every Remedy that could be thought of to bring her to herself employed in vain. Cruel Art! killing Remedies! for Death was now to be preferred far beyond Life, and to restore her to Life was only to prolong those Miseries which Death alone could cure.

Whilst she lay in this Condition, the Surgeons dressed *Palmiris's* Wounds; but as they declared they knew not what to think of them till they took off the first Apparel, they ordered him to be brought to *Altamont's* House, and *Erminia* (though beyond all Measure afflicted at the Death of the generous *Tersander*, and to see three Persons thus dear to her, overwhelmed with Sorrows) yet being informed that he was brought in, went immediately to see *Lindamira's* Husband. Fixing her [II-206] Eyes upon him, she drew towards his Bed-side with that majestic Air, which at once commanded Love and Respect,

‘Alas, Sir, said she, on what slight Quarrel have you exposed a Life so dear, so precious to the beauteous *Lindamira*, for I cannot believe that your Encounter was premeditated, or that you knowingly attacked the brave, the generous *Tersander*, your Protector and Defender, and one to whom you are so infinitely obliged.’

*Sure you know me not, replied Palmiris, if you did you would not talk thus to me. Is my Life dear to one who has basely forsaken me? Or, am I obliged to the Man who has robbed me of my Honour? Believe me, Madam, I know my Misfortunes too well to be persuaded out of them.*

‘You are mistaken, *Palmiris*, answered *Erminia*, costing an Eye of Pity on him, you do not know them yet, your Misfortunes are much greater than you imagine, look on yourself as unjust and ungrateful, reflect on every Crime those two Vices can have made you commit, and even then you will have but a faint Idea of them.’

*Once more, Madam, replied Palmiris, I am but too sensible of my Miseries and Disgrace, and tho' at such a Distance, I have had a faithful Account of all that passed; I know what Loose she gave to her blind foolish Passion, and her Amours and Flight with Tersander are become the Talk of a whole Kingdom.*

‘Infatuated unhappy Man! cried *Erminia*, *interrupting him*, and have you then foully suspected the most generous of Men, and most virtuous of Women? I can no longer leave you in this Error, and though you are not in a Condition to hear a long Narration, yet is it of such Importance that you should be convinced of your Blindness, that I shall wave all other Considerations, and let you know what you are still ignorant of.’

She then related all that had happened to *Lindamira* since his leaving *Eng* — — *nd*.

Whilst *Erminia* was speaking, *Palmiris* never interrupted her, but with deep-fetched Sighs, and as soon as she had finished,

‘Good Gods, *cried he as loud as his little remaining Strength would permit him*, what have I done to merit this dreadful Punishment! Alas, how justly did you say that I was still a Stranger to my [II-207] Misfortunes. I thought myself innocent and just, and I prove the most guilty of Mankind; I have suspected even Virtue itself, and destroyed a Life in the Defence of which had I had a Thousand, I ought to have sacrificed them all. Alas! Madam, how shall I see my *Lindamira* again! how will she bear the Sight of such an ungrateful Wretch! Oh *Tersander!* generous *Tersander!* how have you been rewarded for preserving the Honour of *Palmiris!* My Death, Madam, will soon make some little Atonement for my Crime; but ere I breathe my last, let me once more see *Lindamira*; do not deny me this Favour; though my Crimes are great, yet are they not wholly my own; too much Credulity has occasioned them all. Cursed *Circe!* thou Author of all this Mischief, thou Horror of thy Sex, how wilt thou ever again dare lift up thy Eyes toward Heaven.’

Here he was interrupted by the Arrival of *Lindamira*, who, as soon as she recovered out of the Swoon, had, by *Belisinda*, been informed that her *Palmiris* was not dead, nor his Life yet despaired of, but that being dressed by the Surgeons, he had been brought into the House, upon which she hastily flew to his Chamber. Never was there a more moving Scene than this Meeting; they threw their Arms about each other’s Necks, unable to utter any thing more than my *Palmiris!* and my *Lindamira!* in this manner they continued some considerable time, till at length *Palmiris* broke Silence:

‘*Lindamira*, my dear *Lindamira*, said he, after my unjust Suspicions, and the fatal Effects of them, I must not think of Life. Your present Goodness does but make my Guilt the greater, and add to my Misfortunes; we must take from before your Eyes a Man who yet makes you prove ungrateful to the Memory of your brave Defender, to whom you are too much obliged to think of living with your Murderer; my Hands imbrued in his Blood, shall never be folded about your lovely Neck, and in me you would always behold the Object of your Love and Grief.’

*Alas, my dear Husband, interrupted Lindamira, banish those cruel Thoughts, and live; I have already forgot your Crime, and my Love forgives all that you have thought [II-208] or done. Should you any longer persist in the Resolution of dying, I shall believe that your once boasted Passion is at an End, or that you are not cured of your unjust Suspicions; or if this will not weigh with you, remember that the Threads of our Life are so interwoven, that there is no cutting the one without the other, and that one Fate attends us both. Alas! what need I talk of Fate and Death; let us live, and live happily, even the Ghost of the generous Tersander, if he can behold our Actions, will be well pleased that we should live to retain a grateful Sense of all his Kindnesses, for I believe you just enough to desire that the Services of this brave Man should still be fresh in my Memory. If you yet doubt any thing of what has been said to you, see what with his dying Hand he has wrote.* As she said, she gave him the Letter; which *Palmiris* could not read without shedding a Flood of Tears.

The Surgeons hearing that *Lindamira* was the Wife of *Palmiris*, that they had some time been absent from each other, and that she was now in the Room with him, hastened thither, and found his Mind in a strange Agitation; they told him, that if she had any Value for her Husband, she ought to hinder him from speaking as much as possibly she could, for long Conversations were certain Death to him. Upon this *Erminia* thought fit to leave them, and hastening to her Sister's Apartment, where she had left her Brother too, she told them all that had passed between *Palmiris* and *Lindamira*.

*Altamont* unmoved, heard her Tale, or rather did not hear it at all; he was wholly taken up with Reflections on his dear Brother's Death. Not so with the beautiful *Harriot*, who starting from her Bed in the most violent Passion; *Lindamira*, *ungrateful Lindamira*, *cried she, and canst thou caress the Murderer of that brave Man who sacrificed his Life and Fortune to thee? one who so tenderly, so sincerely loved thee? Oh Tersander! unhappy Tersander! on whom hadst thou bestowed thy Heart? on one who asks Leave of thy mortal Foe to remember thee. No, forget him in complaisance to thy Husband; unjust Lindamira, forget him, still shall he live, still shall his Memory flourish in my Heart, then shall he be disturbed by no Idea of his base Murderer whom I abhor and detest.*

[II-209]

She said several other Things to the same Purpose, and having vented her Passion, and growing a little more cool, she desired that her Brother would give her Leave for a little while to retire into a Convent amongst some pious Maids, who devote their whole Time to the Service of Heaven. *Altamont* and *Erminia* did all they possibly could to divert her from this Resolution, but in vain; and she was fully determined not to sleep beneath the same Roof with the Murderer of *Tersander*. When they found all their Arguments and Persuasions fruitless, *Erminia* would have accompanied her thither, but *Harriot* refused the Offer, and conjured her to stay with their dear Brother. Followed therefore by the faithful *Tarquinia* only, she hastened to the Convent, there her first Care was to raise a Monument to the Memory of the brave *Tersander*, for which she composed an Epitaph herself; and every Morning, for there she spent the Remainder of her Days, her first Task was to go and wash this Monument with her Tears.

But to return to *Lindamira*, whom we left betwixt Hope and Fear, and who impatiently waited for the Time when the Surgeons would take off the Apparel, that she might know something more certain of her Fate; for still her Hopes prevailed. Alas! how vainly do we believe what we ardently wish? At length, the Time came, and upon searching his Wounds, the Surgeons pronounced them mortal; adding, that they did not believe he had three Hours more to live. *Palmiris* with undaunted Courage heard his Sentence, but not so the virtuous *Lindamira*, whose Despair it was impossible to express. His whole Care was to comfort her; to this End he represented how odious Life would be to him, and how just his Death and the Decrees of Heaven were; but finding that this would avail nothing with her, he called for his Son, and tenderly embracing him, he conjured her, if no other Consideration would weigh with her, at least for the dear Infant's Sake, to spare her Life, that she might see him virtuously educated, and early taught to banish foolish Credulity from his Heart, that he might shun his Father's Crimes and Misfortunes.

[II-210]

Here *Lindamira* struggled some time before she could speak; at length her Words finding a Passage,

'You die, *said she*, and yet you would have me live; alas! did you love me with half the Sincerity and Fondness I love you, you would know what an Impossibility you require; our Lives are inseparable, and in Death we shall again

be united. Heaven, who is all merciful, will not let me survive you, and by that Means plunge me into new and far greater Miseries than I have hitherto experienced, and the same all-gracious Heaven will be a Father to our innocent Babe.

Here Grief again stopped her Voice, and so lively were her Sorrows, that they deprived her of Knowledge, and she swooned away upon his Bed. *Palmiris*, whose Strength decayed apace, was unable to bear this violent Shock, but with a Groan breathed his last; and, as if their two Bodies had been but informed by one Soul, she that Moment expired in his Arms.

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*A Letter to a Gentleman at Edinburgh, concerning the busy and assuming Spirit of the Ecclesiastics, and their extravagant Demands upon the Laity.* ↵

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1725.

*SIR,*

YOU desire to know something of the present Spirit and Conduct of our Clergy; a Curiosity to which you are prompted by the Behaviour of your own, who, you say, are so zealous for the Welfare of your Souls, as to concern themselves in all your Affairs, even in such as relate only to your Persons, Families, and Diversions. That, in former Times, the holy Men, their Predecessors, were wont to mix their reverend Spite and Impertinence with their ghostly Care, to confound Spirituals with Temporals, and to dictate in all Things, is what I have heard; but was in Hopes, that a freer Spirit, with an Increase of Liberty and Sense, had put an End to such Ecclesiastical Intrusion, and taught the present Set, that as their Ministry is known to be bounded by the Bible, and the Civil Constitution, they ought to keep themselves warily within the Limits of their Ministry; that if they break the Bounds within which they are placed, and usurp a Jurisdiction which they have not Force to maintain, People will scorn their Fairy Dominion, and they will lose their Credit by grasping at Power. The Authority of Nurses and Pedagogues is confined to Infants and Pupils; it is stinted in Time, as well as in Measure, and ends where Childhood ends, and where the Years of Discretion begin. Should an old Woman take upon her to direct my Youth, because she fed and whipped me when I was a Babe, or should my Tutor, who taught me to decline Verbs, or to chatter Logic, when I was a Boy, seek with his pedantic [II-212] Talents to controul me, when a Man, I should be apt to think the Nurse and the Tutor, though perhaps alike wise, yet alike unfit for Mastership and Government.

The Province of our spiritual Nurses is restrained to Offices purely spiritual. In the Conduct of domestic and civil Life, in the Rules of good Sense and Business, or even in those of just Thinking and Reasoning, they are, generally, of all Men, the most unfit to direct or advise. Besides their eminent Inexperience, besides the Narrowness of their Spirit, and that their Judgment is as defective and aukward, as is their Address and Behaviour, they generally meddle with the Affairs of other Men from Motives intirely despicable and selfish, from Pride and Peevishness, from Resentment or Revenge, or for some paltry Advantage, for a Fondness of being courted or feared, of being thought wise and important, or from some other Consideration unworthy of a Man of Sense, or Honour, or Spirit.

It is to no Purpose to say, that they only aim at correcting Vice and ill Principles. For they often create Vice, and find it where it is not, in harmless Mirth and Amusement, and in Recreations where not only all Decency and regular Behaviour is observed, but where Vice and Impertinence are ridiculed and lashed, and where Lessons of Morality and Honour are recommended and inforced. And for ill Principles, what they call so, are often no other than harmless Speculations and Inquiries after Truth, or the Result of such Inquiries; often the most noble and beneficent Notions, such as represent the Deity uniform, dispassionate, and impartial, abhorring human Cruelties, forgiving human Weaknesses and Mistakes, pleased with a sincere Heart, nor expecting more from his Creatures than he has given them, and disengaged from all little Prejudices in favour of Sects and Parties.

This creating and multiplying of Sins, and finding Transgressions where the Bible finds none, has what the World calls Policy in it; because the more Sin abounds, the more necessary ghostly Men are thought; and this Policy they have improved so notably, where they have been encouraged, or even suffered, that they have turned almost every thing into Sin, except what is the most wretched and unmanly of all Sins, that of adoring and [II-213] obeying Priests. But this Policy is attended with one flagrant Inconvenience: Every Man of Discernment will be apt to ask, If Iniquities are thus increased, and Men grow daily worse, in spite of such numerous Monitors, in spite of their holy Counsels, their pious Examples, their awful and repeated Denunciations; then what avails an expensive Army of Priests, who own themselves daily conquered, and utterly unequal to the adverse Host? This looks like a Confession, that either *Satan* fears them not, or that they do not all that might be done against *Satan*.

In Popish Countries there are several Transactions, which appear like palpable Juggles between the Devil and the Friars, particularly in the Business of Exorcism, and casting out evil Spirits: The Devil in Possession often holds out a long and inveterate Siege, and when he is at last ejected, he is free to enter into the same Person again, or into somebody else. If they have indeed Power over the Devil, why do they not cast him quite out of the World, at least out of the Country? Would we not think that a General mocked us, if he asserted, that he had beaten the Enemies every-where driven them out of every Town, and every particular Place, but still they were as strong as ever, and still ravaging the Country? I should think that he and his Troops deserved to be broken, notwithstanding his boasted Skill, and invisible Feats.

Methinks it is not the deepest Craft for holy Men, armed with such high Powers, to be always appearing in a Fright, and crying for Help from unhallowed Laymen, upon every Phantom of Danger. Against the Cause of God, we are assured by himself, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail*; and to such as maintain his Cause by his own Assistance, what Danger is to be apprehended, what human Assistance can be wanted? The Apostles wanted none against the whole Pagan World, against all the Hosts of Jewish and Pagan Priests, breathing Persecution and deadly Rage: Yet the Apostles had no Establishment, no Revenues, no privileged Tribunals to harangue in, no Laws against Heretics or Gainsayers, nor even against Blasphemers; and were but a few Men, [II-214] dispersed over the World, without Money, without Mobs, and even without University Education.

At present, and for many Ages past, we have had Apostolic Men by Thousands in every Country, and Millions of Money they have cost almost every Country to maintain them. They are protected by Laws sufficiently indulgent, and without Number. Schools are erected and supported at the public Expence for their Education; they themselves govern these Schools, and conduct the National Teaching, both in the Schools and in the Pulpits. The first Thing learned by Infants is to reverence them; they catechise us when Children, they instruct our Youth, and when we are Men, we are not manumitted from their Instruction. Young Women are partial to them, old ones adore them. When we are in Health we wait upon them for Admonition; and, when sick, receive their Counsel and Discipline at home. 'Tis they that exhort, they that rebuke, they that preach to the People, they that pray for them; it is they who administer the Seals of the Covenant, work a holy and imperceptible Change in Wine, and Bread, and Water, and they who utter ineffable Mysteries: They bless, they curse; they offer Heaven, they possess Earth; they denounce Damnation; they cry aloud, they threaten, they terrify: They are Ambassadors from God; they know his Will; they bear his Authority; they communicate his Intentions, deliver his Commands, distribute his Rewards and Terrors, apply his Blessings and Judgments: They shut the Gates of Paradise; they open those of Hell; they admit us into Christ's holy Church, they nurture us in it, or exclude us out of it, and are daily apprising us of their own Power and Importance.

Now what can annoy, what ought to frighten or alarm Men, thus endowed and revered, thus adored and exalted, thus dear to Heaven, thus absolute upon Earth, thus encompassed and guarded by Securities divine and human, so signal and many? It is too great a Compliment to the Powers of Darkness, and, in my Opinion, inconsistent with Orthodoxy, to suppose them a Match, much more an Overmatch, for the Children of Light, especially for the Envoys and Representatives of the Almighty. This would be introducing a terrible [II-215] Doctrine amongst Men; it would be finding a Reason and an Apology for the Worship paid by the wild *Indians* to the Evil Spirit; who being an Enemy to God, and long since vanquished and damned, can never be an Object of Terror to sound Believers: The Wicked One has no Armour that is Proof against a lively Faith, which, as it can remove Mountains, must easily drive away *Satan*. It is therefore want of Faith to fear the Devil, whom even Free-thinkers and Unbelievers fear not. It is indeed Matter of Lamentation, that Christians, yea the Directors and Conductors of Christians, should have less Courage than Men who are given up to a reprobate Mind; Men left to uncovenanted Mercy, and without Shield or Fence against the Assaults of the Enemy.

You therefore surprise me, by telling me, as you do, that a Pantomime, a poor Player, *Tony Ashton*, and his Comedians, have been able to ruffle and disquiet the Minds of the Reverend Ministers of the Kirk. What Tools he brings with him, terrible to the Hierarchy, I cannot conceive. The Laws, the Gospel, and private Persons, are protected by the Civil Power: And if *Tony* can hurt and insult neither Religion, nor *Cæsar*, nor Particulars, how comes he to occasion such Uproars and Alarms?

Doubtless there are several Plays too gross and licentious; and so, sometimes, have been many Sermons: Yet, when a Preacher has abused the Privilege of Preaching, advanced wild Opinions, and uttered dangerous and ridiculous Follies, as, upon Occasions, has happened, it has not been allowed to interrupt or contradict him. Nay, when the Civil Power has questioned him for insulting or calumniating the Civil Administration, his Brethren have waxed wroth and outrageous, that any of their Body should be questioned at any Tribunal but their own: A Right and Impunity, which, I think, are claimed as sturdily by the Fathers of the Kirk, as by our High-Church, or the High-Church in *Italy*.

But as this extravagant Claim implies, that all Rights and Powers whatsoever do, directly or indirectly, appertain to themselves, and dooms all Men to a vile and blind Dependence upon the Clergy in all Things; so it [II-216] should warn every Man, who would not blindly tread in the Steps, and hang by the Cloak or the Cassock of a Pedagogue, to preserve an Independence upon the Clergy in all Things where the Clergy have nothing to do. Other Commission, than that of counselling and exhorting such as will hear them, I know none that our Blessed Saviour has given them; and this he has given to all Men.

What have the Parsons to do with our Recreations and Amusements? Does the Gaiety and Openness of the Spirit, occasioned by Festivity and Diversion, lead to Sin and Lubricity? Who told them so? Upon me it had never any such Effect; and by what Rule do they judge? In my Opinion, the opposite Commotions of Spirit, those of Bitterness, Ferocity, and Uncharitableness, are in themselves sinful; odious and unsociable I am sure they are, and the genuine Attributes of Monks and Cynics.

With Pretences equally just, may they claim the Direction of our Persons, Tables, and Dress. The Ladies must not wear fine Silks, nor the Men fine Perriwigs, for Fear of exciting Concupiscence, and alluring one another: Nay, they must not wear fine Linen, nor wash their Faces, for the like Theological Reason. They must not enter a Tavern, for fear of being drunk; nor be merry, for fear of being profane; nor eat a good Meal, nor deal in Sauces and Dainties, for fear of pampering the Flesh.



There is no Length to which such impertinent Reasoning, when it is once admitted, will not go: And, in Effect, we see that in every thing which passes within the Heart of Man or Woman, or in their Dress, Eating, Drinking, and general Oeconomy, the *Romish* Priests act the Busy-body, and assume to be Comptrollers even in the conjugal Pleasures, those between a Man and his Wife, they assert a Right to be informed and to dictate. They of that Religion know this by Experience; and by reading their Books of Confession and Casuistry, every one may know it. What, in the Name of Wonder, is it to a Man who deals in Spirituals, whether, when a Woman, in Bed with her Husband, lays her Leg upon his, he is to take it for a Signal and obey it, though she [II-217] say never a Word? Yet this Query is put by a grave Casuist, and answered in the Affirmative; *Imo, certe, says he, propter Modestiam Sexus.* So favourable was the good Doctor to the Ladies!

This meddling of theirs in every thing, and meddling like Masters and Governors, will make People tired and uneasy to be under their Direction in any thing: So that where they are not armed with the Civil Sword, and the Terrors of an Inquisition, as, I thank God heartily, they are not like to be with us; they will lose the Credit which they might otherwise preserve, and grow contemptible by being troublesome and impertinent. The Pulpit is their Province, and even that is a Province which they should exercise with Modesty and Wariness; especially in a Generation like this, when People have learnt to assert their natural Liberty, and the Use of their Senses, and to dispute the Truth of Positions which they judge to be doubtful or false, however imperiously maintained by Men of Reverence and Name.

That Authority which depends only or chiefly upon the Esteem and Opinions of Men, is exceeding precarious, and will decay or perish as those Opinions alter, or that Esteem is lost, or lessens. Many have lost all Credit, by carrying it too high, or by maintaining it by false and deceitful Supports. What has been the Consequence of all the wild and unmeasurable Claims contended for in behalf of Churchmen, by Dr. *Hickes*, Mr. *Lesley*, and the other Champions of that Cause? It is true, they were greedily swallowed by many of the selfish and aspiring Clergy; infatuated many weak Brains amongst them, and deceived several of the People, chiefly the Vulgar in Condition of Understanding: But their Triumph was short and contemptible. These extravagant Demands for extravagant Power in Ecclesiastics, occasioned a Number of such Answers, as have not only set the Authority of Churchmen very low in the Opinion of almost all Men, and demonstrated, that from Christ they derive no Power or Revenue at all, but, for all that they have, must be beholden to Laymen and the Law; but they have likewise, by Reasoning and Examples upon that Subject, shewn the Spirit [II-218] of the Ecclesiastics almost in all Times, to have been so tyrannical, vindictive, and rapacious, that most Men are become loth to trust them with over-much Wealth or Power, or indeed with any, independent upon the Civil Government.

As the Writings of these Divines were visionary, absurd, and indeed arrogant, full of Principles destructive of Civil Liberty, and all Liberty, opposite to the Spirit of the *Reformation*, and contrary to all good Sense, and all Modesty; and yet greedily read and approved by Numbers of the inferior Clergy; Men who had better Sense and Discernment, and wished well to the free Constitution of their Country, conceived Indignation at the propagating and encouraging of Notions so wild and mischievous; and have exposed them so effectually, that such Notions, and the Authors of them, are now as much contemned, as they were insolent and chimerical. Such, in truth, was the Scheme of these Nonjurors, and their Followers; so exorbitant and wicked it was, that nothing but blind Popery, settled in the Church, and absolute Tyranny in the State, could have supported it; and I think, it is plain, that both these Supports were intended to be introduced. Indeed, the Scheme itself necessarily implied them; and without them, it was a mere Dream.

It is true, that some of these high Contenders for unbounded Power in the Church and the Crown, wrote against Popery, and set Bounds to the Prerogative in Church Matters. But it is equally true, that they only contended against the Popery of the Pope, and against owning the Jurisdiction of *Rome*: They, at the same time boldly asserted a Power to themselves equal to that of the Pope; asserted all the dreadful, all the selfish and lucrative, and most of the extravagant Positions of Popery; such as the Right of knowing Hearts by Confession; the Power of Damning and Saving; Prayers for the Dead; Extreme Unction; great and princely Power and Revenues, all holden in their own Right, without depending upon the Civil Power, and even in spite of it. If I must be enslaved or oppressed by an imperious, assuming Priesthood, what is the Difference to me, whether my Oppressor live at *Rome*, or *Canterbury*, or *Edinburgh*.

[II-219]

The Manner also in which these High-church Writers treat the Crown, is most insolent, shameless, and dishonest: They exempt themselves, and all that is theirs, which is whatever they have a mind to call so, from all Cognizance or Authority of the Civil Power of the Prince. Their Persons, they say, are sacred, as well as his; nay, more sacred, and their Possessions defended by Privileges divine: So that though they surrender him the Laity, to be used or spoiled, fleeced or flayed, as he pleases; though they bely the holy Name of God to sanctify Oppression, to secure the Oppressor, and to terrify the poor abused Sufferers from lifting up their Hand, or even their Voice and Complaints, for Relief; though they call every Attempt to preserve their Persons and Property, and to resist insulting Spoilers, a resisting of God, and for it threaten Damnation; yet, if he dare but to touch themselves, dare to meddle with their Revenues, to enter the Sanctuary, or to claim any Share of their Wealth or Jurisdiction, Heaven and Earth are summoned to assist them, and to resist him; Woes are denounced against the faint Heart, and feeble Hand; and the Crosier is reared against the Sceptre.

Is not such impudent Conduct enough to open the Eyes of all Men, even of the most stupid, bigotted, and blind? To see Religion turned into a manifest Market of Power and Wealth; the great God made the Voucher of an execrable Bargain between the Oppressors of Men in their Persons, and the Oppressors of Men in their Consciences; to see Men tied up, or let loose, made tame or furious, crouching under unrelenting Tyranny, or armed against legal Power, just as they are directed, scared, or inflamed by Priests! To see these Priests claiming to themselves all sorts of Privileges, and Wealth and Power without Bounds; to see them assuming Principalities and Power, by virtue of Successorship to the poor, wandering, and persecuted Apostles; and yet denying the abused Laity, from whom they have all things, to have a Right to any thing, not even to their Property, and their Senses! Will such Clergymen, after this, complain that such Clergymen are not revered? Men, who by their extravagant [II-220] and selfish Positions, discover a Spirit so unchristian and unsociable; such a one as undermines all the Rights and Pleasure of human Society, and of human Life. They are, indeed, contemned; and upon themselves they have drawn that Contempt. Will they complain of the Growth of Infidelity and Profaneness, when, by their Example and Principles, they had shewn that they had meant to debase Religion as far as it could be debased, by turning it into an Engine for Dominion and Opulence; and perverted the Gospel into a Scheme of Grandeur, Absurdities, and Persecution? What has propagated Infidelity so much as their own selfish Tenets and Conduct, and the vile Use which they made of the Bible; as if it had been nothing else but a Patent to exalt Priests, and inslave the Laity? Of all the Latitudinarian Books in the World, the Writings of High-church Men are the most fraught with mischievous and horrible Positions.

I wish, for the Honour of the whole Body of the Clergy, that the Convocation had at any time branded such infamous and pestilent Doctrines, by some just and public Censure, such as they have been very free to bestow upon Books and Propositions which defend the common Rights of Conscience and Society. By their utter Silence in this Matter, they have administered a Handle to some for suspecting (I hope unjustly) that, to Assemblies of Clergymen, the Happiness of the Laity was of little Concernment, and Liberty of Conscience a Matter of Offence: That they had Views irreconcilable to the *Reformation*, and the Establishment, and were pursuing an Interest opposite to that of the Public. What heightened this Suspicion, was the manifest Partiality of their Conduct: While they were assiduously searching after Books which defended the Civil Rights of Society, and the unalienable Right of all Men to think for themselves, in order to censure them; and in doing it, did notoriously misrepresent them; they thought fit to pass over Books which asserted the blackest of all Iniquities, that of Persecution; Books which reviled the Constitution, struck at the Root of public Liberty, contended for public Servitude (in the Laity only) and boldly revived and maintained the most dangerous [II-221] and impudent Opinions of Popery. And when such impious Writings were laid before them, their Boldness and pestilent Tendency shewn, and Passages quoted out of them, shocking to the Ears of Freemen and Protestants; still that Reverend Body persisted to make no Animadversions.

What Conclusion, advantageous to their Reputation, could be drawn from a Proceeding so evidently unequitable and unjust, when a Set of Men, assuming to be Judges, were apparently Parties, and had so little Regard, or rather so much Aversion, to righteous Judgment, that upon Truths the most obvious, upon Principles the most benevolent, their Wrath and Anathemas fell; while the most daring Arraignment of private Conscience, and the most bare-faced Insults upon public Liberty, Civil and Christian, incurred no Blame? In one, for Example, it was a heinous Crime, and loudly censured, to have said, "That our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this World;" though after our Saviour himself he said it. But it proved to the Convocation no Matter of Offence, for another to have impiously maintained, that

"Heaven itself waited for the Sentence from the Priest's Mouth, and God himself followed the Judgment of the Priest" — — — That "Kings and Queens are to bow down before the Priest, with their Faces towards the Earth, and to lick up the Dust of his Feet;"

with many other mischievous and unhallowed Extravagancies, to the Disgrace of Religion and common Sense. Was this the Way to be revered, to utter, as the Oracles of God, such impudent and poisonous Falshoods, or to defend them, or not to stigmatize them? Was it not rather a Way to forfeit all common Respect, and to incur universal Indignation and Scorn?

A Family is a small State, as a State is a great Family. Now, suppose the Master or Prince of a Family take into his Service a Chaplain, and give him Bread and Wages; Does this same Chaplain take a Method to be revered or believed, if he tell the Man who maintains him,

"I am your spiritual Prince, you are my spiritual Subject; I can absolve or damn you: You must tell me all the Secrets of your Heart, let me [II-222] judge of your Thoughts; submit without Murmuring or Hesitation to my Dictates and Censure, and be obedient to my Discipline. You must call me your Chaplain in no other Sense than you say, *My Lord*, and *My God*. You ought to fall down before me, and lick up the Dust of my Feet. My Government in your Family, as a Priest, is farther above yours, as you are a Layman, than Heaven is above the Earth; and my Revenue ought to be greater than yours, though you are a Prince in your House.

“And to make you Amends for thus sharing with you in your Power and Riches, I do hereby, in the Name of Heaven, doom all your Children and Servants, that is, all your Lay-Domestics, to be your Slaves, without Reserve; and I do assert your Authority over them, be it ever so cruel, unnatural and destructive, to be the Ordinance of God; and you to be his Vicegerent, however wicked and unlike God you prove. But my Person and Property you must not touch; for I am a sacred Person; in all the Money and Power which I take from you, I am independent and unaccountable; for I am the Lord’s Priest, and my Wealth is God’s Wealth. It would be Sacrilege in you to meddle with either; if you do, you will be damned; and if I can persuade your Lady, or your Son, to give me any Lands or Treasure, for the Good of their Souls, whatever Artifices I use to draw such Donations from them, you must protect me in the Possession, against your Grand-children, or any other Claimant whatsoever; for to take it from me, or from any future Chaplain for ever, would be to rob God and the Church.

“Moreover, if any of your Family, your Lady, Children, or Servants, should presume to differ in Opinion from me, and follow their own Conscience, this is Schism, it is a damnable Sin; for out of the Church, that is, without my Permission and Management, there is no Salvation: And such Schisinatics, Heretics, and Gainsayers, you must prosecute, that is, fine, imprison, whip, hang, or burn, as I shall direct you: If you do not, you favour Heretics and Schismatics, and I will excommunicate you, that is, [II-223] deliver you to the Devil; and then you are unworthy of any Authority, and I will excite your Family to turn you out of your House, unless by Submission to me you shew yourself penitent, and worthy to be restored: Upon this Condition I will recal you, and turn off the Person that I put in your Room, whom I will call an Usurper, if he do not humour me in all Things. For, ’tis I who can preserve Obedience, or stir up Strife and Fighting in your Family, and teach them the Necessity of obeying or resisting, by the Terrors of Divine Vengeance, which is always armed when I am angry, and asleep when I am pleased.”

Now, would Pretences and Claims, thus impious and shameless, be borne from any particular Chaplain, by his particular Lord or Patron? And yet are not such Claims asserted by the High Clergy in general? And do they not affect every individual Layman, by affecting the whole Body of the Laity? They treat us to our Faces, like Vassals blind and tame, and doom us without Ceremony, to bear Invasion and Tyranny with meek Hearts, and Hands bound. All that we have, is hardly enough for them. Yet were we to treat them as they treat one another, a very small Competency would appear a sufficient Appointment and Maintenance for the Successors of the Apostles. Do we not frequently see a Reverend Doctor possess three, five, nay eight hundred Pounds a Year, sometimes more than a thousand; and yet out of this great Revenue, which he thinks not too much, and hardly enough, though he do nothing for it, give no more than fifteen, twenty, thirty, or at most forty Pounds a Year to a Curate, for doing the whole Duty of the Parish? If this be enough for the Labour of a Clergyman, why do the Laity give any-where more? If it be not, why does the rich Doctor give so little? The Curate is furnished with all necessary Abilities and Qualifications as well as the Doctor, and has the same spiritual Powers, to baptize, to give Absolution and the Communion, to marry, preach, pray, bury, visit the Sick, and to take Tithes, if he had any to take.

Thus, in the Opinion of former Bishops, (Governors of the Church) who often kept Curates themselves, when they still retained a good fat Living *in Commendam*: [II-224] and thus in the common Practice of the inferior Clergy, Wages sometimes not much higher than those of a Carter, scarce ever so high as those of an Exciseman, are sufficient for doing all the Functions of a Clergyman. Would this not seem a Rule to the Laity, a Rule taken from the best Authority in the World, that of the Practice of the Clergy, how to rate the Work and Worth of a Clergyman? Why should they expect that Laymen should value the Labour and Use of a Clergyman higher, than the Clergy themselves do in Fact value it? They will not say,

that three, or five, or eight, or ten hundreds a Year, is little enough for the Sagacity of chusing, and the Trouble of hiring, a Curate for twenty, or thirty, or forty, though sometimes things equally foolish and absurd are said; for there are many Laymen who can drive a hard Bargain, and pinch their Workmen, and we too often find the Reverend Deputy of a great Doctor full as bad and insufficient as if the Church-wardens had picked him up and hired him. I would therefore be glad to know why any Man, why especially a Minister of the Gospel, who should labour in Season, and out of Season, should have any Revenue, especially a great Revenue, for nothing?

But I ramble from my first Design, though, perhaps, had I pursued it, I should not have tired you less. But I am like other Authors, who, whilst they please themselves, think that they are furnishing Delight to their Reader. To your Information I pretend not to add any Thing, not even in telling you that I am, with great Affection and Sincerity,

SIR,

Your Faithful Servant,

G.

[II-225] [II-226]

*M. S. JOHANNIS TRENCHARD, Armigeri.*

QUI, quamvis antiqua stirpe ortus, multisque opibus florens,

Neque domo, neque pecunia, præcipuam sibi laudem Assecutus est.

Quam alii claritudine generis,

(Majoribus innixi)

Quam alii divitiis

Gloriam ostentant fortuitam & inanem, Ille virtute ingenioque

Sinceram, propriamque, & mansuram sibi comparavit:

Solertia & morum sanctitate, imaginibus domus, Præluxit.

Vim animi, integritatem vitæ, in patriam fuosque caritatem

Pauci equârunt; antecessere nulli.

Pueritia vix egressus, Foro vacavit,

Legum peritus, causisque orandis validus: Sed jurgiis Forensibus atque lucro statim  
valedicens, Secessum dilexit, vitamque privatam.

Reip. tamen curam, nunquam sibi neglectam, Neque deposuit, nec frustra exercuit;

Dominationis cujusvis generis hostis perpetuus, Et vere timendus;

Libertatis, priscique moris,

Custos rigidus, Vindex acer.

[II-227]

*A Monument Sacred to the Memory of JOHN TRENCHARD, Esq;*

A Gentleman descended from an ancient Family,

And conspicuous for abundant Wealth:

Yet neither from his Race nor his Fortune,

Did he derive his principal Renown.

Some boast a Glory derived from the Lustre of their Lineage;

And rely upon the Merits of their Ancestors:

Others vaunt the Glory of their Wealth.

Vain and accidental is all such Glory.

His was of his own acquiring, without Allay,

Personal and permanent,

The pure Result of his Virtue and Parts.

In his native Accomplishments, and in the Sanctimony of his Morals,

He gained Splendor surpassing that of his House.

In Vigour of Spirit, in Integrity of Life,

In Tenderness to his Country, to his Kindred and Friends,

Few ever equalled him,

None ever surpassed him.

Whilst yet a Youth he attended the Bar,

Learned in the Laws, and a powerful Pleader.

But soon abandoning the Strife of Suits,

And the Pursuit of Gain,

He preferred Retirement and a private Life.

His Concern however for the Public

(A Concern ever inseparable from his Thoughts)

He neither renounced, nor exercised in vain;

Of Encroachments and Domination of every kind

A constant and a formidable Foe;

Of public Liberty, and primitive Institutions,

A rigid Assertor, a powerful Champion.

[II-228]

Simul naturæ humanæ, pravitatis hominum,

Ambitusque & calliditatis Potentium,

Gnarus, ac probe suspicax,  
Prætextus eorum a consultis, a Domino Magistratum,  
Discriminare valuit;  
Vimque & superbiam, quandocunque lacerant,  
Summa facundia increpare ausus est.  
Missionem exercitus  
Post finem belli Gallici, GULIELMO Principe,  
Oratione scripta, adhuc Juvenis  
Efflagitavit atque obtinuit,  
Invitis Aulicis & frementibus.  
Par ipse summis negotiis,  
Et honores meritis, sed aspernatus,  
Artibus privati præcelluit.  
Mystarum Rabiem,  
Tristes Fanaticorum ineptias,  
Libertati civum atque bonis inhiantium,  
Semper aversatus;  
Petulantium istorum & aviditatem  
Ac iter redarguit & coercuit:  
Nec Deum Opt. Max.  
Truculentiaë effræni, vel vociferatui inani annuere,  
Aut lapsu & erroribus mentis offendi Ratus est.  
Annos V. post L. vixit, sibi satis;

[II-229]

From Observation he knew, from a just Principle he suspected,  
The Frailty of human Nature, and the Pravity of Men,  
With the Ambition and Artifices of Men in Power:  
Between their avowed Pretences, and real Pursuit,  
He could well distinguish,  
As between the worthy Magistrate and the lawless Ruler;  
Ever resolute to encounter every public Violence,  
And all the Insolence of Power,

With consummate Eloquence.  
The Disbanding the Army after the *French* War,  
In the Reign of King WILLIAM,  
By an Argument written and published,  
Even in his Youth he undertook to procure,  
Urged it with great Force,  
And even succeeded.

In Opposition to the Efforts and Rage of the Courtiers:  
To the highest Affairs his Abilities were equal:  
But deserving public Honours,  
And despising them,  
He shone in the Accomplishments of private Life.  
To the wild Fury of all Visionaries and Mystists,  
To the direful Fooleries of all Bigots,  
His Enmity was bent and perpetual,  
As Men ever ravening against the Liberty, against the Possessions,  
Of their Fellow-Citizens.  
Eloquently he exposed, zealously he restrained,  
The petulant Spirit and Avarice of such Men.  
That the God of Nature, supremely Great, supremely Good,  
Could ever approve wanton Cruelty, or devout  
Clamour, and empty Sounds,  
Or could ever be offended with the Mistakes and Roamings of the human Soul,  
Was what his rational Heart could never conceive.

[II-230]

At non Patriæ, non amicis, nec uxori.  
Cæterum, ut sine labe vitam transegerat,  
Mortem absque formidine obiit,  
Liberis viris & bonis nunquam non desiderandus;  
Decemb. XVI. An. Ch. MDCCXXIII.



Manent Monumenta ingenii, semperque manebunt,

Scriptis multi generis sacrata.

[II-231]

But not so to his Country, nor to his Friends, nor to his Lady.

As he had passed his Life without Blemish,

He encountered Death without Fear.

A Man by all virtuous Men and Freemen Worthy to be for ever lamented.

He died on the sixteenth of *December* 1723.

Of his Genius and Abilities there are Monuments remaining,

Such as will for ever remain,

Consecrated to Time and Posterity in Writings of various Kinds.

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[II-232]

*The Craftsmen: A Sermon, or Paraphrase upon several Verses of the xix th Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Composed in the Style of the late Daniel Burgess.*↵

Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixæ.

*Tacit.*

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

Anno 1723.

**ADVERTISEMENT.**

*WHAT gave Occasion to the following Sermon, was the Threats of a most Reverend Prelate, and some of his Brethren, to suppress the Independent Whig, which then came out weekly, by an Inquisition very extraordinary, and unknown to our Constitution. To defeat therefore such a Prelatical and Unchristian Design, and, if possible, to shame the Authors of it, with other fierce and interested Bigots, out of all Methods of Violence in Matters of Religion and Opinion, this Sermon was composed and published, with no ill Success.*

[II-233]

*The Craftsmen: A Sermon, or Paraphrase, upon several Verses in the 19 th Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.*

I Shall not this Day, my Beloved, as the usual Manner is, accost you with the Scraps of a Verse, or only with a whole Verse out of any Part of the Gospel; which Method is often made use of in such Places as this, purely to avoid telling what goes before, or comes after; but shall chuse for my Text the greatest Part of the sixth Chapter of the *Acts*: And in discoursing upon this Portion of Scripture, so fruitful in good Instructions and Examples, I shall confine myself to the following Method.

I.*First*, I shall make some general Observations upon the Behaviour of the Apostle *Paul* in his Ministry.

II.*Secondly*, I shall discourse more particularly upon several Verses in this Chapter: And,

III.*Thirdly*, and *Lastly*, I shall draw, from the whole, some useful and seasonable Inferences, and then conclude.

I.I shall make some general Observations upon the Apostle *Paul*. And first of all, my Brethren, it is noteworthy, that *Paul* made the greatest Change that ever Man did, even from a Persecutor to an Apostle; two Characters as opposite as is that of *Lucifer* to an Angel of Light. As soon as Light from the Lord fell upon him, he no longer breathes *Threatnings and Slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord*, as he had in Fore-time, nor puts in Execution the Orders he had about him from the High-Priest, or Archbishop of the *Jews*, to bring the first Christians and Dissenters of those Days bound to *Jerusalem*. On the contrary, though he was just before an hard-hearted Persecutor for the Church by Law established, on a sudden he becomes a Lover of the Saints; and now, *Behold he prayeth!* Acts ix. 11.

1 *st*, Let us learn a Lesson from hence, dearly beloved, as we go along; namely, that as soon as the Fear of the Lord entereth into a Man's Heart, the Sword of Persecution droppeth out of his Hand. Peace, which is the [II-234] Badge of the Gospel, and Cruelty, which is the Coat of Arms of *Satan*, cannot dwell together. *Behold, he prayeth!*

2 *dly*, It is observable, that when a Zealot leaves his Party, and turns Christian, how very apt the High Party are, ungratefully to forget all his former wicked Merit, which made him dear to them, and to persecute him for apostatizing into Mercy and Grace. While *Paul* continued the fiery Flail of the Godly, the Priests held him in high Favour, and trusted him with their *Ecclesiastical Commission*: And for what? *Why, to bring bound to Jerusalem all those of this Way*: Of what Way? *Why*, all that forsook the *established Synagogue*, and followed Christ.

3 *dly*, Observe, my Brethren, that Conscience and Non-conformity had the Powers of the World against them seventeen hundred Years ago. *Paul*, the Blasphemer, had a Post; but *Paul* the Convert, *Paul* the Saint, is allowed no *Toleration*; yea, *they watched the Gates Day and Night to kill him*; for, *Behold, he prayeth!*

4 *thly*, It is observable from the whole History of *Paul*, that the Grace of God makes a Man both meek under Sufferings, and bold for Christ. Here our Convert neither returns the Injury, nor slacks his Pace in planting the Gospel; both hard Tasks! He risked his Life, and laboured in the Vineyard, without Pay; a rare Thing in this our Day! when the first Motive for overseeing of Souls, is so much a Year. The Apostle drove no Bargain about Preaching, nor made a Market of Salvation.

Oh! my Beloved, how many dignified Drones have we in our Time, who set up for a Likeness to the Apostles without any Likeness; who take great Sums for Mock Apostleship, when nothing thrives by their Ministry but their Bellies! This, my Friends, is lamentable, but it is lamentably true.

II. I haste now to my second general Head, and will discourse particularly upon several Verses in this Chapter.

I begin with Verse the 8th, *And he went into the Synagogue, and spake boldly for the Space of three Months, disputing [II-235] and persuading the Things concerning the Kingdom of God.*

1 *st*, *And he went into the Synagogue*. Observe we here, 1 *st*, my beloved Brethren, that as great Bigots as the *Jews* were, and as great a Dissenter as *Paul* was, yet they suffered him to preach in their Synagogues or Churches. He had a clear Stage, though perhaps not equal Favour. Now think ye, my Friends, if the same Apostle should come amongst us here in *London*, at this time, that he would be permitted to preach in his own Church, unless he first qualified himself according to the Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* by Law established? Or would he, trow ye, get any Preferment, that the black Dons could hinder him from, in case he persisted to preach what his Master preached before him, namely, that *Christ's Kingdom was not of this World*.

2 *dly*, My Beloved, we may see here the great Point of *Paul's* Preaching; *He disputed and persuaded the Things concerning the Kingdom of God*. Not a Word of his own spiritual Dominion; not a Word of Episcopal Sovereigns, who were to descend, as it were, from his Loins, and who, without his Inspiration or Miracles, were to succeed him in what he never had, worldly Wealth, worldly Grandeur, and worldly Power; Things which always mar the Kingdom of God, instead of promoting it, there being no Fellowship between Christ and *Belial*.

Let us now proceed to the 9th Verse, and see what that says; *But when divers were hardened* (observe he says, *when divers were hardened* ) *and believed not, but spake Evil of that Way before the Multitude, he departed from them, and separated the Disciples, disputing daily in the School of one Tyrannus.*

The Priests, no doubt, who traded in Ceremonies, and knew nothing of Jesus Christ, or of inward Holiness, were nettled at a new Religion, which taught Men a plain Path to Heaven, without the Incumbrances of Sacrifices, or Priests, or Fopperies; a Religion that had a professed Enmity to all secular Gain, and all holy Trifling.

Marvel not at it, my Brethren; a Religion without a Hierarchy, and Godliness without Gain, will never [II-236] please any Set of High Priests: Nothing will go down with them but Pride and Grimace, and the ready Penny. Poor *Paul* had nothing about him of all this, nor did he teach a Religion that had. All that he brought was a Christ crucified, and Salvation in and through him. *They therefore spake Evil of that Way before the Multitude;* that is, the Priests told the People, that *Paul* was an Heretic, and his Doctrine was Schism; but for themselves, they had Antiquity and the Fathers on their Side, with an Orthodox Church full of decent Types and Ceremonies.

There needed no more to prevent the Apostle from doing any Good among them: *So he departed from them.* This was all the Punishment he inflicted on them, and this was enough. He who had the Holy Ghost could have inflicted Death or Misery on them; but it was opposite to the Genius of his Religion, which allows spiritual Pastors to feed their Flocks, but not to force them, nor to punish them, if they refuse to feed. If a Man has not a Mind to be saved, he has the worst of it himself; and what is it to the Priests? as Master *Selden* well remarketh.

This, my Brethren, was the primitive Excommunication. If you could work no Good upon a Man, or if that Man worked Mischief to you, or gave you Scandal, why you would not keep Company with him. But to give him to the Devil, because he was already going to the Devil of himself, is to be a Minister of Christ the backward way. Besides, there was no need of it. The Apostle, in my Text, neither curses these unbelieving High-Churchmen, *who hardened themselves* against him, nor censures them, nor fines them; all which he who had the Power of Miracles could have done, had he liked it. He barely *departed from them.* And if he did not damn them for the Sake of their Souls, so neither did he surrender them to *Beelzebub* for the Sake of their Money. He demanded not a grey Groat of them; so far was he from telling them, *Gentlemen, I am your Spiritual Prince, pray pay me my Revenues.* *Paul* was a Witness of the Resurrection, a disinterested Witness, and claimed no Dues; though others since do in his Name, without being real [II-237] Witnesses of the Resurrection, or disinterested Witnesses of any thing else about it.

*Disputing daily in the School of one Tyrannus.* Mark here, my Beloved, that both Schools and Synagogues, or Churches, were open to him, though he was but a New-Comer, and a Non-conformist. Mark, moreover, that he barely *disputed*, or *reasoned.* He was a Stranger to the Doctrine of *Compulsion.* He was an Apostle, by virtue of whose Words and Power, all Clerical Acts are pretended to be done ever since: And yet he himself did none, satisfying himself with saving Souls by Exhortation, and the Assistance of the Spirit, which are not Clerical Acts. He was the chief Pastor upon Earth, and held his Commission immediately from God; but he imposed nothing but his Advice, Reason and good Words, upon those that heard him. He could have forced them (had the Spirit so directed) to have swallowed implicitly all that he had said, and either destroyed or distressed all who refused. But the Lord Christ, my Brethren, in his Dealings with Human Kind, never uses Means that are *inhuman.*

Here you may distinguish the Spirit of Christ from the Spirit of *High-Church*. For trow ye, my Friends, that Christ or his Apostles ever delegated to weak and passionate Men, Powers and Privileges, which, infallible and inspired as they were, they never assumed to themselves? Let us wonder, my Brethren, at the Impudence of some Men in Black!

*And this continued for the Space of two Years.* Observe, it is not said, that he kept a Curate all the while.

Let us go on to some following Verses: *And God wrought special Miracles by the Hands of Paul; so that from his Body were brought unto the Sick Handkerchiefs or Aprons, and the Diseases departed from them, and the evil Spirits went out from them,* ver. 11, 12.

Observe, here are certain Signs of a Power from God; and they who pretend a Power from him, without manifesting the same by certain Signs, are certainly Cheats and Impostors. For a Power given by the Allwise God, must be given for some certain End, which will infallibly be brought about. It is not consistent with his Wisdom and Goodness to give it, and [II-238] yet leave uncertain, that he has given it, when a plain Manifestation of it is of the utmost Importance to the World, and to the Purposes for which it is given. If a Man bring not infallible Proofs of his Power, how shall I know that he has it? Demonstration must go before Conviction, and Conviction before Consent. We cannot embrace for Truth, what we take to be a Lye. All which will farther appear from the following Verses.

*Then certain of the vagabond Jews, Exorcists, took upon them to call, over them which had evil Spirits, the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth.* ver. 13.

We may perceive here, that the Apostles had Apes in their own Time; Fellows who set up for their Successors, before they themselves were dead. They were *Exorcists* or *Conjurers*, so called, I presume, from their pretending to dispossess haunted Houses, by the Dint of Spells and Forms of Words. They had now got a new *Form of Words*, and were going to work with them as fast as they could, boasting, no doubt, great Things of their own Power. And indeed they took a politic Method to resemble the Apostle, had they succeeded in it; but they miscarried miserably, as will be shewn anon.

But what shall we say of some Moderns, (more shameless than these vagabond *Jews* ) who will, right or wrong, be Successors to the Apostles, without doing any thing that is Apostolic, but what every reasonable Man may do as well? They shew no Signs but those of Gracelessness and Pride; and do no Wonders but in the Luxury of their Lives.

*And there were seven Sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and Chief of the Priests, which did so.* v. 14. More Mimickers of Miracles! We see the Trade was growing sweet, but the Sauce proved sour; for the *evil Spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?* An angry and contemptuous Question, but full of good Sense; but the worst follows: *And the Man in whom the evil Spirit was, leapt upon them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that House naked and wounded.*

[II-239]

1. Observe here, first, that we may easily learn what Power Men have from God, by their Power over the Devil. When *Paul* gave the Word of Command, the Devil did not stand shilly-shally, nor pretend to parly with one who was employed as the Lord's General against the *Power of Darkness*, but was forced to march Bag and Baggage; and glad, no doubt, that he could troop off in a whole Skin.

But it is quite otherwise, when Interlopers and *Craftsmen*, in hopes to make a Penny of *Satan*, pretend to drive him out of his Quarters, though they come in the Name of the Lord. The Devil, in this Case, sets up a Flag of Defiance, and tells them they are Scoundrels to their Faces; *Who are ye?* Well spoken, *Satan!* They were *Vagabonds, Jews, and Priests*, and the Devil chastised them accordingly: *They sled out of that House naked and wounded.* The Devil got the Day, and remained Master of the Field and the Baggage: *He prevailed against them.* They forged a Commission, and the Lord Jesus, whose Name they abused, would not stand by them.

2. Let us here, 2 *dly*, my Friends, think it no Shame to learn a Lesson from the Devil, and take no Man's Word, who pretends to command us in Matters of Faith, and spiritual Obedience, though he come in the Name of the Lord. Let us examine him first, and try our own Strength upon them. *Who are ye?* A pat Question, and a proper! Let us, beloved, never lose sight of it, especially when any Man would controul our Belief. Be not determined by outside Shape and Colour. A long Gown may cover an *Exorcist*, but let us peep into his Inside, search his Life and Principles; let us try whether he is an Apostle in his Heart, and his Actions; and if he be not, let us despise him; yea, let us *prevail against him.*

3. Observe, 3 *dly*, what great and solemn Rogueries are carried on in the Name of Christ and his Apostles; even Conjurers and Formalists reap their Harvest, as it were, with the Sickle of the Gospel. And if such bold Cheats could be practised, as it were, under this great Apostle's Nose, what may not be done now he is so far off? How many *Exorcists*, how many Sons of *Sceva*, trow ye, have we, at this Time, among us, and in this inlightened [II-240] Protestant Country? Great Numbers, God wot! yea, great Societies. Every Man, who, in the Name of Christ, or *Paul*, claims to himself Gain or Dominion, is a Son of *Sceva*, and can be no guard against the Devil, who despises him. Judge ye now what Swarms we have!

4. Observe from hence, 4 *thly* and lastly, the true Reason of the great Wickedness which is in the World; namely, because we maintain an Army against the Devil, of whom he standeth not in Awe. In the first Ages he was driven out of the Corner, and now he possesses every Corner; for why? they had Apostles, and we have *the Sons of Sceva.*

*And many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their Deeds*, v. 18. that is, many who had been deluded and misled by these reverend Deceivers, were now undeceived.

*And many also of them which used curious Arts, brought their Books together, and burnt them before all Men; and they counted the Price of them, and found it fifty thousand Pieces of Silver*, v. 19.

How fertile must the World then have been in mysterious and conjuring Books! What Systems of Nonsense and Knavery must have been here! What Glosses, Commentaries, and Riddles! For we may be sure, my Beloved, these were not Books of useful Knowledge and Learning, or Books that taught Virtue and Morality, since such, without doubt, the Apostle would have preserved: But they were juggling and conjuring Books, such as contained Heathen Traditions, with false Miracles, and false Doctrines, and were probably full of metaphysical Distinctions, and the controversial Divinity of those Days; such as Bundles of foolish Sermons, Pagan Systems, Articles of their Faith, Formularies, lying Mysteries, cabalistical Nonsense, and the High-Church Pamphlets of that Age; all opposite to the divine Truths uttered by *Paul.*

*So mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed*, ver. 20. Take Notice here, Men and Brethren, that the ready Way to make the Word of God grow and prevail, was to burn all the Priests Books. Oh, my Beloved, [II-241] that our Eyes were so opened! what Fuel should we have for Bonfires!

Nothing occurs remarkable between this and the 23d Verse, which tells us, that *the same time there arose no small Stir about that Way*. And then follows the Reason, v. 24, 25, 26, 27. *For a certain Man named Demetrius, a Silversmith, which made Silver Shrines for Diana, brought no small Gain unto the Craftsmen, whom he called together, with the Workmen of the like Occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this Craft we have our Wealth: Moreover, you see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much People, saying, That they be no Gods which are made with Hands; so that not only this our Craft is in Danger to be set at nought; but also, that the Temple of the great Goddess Diana should be despised, and her Magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the World worshippeth.*

A notable Speech, and a fair Confession! He kept a Shop for the Deity, and got a World of Money by this godly Trade; and rather than lose it, he will oppose Christianity, and maintain his Craft against *Jesus Christ*.

This mechanical Priest, and his Brethren, Retainers to *Diana*, had lost many kind Customers by *Paul's* Preaching; their holy Gear began to lie upon their Hands; Folks Eyes were opened, and the Cheat was disclosed: Upon which the Reverend Dr. *Demetrius*, and the whole Convocation of Priests and Craftsmen, resolve to accuse the Apostle as *an Enemy to the Church*, and an Underminer of its *Rights and Interests*. *Sirs*, says Mr. Prolocutor, *ye know that by this Craft we have our Wealth*. "Now, if this *Paul* goes on to persuade People, as he does, that all our Gain is built on Deceit, and that our Trade is of human Institution, our Function will fall into Contempt, and we into Beggary."

All this was artfully addressed to the Interest and Avarice of his Brother Craftsmen, who sharing the Benefit of the Cheat, and living plentifully upon Ecclesiastical Revenues of the established Church of *Diana*, had Motives sufficient to engage them in the Defence of the said Church and Cheat.

## [II-242]

Now he has a Knack for catching the Bigots, by telling them what Danger there was of the Church; and left *the Temple of the great Goddess Diana should be despised, and her Magnificence be destroyed, whom all Asia and the World worshipped*. What pity it was, that so pure and primitive a Church, and the most orthodox and best constituted Church in all *Asia*, should be in such piteous Danger!

1. Observe here, first, dearly Beloved, what false Knaves, and godless Infidels, these priestly Crew were. If they believed that their Mistress, the Goddess, who had indeed the best accustomed Church in all *Asia*, was as great as they pretended her to be, why did they mistrust her Power to protect her own Grandeur, and defend herself? Especially against a single Man, whom they represented as an Enemy to the Gods and their Church, and who was consequently the more easily to be defeated or destroyed? But if they knew her unable to defend her Divinity, and support her Church, with them, her Priests, and Tradesmen; then were they in reality Cheats and Unbelievers, though outwardly grave and zealous Votaries.

2. Take Notice, in the 2d Place, of the wide Difference that there is between these High Priests Church, and the Bible Church! The Priests Church being a Trading Church, and Money being her End, and Grimace her Ware, which were the Source of their Authority and Reverence; whatever enlightened the People, marred the Market of the Priests. *By this Craft we have our Wealth*:

"While we can by Bawling and Lying put off our Trumpery for Religion, it will always sell well; otherwise it will not be worth a Groat; let us contend for our Trumpery, and cry, *The Church!*"

Accordingly we find the Auditory in the next Verse actually practising the Advice given them by this High-Church Preacher, and roaring for *Diana of Ephesus*; or, which is the same thing, *For the Church. By this Craft we have our Wealth.*

This, my Friends, was the Spirit of the Priests Church, so opposite to that of the *Bible-Church*; which being founded upon a Rock, fears neither Rain, nor Storms, nor Dissenters, nor False Brethren; yea, she is founded [II-243] upon a Rock, *which Rock is Christ*; and whoever trusts in him, and believes the Scripture, cannot think his Church in Danger. Indeed if his Church is founded upon Hoods, and Caps, and Cringes, and Forms, and filthy Lucre, he may well dread the Judgment of God, and the Reason of Man; for they are both against him and his *Dowdy*, and his Church will totter as soon as ever common Sense takes it by the Collar. By fearing for the Superstructure, he owns the Foundation to be sandy. *By this Craft we have our Wealth.*

These *Craftsmen* keep a Rout about the Danger of their Church. Why, my Brethren, it ought to be in Danger, like a sorry Bundle of Inventions and Gimcracks, as it was. But for the pure, the primitive Church of Christ, *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Yea, the *Craftsmen* shall not prevail against it, who are the sorest Enemies which it ever had — — — *It is founded upon a Rock. Paul* does not once complain, in all the New Testament, that *his* Church was in Danger, nor does any other of the Apostles or Evangelists. *Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but the Word of the Lord abideth for ever.* What say our *Craftsmen* to this? Either they know it not, or believe it not. *Paul*, whenever he mentions Dangers or *Perils*, in his *Epistles*, means *Perils* to his own Person: Nor did he, by his own Person, ever in all his Life, mean the Church. But *Paul* had the Spirit of God; he was no *Craftsman*.

We, my Beloved, who are Christians, trust to the Veracity of God, that he will for ever defend the holy Revelation that he has given us. Let us, on our Part, treat it as becomes its Dignity and omnipotent Author. Let us not turn our Religion into a Play, nor dishonour it with Baubles, as the Manner of the Popish *Craftsmen* is, who convert their Churches into Puppet-shews and Music-meetings; and then, when they are laughed at, cry they are in Danger. Pretty Fellows! to raise our Mirth whether we will or no, and then make us choak ourselves to keep it in. *Their Craft is in Danger to be set at nought.* They know its Value, and quake lest other People should know it too. Oh the Impudence of *Craftsmen!* how boldly they mock God, and in his Name pick Pockets!

#### [II-244]

3. Let us observe, 3 *dly*, my Brethren, that the Christian Religion, which prevailed against all the Powers of the World, cannot be in Danger from all the Powers of the World: And every Church may be in Danger but a Christian Church. Let us praise the Lord, my Christian Friends, that our Church is safe.

Proceed we now to the 28th Verse: *And when they heard these Sayings they were full of Wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.*

1. We may remark here, 1 *st*, my Friends, the violent Effects of a hot Sermon, however absurd and villainous. Here is Dr. *Demetrius*, whose Craft was all his Religion, lugs Heaven into a Dispute about his Trade, and tacks the Salvation of his Hearers to the Gain which he made of his Shrines; yet this awakened no Indignation in the seduced and ill-judging Auditory; but strait they *were full of Wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians: The Church! the Church!*

2. 2 *dly*, We may remark, that Ignorance is the Mother of Zeal. *They were full of Wrath.* For what? Why for *Diana of Ephesus*. A God created by a Stone-cutter; an insensible Piece of Rock, guarded by a Band of Priests, who, hard as it was, picked a fine Livelihood out of it.



But *Paul* had opened some Mens Eyes, and the Loaves began to come in but slowly. This enraged the *Craftsmen*, and they enraged the People. The Priests lost Customers, and the People lost their Senses. Such is the Power of Delusion over dark and slavish Minds! Let but the Priest point at a Windmill, and cry the Church is falling, his Congregation will venture their Brains to stop the Sails. What a rare Army does Zeal raise, when Religion and Reason do not spoil the Muster, or stop their March?

The next is the 29th Verse; *And the whole City was filled with Confusion; and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Men of Macedonia, Paul's Companions in Travel, they rushed with one Accord into the Theatre.*

*And the whole City was filled with Confusion.* Who doubts it, when *Church* was the Cry, and the Priests had begun it? Give them but their Way, and allow them but to assert their own Claims, they will quickly turn all things, human and divine, topsy-turvy. Here is a whole [II-245] City thrown into Confusion, purely because a Branch of the priestly Trade, infamous, forged and irreligious, was like to fall before the Word of God preached by *Paul*.

1 *st*, This shews, Sirs, that there is nothing so lying, and so vile, that they will not justify. They knew that their Church was a Creature of their own composing; that the Worship performed in it was burlesque Worship, contrived by themselves, and paid to a senseless Image; and they knew that the whole was an impudent Delusion, framed by human Invention. And yet, you see, my Beloved, how they raise Heaven and Earth in Defence of their Forgeries and Superstitions. Not a Tittle will they part with, not a Shrine, not a Ceremony. No, rather than this, they publish Lies, they deceive the People, they decry sober Piety, they raise a Sedition, and confound all things. *By this Craft we have our Wealth.*

2. Behold here, 2 *dly*, the different Behaviour of Truth and Falshood; or, in other Words, of *Paul* and the *Craftsmen*! When Men contend for Truth, they do it calmly, because they are sure it will support itself. But Error, conscious of its weak Foundation, flies instantly, for Support, to Rage and Oppression. *Paul* reasons peaceably and powerfully; *Demetrius* deceives, scolds, and raises a Mob. But I defy the *Craftsmen* to shew me one Mob of *Paul*'s raising in all the New Testament.

The Apostle wanted no Mob; he neither blended Politics nor Gain with his Doctrine; he had no factious Designs; he meddled not with human Affairs; he taught Peace, and he practised it; he had no Grimace to support; no mock Reverence to acquire or defend; he abhorred pious Fraud, and exposed it; he shewed the People the manifest Truths of the Gospel, and of Reason, and that presently opened their Eyes to see the impious Delusions, and bold Impositions of the reigning Priests; and hence began the Rage of Dr. *Demetrius* and his Mob.

3. From this you may learn, 3 *dly*, my Friends, that one Man, with Truth on his Side, is enough to frighten a whole Army, yea, a whole Hierarchy of *Craftsmen*, and to defeat them, if he has but a fair Hearing. You [II-246] see also the graceless Methods that red-hot High Priests take to confute such a Man: First, they dress him up as an Atheist, and an Enemy to the Church, and then set the Mob upon him; for the Law was not against *Paul*, as we shall see presently, and yet they meant to destroy *Paul* against Law. An implacable Tribe! No Power can satisfy them, that has either Mercy in it, or Bounds to it: Craft is their Calling, and Lyes and Violence the Tools of their Trade.

Oh, my Christian Friends! what Wolves are Men, yea, what Wolves are Priests, when they have hardened themselves against the Grace of God? Without Meekness and Peace there can be no such thing as the Fear of the Lord, Witness Dr. *Demetrius*, and those that are like him, Let us pray for their Amendment, that it would please the Lord to take away their reprobate Mind.

*And having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Men of Macedonia, Paul's Companions in Travel, they rushed with one Accord into the Theatre.*

*Gaius and Aristarchus, Dissenters to be sure, and Non-conformist Preachers! Men of Macedonia; Foreigners too, ever the Aversion of High-Church! Paul's Companions in Travel. How! bare Companions? Methinks that is something familiar, unless, perhaps, they were Lords Archbishops of some Country where they did not reside. But Paul, you see, had no spiritual Pride, nor received his Fellow-Christians upon the Knee, as some who pretend to be his Successors at Rome, and elsewhere, do in our Days.*

*They rushed with one Accord into the Theatre. Ay, they had got their Prey, a Brace of Non-cons, and carried them into the Play-house to bait them. What hooping and hallooing, I warrant ye, about the two godly Christians? How many Fanatics, think ye, they were called, and Disturbers of the Peace of Diana's High-Church? Doubtless they were charged with writing Books and Papers against Diana's Clergy, and the established Gewgaws; and perhaps Paul was suspected for having a Hand in them, and some of his Epistles were produced to make good the Charge. Well! here they are, the Priests their Accusers, the Mob their Judges, and Truth [II-247] their Crime! Men and Wickedness are still the same; we have seen the like in our Times.*

*And when Paul would have entered in unto the People, the Disciples suffered him not, ver. 30. Here is, on one hand, the Boldness of a Man, who has God for his Guide, and on the other, the Prudence of Men, who knew the Mercy of Priests and Mobs. And therefore certain of the Chief of Asia, which were his Friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the Theatre.*

The 32d Verse is pregnant with Instruction: *Some therefore cried one thing, and some another; for the Assembly was confused, and the more Part knew not wherefore they were come together.*

*Some cried one thing, and some another.* The true Genius of a Rabble, led by their Priests and their Passions, against Peace and against Religion! They are united in their Zeal to do Mischief, but they differ how they shall go about it. They are for the Church. Diana's Church, it is true; and shew it by Rage and Noise: But they are under no Rules, except the general one taught them by the *Craftsmen*, namely, to be fierce for the Church, against the Apostle; for the rest, every Man is his own Master, and every Man will be heard first.

A rare Picture for our present Mob, headed by one of themselves in a Gown; I mean, our *modern Demetrius*. I think the Man is no great *Craftsman*; but he has got Diana in his Head, and he himself is in the Head of the Rabble: But, as to the Point of Understanding, we may throw him and his Rabble together into one short Prayer, and cry with our blessed Lord, when the *Jewish* Priests were putting him to Death, for bearing Witness against their carnal Inventions, their Hypocrisy, and their Cruelty; *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*

*The Assembly was confused.* There was no Order, no Reason, no Moderation among them. The very Type of our High-Church Mob again! *And the more Part knew not wherefore they were come together;* that is, tho' as I said before, they came determined to do Mischief, yet they were at a Loss what Species of it to go about, till their General, the Priest, gave them the Word. Oh, [II-248] my Beloved, let us lament the horrible State of those poor unregenerate Souls, whose Pastors feed them with Poison instead of the Food of Life, and teach them Rage instead of Religion. Take Warning, Sirs, I say unto you, take Warning; beware of Diana, and her *Craftsmen*; and cleave to your Bibles, as you love your Souls.

*And they drew Alexander out of the Multitude, the Jews (the believing Jews ) putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with his Hand, and would have made his Defence unto the People. But when they knew that he was a Jew (that is, a believing Jew) all with one Voice, about the Space of two Hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians! ver. 33, 34.*

Was there ever such a Couple of Twin-cases as theirs and ours! Verily, our High-Church Bigots and Ragamuffins are the undoubted Descendants of *Diana's Tories at Ephesus* sixteen hundred Years ago. Nor is the Breed one whit mended; they are still the Black-guard of the Craftsmen, blind, outrageous, and loud.

We too, my Brethren, would, like the good *Alexander* in my Text, make our Defence unto the People; and they will not hear us. Pray mark the different Manner of our disputing from theirs, and the contrary Arguments we use; *we appeal to the Bible; they cry the Church!* and answer the Word of the Lord with a Brickbat: Oh horrible!

*Great is Diana of the Ephesians!* High-Church for ever! and 'tis likely they swore to it. This was the Cry *for the Space of two Hours*. Poor Souls! it was all that they could say, and all that their Priests had taught them to say, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians!* Was ever Church more pithily defended! Certainly the *Craftsmen* of our Days have learned their Logic from their *Ephesian* Predecessors. *Great is Diana of the Ephesians!* I have heard a Sermon, a full Hour long, upon the same Subject, and yet not more said, nor better.

You have already, my Beloved, heard two Speeches, one from the *Craftsmen*, and the other from the Mob. Dr. *Demetrius* being in the Chair, tells his Brethren of the Trade, that by *his Craft* (observe, by this Craft!) *they had their Wealth*. This is the first Part of his Sermon; [II-249] and in troth, he puts the best Leg foremost, and uses his strongest Argument first: He fairly puts the Stress of his Faith upon the *ready Rhino*, and in the very Dawn of his Discourse, shews himself to be orthodox. I dare say, the whole Convocation was convinced. He has, however, a rare Gudgeon behind for the Mob; and what should that be, trow ye, but a Charge of Heresy against *Paul*? The Apostle had the Assurance to publish, forsooth, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*: Terrible Atheism against the established Divinity! and you see what a bitter Spirit it raised.

This, my Friends, was the Priest's Speech or Sermon: Now, hear the Mob's Speech once more; for it is a Rarity, as we say in *Berkshire*, Why they cried out till their Throats were jaded, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*; and lugged a Couple of painful Dissenting Ministers into the *Bear-Garden*, where I am sorry we must leave them to the Mercy of High-Church Men.

Now, my Christian Friends, you shall hear a third Speech, which by his Honesty, Moderation, and good Sense, will refresh you after all the Knavery and Impudence in the *Craftsmen*, and all this Sottishness and Fury in the People.

*And when the Town-Clerk had appeased the People, he said, Ye Men of Ephesus, what Man is there, that knoweth not how that the City of the Ephesians is a Worshipper of the great Goddess Diana, and of the Image which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing then that these Things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and do nothing rashly: For ye have brought hither these Men, which are neither Robbers of Churches, nor yet Blasphemers of your Goddess. Wherefore, if Demetrius, and the Craftsmen which are with him, have a Matter against any Man, the Law is open, and there are Deputies: Let them implead one another, ver. 35, 36, 37, 38.*

This is the Speech of a Layman, and a Lawyer! Think ye not, my Friends, that he was a Low-Church Man? I wot he was.

*Seeing then that these Things cannot be spoken against.* Right, Mr. Town-Clerk! their dowdy Image was established by Law; and if it had been a Broom-stick, it would have had the Priests on its Side, and must have [II-250] been worshipped: *Where the Carcase is, there will the Ravens be gathered together.*

*Ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly.* So they would, if the Priests had let them alone. But the *Craftsmen* had goaded their Sides with the Cry of the Church, till the poor Reprobates were stark mad.

*What Man is there, that knoweth not, &c.* Why, every body knew, that Madam *Diana's* Palace at *Ephesus* had more Superstition and *Peter* -pence paid to it, and consequently had a greater Swarm of Chaplains, than all the Divinity-Shops of *Asia* besides. She had Men and Money of her Side. What! could not all this secure her? No; her Bully-boys were afraid of *Jesus Christ*, and two or three Dissenting Teachers, his Servants.

*And the Image which fell down from Jupiter.* Fell down from *Jupiter!* what great Lyars some Priests are, my Beloved! They will needs fetch all their Fables, and filthy Ware, out of Heaven itself; and yet who has less Interest there? Their very Ballads and Raree-shews are fathered upon Divine Right. Oh, Sirs, the brazen Front of some Men! The Town-Clerk here conforms himself to their Manner of speaking: But, take my Word for it, the Man knew better.

*The Image which fell down from Jupiter.* As I was just now saying, all the Priests Lumber comes from God; and yet they are scared out of their Wits, lest Men should take it from them; as if God could not defend his own Gifts and Institutions. This preposterous Conduct bewrays them. Either they believe not in God, or know that they belye him: Both Cases, my Brethren, are very common. *Whosoever feareth the Lord, need not fear what Man can do unto him.*

Mr. Town-Clerk proceeds: *For ye have brought hither these Men, which are neither Robbers of Churches, nor yet Blasphemers of your Goddess.*

Well urged,

“If the Men are innocent, why do you abuse them? If they preach false Doctrine, why do ye not confute them? If they come not to your Established Church, why do ye not convince them, that they ought to come? Or, because you cannot answer them, do ye therefore mob them? It is plain, [II-251] that the honest Men have neither stolen any of your Madam's consecrated Trinkets, nor called her Whore.”

*Wherefore, if Demetrius, and the Craftsmen which are with him, have a Matter against any Man, the Law is open, and there are Deputies: Let them implead one another.*

Better still! This is Reasoning now; a Practice which the *Craftsmen* do not care for; the Arm of Flesh is their best Argument, and at that too they are generally laid in the Dirt.

“Gentlemen (says the Town-Clerk) it is evident, that ye distrust your Cause, by not trusting the Merits of it to the Law. All external Advantages are for you; ye are in your own Town; ye have most Friends, and most Money; and let me tell you too, Gentlemen, you have most Assurance; else I should never have found you here bawling for your Church, and breaking the Law, and to your eternal Scandal, besetting with your Numbers a few harmless Men, whose only Arms lie in the Innocence of their Lives, and in the Force of what they say. If you are vanquished at these Weapons, have the Honesty to own it, or for Shame be silent. If these Men, Gentlemen, speak against the Law, why punish ye them not by the Law? But if ye have no Law against them, neither have they any Transgression.”

What Answer, trow ye, did the *Craftsmen*, or the Calves, the Multitude, make to this? Why, verily, such an Answer, I guess, as they are wont to make to us every Day: I suppose they damned him for a Whig, and so got drunk, and went home.

Oh, my Friends, the deplorable Condition of Men that are out of Christ! And such are they who take their Religion from the *Craftsmen*. The Worshipers of *Diana* would have been as outrageous for one of her Beagles, had the *Craftsmen* told them, that the Beagle came down from *Jupiter*. My Brethren, let us cleave to our Bibles; yea, I say unto you, let us cleave to our Bibles.

III.I come now to my third and last general Head, namely, to end my Discourse with a short Word of Application; having, as I went along, anticipated myself, and made several Observations which would else have arisen patly here.

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The great Inference I shall make is, that *Craftsmen*, or *High-Church Men*, are at Odds with Conscience and Truth, and afraid of them. And, indeed, to do them Justice, though in relation to God and Religion, there is no believing what they say; yet, whenever they reason from their own Interests, they reason well: *By this Craft we have our Wealth*. As to their Flourish about *Diana*, and her *High-Church*, it has not, in point of Argument, common Sense in it. All they assert is, that all *Asia* worshipped her; as if, because *Diana* was then uppermost, therefore *Jesus Christ* ought to have been kept undermost: They could not stand *Paul's* Logic; he appealed to Facts, he appealed to Reason, he appealed to Conscience.

They therefore (that is, *Diana's High Priests*, or the *Overseers* of her *Fopperies*, and *Fingerers* of her *Gain* ) form a Design to oppress a Man whom they could not answer. There was no bearing it, that Men should be conducted in their Religion by inward Conviction, and the Grace of God, and not by them, who had no Advantage from either, for the Support of their Impositions.

Beside, if all external Trumpery and Grimace in Religion were certainly ridiculous and vain, as the Christian Religion certainly teaches; if Postures, Cringes, Shrines, Music, and the like bodily Devotion, were so far from signifying any thing, that they were a certain and pernicious Contradiction to the simple Institution of *Jesus*, whose Will was fulfilled by believing in him, and living well; then were the *Craftsmen* like to be but little revered, and to have but little Custom for their Shrines, and their small Wares. A Priest dressed up in an antic Coat, and making Mouths before a dead Image, would make a merry Figure before the People, instead of an awful one, as formerly; and in the midst of all their holy Hubbub and Solemnity, a Christian need but ask them one short Question, *Who required these Things at your Hand?* and they were confounded.

What do they therefore in this Case? Do they defend the Church-gear by Reason, or by Reason confute *Paul*? No: *Paul* asserted, that *that they be no Gods which are made with Hands*; the most self-evident Truth that ever was asserted by any Man. They cannot answer it; nor [II-253] yet will they own themselves in the Wrong; but they will punish the Apostle for being in the Right. Well, in order to do this, do they go to Law with him? Not that neither: *Paul* and his Companions had offended no Law: They were peaceable Men, they were loyal Subjects, and good Livers: They were Contenders for Virtue and Piety; and they had not uttered a Syllable against *Diana's* Idol, but what resulted from the eternal Truths which they delivered.

What Course then do the *Craftsmen* take with them? Why, a very extraordinary one in itself, but very common with them; even the Course of unprecedented Power and Oppression. They were chargeable with no legal Crime: All their Offence was, that they enraged the *Craftsmen*, by opening the Gospel Day-light upon the dark Minds of the misled Multitude. They therefore shew their Rage, and have the innocent Men seized, and deprived of their Liberty, without the Shadow of any legal Process against them. Nay, it does not appear, that they had found a Name for the Crime that they alledged; but the Men were confined at Random, and probably *put to great Charges*.

This shews their Spirit; and that priestly Rage will be gratified over the Belly of Truth, of Innocence, of Humanity, of Law, and of Religion itself. It cannot brook the least good Office done to human Kind; all its Absurdities are sacred; and yet nothing is sacred enough to mollify or restrain it, ever unforgiving, ever gnashing its Teeth. Truth will perpetually be its Foe, and therefore it will perpetually be in a Flame.

And this shews too the Amiability of an opposite Spirit; I mean, the amiable Spirit of the Gospel. Where did ever our blessed Saviour, who held all Power in Heaven and Earth, and could command Legions of Angels; where, or when did he, in the midst of Dangers, Opposition, and Abuses, ever oppress or punish even his unbelieving and implacable Enemies? Where did ever *Paul*, who had the Power and Assistance of the Holy Ghost, and who had the Power and Assistance of Miracles; where and when did he ever shew any Resentment to his bitterest Foes among the *Jews*, or his most idolatrous Gainsayers among the *Gentiles*?

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And what Account is to be given for this diametrical Opposition between these two Spirits; I mean the Spirit of the Gospel, and the Spirit of High Priests? Why, none but this, that *Christ* and his Apostles sought no Empire but over Wickedness and Error, by the sole Means of Grace, Gentleness, and Persuasion; and they who have opposite Ends to serve, must bring them about by Delusion, Violence, and Force, This, I will maintain, is a certain Criterion to mark out Truth and Falshood, and true and false Teachers: And I defy all the Priests upon Earth to shew, that the internal Religion of *Jesus* wants, for its Stay, or its Advancement, the external Influence of worldly Power. It was always purest, and flourished most, when all human Power was against it. Slaves and Hypocrites may be made by it; but Religion rejoices in Liberty and Sincerity.

When Men are angry in Defence of their Opinions, and oppress for their Sake, let them not belye *Christ*, and say, it is for him; but let their Passions be made to answer for what nothing but their Passions can produce. Why must Ambition, Avarice, and Revenge, be fathered upon Religion, which abhors them all? Why must Bitterness and Cruelty be laid at the Door of the Father of Mercies? *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis, &c.*

We cannot bear such Violence offered to our Reason, and our Language, as any longer to hear Things called by wrong and unnatural Names, or to see barbarous and impious Actions varnished over with holy Colours, and Godly Pretences. Its gets the better of our Patience, and is an Affront to our Religion. We cannot find *Christ* in the Actions of *Belial*; nor can we see the *holy Man* in the Oppressor. They that would resemble *Jesus Christ*, must do as he did, and not do what he never did; and they who will in any Case follow the religious Measures taken here by Idolaters of *Diana*, in the Case of *Paul*, must forego their Title to Christianity, and argue as these Idolaters did, *By this Craft we have our Wealth*: And then the Religion of the New Testament will not be profaned in their Quarrel.

But why seize *Paul*, or any body that belonged to him? Is one Man such a Terror to *many*, that he must be punished before it appears that he deserved any [II-255] Punishment at all, and before he is heard? Or, is it dangerous to hear him? And are they afraid of his Defence in a legal Trial, as much as of his Preaching, and of his Reasoning?

It is plain, that downright Oppression, that is, Power without Law, was the whole Scope of their Proceedings, and Revenge their only Motive. It is plain, that *Paul* was not running away: His whole Business was to publish Truth; he was at *Ephesus* on Purpose; he did it every Day; he preached in Public; he taught in their Synagogues, he disputed in their Schools: And he did all this so publicly and so effectually, that the *Arch-Craftsman* charges him with having *persuaded and turned away much People*. Ay, that griped; his Reasoning prevailed, and the Craft was in Danger.

Let us now, my Beloved, mark the very different Situation of *Paul* and his Adversaries; they were in Possession of an established Church, and of all its Revenues, and of the Superstition of the People, who run mad for the Church at the Pleasure of the Priest. The Law, no doubt, was partial to them, being made by Men of their own Religion; and the Judges and Magistrates were all of the same. The People were of Opinion, that their Church was of divine Institution, and that Heaven was on their Side. The Philosophers, and all they who governed their Schools, and had the Education of Youth, were of that Church, being every one Heathens, except perhaps a few, who judged for themselves, and could distinguish Natural Religion, instituted by God, from the absurd Medley of Rituals, invented by the Priests. The Christian Religion was as yet but in its Infancy. In short, the *Craftsmen* governed all Things; Earth was in their Possession, and Heaven they pretended was their Champion.

Here are Securities and Advantages enough to put Truth out of Countenance, had Truth been amongst them. In reality, she wants not so many: But Falshood can never have enough. The *Craftsmen* knew this, and shewed that they did so, by their outrageous Behaviour.

Let us now view *Paul*, and see what terrible Arms he bears, that are so frightful to the *Craftsmen*; he was a Stranger, he was a Dissenter; he had no Equipage to [II-256] dazzle People's Eyes; no pompous Garments to win their Reverence, nor Wealth to bribe their Affections; he sought no Popularity, by indulging Men in their Vices, or encouraging them in their Errors. In short, all the numerous Advantages of his Adversaries, the Priests, were so many Obstacles and Disadvantages to him, the Apostle. To conclude, he had only Truth on his Side; which rendered him an Over-match for all the Priests then in the World. All the Privilege, all the Advantage, which he desired, was a fair Hearing. This, it seems, he had obtained of the Town; and it had its Effect. Here was his Crime, and here began the priestly Fury, the fiercest, the most brutish of all others.

Shameless Men! Was it not enough, that Reason and Religion were both against you; and that you would neither be Proselytes to them yourselves, nor suffer, with your Wills, that others should; but must you likewise be proclaiming *their* invincible Power, and your own Imbecility and Nakedness, by virulently using direct, undisguised Force, to stop their Mouths? What Impudence! What Folly!

What! you that boasted your Conformity to the Law, and your Establishment by the Law! that you were the Possessors of all Scholarship! that were Proprietors of the Arts and Sciences, and of the great Endowments given for their Support! you that instructed the Young and the Old, and controuled the Consciences of both! you that were the sacred Administrators of Religion! you that shut and opened Heaven and Hell! you that were the Privy-Counsellors of the Gods! In the Name of Amazement what could undermine you; what could annoy you? Or, if you are not hurt yourselves, why do you oppress others? By this Method you do but shew your cloven Feet. *Jesus we know, and Paul we know; but who are*

ye?

G.





[II-257]

***A Serious Expostulation with the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, on his Letter to the Clergy and People of London and Westminster.*** ↵

*Those eighteen, upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were Sinners above all Men that dwelt in Jerusalem? Luke xiii. 4.*

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1750.

My LORD,

THE two successive Shocks of an Earthquake, which have lately alarmed the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and your Lordship's Letter on the Occasion to the Clergy, and Inhabitants of those Cities, have led me to search into History for a memorable Instance of greater Calamities, and of the Conduct observed in the Midst of real Desolation by a celebrated spiritual Pastor, who afterwards attained to the Episcopal Dignity. In that melancholy Æra, while the Nation, single, and unallied, was struggling with three great Powers confederated against her, when a Pestilence had exhausted the City of *London* in 1665, and a Fire in the subsequent Year had laid thirteen thousand of its Buildings in Ashes; that very City, whose Zeal in promoting, but a few Years before, a Cause the most obnoxious to the Church, had merited the whole Resentment of the Clergy, could yet draw from the justly admired Dr. *Sprat*, the following generous, and manly Consolation, together with the most laboured Applause, which his Eloquence could furnish, in Honour of the Constancy, Magnanimity, and Vigour, exerted by the Inhabitants, both in supporting, and repairing the heavy and general Calamity.

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'The *Plague* was indeed an irreparable Damage to the whole Kingdom; but that which chiefly added to the Misery, was the *Time* wherein it happened. For what could be a more deplorable Accident, than that so many *brave Men* should be cut off by the *Arrow that flies in the Dark*, when our Country was engaged in a *foreign War*, and when their Lives might have been honourably ventured on a glorious Theatre in its Defence? And we had scarce recovered this *first Misfortune*, when we received a *second* and a deeper Wound; which cannot be equalled in all History, if either we consider the Obscurity of its *Beginning*, the irresistible Violence of its Progress, the Horror of its *Appearance*, or the Wideness of the Ruin it made, in one of the most renowned Cities of the World.

'Yet when, on the one Side, I remember what *Desolation* these Scourges of Mankind have left behind them; and, on the other, when I reflect on the *Magnanimity* wherewith the *English Nation* did support the Mischief; I find, that I have not more Reason to *bewail* the one, than to *admire* the other.

'Upon our Return, after the abating of the *Plague*, what else could we expect, but to see the Streets unfrequented, the River forsaken, the Fields deformed with the Graves of the Dead, and the Terrors of Death still abiding on the Faces of the Living? But instead of such dismal Sight, there appeared almost the same Throngs in all public Places, the same Noise of Business, the same Freedom of Converse, and, with the Return of the King, the same Chearfulness returning on the Minds of the People as before.

‘Nor was their *Courage* less, in sustaining the *second Calamity*, which destroyed their Houses and Estates. This the greatest Losers indured with such undaunted Firmness of Mind, that their Example may incline us to believe, that not only the best *natural*, but the best *moral* Philosophy too, may be learned from the Shops of Mechanics. It was, indeed, an admirable Thing to behold, with what Constancy the meanest Artificers saw all the Labours of their Lives, and the Support of their Families, devoured in an Instant. The Affliction, it is true, was widely spread over the whole Nation; [II-259] every Place was filled with Signs of Pity and Commiseration; but those who had suffered most, seemed the least affected with the Loss: No *unmanly Bewailings* were heard in the few Streets that were preserved; they beheld the Ashes of their Houses, and Gates, and Temples, without the least Expression of Pusillanimity. If Philosophers had done this, it had well become their Profession of Wisdom; if Gentlemen, the Nobleness of their Breeding and Blood would have required it: But that such Greatness of Heart should be found amongst the poor Artisans, and the obscure Multitude, is no doubt one of the most honourable Events that ever happened. Yet still there is one *Circumstance* behind, which may raise our Wonder higher; and that is, that amidst such horrible Ruins, they still prosecuted the War with the same Vigour and Courage, against three of the most powerful States of all *Europe*. What Records of Time, or Memory of past Ages, can shew us a greater Testimony of an invincible and heroic Genius than this, of which I now speak? That the Sound of the Heralds proclaiming new Wars should be pleasant to the People, when the sad Voice of the Bellman was scarce yet gone out of their Ears? That the Increase of their Adversaries Confederates, and of their own Calamities, should be so far from affrighting them, that they rather seemed to receive from thence a new Vigour and Resolution? and that they should still be eager upon Victories and Triumphs, when they were thought almost quite exhausted, by so great Destructions?’ *Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 120.

The fatal Alteration both in the Temper of the People, and in the Conduct of their spiritual Guides under the bare Apprehension of Calamity, may be evidently seen by the late shameful Desertion of *London* and *Westminster*, and by your Lordship’s Letter. Happy had it been for the Reputation of the People and Pastor, if another *Sprat* had appeared among us at this Time of our apprehended Misfortunes.

Far from awakening the superstitious Fears of the Multitude, or perverting their Fortitude and Vigour to Humiliation and Despair, as he then took the manly Part of supporting their Spirit by Consolation and Praise, so [II-260] now would he undoubtedly have employed his masterly Pen in administering Comfort to a People already too much terrified with an Appearance, neither uncommon, nor dangerous, in this Country. He would not have snatched an Occasion, like this, to deject the Courage, to blind the Reason, and inance the Terrors of his Countrymen, by construing a meer Accident of Nature into a Judgment from Heaven, well knowing, that this has been one of the primary Arts practised by Priestly-pride, and endured by Lay-bigotry in the neighbouring Nations, till the Liberty and Understanding of *Europe*, for the greatest Part, have been subjected to an implicit and servile Dependence on the most cruel, the most insolent and ignorant Clergy. He would not have offered Arguments, which should have given co-operating Aid to the Dreams of a poor lunatic Soldier, nor, in order to distinguish this great Metropolis as the single Mark of God’s Anger, have rashly hazarded his principal Argument on the Locality of the Earthquake, nor, in Consequence of the same Appearances in different, and more distant Parts of the Kingdom, have found himself exposed to the most mortifying Confusion, without the Possibility of Shelter or Defence. He would have protected us against the Terrors in our own Bosoms, against the Visions of Enthusiasts, and against the uncharitable Denunciation of Almighty Vengeance on two Cities, one of which, at least, may stand up and challenge all others to produce equal Examples of Vigilance, Discretion, and Impartiality, in the constant Administration of Justice, tempered with Humanity and Mercy. He would have spared us the Disgrace of adding one more Instance of national Pusillanimity to that shameful Panic in the late

Rebellion; two Marks of Dishonour, which together serve but too plainly to demonstrate, that all that Constancy and Magnanimity, which a Century past were the just Subjects of his Praise, have now no longer an Existence in this Country. He would have convinced our Understanding, that there is no Retreat from that supreme Hand, which is felt every Moment of Life in the various Operations of Nature; that to search and discover her most hidden Laws is the laudable Object of our Enquiry, and the sublimest Exertion of those Lights [II-261] imparted to us by our Creator; that already these successful Discoveries have, in many Circumstances removed the Fears, and erased the Superstition of Mankind; that hence, if left to the Guidance of Reason, we are led to believe, that the most inscrutable Appearances of Nature, however formidable and destructive, are but the Effects of natural Causes, a Satisfaction to all, whether fearing, or feeling such Disasters, that they are not driven from the Earth by the distinguished Wrath of their Maker, to become immediate Partakers of eternal Vengeance; herein Philosophy enforcing, and uniting with the most comfortable Doctrine of *Christ*, who declares for the Quiet of our Minds under such general and unavoidable Misfortunes, that neither those *Galileans*, whom the cruel Hand of a Tyrant was permitted to destroy, nor those whom a falling Tower overwhelmed with its Ruins, were more sinful than other Men.

But if, amid real or apprehended Danger, the individual Sinner will take Warning for himself, and call his own Heart to a strict Account; if those, whom the Excess of Riot and Debauch have carried to Violence and Outrage, will make due Compensation to their insulted Neighbour; if those who have built their Fortunes on Extortion and Rapine, will make a due Retribution to the Injured; if those who are grown grey in one continued Course of Venality and Corruption, and have sold their Consciences and their Country to satiate the Thirst of Wealth and Power, will employ their scanty Remains of Time in repairing the Ruins which their own Prostitution hath made, then may such Sinners be allowed to make a laudable Use of the dreadful Phænomena in Nature. But I leave to your Lordship, the Perusal of the following Extract from Dr. *Sprat*, where he most amply delivers his Sense of those, who impute these public Calamities to the Sins of others, as well as his Opinion in favour of those whom you stile little Philosophers.

‘Thus far, I trust, it will be confessed, that *Experiments* are unblameable. But yet there is much more behind, of which many pious Men are wont to express their Jealousy. For though they shall be brought to allow, that all these *Doctrines* which I have named, [II-262] may seem to remain safe amidst the Studies of *Natural Things*; yet they still whisper, that they may chance, by Degrees, to make the Sincerity of Devotion appear ridiculous, and to bring the Strictness of holy Life out of Fashion: And that so they will silently, and by Piece-meals, demolish Religion, which they dare not openly encounter. I will therefore next endeavour the Removal of these Scruples, though I sufficiently understand that it is a very difficult Work, to confute such popular and plausible Errors, which have the Pretence of the Cause of God to confirm them.

‘The chief Substance of real and sober Piety is contained in the devout Observation of all those Ways, whereby God has been pleased to manifest his Will, and in a right Separation of our Minds from the Lusts and Desires of the World. The most remarkable Means, whereby he has made known his Pleasure, are those which have been fixed and revealed in his Word, or else the extraordinary Signs of his Authority and Command.

‘Concerning our Acknowledgment of his revealed Will in the Scripture, I have already spoken. And our Obedience to the latter, consists chiefly of two Kinds; an humble Submission to divine Prophecies, and a careful Observance of all remarkable Providences. In both which experimental Philosophy may well be justified. It may perhaps correct some Excesses which are incident to them: But it declares no Enmity against the Things themselves.

‘The Sum of the whole Doctrine of Prophecies is this, that the great Creator of the World has the Prerogative of foreseeing, appointing, and predicting all future Events: That he has often, in former Ages, made use of this Power, by the Visions and Raptures of holy Men inspired from above; that his infinite Wisdom has still the like Ability to do the same; that whenever such Predictions are accompanied with undeniable Testimonies of their being sent from Heaven, they ought to be preferred before all human Laws.

‘The true Foundation of divine Prodigies, is much of the same Nature with the other: It relies on these Suppositions, that all the Creatures are subject to God’s [II-263] Word, by which they were made; that he can alter their Courses, exalt or destroy their Natures, and move them to different Ends from their own, according to his Pleasure; that this he has often done heretofore; that still his Arm is not weakened, nor the same Omnipotence diminished; that still he may change the wonted Law of the Creation, and dispose of the Beings and Motions of all Things without Controul; and that when this is done, it is with a peculiar Design of punishing, or rewarding, or forewarning Mankind.

‘To the Belief and Assertion of these Doctrines, we are obliged by the very End of Religion itself. But yet their counterfeit Colours have seduced many virtuous Minds into manifold Mischiefs.

‘The Mistakes about Prophecies may arise, either from our abusing of the old, or a vain setting-up of new. We err in the first, when we translate the ancient Prophecies from those Times and Countries, which they did properly regard, to others which they do not concern. And we offend in the second, when we admit of new prophetical Spirits in this Age, without the uncontrollable Tokens of heavenly Authority.

‘We are guilty of false Interpretations of Providences and Wonders, when we either make those to be Miracles that are none, or when we put a false Sense on those that are real; when we make general Events to have a private Aspect, or particular Accidents to have some universal Signification. Though both these may seem at first to have the strictest Appearance of Religion, yet they are the greatest Usurpations on the Secrets of the Almighty, and unpardonable Presumptions on his high Prerogatives of Punishment and Reward.

‘And now, if a moderating of these Extravagancies must be esteemed Prophaneness, I profess I cannot absolve the experimental Philosopher. It must be granted, that he will be very scrupulous in believing all Manner of Commentaries on prophetical Visions, in giving Liberty to new Predictions, and in assigning the Causes, and marking out the Paths of God’s Judgments amongst his Creatures.

#### [II-264]

‘He cannot suddenly conclude all extraordinary Events to be the immediate Finger of God, because he familiarly beholds the inward Workings of Things; and thence perceives that many Effects, which use to affright the Ignorant, are brought forth by the common Instruments of Nature. He cannot be suddenly inclined to pass Censure on Men’s eternal Condition, from any temporal Judgments that may befall them; because his long Converse with all Matters, Times and Places, has taught him the Truth of what the Scripture says, that *all Things happen alike to all*. He cannot blindly consent to all Imaginations of devout Men, about future Contingencies; seeing he is so rigid in examining all particular Matters of Fact: He cannot be forward to assent to spiritual Raptures and Revelations, because he is truly acquainted with the Tempers of Men’s Bodies, the Composition of their Blood, and the Power of Fancy; and so better understands the Difference between Diseases and Inspirations.

‘But in all this he commits nothing that is irreligious. It is true, to deny God has heretofore warned the World of what was to come, is to contradict the very Godhead itself; but to reject the Sense which any private Man shall fasten to it, is not to disdain the Word of God, but the Opinions of Men like ourselves. To

declare against the Possibility that new Prophets may be sent from Heaven, is to insinuate that the same infinite Wisdom, which once shewed itself that Way, is now at an end. But to slight all Pretenders, that come without the Help of Miracles, is not a Contempt of the Spirit, but a just Circumspection, that the Reason of Men be not over-reached. To deny that God directs the Course of human Things, is Stupidity; but to hearken to every Prodigy that Men frame against their Enemies, or for themselves, is not to reverence the *Power of God*, but to make that serve the Passions, and Interests, and Revenges of Men.

‘It is a dangerous Mistake, into which many good Men fall, that we neglect the *Dominion of God over the World*, if we do not discover, in every Turn of human Actions, many supernatural Providences and miraculous Events. Whereas it is enough for the Honour [II-265] of his Government, that he guides the whole Creation in its wonted Course of Causes and Effects: As it makes as much for the Reputation of a Prince’s Wisdom, that he can rule his Subjects peaceably, by his known and standing Laws, as that he is often forced to make use of extraordinary Justice to punish, or reward.

‘Let us then imagine our Philosopher to have all Slowness of Belief, and Rigour of Trial, which by some is miscalled a Blindness of Mind and Hardness of Heart. Let us suppose that he is most unwilling to grant that any thing exceeds the Force of Nature, but where a full Evidence convinces him. Let it be allowed, that he is always alarmed, and ready on his Guard, at the Noise of any miraculous Event, lest his Judgment should be surprized by the Disguises of Faith. But does he by this diminish the Authority of ancient Miracles? Or does he not rather confirm them the more, by confining their Number, and taking Care that every Falshood should not mingle with them? Can he by this undermine Christianity, which does not now stand in need of such extraordinary Testimonies from Heaven? Or do they not rather indanger it, who still venture all its Truths on so hazardous a Chance? Who require a Continuance of Signs and Wonders, as if the Works of our Saviour and his Apostles had not been sufficient: Who ought to be esteemed the most carnally minded, the Enthusiast, that pollutes his Religion with his own Passions, or the Experimenter, that will not use it to flatter and obey his own Desires, but to subdue them? Who is to be thought the greatest Enemy of the Gospel, he that loads Men’s Faiths by so many improbable Things, as will go near to make the Reality itself suspected, or he that only admits a few Arguments to confirm the Evangelical Doctrines, but then chooses those that are unquestionable? It cannot be an ungodly Purpose to strive to abolish all holy Cheats, which are of fatal Consequence, both to the Deceivers and those that are deceived: To the Deceivers, because they must needs be Hypocrites, having the Artifice in their keeping: To the Deceived, because if their Eyes shall be ever opened, and they chance to find, that [II-266] they have been deluded in any one Thing, they will be apt not only to reject that, but even to despise the very Truths themselves, which they had before been taught by those Deluders.

‘It were indeed to be confessed, that this Severity of Censure on religious Things, were to be condemned in Experimenters, if while they deny any Wonders, that are falsely attributed to the true God, they should approve those of Idols or false Deities. But that is not objected against them. They make no Comparison between his Power, and the Works of any others, but only between the several Ways of his own manifesting himself. Thus if they lessen one Heap, yet they still increase the other: In the main they diminish nothing of his Right. If they take from the Prodigies, they add to the ordinary Works of the same Author. And those ordinary Works themselves, they do almost raise to the Height of Wonders, by the exact Discovery which they make of their Excellencies: While the Enthusiast goes near to bring down the Price of the true and primitive Miracles, by such a vast, and such a negligent augmenting of their Number.

‘By this I hope it appears, that this inquiring, this scrupulous, this incredulous Temper is not the Disgrace, but the Honour of Experiments. And therefore I will declare them to be the most seasonable Study, for the present Temper of our Nàtion. This wild amusing Men’s Minds with Prodigies, and Conceits of Providences, has been one of the most considerable Causes of those

spiritual Distractions of which our Country has long been the Theatre. This is a Vanity, to which the *English* seem to have been always subject above others. There is scarce any modern Historian, that relates our foreign Wars, but he has this Objection against the Disposition of our Countrymen, that they used to order their Affairs of the greatest Importance, according to some obscure Omens or Predictions, that passed about amongst them, on little or no Foundations. And at this Time, especially this last Year, this gloomy and ill-boding Humour has prevailed. So that it is now the fittest Season for Experiments to arise, to teach us a Wisdom which springs from the Depths of [II-267] Knowledge, to shake off the Shadows, and to scatter the Mists which fill the Minds of Men with a vain Consternation. This is a Work well becoming the most Christian Profession. For the most apparent Effect which attended the Passion of *Christ*, was the putting of an eternal Silence on all the false Oracles, and dissembled Inspirations of *ancient Times*.

‘There have been, it is true, some peculiar Occasions wherein God was pleased to convince the World from Heaven in a visible Manner. But if we consider the Arguments that used to move him to it, we may conclude that such wonderful Signs are not often now to be expected.

‘He has either done it in Times of gross Ignorance, or in the Beginning of a new Way of Religion, or for the peculiar Punishment of some prevailing Wickedness: Upon the Account of the two first, we have no Reason to expect Wonders in this Age; because all Sorts of Knowledge do so much abound, and because we have a Religion already established, against which the Gates of Hell shall never prevail.

‘The third Time has been, when God has taken to himself the exemplary Punishment of some heinous Sin. From this, indeed, our Age is no more exempted, than it is free from those Vices that are wont to provoke the Divine Vengeance. This then we confess, that even at this present God may declare himself against the Iniquities of Men, by the supernatural Tokens of his Displeasure: But yet the Interpretation of such Punishments ought to be handled with the greatest Tenderness. For as it is said of the last and general Judgment, *that no Man knows the Time when it shall happen*; so we may also affirm of these particular Judgments, that there is no Man who understands the Circumstances, or Occasions of their Infliction, but they are one of the deepest Parts of God’s unsearchable Councils.

‘Whenever therefore a heavy Calamity falls from Heaven on our Nation, an universal Repentance is required; but all particular Applications of private Men, except to their own Hearts, is to be forborn. Every Man must bewail his own Transgressions, which have [II-268] increased the public Misery. But he must not be too hasty in assigning the Causes of Plagues, or Fires, or Inundations, to the Sins of other Men. Whoever thinks that Way to repent, by condemning the Miscarriages of those Parties that differ from his own, and by reproving them as the Authors of such Mischiefs, he is grosly mistaken: For that is not to repent, but to make a Satire: That is not an Act of Humiliation, but the greatest spiritual Pride.’

But you, my Lord, come in all Humility, not as our Accuser, but as our faithful Servant and Monitor in *Jesus Christ*, and tell us, that your Heart’s Desire and Prayer to God is for us, that we may be saved. Whom do you mean to save, my good Lord? Those who frequent Plays, Operas, Music, Dancings, Gardens, Cock-fighting and Prize-fighting? And why not those who frequent Masquerades, and *Venetian Balls*? Surely your Lordship cannot be a Stranger to the frequent legal Presentments, which, founded on the declared Sense of all sober Men, have stigmatized these dissolute Assemblies with the severest public Censure; nor can you be ignorant, that *Venetian Balls*, in their own native Soil, exhibit or occasion the most various Scenes of exaggerated Lewdness, which that most lewd, and effeminate of all Regions, *Italy*, can produce? Or did you, in the Innocence of your Heart, take it for granted, that our Imitations of these Balls were so purified by the Presence of the Greatest, as to make

you fear the Censure of Uncharitableness, at least of Indelicacy, had they been included in your black Catalogue of sinful Recreations? Who knows, my Lord, that your courtly Omission of this new imported Diversion has not been the Means of sanctifying its further Use, for the very next Day after the expected Earthquake I observed one of these *Venetian Balls* advertised in the public Papers, as the first Place for our affrighted Countrymen to assemble and rejoice in, after the Dissipation of their Fears.

Yet, contrary to my first Design, I trifle with a serious Subject: I feel for the Vices of this Nation as much as your Lordship, not principally for those Vices which you enumerate; they merit but a small Degree of Animadversion and Concern, when compared with those [II-269] which shall now become the Subject of a more impartial and unsparring Detail than yours; Enormities which you, though professing to unfold the Sins of a whole People, in the awful Name of *Christ Jesus*, have thought proper to pass over in Silence, and conceal.

That all-beholding Eye, which controuls the Universe, pierces through all Disguises, and perceives, that the Diffusion of Vice through this Nation is derived from one Source, the Corruption of the Great; which, promoted by the most assiduous Arts, and vindicated by venal Eloquence, has at length absorbed all Regard for the Community into the two selfish Passions of Ambition and Avarice: And, when the most vigorous Effort was made to purge that Place, which, once cleansed, would have transfused its own Purity through all Orders and Degrees of Men, did not the flagitious Opposition to that Attempt, so essential to the very Being of Virtue, and solicited by the earnest and universal Cry of the People, produce an Instance of supererogatory Prostitution, which drew Wonder even from a Minister? For Want of this Barrier to confine Corruption, Honesty has been put up to public Sale, and found its Price to the Cost of a Nation, twice betrayed; hence a Loose has been given to public Profusion, and Rapine, unchecked, and unchastised; and the illicit Gains have been as profusely squandered by Individuals in Luxury, Sensuality, and every unmanly Gratification; and hence the Means of obtaining these ignominious Emoluments have been purchased by involving the Nation in Perjury, Treachery, and a general Dissolution of Manners. Ridicule and Contempt have been cast on the Laws, and principally by those whose Influence and Power should have given them Countenance and Effect: The recent Prohibition of Gaming, calculated to extirpate that Offspring of Avarice, that Parent of Selfishness, that Enemy to Humanity, Compunction, and every social Virtue, has been shamefully baffled by the Shelter afforded to that Enormity under the privileged Roofs of the Great, and met with a more open and contumelious Disregard from Personages invested with the most sacred Ensigns of Authority, in Places of public Resort, among the Gay, the Giddy, and the Young, where the native Allurements [II-270] of Vice have long been too prevalent to want Aid and Encouragement from such venerable and powerful Auxiliaries: The flagrant Example of those in high Station has necessarily extended its pernicious Effects to the lowest; then who has most Right to complain, either to God, or Man, a People abandoned by their Superiors to Corruption, or those who have encouraged the Example of Profligacy, to complain of the People?

Severity and Decency of Manners in high Life would command a similar Behaviour in the Multitude; a strict Execution of the Laws would come in Aid; since the virtuous Great must know, that the due Exertion of the legal Power is a principal Part of their Duty: Idleness, Debauchery, and wanton Recreations would not then have a Being among us to become the Objects of Animadversions and Censure, which leaving the Fountain-head of Vice untouched, and attempting the impracticable Task of restraining the Torrent at a Distance from its Source, most clearly denote the Parade of Reformation without the Reality, or even the Intention.

You conclude with recommending to the Masters and Mistresses of Families, a religious and moral Education of their Children; address yourself, my Lord, to the Offspring of high Life, as well as to the Children and Apprentices of Tradesmen; nor confine yourself to the general Phrases of Religion and Morality, but explain to the Great, wherein a religious and moral Education consists: Teach them to instil into the Bosoms of their Youth, Moderation and Oeconomy, Benevolence and Charity, to love their Neighbour as themselves, and to do unto others, as they would they were done unto; and early to know, and never to forget, that as the Public protects them in the Possession of superior Honours and Emoluments, so that Public in Return expects, and merits from their Hands, a superior and more disinterested Care of its Welfare, than from others.

Let those who are designed for the holy Cloth, and to be real Ornaments of the Church, be taught to acquire a double Portion of Humility; let Hypocrisy, Flattery, and above all, Avarice be rooted from their Hearts; let them, if engaged in Controversy, be instructed to disdain the Prostitution of advancing at one Time Doctrines [II-271] and Opinions, which may be consulted out of their own Writings at another; let them be taught to shun, like Perdition, the Smiles, the Hints, the Whispers from Court-Closets; and, if endowed with the most distinguished Abilities, and adorned with all the Acquirements of Learning, let them avoid the School of Politics, as incompatible with the Churchman's Sanctity, lest all their Accomplishments, both from Art and Nature, be rendered fatal, instead of useful to Society; and when they rise to that Degree of Dignity, where the Rights, Privileges, and Liberty of a Nation are intrusted to their Consciences and Protection, amid their many Advantages let them remember, that they are made for their Country, and not their Country for them, to be sold on every Occasion, which offers a better Preferment.

If those of exalted Condition, both in Church and State, would frame their Conduct on Principles, like these, the Manners of the middling and inferior Classes would be free from Blame; but without the Example of the Great, no Laws, no Warnings, no threatened Judgments can save a People from Destruction, I mean from Slavery.

*I am,*  
*965. My Lord,*

*Your Lordship's*  
*Most obedient,*  
*And most humble Servant,*

A CITIZEN of LONDON.

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[II-272]

*Seasonable Advice to the Electors of Great Britain; with a Word or two relating to the Influence of the Clergy in Elections.* ↵

By JOHN TRENCHARD, *Esq;*

Anno 1722.

*I'll thunder in their Ears their Country's Cause,  
And try to rouse up all that's Roman in 'em.*

*Mr. Addison's* CATO.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are now proceeding to a new Election, and what may depend upon it, God only knows! it behoves therefore every true Briton, to consider well with himself, and not to be over-hasty in giving his Vote, but to weigh Matters thoroughly and impartially, since we cannot tell what may be the Consequences of this great Affair.

You will pardon me, therefore, my Countrymen, if I have the Presumption to direct you in this Juncture, when I tell you that it is out of the Love I owe to my dear Country; which I conceive I cannot better express at present, than in giving some seasonable Advice to those who have it in their Power to make us happy and glorious.

And though I would not be thought to know more than others, yet give me Leave to say, that what I have here set down are indisputable Points. Don't wonder then, if I have not entered into smaller Matters, or Things of less Consequence, when those of a greater and higher Nature call for your Consideration; and without which, I will be bold to say, that all other Qualifications (how good soever) ought to be considered as nothing.

[II-273]

I have avoided to entertain you with false and scandalous Reports (though it is the Fashion of the present Time to do so) I have endeavoured to speak the Truth, and not harangue you with groundless Jealousies and nonsensical Observations. As therefore a whole Kingdom lies at Stake, as the Honour of your King, the Happiness of your Country, and the Security of our holy Religion are concerned, read and consider the following Advices.

In the first and chief Place, you should promote the Interest of those who are true Friends to his Majesty King *George*, and the Succession, *as by Law established*, in his Royal House; as it has been observed by a very great Man, *That this is the very Life and Soul of these Kingdoms* [\*] : So you should fix your Eyes on those, *who have shewn a particular Regard to the Protestant Succession, when most in Danger* [†] . You cannot be too careful in this Point; you will do well to consider who are the Men that have obstructed the public Affairs, who you may have Reason to suspect of their Loyalty, let such be never thought on but with Disdain; on the contrary, espouse the Cause of those, whose Zeal for the Service of their King, have surmounted all private Views, and who have sacrificed their just Resentments to the public Good and Welfare.

The next Thing you are to consider of, is your *Religion* and *Liberties*; you will, therefore, take the greatest Pleasure in voting for those, who have been for strengthening the *Protestant Interest*, since without this, all other Hopes are vain and fruitless; on this depends your own and Posterity's Happiness: O think, then, with how much Trouble, Anxiety and Loss of

Blood, our Fore-fathers handed down our Religion and Liberties! Think what they underwent for our Sakes, to transmit us the Blessings we now enjoy! For Heaven's Sake, then, put it not in the Power of any to lay Restraints on your Consciences; this is that Property whereby God has given every Man Power to judge for himself; that Person, therefore, who would fetter your [II-274] Conscience, and lead captive your Reason (under whatever Denomination he may go) is only an Agent of *Rome*, and an Emissary of some designing *Priests*. Look to it then, that you fix on those who will guard your Liberties, and not destroy them. And though some Men would now seem the only Advocates for your Liberties, who when they have had it in their Power, have always endeavoured to subvert them; let these be watched against with the utmost Caution, these are the Men who make Mountains of Mole-hills, and would have all People use a magnifying Glass, as well as themselves.

But I am afraid there is another Consideration, which you will expect I should offer to you, and which, if rightly considered, may be as useful at this Time, as any thing that can be said; I mean *our late Misfortunes in relation to the wicked Management of the South-Sea Scheme*; though in my own Opinion I cannot think it so important as the others which I have offered to you. You cannot be ignorant how this has been made use of by designing Men, and how it has misled many well-meaning People; and here, Gentlemen, be not overhasty in your Censures on this Head. Consider, in the first Place, that all Men are liable to Mistakes, that there may be such a Thing in the World as involuntary Error; that Men may design very well, and the Consequences be very bad. I would not be here understood, that I am vindicating any who designed to plunder us, or was in the Bottom of that *Mystery of Iniquity*. No, I would only set Matters right: Allowing, therefore, that two, or three, or more, should have been Plunderers, for God's Sake don't think a whole Community, or Party is guilty, don't condemn a whole Administration for the Sake of a few who have corrupted themselves; this is a Way of thinking and acting that becomes abject Minds and low Spirits, and not that of *Britons*. For Shame, therefore, Gentlemen, rouse your wonted Zeal and Bravery, I don't mean false Zeal (for that carries Men beyond the Bounds of Reason) but that Zeal which is commendable in a good Cause, and sure the glorious Cause of Liberty should have this Zeal; be not led therefore by any Mistakes, let not designing Men guide you to work your own Ruin, and though [II-275] we were in as bad a Condition as they would represent (which thank God is not our Case) yet let us take Care not to trust those now, that we have formerly (for very good Reasons) opposed; for, can we think the Enemies of our Country are altered, or have they changed their Sentiments and Cause, have they kept themselves clear and honest in a Time of Degeneracy and Infatuation, or rather, have they not been as deeply concerned in our Misfortunes as others? In short, are they not the Men that now oppose the Healing of our Differences? Have we forgot their known Maxim, *That no Government is worth serving without Jobs*? Why then should we trust such, and think those now the only disinterested Men, who, when in Power, have been the most wicked and corrupt of any in the World?

But, Gentlemen, consider farther, if those Persons whom you call Plunderers, will not be your Choice, be sure take care that you do not change for those worst of Plunderers, even those that would sell, not only their own, but your Birth-right; these Plunderers exceed the worst of any others, as far as Heaven exceeds the Earth: You ought most seriously to consider this, think what it is that lies at Stake, 'tis your Liberties, and if ever you put it in the Power of those who are known Enemies to you, the Curse will fall on your own Heads as well as others; and the better to know these Enemies of the common Cause, think of the Men, who, though they have taken the Oaths to the King, yet think they owe him no Duty; who have abjured the Pretender, but not forgot him; who perhaps never engaged in any Rebellion or Invasion, yet have either in Words, pleasing Looks, or finally, by an avowed Silence, aided or wished well to a Popish Pretender; when the Cause of the King, the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of *England* were in Danger. These are the Persons that when they have it in their Power, will plunder your Liberties, and these are the Plunderers you ought most to fear and

despise. Let those, therefore, that would inslave you, know, that though some of you may have lost your Money, yet that you are resolved not to part with your Senses, nor to lose your Liberties; let them know, that the true *British* Spirit still prevails among you; and by [II-276] the Choice you make, let the World see, that you have had a Regard to such, who have signalized themselves in Defence of the best King, and the best Cause in the World.

There is one Thing more which I must caution you against (which, Heaven be praised, is not so needful now as formerly) that you would take Care not to *follow a Multitude to do Evil*; by this I mean, that you would not follow the *Clergy*, i. e. *that you will not be Priest-ridden*; for however useful their Profession may be to our Souls, we find the Generality of them no great Friends to our Bodies. It may be therefore at some County Elections, you may behold great Numbers of the *sacred Cloth*, on the Side of what they call the *C— —h*, for *where the Carcasses are, there will the Eagles be gathered together*. It is my Advice, Gentlemen, that you would shun the Side which has got the Majority of these spiritual Guides with them; unless the *Priests* should, at this Election, turn honest, which, not to say impossible, is at present very improbable. This Hint, therefore, may not be altogether useless; however, let not the Word *C— —h*, guide you one Way or other, you know it is a stale Artifice, and an old Ecclesiastical Bite, that has formerly hurried great Numbers of ignorant People to work their own Destruction; let not therefore this senseless Noise of a Stone Wall, consecrated Bricks, and other holy Lumber, be of any Weight with you in this Affair; remember that empty Sounds and noisy Words are no Arguments; and to follow such, is at once to give up your Senses and Reason.

It is highly necessary that all Places, who send Representatives to Parliament, should fix on such Persons, who either know, or are interested in Trade and Commerce; and as we depend on Trade for our chief Support, so none can be better Judges who is fit to represent them, than the Inhabitants themselves; I only recommend it to them, that they would chuse such Gentlemen who are qualified for so great a Trust, either to gain new Advantages for our Trade, or redress such Grievances which may have obstructed it. I doubt not but there may be found out enough of that Character I have [II-277] been pleading for; I insist on the Qualifications I have mentioned, as absolutely necessary, and without which I shall ever despair of seeing Truth and Justice prevail: But if we should be so happy as to know our true Interest, and distinguish between Light and Darkness, what glorious Effects may we not expect from so wished-for a Choice! we may then hope to see the King reign peaceably, and beloved at home, his Arms conquering or dreaded abroad, true Religion and Liberty flourish, and Virtue once more lift up its Head! We may then hope for an happy Union among all Protestants, whilst Rebellion, Bigotry, Persecution and Priestcraft shall lie groveling beneath our Feet.

A Gentleman of my Acquaintance having been at the Pains to paint a certain Set of Men in their hereditary Colours, I have (with his Leave) added it at the End of these *Advices*; perhaps it may be of some Service to those *Genuine Sons of the Church*, who have not seen their Pictures for a long Season; it may be useful to others, who have parted with their own Eyes to make use of the Parson's: In short, 'tis offered to all that will take the Pains to read it; and then I doubt not but it will speak for itself.

*The true Picture of a Modern Tory; or a High-Churchman painted to the Life.* ↩

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

Anno 1722.

A Tory is a Monster, with an *English Face*, a *Popish Heart*, and an *Irish Conscience*; a Creature of a large Forehead, a prodigious Mouth, supple Hams, and no Brains: Noise and Debauchery, Oaths and Beggary, are the four Elements that compose him; his Arms are those of *Isachar*, an Ass couchant, of which the two Supporters are *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. He seems to be descended from *Esau*, for he would fain truck away an invaluable Birth-right for a *Popish Pretender*; he has so great a Kindness for *Popery* and *Slavery*, that whenever they shall make a Match, he'll be sure to put in for a Bride-man: But though some would fetch his Descendant from *Esau*, yet others (not without Reason) run his Pedigree a great deal higher, and take him to be a *Noadite*, or one of the Race of *Cain*, that would fain be persecuting his Brother, merely because he is more righteous than himself.

With respect to the State, a High-Churchman is a Caterpillar that devours every green Thing in a flourishing Kingdom, and would stab *Liberty* and *Property* to the Heart, that he and his Fellow-Brutes, like Beasts of Prey, might live wholly on Spoil and Rapine; they are fit only to be Subjects to *Nebuchadnezzar*, when (bereaved of human Sense) he herded with the wild Asses of the Desart. Though they boast themselves *Englishmen*, yet they act in all things like *Antipodes* to their native Country, and seem rather the Spawn of some *staunch* [Editor: word?] *Jesuit*; they are a Sort of wild Boars, that would fain root out the Constitution, and break the Balance of our happy Government, by rendering that *despotic*, which is [II-279] *established and bounded by Law*: He is so certain that Monarchy is *Jure Divino*, that he looks upon all People, living under *Aristocracy's* or *Democracy's*, to be in a State of Damnation; and fancies that the *Grand Seignior*, the *Czar of Muscovy*, and the *French King* dropt down from Heaven with Crowns on their Heads, and that all their Subjects (except the *Priests* ) were born with Saddles on their Backs. A right *High-Flyer* is as fond of Slavery, as others are of Liberty, and will be at as much Charge and Pains to obtain it; for he envies the Happiness of *Canvas Breeches* and *Wooden Shoes*: He admires the Mercy of the *Inquisition*, and prays for an Ecclesiastical Commission; he rails at *Magna Charta* as the Seed-plot of *Sedition*, and swears it was first obtained by *Rebellion*, and that all our Forefathers were Fools and Rogues, and did not understand *Prerogative*: He wonders why People should squander away their Time at the *Inns of Court*, or what need there is either of the *Common Law*, or the *Statute-Book*, since the King may at any time, with quicker Dispatch, declare his Pleasure in any Point or Controversy. But 'tis plain he means not his Majesty King *George*, whom he acknowledges to be so, because he has taken the Oaths to him. He will indeed boast of his Loyalty, but we never see any thing of it, unless it be to undermine the Government, he roars and swaggers, and promises Mountains, but performs Nothing, and by Lies and Misrepresentations, gives false Measures; and if he happens to be in a *Place*, or wear the *King's Cloth*, it is not the *Cause* but the *Crust* that he barks for.

With relation to the *Church*, our *Tory* is either a Crab Protestant, that crawls backwards as fast as he can to *Rome*, or is at best but a Cats-foot, wherewith the *Romish Monkies* claw the *Protestant Religion*; he is one that does their Drudgery, though he has not the Wit to see it, and the Wages he must expect, is *Polyphemus's* Courtesies, to be devoured last: He is a Flambeau, kindled by the *Jesuits*, and flung in to make a Combustion among us: He pretends High for the *Church of England*, but as he understands not her Doctrines, so he dishonours

her by his lewd Conversation; the only Proof both of his Religion and Courage is, that he *swears* most fervently; [II-280] his Christianity consists in cursing all those that *differ* from him; his Tongue is always tipped with *Damme*, and *Forty-One*, and upon all Occasions belches out *Huzza's* as fast as *Mount Ætna* does Fire and Brimstone.

He mortally hates *Occasional Conformity*, though himself can *occasionally* be present at *Mass*; and whilst he clamours at *Dissenters* for not coming to *Church*, he thinks it canonical enough to sleep over the *Sabbath Day*, to digest the Fumes of *Saturday's* Debauch; or else he takes a Walk in *St. Paul's*, peeps at the Preacher, and presently retires to the Tavern for a Whet to Dinner; if he happen to be of a more serious Temper, he is as superstitious a Bigot as any in the *Romish Church*, and he had rather have no Preaching, than that the Surplice should be left off, and thinks his Child not christened, if it be not done with the *Sign of the Cross*; he counts *Opus Operatum* sufficient, and thinks it a greater Abomination to eat *Flesh* on a *Friday*, than to defile his *Neighbour's Bed*; and he abhors more, not to *bow* at the Syllables of the Word *Jesus*, than to *swear by the Name of God*; he is sure the *Priests* have a Divine Right from *Jesus Christ*, to do as much Wickedness as they please, and that it is the Duty of the Laity to bow down to them *with their Faces to the Earth*; he is fully persuaded, that the Clergy are so like the Apostles, that they came in an *uninterrupted Succession from them*; tho' he seems to believe there are not more *Gods than One*, yet he knows there is no going to Heaven without a Ticket from the *Lord's Ambassadors*, whom he firmly believes have the sole Right of disposing of Heaven and Hell: If you talk soberly with him about Religion, he slaps you over the Face with *Heresy*, *Schism*, and *Faction*, tells you he is of the *Church, as by Law established*, and so you are at once confuted by his unanswerable Arguments; he combats Truth with *Curses*, and *Mercy* with *Madness*; he takes *Mischief* for *Merit*, and his *Priest* for his *Maker*. In a Word, a *Tory* is a Tool of *Rome*, an Emissary of the *Pretender's*, a Friend to *Priestcraft*, an Enemy to his *King* and *Country*, and an Underminer of our happy Constitution, both in Church and State.

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***A Sermon preached before the Learned Society of Lincoln's-Inn, on  
January 30, 1732, from Job xxxiv. 30. That the Hypocrite reign not, lest  
the People be insnared.*** ↩

*Fieri potest, quod fit in multis questionibus, ut res verbosior illa sit, hæc brevior.*

Cic.

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1733.

IN the thirty-fourth Chapter of the Book of *Job*, and the thirtieth Verse, it is thus written:  
--- *That the Hypocrite reign not, lest the People be insnared.*

*Friends, Brethren, and Countrymen,*

I present myself before you, on this Occasion, with the greater Alacrity and Assurance, for that I am conscious of no Engagement to any Party or Opinion repugnant to Truth, and the general Interest of my Country: I am under no Pay or Influence to support ancient Prejudices and false Reasonings: under no Biass to flatter particular Fraternities and Factions, nor awed by the Fear of offending them. For the Rule and Guide of my Politics, I have the Constitution and History of *England*; and in my Religion, I am governed by the Bible and common Sense. He who walks by these Rules walks securely; and he who follows the arbitrary Notions, sophistical Distinctions, and bare Averments of Men, is sure to be deceived, at least can never know that he is not.

*That the Hypocrite reign not, lest the People be insnared.*

The Task which from these Words I propose to myself, is to defend the Right of every Man to private Judgment [II-282] and Opinion, to shew the Absurdity and Wickedness of setting up Authority against Conscience, and to manifest the pernicious Tendency and Effects of Power and immoderate Wealth in the Clergy. As I go along, I shall apply my Reasoning to the Purpose of the Day; and, at the Conclusion, add a Word concerning the unhappy Prince, whose Blood was shed on this Day; with the proper Use to be made of it.

Good Sense is our first and last Guide, since by that we are to judge of all other Guides; and there is more Sound than Meaning in the Objection which some make to the Guidance of Reason, when they ask, "Whether we are to judge of that by which we are to be judged," namely, the holy Scriptures; since we must recur to Reason to know whether the Scriptures be holy, and whether we are to be judged by them. 'Tis to little Purpose to tell us, that "for this we must take the Word and Authority of holy Men." For, we must still consult our Reason whether these be holy Men or no, and whether we ought to believe them or no; seeing there are many Sets of Men all pretending to be holy, all claiming this Authority to themselves only, and all denying it to every other Set.

Our Reason must therefore determine, which of all these are the most holy, and whether any of them be more so than ourselves. If the Ways of Holiness and of Knowledge be as obvious to us as to them, we may have as much of either as they have; and, in Truth, the Sources of both are as open to us as to them. Besides, it ought to mortify their Pride, and be a Lesson of Humility to them, as it is surely one of Caution to us, to see that they never agree with one another; that even those of the same Society, professing the same Faith, subscribing

the same Articles, and professing to believe the same Scriptures, agree not in the Rules and Explanations which they exhibit to us. Great is their Variance, not only about Ceremonies, Circumstantials and Discipline, but even about Essentials, about Principles to be believed, about Duties to be practised, and even about the Nature, Operations, and Attributes of the Deity; nay, equally great and signal is their Want of mutual Charity, as is their Want of Concord. Are these to be [II-283] our Guides, who thus pull us various and opposite Ways? Can they teach mutual Love and Forbearance, who hate and revile each other? And is it not notable Want of Modesty in them, who cannot agree with one another, to expect that we should agree with them all, or with any of them, when we approve not, or comprehend not, what they say, or when what they say is evidently for their Interest and against ours, as all their Aims at Power and Wealth evidently are?

This Reasoning, if it be true, as I think it is, will serve to condemn Archbishop *Laud* and his Associates, who exacted a blind Obedience to their own Tenets and Schemes, a rigid Conformity to all their Ceremonies, Inventions, and Innovations, and cruelly persecuted all who preferred Conscience to Complaisance, and were better Christians than Churchmen and Courtiers.

Surely it ought to check and cool the Fierceness of Religionists of all Sorts towards each other about Difference in Opinion, to behold how flaming and rigorous every Man is in behalf of his own; to behold the most ridiculous and pernicious Opinions defended with equal Obstinacy and Bitterness. The *Jew*, the *Papist*, the *Mahometan*, the *Banian*, have all equal Satisfaction in their own several Systems, have all equal Detestation for one another, and for every different Sect.

Is not this a pregnant Proof, that all this furious Zeal is false Zeal, that it is all miserable Bigotry and Prejudice, or constitutional Intemperance of Spirit? A zealous *Jew*, had he been bred a *Papist*, would have been equally zealous for Popery, and perhaps for burning those very *Jews* who are now his Brethren. Had the late Dr. *Sacheverel* been educated in the *Scottish Kirk*, he would, doubtless, have breathed as fierce Persecution against Prelacy as he has done for it, and treated it with as foul and uncomely Names, as he treated Dissenters and false Brethren.

The same is true of Archbishop *Laud*, and of other hasty and passionate Zealots; provided always, that all other Preferments in another Way be taken away; else the Batteries of their Zeal are often quickly changed, and turned against the Party for whom they were first erected: Witness *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, and *Ward*, [II-284] Bishop of *Sarum*, once both holy, praying, and rigid Presbyterians, afterwards both rigid Persecutors of Presbyterians. Is it not probable that they would have died Presbyterians, had the Church Preserments been out of their Reach?

This Consideration therefore, that every Man is fond of his own Opinions, and not the less fond for their being very foolish and extravagant, ought to keep Men from quarrelling about any Opinions, and to look upon those who promote such Quarrels as Monsters, and their worst Enemies. This Enmity about Notions, Chimeras, Ceremonies, and other idle Disputes; this War about Words, and Creeds, and Articles, a War and Dispute which have produced such mighty Bloodshed and Desolation in the World, has been the sole Work and Contrivance of ambitious Clergymen; who, for Ends of their own, and the Gratification of their Pride and Fury, and other evil Passions, had the Art and Cruelty to make the Laity thus to persecute and butcher one another. What infamous Inhumanity was this in Clergymen? What Frenzy and Infatuation in the Laity? But such are ever the Effects of implicit Belief, which is naturally followed by implicit Obedience, which is the certain Beginning as well as the certain Consequence of Slavery. All this Evil, Uncharitableness, and Barbarity, arose from the wicked and impossible Attempt to force or suppress private Judgment and

Conscience. Of such mighty Consequence it is, *that the Hypocrite reign not*; since, where-ever he does, *the People will surely be insnared*.

What added to this Evil and Insolence, this hellish Cruelty upon the Score of Opinion, and made it still more provoking and intolerable was, that it was all perpetrated in the Name of *Christ*, of the meek *Jesus*, and said to be for his Church and Cause: A Declaration so impudent and incredible, that it could only be made by Men who were void of Shame, to Men who wanted Eyes. It was as false as the Gospel was true; nor could a Revelation which inspired or warranted any Degree of Bitterness or Cruelty, ever have come from God, or from any but the Antagonist of God and Enemy of Man, from Hypocrites reigning, that is, tyrannizing in the Name of the Lord.

**[II-285]**

Yet so these hardened Deluders argued, trusting to the Power of Delusion; especially when to that Power of Delusion they had added a good Share of secular Power. And before they could make the Laity such blind Tools as to be the Tormentors and Executioners of one another, they had eradicated every Grain and Principle of Charity out of their Hearts, yet made them believe themselves the only true Christians.

This was the Use which such Clergymen made of the boundless Trust and Power given them by the Laity; and over the Laity they exercised it without Bounds or Mercy. Such was the Power of *Laud* and the Clergy of his Time, and such the unhallowed and inhuman Use which they made of it; yet that Use was the usual and natural Use, the Power itself being unnatural. Indeed, worldly Power and Opulence in such as preach the Gospel, are so repugnant to the Spirit and Precepts of the Gospel, that it is no Wonder they cannot thrive or indeed subsist together; but the Gospel must either destroy them, or they the Gospel. It is too visible on which Side the Victory has chiefly turned. Whatever fills Men with Pride and Hatred, and prompts them to Severity and Revenge, may be Popery or Mahometanism, but is just as contrary to Christianity, as Christianity is to all Pride and Hatred, to all Rigour and Vengeance.

From hence it is plain who they are, what Set of Men, that have hurt and abused, perverted and abolished Christianity most. I am sorry to say it, but it is too true, that in many Countries, and at many Times, the Church and Religion have been very distinct and opposite Things: Sure I am, that I have seen very good Churchmen who were very bad Christians, and some who were no Christians at all. I will not say that *Laud* was no Christian; but I may boldly affirm, that he resembled not the first Christians, nor possessed a Christian Temper: An extreme good Churchman I readily own him.

That it is not Religion or Christianity, but chiefly, if not only, Passion and Prejudice, which determine Men to a Fondness for their own Set of Notions and for their own Community, appears from hence, that if a vicious Man be on their Side, especially if he profess much Zeal for his Party, they cherish and extol him; whilst upon **[II-286]** a very unblameable and pious Man, who is not of their Party, they are apt to bestow very ill Language, and often ill Usage. This is not the Spirit of true Religion, but of Passion and Partiality: Yet this Spirit too many derive from their particular Religion, which they think the best, but which surely is very bad; and it were better they had none, than one which banishes their Reason and Humanity. Now, if such a Spirit should ever happen to possess those who profess to be our Guides, we may judge how wise and safe it would be to trust to their Guidance, or even to own them as Guides. Had there been no such Guides about an hundred Years ago, we should not, in all Likelihood, have had this Day now to solemnize. The strange Doctrines and bitter Oppressions in those Days, naturally produced such a Day as this Day.



It is not Religion, at least not the Christian Religion, that heats and animates such Men; it is only Faction, a Complication of evil and unhallowed Passions. Whoever loves or hates, blesses or curses, from Anger or Fondness, from Obligation or Resentment, belies Religion, if he pretend, under its holy Name, to hide base Ends, and a worldly and partial Heart. It is by such selfish and unworthy Ways that the Church and Religion have sometimes come to signify contradictory Things: It is thus that Men who have had no Religion or Virtue, have been extolled as excellent Churchmen: It is thus that Men of the highest Religion and Virtue, have been, and often are, reviled and condemned as bad Churchmen; and it is thus that pious Christians have been punished, sometimes burned, by such as were special Churchmen, but not Christians. And indeed, whenever such false Zealots manifest such a Spirit of Impatience, of Rage and Reviling, they cannot give a clearer Proof that such Spirit is not of Christ, since it is so opposite to his Spirit. Nor can Men who shew themselves full of Bitterness and want of Charity, be at all commissioned by him, who was all Meekness, and gave to his Disciples a new Commandment, that they should *love one another*, and even *love their Enemies*. Yet who so sudden to wax wroth as many of his pretended Successors? Who more forward and unmanly in calling unseemly Names; a [II-287] Practice as common with many of them, as with the meanest Men, and even the lowest Sort of Women? *Heretic, Atheist, Infidel*, are amongst such Churchmen Words of Reproach, equivalent to the foul Language which the Vulgar throw at one another, and equally shocking to well-bred Men and true Christians.

Surely, from Men who come from God, and are Vicegerents to his Son, one would naturally expect a Godlike Behaviour, with an uncommon Store of Christian Meekness and Benevolence. How does Rage, how do gross Names of Abuse, how does Uncharitableness, Revenge, Avarice, Ambition, and the most savage Passions and Demeanour, suit with a Commission from Heaven, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost?

I proceed now to discourse more directly upon the undue Wealth and Power of the Clergy, and the great Evils attending the same; from whence will appear the Calamities and certain Thralldom attending *the Reign of Hypocrites*.

The Clergy, whenever they were left to take as much Power and Wealth as they pleased, rarely thought the Whole too much; nor do I remember any Instance where-ever they owned that they had enough. Thus they have ingrossed some Countries whole; of others the greatest and best Parts; and as much as they could of all. Where they have the Soil, they have the Power in Course; and where they have both (that is to say in Popish Countries) they are the most unmerciful of all Landlords, and the most oppressive of all Magistrates, Look over the fine Continent of *Italy*, and other Climes where Priests riot and tyrannize, you will find the Laity there and every where starving, when the Clergy are the Land Owners.

Ought not the Laity in other Countries to take Warning by this? And is it not monstrous and unnatural for any Number of Laymen to concur with the Clergy in their exorbitant Claims? Should not the Laity too learn, by the Example of the Clergy, to take Care of themselves? What Wealth the Clergy have, they have from the Laity: By the Power that they seek or assume, they would bind and govern the Laity. Is it natural, or just, [II-288] or wise in the Laity, to impoverish themselves in order to enrich the Clergy, to forge their own Chains, to exalt their own Creatures and Pensioners into Tyrants and Taskmasters; or to suffer them so to exalt themselves? Can they forget the Insolence and Tyranny of Archbishop *Laud*, the terrible Height of Power which he had usurped, with his aspiring Views to raise the Clergy above the Laity and the Law? Can they forget his saucy Declaration, that *he hoped to see the Time when ne'er a Jack Gentleman in England should dare to be covered before the meanest Priest?* And as an Indication how much many of the Clergy thought, and wished, and designed, as he did, they of this Stamp have been ever since adoring and extolling this usurping Archpriest, this Persecutor and Oppressor, this Instrument and Prompter of Oppression.

The Man who contends for Power and Riches to the Priests, is ever popular with the High-Priesthood, ever their Darling; nor are they always over anxious about the Soundness of either his Faith or Mora's. Is not this too a Rule and Example to the Laity? And ought not the Laity to prize and protect, and encourage any Layman who asserts the Rights and Privileges of his Brethren the Laity? Is it not equally fair, and grateful, and honourable, to cherish and esteem any Clergyman, or Number of Clergymen, who are candid enough to maintain the Interest and Independency of the Laity? Is it not foolish, ungrateful, dishonest, and even barbarous, to revile or evil-intreat such Clergymen; to abuse and weaken these our Friends, and to join with our Enemies, with such as would enthral us, and bring us under their blind Guidance? Where the Clergy are opulent, do not the People starve? Where the Clergy have Power, are not the People Slaves? Is it not thus in *Spain*, thus in *Italy*? In these Countries, where they are Proprietors of all Things, and govern all Men, can they be even said to be Teachers, or even to be Christians? No; their Teaching is deceiving, their Doctrines are Lies and Impieties, and their Lives antichristian. Christianity and Truth would undo them. They have therefore banished Christianity and erected the Priesthood; and for *Christ* and Truth, they preach themselves and Fables. *Every [II-289] one, from the least even unto the greatest, is given to Covetousness; from the Prophet even to the Priest, every one dealeth falsely.* Jer. viii. 10.

This is the Effect of Power and Wealth in Churchmen; two Things which have proved such a certain and heavy Curse upon Religion and the World, as if the holy Author of both meant thence to convince Mankind, how pernicious, how destructive they every-where are to his Church and People, and to warn all Men and Nations against suffering or encouraging them.

Great Power and Revenues in Churchmen have not only produced and multiplied every Mischief formerly known in the World, but also produced Mischiefs so new and terrible, as the World, even the Pagan World, never knew before; such as Persecution and Butchery for Conscience and Opinion, Wars and national Massacres for Religion, with that mighty Compendium of all that is horrid, treacherous, and cruel, upon Earth, the execrable Tribunal of the Inquisition. What had Paganism so shocking and horrible, as to be compared to this? Not even their human Sacrifices, which were few in Comparison, occasional, and stated. The Inquisition is a continual human Slaughter-house; and in it Men, Myriads of Men, have been immolated, after tedious Macerations in dark and frightful Dungeons, after unrelenting Racks and Tortures, with every Species of Treachery, Misery and Terror; and all for the best Thing which they could do, for their Sincerity and Piety in worshipping the Deity in the Way which they were persuaded he liked best.

Now, as the Inquisition is nothing but the highest Improvement of Persecution, which begins with Tests and negative Penalties, but ends in Fires and Halts, I will enumerate a few of the many Causes for which Men are committed to it; and they are such, and so various, that no Man, who in the least exercises his own Faculties, or practises common Charity and Mercy, or even has common Commerce with the World, can avoid it. — — — If he has heard a Heretic preach or pray (that is, if he has thus heard the best and wisest Man upon Earth, who differs from the Extravagancies of Churchmen:) If when he is summoned he appear not: If being excommunicate, [II-290] he sue not for Absolution: If a Heretic (for Example, a Mr. *Locke*, or a Sir *Isaac Newton* ) be his Friend: If he do any Act of Kindness for a Heretic; visit him, treat him, assist him, or shew him Pity, or give him Counsel: If he suspect the Truth of their lying Legends and forged Miracles: If he assert the Indifference of Meats or of Days, or interpret Scripture according to his own and to common Sense: If he conceal any Heresy, his own or other People's: If he spare Father or Mother, Wife or Child, — — — he is for these, or any of these Causes, and for a thousand others, liable to the unparallel'd Cruelties of the Inquisition. Let me add, that by Heresy is meant every

conscientious, honest, rational, and benevolent Opinion, differing from the senseless, narrow, barbarous Whims and Grimaces of the Priests.

As a Proof what quick Havock such a Tribunal must make in a Country, Cardinal *Turquemedas*, the first Inquisitor-General in *Spain*, even in the Infancy of the Inquisition, brought an hundred thousand Souls into it in the small Space of fourteen Years: Of these, six thousand were burnt alive. Observe too, that when such Persons are seized, all that they have is also seized, and their Families left to starve, or sent thither too, if they shew Pity, or attempt Assistance.

Can the merciful and wise God, can the meek and compassionate *Jesus*, who laid down his Life for Men, have any thing to do with such a Church, or with such hellish Instruments and Butchers, impudently calling themselves *holy*, and their Scene of Butchery the *holy Office*? Wisely did our first Reformers disown her being a Church: *Laud*, afterwards, and his Followers, laboured to restore her Credit, contended for her being a true Church, and even derived themselves from her; nay, strove to shew themselves worthy of the Kindred and Descent, by assuming her Pride and Cruelties: Witness their numerous Imprisonments, excessive Fines, Whippings, Dismembrings, and other Barbarities; to their own Infamy, and to the Dishonour of Protestants and of our Nation.

Equal to its other Horrors is the black Treachery practised by that detestable Court, and by all who belong to, [II-291] or assist it. In order to insnare a Man into the Inquisition, they will travel Countries, and cross the Seas, to become acquainted with him; will court, caress and flatter him, treat him, make him Presents, lend him Money, administer to his Pleasures, seem to love and adopt his Opinions, rail at the Church, curse his Persecutors and the Inquisition, and swear him an eternal Friendship——all with a black and murderous Purpose, to seize him in a proper Place, and carry him off to the Fires and Racks of that infernal Tribunal. But where the Interest of that Church is concerned, Villainy changes its Nature, and becomes meritorious; and the blackest Perfidy, and even Perjury, is esteemed and practised as good Policy. Thus the Pope's Legate, at the Head of a Crusade against the *Albigenses*, entrapped their Protector and General, the Count de *Beziers*, solemnly sworn not to hurt him, and then seized and imprisoned him.

Let me just add upon this Head, that Blasphemy, or any outrageous Words and Defiance offered to Almighty God, is not punishable, nor cognizable in the Inquisition. The great Crime and Pursuit there is Heresy; that is to say, Blasphemy against the Trade and Opinion of Priests. So that any profane Wretch may blaspheme God without Fear of the Inquisitors, provided he blaspheme like a good Churchman, and say nothing against the Priests or their Gear: But if Heresy be mixed with his Blasphemy, he cannot hope to escape. Most remarkable too and shocking is the Impudence and Hypocrisy of these Inquisitors, when after having long starved in their horrid Dungeons the wretched Offender; after having long terrified, misused and tortured him, they at last deliver him over to the secular Arm: They have the solemn Assurance, *to beseech the Civil Magistrate, in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, not to hurt his Life or Limb*; yet would excommunicate the Civil Magistrate, if he did not burn him alive.——Such is the terrible Power and Falshood of *Hypocrites reigning*.

I am far from thinking that what I have said about the Inquisition is a Digression. That terrible Part of Popery, or indeed any other Part of Popery, which is all terrible, is too little known in *England*. For some time after the Reformation, a due Horror was kept up [II-292] amongst the People by our Preachers against the Church of *Rome*: And it was done like Protestants, and is their Duty at all times; and they who omit it are unworthy of the Name, and I doubt have dark and unprotestant Designs. But when our Clergy began to contend for equal Dominion and Wealth, they found that they could not consistently rail at the Church of *Rome*, and yet follow her Example. And so far altered was their Stile at last, that instead of

painting and reviling her, as *an old withered Harlot, the Mother of Abominations and Whoredoms, and drunk with the Blood of the Saints*, it became fashionable to defend her, nay, to praise her, and even to punish such as exposed her; such uncommon Friends she found in *Laud* and his Adherents. It is true, he and some others of that Cast wrote Books against some Parts of Popery. But what signified writing against Papists, when he was introducing and practising Popery at home? For, all Cruelty, or even Severity for Opinion, and all Authority assumed over Conscience and the Soul, is Popery, by whatever Name it be called. Besides, it was natural for *Laud*, who was acting as Pope himself, to deny the Power of the other Pope, at least here; and for the bare Notions, the Ceremonies, the Grimaces and Mummery of Popery, they are of little Consequence, any farther than as they tend to introduce and preserve its Power, by creating or continuing Delusion in the People.

*Laud* and his Adherents were notorious Persecutors; and all Persecution is Popery; and every Degree of it, even the smallest Degree is an Advance towards the Inquisition. As negative Penalties are the first Degree, so Death and Burning is the last and highest; all the other Steps are but natural Gradations following the first Degree, and introducing the last. For the smallest implies the Necessity of a greater, where the former fails; and consequently of the greatest of all, which is the Inquisition.

Was it now at all wonderful, that *Laud* and his Associates were chargep with being Papists, when they were openly introducing and exerting all the terrible Parts of Popery, Church Power and Persecution, and thus establishing Church Tyranny and an Inquisition? [II-293] For, it was thus that that bloody Court was established; and the like Claims and Practices will always introduce and establish it. *Madam de Motteville*, in the Memoirs of *Anne* of *Austria*, says expressly, upon the Authority and Information of King *Charles* the First's Queen, that *Laud* was a good Catholic in his Heart. It is certain, that he brought in what was most terrible in Popery, its Power and Cruelty, with not a few of its Fooleries and Superstitions. Whoever is a Tyrant and Persecutor is a Papist, in the only Sense of the Word that Protestants and Freemen are concerned about.

Let such as claim Power to controul Conscience and Opinion consider this, if they have not considered it already. Let those too over whom such Power is claimed consider it, and look upon the Men who claim it, as Enemies and Deceivers, that would seduce them in order to inslave them. How would any Man, any Protestant (who dares own his Opinion) like the Inquisition? Without doubt he would abhor it: Let him likewise abhor the Ways and Practices that lead to it; for it is supported entirely by the Power of the Clergy, which never has, never can produce any Good. As Dominion over Thoughts and Notions is in itself a Monster, the greatest of all Monsters, it must be supported by monstrous Means, even by Priests wielding or directing the Civil Sword; the pretended Followers of the humble Jesus, treading upon the Necks of Nations, engrossing their Wealth, and spilling their Blood.

Is any Man fond of his Liberty, as all Men naturally are, and of his own Opinions (for this too is natural) and of examining all Opinions; which every Man has a Right to do? Would he worship God after his own Way, be subject to no Man's insolent Rebukes and Controul, be exempt from vexatious Suits and Prosecutions, from clerical Curses followed with Civil Punishments, with Dungeons, and (as they say) with Damnation? Would he preserve his Conscience, his Person, his Time and his Property, and all that is dear to him, safe and intire? He is in consequence of all this obliged for ever to oppose all Power in the Clergy, at it has been ever found utterly repugnant to whatever [II-294] is dear to Men and Societies. I know not that ever they possessed Power without using it perniciously: I know not that ever they could persecute, and did not persecute: Such of them as had most argued and inveighed against Persecution, when they were under it, exercised it afterwards without Shame or Remorse, whenever they got the Rod into their own Hands. Thus the Catholics acted against the *Arians*; thus the latter acted against the former; both complaining heavily of Persecution,

both heavy Persecutors.

St. *Athanasius* could at one time argue,

“that the Devil does therefore use Violence, because he has a bad Cause, and the Truth is not on his Side. Jesus Christ, on the contrary, uses only Exhortations, because his Cause is good: *If any Man will be my Disciple, let him follow me.* He forces no Man to follow him; nor enters by Force where he is shut out,” Whence that Father observes, “that this persecuting Sect could not be of God.”

So argued all the Orthodox upon that Occasion, and I think very truly. St. *Hilary* urges the same Argument to an *Arian* Emperor and Persecutor, and denies the *Arians* to be the true Church, for this very Reason. But the Orthodox, when they were uppermost, changed their Tone; and never were there more merciless Persecutors, Oppressors, and Butchers than they. Hence their own Reasoning has been frequently turned upon them; and the Heretics have charged them, in their Turn, as being none of Christ’s Flock, because they had renounced his Spirit, and exercised Force and Cruelty. The *Donatists* particularly insulted them upon this unchristian Inconsistency.

But so it hath eternally happened, that no Reasoning, not even their own Reasoning, could ever restrain Churchmen, orthodox or heterodox, when they were invested with Power, or with the Direction of Power, from using it violently. The *Presbyterians* justly exclaimed against the Violence and Tyranny of Archbishop *Laud* and his Brethren, for harassing, imprisoning, fining, and persecuting them, and even driving them from their native Homes, to seek Peace and Shelter, and the quiet Worship of God in the Woods of *America*. He [II-295] had converted the High Commission Court into an Inquisition; nay, every Bishop’s Court was become an Inquisition; and many of the best Churchmen were silenced, fined, and even deprived, for adhering honestly to the Doctrines of the Reformation, to primitive Strictness of Manners, and for observing the Sabbath.

Did the *Presbyterians* afterwards, these very *Presbyterians*, who had thus groaned and smarted under Persecution, and complained of its Injustice and Fury, exercise Charity and Forbearance towards others who dissented from them, when they were become Masters of Ecclesiastical Rule? No: Never was a more bitter, intolerating Race, or more rigorous Exactors of Conformity. Every Man who differed from them was an Enemy to the State, an Innovator, forsooth, whom it behoved the State to suppress. They had forgot that *Laud* had brought the same Charge against them but a little before, and how unmercifully they had been then used as public Incendiaries, Enemies, and Innovators. Nor do any Set of Priests fail to draw down, if they can, the Anger of the Crown upon any Man who has merited theirs. Thus the Monks of St. *Denis* in *France*, in the twelfth Century, accused the famous *Abelard*, then amongst them, with being an Enemy to the Glory and Crown of *France*, only for denying that their Founder was *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, mentioned in the New Testament. It is indeed a Charge which all domineering Priests in the World have ever brought, will ever bring, against all who offend them, against all who withdraw from their Power, and disown their Systems. The *Presbyterians*, when undermost, felt this to be true, both before and afterwards; and always when they felt it, exclaimed against it; but took it up themselves without blushing, as soon as ever they tasted of Dominion.

The Churchmen too, they who had persecuted the *Presbyterians* without all Mercy, the Moment they found themselves persecuted by *Presbyterians*, made heavy Outcries against Persecution, and preached and wrote for Toleration. It was then that Dr. *Taylor* published his Book, intitled, *The Liberty of Prophesying*: An excellent Book it is, and was then extremely applauded by his Brethren of the Episcopal Profession. But did these [II-296] Churchmen, did even Dr. *Taylor*, after the Restoration, observe their own Reasoning and Writings for Indulgence to Dissenters? No; it was the great Business of the Churchmen, when they had

resumed their old Seats and Revenues, to preach, to write, to solicit severe Laws, and then the Execution of these Laws, against their Protestant Brethren, during all that long Reign.

Was not all this strangely inconsistent, as well as strangely unchristian, on both Sides? And was it not strange Madness, as well as Wickedness, in the Civil Power, to gratify the sour and aspiring Spirit of the Ecclesiastics, by plaguing and punishing the People about Religion? There is no End of their Demands, nor of the Unreasonableness of such Demands. In *Spain*, where they profess to burn Heretics, that is to say, Protestants, they complain of it at the same time, as Persecution in a Protestant Country, to imprison a *Romish* Priest, however factious and busy he be in perverting of Protestants. The High Clergy in *England*, though avowed Enemies to a Toleration here, would think it terrible Persecution to deny it to themselves, or their Brethren in *Scotland*. Ay, but we of the Church of *England* are the true Church of Christ, says the *English* Episcopalian: And so says *Rome* of herself, so says *Scotland*, so says *Geneva* and *Greece*, and so say all Churches in the World; and each of them would persecute and abolish all the rest as false or defective.

This is not the Spirit of Religion, nor of its Author, but an open Departure from that Spirit. It is the Spirit of Faction and Fury, which utterly blinds Men, and extinguishes that of Peace and Charity, without which Men cannot be Followers of Christ. Did we not daily see it, it would be incredible, to what Extravagancies religious Disputes will carry Men. *Daniel Tilenus*, a learned Man, and public Professor (I think, of Divinity) became so heated in favour of *Arminiasm*, in opposition to *Calvinism* and Predestination, that he declared, were he obliged to change his Religion, he would turn *Turk* sooner than *Calvinist*; for he denied that the *Calvinists* believed in God, and owned that the *Turks* did. *Grotius*, when Ambassador for *Sweden* in *France*, had two Chaplains, a *Calvinist* and a *Lutheran*, [II-297] who preached by Turns. What they principally laboured was to revile one another, and their Sermons were only Invectives. The Ambassador, tired and ashamed of the Extravagancies of these reverend Madmen, begged them to explain the Gospel, without wounding Christian Charity. This good Advice neither of them relished. His *Lutheran* Chaplain particularly replied, that *he must preach what God inspired*; and went on in the old Strain. For, all the Ravings of hot-headed Divines are fathered upon God. *Grotius* at last ordered him either to forbear railing or preaching. The meek Preacher turned away in great Wrath, expressing his Amazement, that a *Christian Ambassador should shut the Mouth of the Holy Ghost*. This he thought terrible Usage, and Persecution, and published his Complaints every where, that *Grotius had shut the Mouth of the Holy Ghost*; that is, his Chaplain's Mouth.

I return to consider the Consequences of Power and great Wealth in the Clergy. These Acquirements of Opulence and Dominion were so foreign to the first preaching of the Gospel, so little known to its Author, and his Disciples, that 'tis no Wonder they assorted so ill with it, and at last so strangely transformed it, and even banished all but the Name. What can be seen of Christ and his Humility, of the Apostles and their Poverty, in the Pomp and Pride, in the Fierceness and Domination of Priests? Is ought of the Plainness and Simplicity of the Gospel to be found in the Intricacies of School Divinity, in the endless Wranglings and wonderful Distinctions of Ecclesiastics? Does the Pope, or such as resemble, or would resemble the Pope, bear any Likeness of Christ, or of St. *Peter*? Did the Ambition of the Bishops and Clergy, their Avidity for Power and rich Churches, for which they contended with Blows, and Bloodshed and Slaughter, come from Christ, or from the Genius of his Religion? Were the Seditions, Tumults and War which ensued such ambitious Pursuits, the Effects of a Christian, or of a Clerical Spirit? Yet were not such Evils and terrible Calamities immediately derived from the Thirst of the Clergy after Grandeur and Authority?

[II-298]

At first they had no Revenue but Alms, and of these Alms they had only a Share; but to that Share they at last added (I had almost said feloniously) the Whole, cheating the Donors, and robbing the Poor. They afterwards greatly enlarged these Revenues (which were at first chiefly usurped) by Arts and Contrivances sufficiently wicked and vile, even by deceiving silly Women and Bigots, and selling them Salvation for present Money and Rents; by terrifying the Weak and Dying, and forcing them to compound for Heaven, by parting with all that they possessed on Earth. Father *Paul*, that rational and honest Clergyman, says, that the Church is beholden for her greatest Legacies and Donations, to the Bounty of infamous Women, Strumpets and Prostitutes, or to that of peevish People, who thus gratified their Spite towards their own Blood and Relations. And as the Church had no Riches but what were freely given her, or taken or gotten unjustly by her; so she had no Power but what was either begged or usurped. What Use they have made of both, we have already seen. It is most natural, that what is ill gotten, should be ill used.

It would make a curious History, to discover and explain minutely, from what particular Men, and by what particular Arts and Application, every Farm, every Estate and Donation, now possessed by Churchmen, was at first acquired. I question, whether any Revenues in the World were ever so wickedly procured; since to enrich the Church, all Means, even Wickedness, Murder and Impiety, were deemed lawful. Thus Assassins and Blasphemers merited Protection and Absolution; Tyranny and Oppression were warranted and sanctified; holy Snares were laid, false Terrors spread, Miracles forged, God's Name belied, and Jesus and his blessed Mother profanely personated by Priests, to delude Enthusiasts; as if these heavenly Beings had thus honoured them with a Visit in Person.

It were endless to enumerate all the Arts and Impieties, Impostures and Lies, by which Churchmen formerly filled their Coffers, at the Expence, and through the Stupidity of Laymen. And though no Possessions were ever so impiously obtained, I never heard any Instance [II-299] of their parting with them from Remorse or Shame, even whilst the right Heirs, by being thus deprived of their Estates, were starving, and the Possessors (or rather Usurpers) gorged with more Wealth than they could use even in their Luxury and Debauches. Whatever was once annexed to the Church, in these Days of Usurpation and Darkness (however knavishly or violently obtained) was forthwith sacred and unalienable; nay, it became no less than Sacrilege, to divest her of what she had gained by Robbery and Fraud. For, whatever was once hers, even her Frauds and Crimes, were holy; and it was profane to censure them, or indeed to see them; and he was profane, nay atheistical, who did it. Whoever found Fault with the Church, was an Enemy to the Church; and he who was an Enemy to the Church, was an Atheist. Hence the frequent and ridiculous Application of Atheism and Blasphemy, till these two Words, of themselves very awful, grew contemptible. As to the Quantity of the Church's Wealth, she never knew any Stint or Bounds; but whilst the Laity had to give, she took, till in some Countries she had all, and they Rags and no Bread.

Even in this Protestant Nation, it is computed, that they have a fifth Part of our Wealth; yes, that fifteen or twenty thousand Priests are endowed with the fifth Part of the Property of eight Millions of People. Are they satisfied with this? And do they never aim at more, or complain of this as too little? If they do, 'tis not for the Reputation of their Modesty: I am sorry to add, that they are in a Way of draining and monopolizing all the Wealth of *England*. It is thought, that the Revenue of the Churchmen is at present as large as in the Times of Popery, notwithstanding the Demolition of so many Monasteries, and the Seizure of their Revenues; considering that the Clergy then maintained the Poor, who are now supported chiefly by the Laity, at an immense Charge, no less than two Millions a Year. There are indeed some Individuals who have very small Salaries: But whose Fault is that? Are there not others, who wallow in Thousands, yet do less Duty than such as are in constant Service with

Appointments of ten or twenty Pounds a Year? Why should not the Wealth of [II-300] the Church be more equally and charitably divided. But so it often is, that the more Churchmen have, the more they seek, yet the less they do. To all this I wish it were not in my Power to add, but it is true, and I must add it, that whatever Corruptions have crept into the Church, did so by the Contrivance, at least by the Connivance, of Churchmen, and were never afterwards removed by their Consent.

They are always forward to complain of Innovations, and of disturbing Things that are settled. But who have made more Innovations than Churchmen? Who have more disturbed and changed Religion and States, by their Ambition, by their Disputes, by their turbulent Behaviour and exorbitant Claims? And, who are so much given to change? What Changes, what violent and lawless Changes were there not wrought by *Laud* and his Brethren in his Time, and always attempted by those of his Spirit ever since? The Laity have been only on the defensive, warding off the Attempts and monstrous Demands of such of the Clergy, and answering their wild Writings. What is a great Part of Ecclesiastical History, but a continual Detail and Repetition of the Efforts of the Clergy to govern Mankind, and to master the World? Was not this an Innovation with a witness, a Propensity to change, and actual and alarming Change? Were they not continually attempting to be what they were not, to have what they had not, still to be richer, still to be greater? Could there be a greater Change than from the Almsmen of the People to become Lords and Princes; from Poverty and Humility, to rise to Mitres and Diadems, and Dominion? And could such a Change, a Change so mighty and unnatural, be accomplished without turning the World upside down?

This is something more than *quieta movere*, something more than disturbing Things that were quiet. Did not *Laud* actually master and abolish the Laws of his Country, assert the Independency of the Clergy upon the Civil Power, and terrify the Judges from issuing Prohibitions, as they were actually sworn to do? And did the Spirit of *Laud*, and this Passion in the Clergy of his Stamp, for Dominion, Independency, and Princely [II-301] Revenues, die with *Laud*? No: They have even improved upon his Scheme, and added, if possible, to his wild and enslaving Pretensions; and, as a Proof that they were the Pretensions of the Body, at least of the Majority, the Convocation could never be persuaded to censure them.

In short, whoever doubts, whether they (I mean all along, such of the Clergy as ambitiously pursued Power) have not been the Authors of Changes in the World, of great and calamitous Changes; whether they have not themselves changed and degenerated from their Patterns and Original, need only read History, and compare them with Christ and his Apostles, compare their Pretensions, Pomp, Luxury, and Possessions, with the Simplicity, Humility, Labour, and Disinterestedness of the Primitive Christians.

The Truth, I doubt, is, when they make this Complaint, which is very usual with them, then *it is not safe to disturb Things which are established*, they only mean to discourage People from disturbing them in their favourite Pursuit after Power and Riches. Whatever is established by the New Testament and the Law, no Man that I know is for disturbing. But if they have Aims and Demands which are neither warranted by Christ nor the Constitution, it is right, and christian, and legal, to disturb, and even to defeat them.

Such high Claimers, therefore, of Princely Rule and Opulence (if there be any such) are the Men given to change; and it is always just to oppose Usurpation, to redress Grievances, remove Nuisances, and to attack Fraud, Avarice, and Nonsense.

It would be endless to deduce Particulars. But suppose any assuming Clergyman were so extravagant and daring, and had so little Regard to Conscience and public Tranquillity, as to attempt to establish an Ecclesiastical Tribunal in our Colonies abroad, to the Terror and Affliction of our Brethren there, who were many of them first driven thither by the



Oppression and Barbarity of such Courts here, especially in Archbishop *Laud's* Reign; would not such an Attempt tend to a bold Innovation, and discover a busy, an arrogant and dangerous Spirit in such a Clergyman; and would he [II-302] not be a good Subject and an honest Man, who set himself against such a lewd Attempt, and exposed its wicked Tendency?

Suppose any other Clergyman such an Enemy to the Civil Constitution, and to the Church of *England*, or such a Deserter from it, as to contend for the Independency of the Clergy, for their Exemption from the Civil Laws, nay for trying a Clergyman when he is tried, by a Jury of Clergymen; would not such a Man deserve severe Animadversion and Punishment; and would it not be honest and meritorious, to defend the Laws, and repulse this their Enemy, this Innovator, this Papist?

Suppose any other designing Priest, fond of promoting Superstition for the Ends of Authority and Gain, should abuse the Credulity of the People, by pretending to convey Holiness into Ground and Stone Walls; as if Earth or Stone, or any thing inanimate, were susceptible of Sanctity, or their Quality to be altered by solemn Words; and all this without any Colour of Warrant from Law or Gospel, but in Opposition to the Spirit of both; would not such a crafty Priest be a false Guide, an Innovator, who relinquished Truth and the Protestant Religion, to promote Error, and to introduce Popery and Delusion? And would not he who resisted and confuted him, be a Friend to Society, a Defender of Truth, and a Foe to Fraud?

Suppose any Clergymen so bent upon exalting Churchmen and their Revenue (for the sure Way of raising Them is to raise That) that he encouraged Designs and Schemes for transferring the whole Wealth of a Nation, by no slow Degrees, into the Coffers of the Clergy; would not such a Man be a Promoter of Change, of a universal and melancholy Change, and a declared Enemy to the Laity? And would it not be becoming Laymen, nay, incumbent on them, to be upon their Guard, to secure their Estates, and to preserve themselves and Posterity from Poverty and Vassalage?

Suppose (once more) that any other Clergyman should have the Boldness to declare publicly, that a Brother Clergyman (a Bishop, for Example) still continued a true Bishop of the Church of Christ, even though he stood convicted of, and deprived for the highest and [II-303] blackest Crimes, namely, Perjury, Disloyalty, Conspiracy, Treason and Rebellion; would not such a Declaration be highly insolent, scandalous, and punishable? To tell those who make Priests, that they cannot unmake them, nor one of them, would be to tell them, that Priests are above the Law and the Laity; that the Clergy have a Power and Designation which Laymen cannot take away, though the Laity and the Law actually create them, and confer upon them the only Designation that they can have, nay, confer their whole Office; nor does our Constitution particularly own, or know any Character in any Subject whatsoever, but what the Law alone bestows; and all the Clergy renounce upon Oath all Power whatsoever but what they derive from hence. An Act of Parliament would to-morrow effectually degrade all the Clergy in *Great Britain*; that is, reduce them all to Laymen, and create so many Priests immediately out of the Laity, without a Jot more Apparatus or Ceremony. Whoever is declared to be a Priest by any Society, is a Priest to them, and ceases to be one the Moment they declare him none. The strange Notion of an indelible Character is arrant Nonsense and true Priestcraft, nay the Ground-work of all Priestcraft. Would it therefore be borne by an Assembly of Law-makers, so tender of their Liberties and of Protestantism as ours are, to have this same indelible Character, this Root of Popery, maintained to their Faces? And would it not draw down their Indignation and Censures upon the bold Offender, I had almost said, Deceiver? Surely it would; and therefore

I mention these Instances as bare Possibilities, which can never be suffered in this free Protestant Country, but are common in Popish Countries, nay, are some of the reigning Tenets and Practices which support Popery. How zealous *Laud* was in such Popish Practices and Tenets, I have not now Time to explain. Read his Life and Trial.

It is now high Time to draw towards a Conclusion, by considering briefly what produced the Tragedy of this Day; a Consideration which will lead us to see how such Tragedies are to be prevented. The immediate Instruments of the King's Murder were violent Men, supported by a powerful Army, gained and commanded [II-304] by a Usurper. This Power in the Army, and his Power over it, were the Effects of the Civil War, which was itself caused by the Misunderstanding and Struggle between the King and Parliament. What originally produced this Misunderstanding, which produced all the rest, is what we are principally to attend to. It is of much less Moment to know by what Hands the King fell, than to know how such Hands, or any Hands, came to be lifted up against him.

Now, if we enquire into the first Cause, from which all the rest naturally followed, we shall find that the Violence of his Reign caused his violent End. It is not to be denied nor disguised, that from the very Beginning the Court aimed at arbitrary Power, openly pursued it, and for fifteen Years together practised it, raising Money without Law, and against Law; which was Robbery in those who enforced the Collection of it; imprisoning Men, the best and greatest Men, without Law and against Law; which was lawless Cruelty; seizing the Lands and Estates of others, without Right and against Right; which was flagrant Oppression and Violence; assuming and exercising a Power to dispense with Laws, that is, a Power to make and annul Laws; which was manifest Usurpation; and, in short, establishing an Arbitrary and *Turkish* Authority over the Persons, and Rights and Fortunes of the People; which was apparent and undeniable Tyranny.

Between Law and Violence, between Right and Tyranny, there is no Medium, no more than between Justice and Oppression. If King *Charles* had no Right to act thus, then his acting thus was Tyranny. If he had a Right, of what Force are Laws and Oaths, and where is our Constitution, and boasted Birthrights of *Englishmen*, and our ancient *Magna Charta*? Why was his Son King *James* turned out? why declared to have forfeited? And I would ask the Admirers and Defenders of King *Charles* I. how they would have liked, how borne such Violences, such lawless Doings and Misrule in King *William*; how in the late Reign; how in this? How would they have relished the Imprisonment of their Persons, Taxes laid on and exacted without Consent of Parliament, arbitrary and excessive Fines, their [II-305] Estates seized, their Families impoverished or famishing? Doubtless, no Men would have been louder in the Cry of Tyranny; and very just and natural would have been such a Cry. No sort of Men talk more warmly and frequently now in favour of Liberty and Law. How do they reconcile such Zeal and Professions with an Approbation of the Reign of King *Charles* I. which was one continued Series of Oppressions, had abolished Liberty and Law, and established universal Slavery? How would they have borne such terrible and tyrannical Usage? Very impatiently, I dare say. If they say otherwise, no reasonable Man will believe them, nor have they, upon Trial, ever shewed much Passiveness of Spirit. Besides, if they justify the enslaving Measures then; they are not in earnest, or utterly inconsistent with themselves now, when they extol public Liberty, and are for restraining Kings and their Ministers to Reason and Law.

What we have therefore to do on this Day, is not only to abhor the bloody Death of the King, and wicked Instruments of it, but to abhor also his evil and wicked Government for fifteen Years together; abhor the impious Principles which were then countenanced and prevailed, with the traitorous and ungodly Broachers and Promoters of such; and all the evil and arbitrary Counsellors then and since. And as we lament his latter End, let us detest the Beginning and Course of his Reign, which was as enormous and guilty, as his Catastrophe

was mournful and barbarous. Was it crying Guilt thus to cut him off, as surely it was? Was it not also crying Guilt in the Crown, to abandon its Duty, to violate the Coronation Oath, to tread upon Law and Justice, to persecute Conscience, to rob and oppress the People, and from limited and lawful, to become lawless and arbitrary? And is it not equally reasonable, equally becoming us, as *Englishmen* and Freemen, to commemorate and detest an Administration so pernicious and devouring, Measures so black and lawless? Is it not our Duty to take Warning by them, and whenever we are threatened with them, to guard against them; to watch every Principle of Slavery, and suppress it betimes; to rejoice that we live in happier Times, live in a free Government, [II-306] and under the free Course of the Laws; to pray for the Continuance of such an invaluable Blessing, and be dutiful and assisting to that good and great Prince who secures it to us, and claims nothing to himself, but what our Parliaments and the known Laws give him?

Let us also learn a Lesson from the Behaviour of the Clergy at that Time; and as they were then become wanton with extravagant Power, and used it very cruelly, in persecuting and oppressing their Fellow-Subjects; let us take Care for the future, that they who are set apart for the Purposes of Holiness, be not spoiled by the unnatural Possession and Exercise of worldly Business and Authority. Methinks it is profaning holy Men, as they are, to embark them in secular Affairs, in the Commerce and Occupations of Laymen and Worldlings. As they miserably misled that unhappy Prince, King *Charles* I. it may serve as a Warning to other Princes from being led by them: And as they promoted and justified all unlawful and merciless Impositions upon the Laity; as they contended that we were obliged to undergo all Servitude, to be tame Slaves to the mere Will of the Prince, and to obey it as our only Law; we may from hence infer, that whenever they leave preaching the Gospel, and turn Courtiers and Politicians, they are out of their Element, and thence grow more wild and extravagant, as well as more wicked, and shameless and false than other Men are.

It would never have entered into the Heart of a Layman, that the merciful God authorised Iniquity, Perjury, Perfidiousness and Tyranny; and that any miserable Wretch, who had all these crying Sins to answer for, was still sacred, and the Vicegerent of God; or that God, who hates Wickedness, had forbid to resist, that is, to remedy the highest and most complicated Wickedness, nay damned all who had Sense and Virtue enough to do so.

These Positions were Monsters, formed by Clergymen out of their Sphere, and in high Fashion with *Laud* and his Associates. Was it very natural for the Laity to love and reverence such Clergymen, or these monstrous Positions? *The Lord said unto me, The Prophets prophesy Lies in my Name; I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: They prophesy unto you a [II-307] false Vision and Divination, and a Thing of nought, and the Deceit of their Hearts.* Jer. xiv. 14. Would it not therefore be prudent to keep all Clergymen from thus exposing themselves to Hate and Ridicule, and from promoting Mischief and Misery amongst the Laity? And is not this their Guilt infinitely more heinous and aggravated than that of the greatest private Sinner can be, as it affects and involves whole Nations, and is impiously covered with the Veil of Religion?

According to this Rule, and I think it a true Rule, the blackest Felon that ever suffered, was an Innocent in Comparison of *Laud*, and those of his Leaven; and had *Laud* consumed his Time in Debauchery, he could have done but small Hurt, compared to what he did as a Troubler and Seducer of the World. His Morals, as a private Man, did but heighten his Credit to do Mischief. With what an ill Grace must such Men rebuke private Vice and the Detail of Sins, they who vend and commit Sins by the Gross? This is indeed to swallow Camels and strain at Gnats. Crimes are to be measured by their Consequences; and he who persecutes Men, he who misleads them and enslaves them, is the most guilty, the most monstrous and gigantic of all Criminals. Had *Laud* been a Parish Priest, and confined himself to the Duties of one; or being a Bishop, had he done so; he, who was a Man of Learning and Morals, might

have been an innocent, nay, an useful Man. But as he and his Brethren would needs sway the Court and the Nation, they overturned both by the wickedest of all Means, even by an Excess of Tyranny and Oppression. It was they who raised, or at least increased the Storm, which at last ruined the Public, and overwhelmed them in the public Ruins.

These therefore are the Things and Persons now proper to be commemorated. From these we are to take our Marks and Warnings against a Relapse into the like evil Days and Calamities: And if there be any Curse still subsisting, derived from the King's Blood, it must justly lie upon them who approve the Men and Measures that first rendered him arbitrary and oppressive, and thence unpopular and distrusted. Here the Evil began, and from hence it was propagated like a Train. Had [II-308] he always ruled, as he afterwards too late proposed to rule, when Men were irritated and engaged, and full of Distrust, there had been no civil War, nor a conquering Army, nor an *Oliver*, nor consequently Royal Blood spilt. His Design and Promises to govern better afterwards (when he found that the Laws and Constitution would prevail) have been often urged and repeated, and are a Confession that he had governed ill before. Perhaps he meant to perform them. It is certain his Misrule had been sadly felt; nor is there any Proof but his Word, that he intended to change: That Word had been often and egregiously broken, especially in the Bill of Rights, which he solemnly promised to observe; yet he afterwards openly violated that just Bill.

How this Prince comes to be still so extremely popular amongst many of the Clergy, and consequently amongst many of the Laity, influenced by them, is obvious enough. He was a very great Bigot to the Church, to Ceremonies and Shew in Religion, and to the Power and Pomp of Churchmen. These he cherished, and exalted, and obeyed; invested them with his own Power, and surrendered to them almost the whole Supremacy; and not only suffered them to enjoy the Use of it as a Present from him, but suffered them to seize it for themselves, and even to deny his Title to it. For such Court and Favour to them, for humouring them in their Persecution of the Puritans, for his glutting them with Power, and becoming their Creature, rather than Sovereign and Head of the Church, they promoted and consecrated all the Excesses, Oppressions, and lawless Measures of his Reign, because all these Violences were exercised over the Laity; and the Churchmen were so far from feeling them, that they shared in his Domination, and acted the King too in their Place and Turn. This is the true Source of so much Merit and Praise; for this he is adored and sainted; for this he has been often compared to *Jesus Christ* in his Sufferings; and for this the Guilt of murdering him has been represented as greater than that of crucifying our blessed Saviour.

These their Panegyrics are, in truth, partial and shameful in all Respects, as well as impious and profane; since thence they who utter them make it evident, [II-309] that they care not how a Prince abuses his Trust, and oppresses his Lay Subjects, if he will but humour and aggrandize the Clergy; else why so much Incense and Applause bestowed upon a Prince who actually did so? This is partial and dishonourable; nor can there be a greater Insult upon the Laity, than to desire, or even hope, that they should join in such Praises and Applause. They who feel Oppression, cannot extol him who commits it, nor reckon him a good King, who uses them like Slaves.

No Sort of Men are more tender than the Clergy, when their Property, or Persons, or Privileges are touched, or more severe and resenting, or even more unforgiving towards such as meddle with either. I fear much, that had the Clergy been then used as the Laity were, treated like mean Slaves, worried with arbitrary Power and Impositions, and imprisoned upon mere Will and Command, this Day would not have been commemorated at all, or perhaps commemorated in a very different Manner. Why should not the Laity too have felt and resented Indignities done, and Violences committed against the Laity? Was it natural or possible to praise and honour the Author of such Violence and Indignities? When the Clergy were pleased and gratified, they might rejoice, though it be not generous to triumph when

others suffer, nay, by their Sufferings. But the Laity could not express Joy, when they had just Cause to sorrow and mourn; or was it possible they should?

Such is the Difference between the Laity and the High Clergy, with regard to King *Charles I.* and Archbishop *Laud*. They adore the Archbishop, because he raised their Power beyond all Reason and Law, and was furious in the Exercise of such usurped Power: They adore the King for suffering such Encroachment, for being subservient to the Pride and Pursuits of Churchmen, and for dividing the Sovereignty with them. But as both the King and the Archbishop abused their Power, oppressed and persecuted the Laity, the Laity can commend neither; and have good Reason to pray, that they may never see such a King, nor such an Archbishop, any more for ever, and bless God for their present happy and different Situation. This is indeed just and copious [II-310] Cause for Joy and Thanksgiving. King *George* reigns, the Laws prevail, Dissenters and private Conscience are protected, the Clergy have their Dues, and to all Men their Property is religiously secured. This is Protection, this is Liberty, this is Renown, and we are happy, and ought to be dutiful and content.

As to such Churchmen who will be contending, that the Clergy are a distinct Body from the Laity, with separate Interests and Views, they cannot be surprized to see, that the Laity improve the Hint and Example, and take Care of themselves. It is very natural for the Laity to remember, that they alone give and continue to the Clergy what they have, and make them what they are. It is natural for them to be alarmed, when they hear the lawless Rule of King *Charles I.* applauded, his lawless and oppressive Measures justified or excused, and himself sainted and adored. This is a bold and awakening Insult, and a full Declaration, that if High-Churchmen can but flourish and domineer as they did then, they care not how much the Laity droop and decay; nay, approve and encourage the Bonds and Distresses of the Laity: And as a Proof how violently in earnest such High-Churchmen are in their Panegyrics upon that King and his Reign, they treat as Monsters and false Brethren, all impartial Clergymen, that refuse to falsify and daub as they do; insomuch that such reasonable and moderate Clergymen as confess the Truth, and love the Law and the Laity, and are willing to do Justice to both, are scorned and derided, and reviled, as bad Churchmen, that is, as Friends to the Constitution, to Liberty, and Laymen, and such only as the Laity ought to esteem. Surely the Laity cannot but consider as open Foes, such Men as vindicate the Oppression and Bondage of the Laity: And that the Laity were thus used by that King, is Fact; and it is Fact also, that in using the Laity thus, he was abetted and prompted by all High-Churchmen then, and justified by all such ever since. Is it not full time for us Laymen to see these Things, to resent such Insults, and to mark such Insulters? Is it not fair in us, is it not natural for us, to distinguish with all Countenance and Favour, those Clergymen alone, who contend for the Liberty and Rights [II-311] of the Laity, and condemn all the mad and extravagant Claims, and all the selfish and violent Tenets of High-Churchmen?

As to the black Fact committed on this Day, all Men agree to condemn and abhor it, as utterly unlawful, violent, and full of Guilt. But this is not enough for High-Churchmen, unless all the Oppressions and Excesses, all the wicked Counsellors and Instruments of that Reign be likewise excused, if not extolled. This is what they themselves have ever confidently undertaken to do, in the Face of the most glaring Truth and Facts. How we Laymen ought to consider this Day, and these Men, I have already said. In truth, had not there been such Men then, there had not been such a Day now. By them the unhappy King, of himself, very vain of unbounded Power, and fond of setting Royalty above Right, was abetted and encouraged to pursue such Measures as ended in much Misery to him, as well as to his People: By such Men his Son was tempted to try the same dangerous and guilty Experiment; and by trusting to such Men, to their unnatural Whims and deadly Flattery, he lost his Crown and his Honour, lived an Exile, and died a Beggar.

From hence, and from all that has been said, let us learn a Lesson proper for this Day, and for every Day; that is, let us take great Care, according to the Words and Warning of my Text, *that the Hypocrite reign not, lest the People be insnared.*

*P. S.* The Author of this Sermon finding his Matter increase, and his Sermon already too long, reserves what he has farther to say, to a Supplement, which he will soon publish, addressed to a very important and most solemn Churchman.

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[II-312]

*A Supplement to the Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on January 30.  
1732. Addressed to a very important and most solemn Churchman,  
Sollicitor-General for Causes Ecclesiastical.* ↪

By THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

Anno 1733.

*Holy Father,*

I Apply to you without Form or Compliment, about certain Doubts and Difficulties, which, I am told, no Man is so fit as you to answer and resolve. Your great Abilities (I do not say in Divinity; for that is a very different thing, but) in Canons, Distinctions, Discipline, and all Parts of Church-Attorneyship, are allowed by all Men; even such as dispute his Majesty's Title to the Crown, allow you that of an *Excellent Churchman*. As I aim at no Preferment, and therefore bring no Incense, I was willing to shew you, that it was possible to dedicate to you without Worship or Daubing. Besides, I take this my Address to you to be exceeding suitable; since you, who have made Church-Power and Church-Revenues so much your Care and Pursuit, are a proper Judge, whether what I have said of the evil Influence of Church-Power and Revenue over Religion and human Society be true.

You, who must have traced Ecclesiastical Grandeur up to its first Sources, and marked its Progress, Improvements and Variations, can readily explain how it arose, how it was used, whether righteously acquired, whether honestly employed, how it affected the Laity, how the Clergy; what Tendency it had to advance Religion and civil Happiness, what Success in mending the Morals, and increasing the Humility and pious Labours of Churchmen.

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You, who are known to contend for Ecclesiastical Authority, can demonstrate what that Authority is, whence derived, by whom and over whom to be exercised, how to be reconciled to Conscience, Christianity, and common Sense; whether it can produce or preserve Conviction, and make Men Christians, or continue them so; and whether such Authority be consistent with Reason and Grace, or whether Reason and Grace do not exclude and destroy such Authority; as also how such Authority consists with the Oaths of the Clergy, who swear to renounce all Claim to any Power of any Kind or Sort whatsoever, but what they derive from the Crown.

Pray tell us, what any Clergyman can do, which any Layman, who can read and write, cannot do, and may not do, if the Law appoint him? Is it not the Law alone, which has the Power to qualify, and can alone disqualify? Whoever maintains the contrary, incurs a *Præmunire*. Have the Clergy any Revelation but the Bible? And is not such Revelation made to the Laity, and indeed, without Restriction, to all Men? And are not the necessary and practical Parts of the Bible very plain and intelligible to Laymen? And have Clergymen ever agreed about explaining the dark Parts? I wish none had ever endeavoured to darken the clearest Parts of it, or to hide and suppress the Whole. If the Assertion of any Powers invisible in Men, that is, Powers which have no visible Effect, be other than a Dream and Forgery; you will do well to shew what they are, whence they are, and how they effect their strange and invisible Feats. To read Prayers, and Scriptures, and Sermons; to give Bread and Wine, and say Words over them; to sprinkle Water upon Babes; to declare what offends God and his Law; and to wear Gowns and Bands, and broad Hats, are Exploits which may be performed by very mean Men amongst the Laity: And to judge and declare who are qualified

to perform them, is a Task as easy as the rest. Will you say, that such Functions are less effectual in a Layman, or more so in a Clergyman? Who told you so? It may be so said in the old Popish Canons, or Schoolmen, and [II-314] in the extravagant Writings of some Ecclesiastics; but no where in the New Testament.

Will you say, that God blesses any pious Office done by a Layman, less than when done by a Clergyman? And what Idea would this give us of God? Will you say that a little Infant, free from Offence, and incapable of offending, is therefore debarred from Heaven, or any Part of Bliss, because he dies unbaptized, or was baptized by a Layman? And what Idea does such a Tenet exhibit of the divine Being? Or, if a Layman can do this sacred Office effectually, why not more Offices, and all?

You know what impious Notions many Clergymen have broached and held about Baptism, as if no Salvation could be had without it, and no Baptism without them. This is one of the monstrous, I had almost said blasphemous, Whims resulting from the other monstrous Whim, that of an indelible Character; which is a Whim so very strange and inconceivable, that where 'tis once believed and established, 'tis no wonder to see the wildest Extravagancies, and even Impossibilities and Contradictions maintained and believed in consequence of it: Since from any senseless Position whatsoever, endless Deductions of Nonsense can be drawn, and may seem naturally to follow; and one Contradiction shall produce, and illustrate, and prove an hundred Contradictions. Thus, if either the indelible Character, or apostolic Succession, or Infallibility, or Power of binding and loosing be but allowed; from these, or any of these, all the most fraudulent, fanatical, and engrossing Claims of the Pope and Popish Clergy, may be deduced and established.

May not a Layman perform all spiritual Offices, where there are no Clergymen? Is a Chapter of the Bible less edifying, when read by a Layman, than when read by a Clergyman? I ask this the rather, because I knew a Tradesman, who read Prayers and the Scripture on Sundays, at a foreign Fishery, where there were no Clergy, and he was therefore thought proper to be put into Deacon's Orders, as if he had been thence the better qualified for reading Prayers and the Bible. Was this Employment in him, either more sacred, or more effectual [II-315] afterwards than before? If it was, what an Idea does this too give us of the Great God? Or, have the Clergy succeeded better than Laymen, in appointing one another? Father *Paul* says, and History says, the contrary. That excellent Writer lays it down as Fact, that the best Bishops were made by Princes; and that whenever the Clergy had the conducting of their own Elections, infinite Disorders ensued: So little, or so ill Effect had their indelible Character in making and appointing one another. Was not this Pretence to an indelible Character, one great Source of Popery and the Inquisition, and of all the Terrors, Frauds, and Deformities of Priestcraft? And was it not natural for *Indelibility* to produce *Infallibility*; and is there more to be said for the former than for the latter?

I should also be glad to hear you discourse rationally about Pluralities and Commendams, and shew their Consistency with the Duty and Call of such Churchmen as possess them. As they who do not reside, do not labour, Should such as do no Work, receive Pay? *Beneficium propter officium*, was the Stile of old; and Benefices were given for spiritual Purposes. Indeed, the temporal Part was only considered in a second and circumstantial Sense. "Afterwards, says Father *Paul*, the spiritual Part was forgot, and nothing but the Profits regarded." This was lamentable Corruption; yet such as dealt in it, and, in truth, in little else, called themselves holy Men; that is, the most sordid, the most corrupt and covetous, such as made Traffic of Churches and Souls, assumed to be holy, and claimed an indelible Character.

In the primitive Times, it was scandalous and forbidden, that any Clerk should quit his Cure, though ever so poor, for another though richer. It was alledged and ordained, That if any Bishop despised his Bishopric for being small, and sought after a greater Diocese and



larger Rents, he should not only never obtain the greater Bishopric, which through Avarice he desired, but even lose that which he already possessed, and thro' Pride despised. What can be a more sacred Trust than a Trust of Souls; what so important? Does it not require all the Time and Attention that mortal Men can [II-316] bestow? And how is such Duty to be reconciled to Pluralities and Commendams, how to Non-residence? The holding of more Churches than one, was adjudged by some principal Fathers of the primitive Church, to be spiritual Polygamy: And I question, whether a Plurality of Wives, though Felony by our Law, be so sinful, or can have such bad Consequences, when we consider that some Pastors, who are greatly endowed, hardly ever see the Faces of their Flocks: Some have several Flocks, and feed none of them, but take vast Pay for nothing, and employ Underlings for poor Wages. If these Underlings, and these poor Wages are sufficient, as by their Practice these great Clergymen shew that they think, Is it not natural for the Laity to desire to make as good Bargains as the Clergy? Is it not natural to conclude, that since the highest and most solemn Offices may be performed at a small Expence, as is manifest from the hiring of Curates, it would be but Prudence to save such high Revenues given to such as do nothing but hire others?

How a spiritual Trust once conferred, could be afterwards delegated to another, the Trust itself transferred, and the Advantages reserved, I could never yet account either from the Gospel of Christ, or from the natural Ideas of Morality! Yet are not great Revenues daily desired upon the Erection of any new Church, though he who is to enjoy them, often does no Duty at all, but leaves it to a cheap Hireling? And is not that Service for which the Parish is to pay many Hundreds a Year, often performed for thirty or forty Pounds a Year? Some Civil Trusts may be thus executed by Deputies; but is this a Way to deal (I had almost said to traffic) with Souls, and to be answerable for them? Is this spiritual Fathership? Is this apostolic, or are those who do so still Successors to the Apostles? I should be glad to hear you explain this, and shew whether any Man who possessed to turn Religion into a Trade, could act in a different or more lucrative manner.

I have likewise some Doubts to propose to you about Excommunication, which, I fear, is little understood, and greatly abused. If it were originally no more than turning a Man out of a Society with the Laws of which [II-317] he would not comply, as was really the Case, and as is daily done in common Clubs, and in Juntoes of Traders; is it not notorious Abuse, as well as extremely daring and wicked, to construe it into the dismal Delivery of a Soul to the Devil and Damnation? Will you say, dare you venture to say, that a Person excommunicated is in the Power of Satan, and that such a Sentence sends him thither? If it do, they who pronounce it must be the most wicked and impious of all Men; nor can any earthly Consideration excuse them. Is it for Tithe? Then is their Tithe dearer to them than an immortal Soul. Is it not for Tithe, but for Contumacy, in not appearing and owning their Jurisdiction? Then is their Pride and Jurisdiction of more Weight with them, than the Salvation of Men? But if Excommunication have no such Effect, why is not the Bug-bear removed, by explaining it into a reasonable and a christian Meaning? Or rather, why is a Practice which cannot be of God, suffered to continue, why impiously continued in his Name? And can any Man who defends Excommunication, argue against Purgatory? The temporal Effects of it are sufficiently heavy and hard; so hard, that nothing under the highest Consideration can justify the Man who brings them down upon another. Its spiritual Operation, were it true, would indeed be shocking and frightful. But who would affront the Divine Being, by believing that he, the Author of Mercy and Wisdom, could contradict his own Nature to gratify the Peevishness and Cruelty of weak and revengeful Men?

They who are apt to bring the Charge of Blasphemy against others, often upon very small, sometimes upon very ludicrous Occasions, would do well to consider, Whether there can be higher Blasphemy, than to assert a Power in Man of directing or obliging the

Almighty; a Privilege to apply the Might and Terrors of Omnipotence to the Perdition of Men? I presume you will not say of Excommunication, what I am told the reverend Dr. *Fiddes* says of Popish Indulgences in his History of *Henry VIII*. *That they were a Treasure which the Church had been long in Possession of.*

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I leave it therefore to your Judgment, whether this spiritual Engine be for the Service of Christ's Church, or for the Credit of such as call themselves his Ministers; and whether what is shocking to Sense and Humanity, can ever be true in Religion, or a Part of Religion, I mean of the Christian Religion.

I would also humbly propose it to your serious Thoughts, whether amongst your public Admonitions and Reproofs to the Laity, you might not think it adviseable, and find Cause, to let your Brethren the Clergy have their Share. Are there no prevailing Mistakes or Disorders amongst them? No strange and unreasonable Claims maintained by them who are called Orthodox, no extravagant Writings published, no wild and passionate Sermons preached? Is Orthodoxy alone never preferred by you to eminent Piety and Sufficiency, under Suspicion of Heterodoxy? Is the Man who asserts *Christ's Kingdom not to be of this World*, as dear to you as they who would found worldly Power upon the Gospel of Christ, and erect a Priesthood with Power, in virtue of being Successors to him, who had no Power, and disclaimed all Power? Are you equally tender to the Failings of Laymen, as to those of Clergymen? Or, is it your Opinion and Policy, that the same should be concealed and dissembled, at least not exposed to the profane Laity?

I remember an Instance, where I thought the Partiality of a more than Reverend Clergyman too apparent; for whilst *He* manifested much just Zeal for capitally punishing certain beastly Offenders against the Law, and Purity and Design of Nature, I mean *Lay-Offenders*; all *His Zeal* cooled, at least produced small Effect, in the Case of a *Brother Doctor* found to have been flagrantly guilty of that Abomination for many Years, and often in a very sacred Place; yet this Doctor escaped with an Admonition and a small Fine, in a Court too where that more than Reverend Clergyman was thought to have no small Influence. And I suppose, that that unnatural Sinner was still esteemed to be *a true Minister of the Church*, since he is still left to act as such, and to receive the Stipend of such, doubtless to the great Edification of Souls, and Credit of Orthodoxy and of Episcopal [II-319] Courts. So far was that more than Reverend Clergyman from applying, on this Occasion, to the secular Arm, though *He* had just before praised it for finding out, and pouring down its deadly Terrors upon, such bestial Criminals.

A little of your public and private Advice to your Brethren, recommending to them more Meekness and Moderation, with a Behaviour more complaisant and less litigious towards the People, would be of use. I hear that you give them very different Advice, even to be as troublesome and vexatious to their People as they can, by departing from settled Customs, and starting new Demands. Such Advice is by no means proper for them, nor do they want it. It is certain, they would do well not to render themselves daily more unpopular and obnoxious by Haughtiness, Greediness, and Law-Suits. My Lord *Clarendon* owns, that the Clergy of that Time, supported and animated by Archbishop *Laud*, grew assuming, and lived not well with their Neighbours in the Country. This bred ill Blood towards them; and when they were pulled down, it was remembered how insolently they had behaved when uppermost: Hence the easier Way was made for the sower and gloomy Set who succeeded them.

The present daily Increase of their Property, their Monopoly of Advowsons, their breaking all the Modus's, their frequent Success in troublesome Suits, and their apparent Fondness of such, help to sooth and exalt them: But all this is seen, and felt, and regretted by the whole Body of the Laity, it may bring a Storm strong enough to overthrow all these Advantages. Perhaps too, Abuses, not now thought of, will be then sought, and found, and severely redressed.

This Thought is really painful to me; in the Sincerity of my Heart I speak it; for I dread all great Changes, and all Approaches towards such. I would therefore have the Clergy provoke none: They must not, in this inlightened Age, and an Age of Liberty, think themselves a Match for the Laity, were the Laity once tempted to exert themselves. Perhaps they were never less a Match for the Laity than now. Times and Countries have been, when the People were so blind, or [II-320] so awed, that though Religion was turned publickly into Power and Gain, they could not perceive it, or durst not censure it. Such Times are no longer, nor is *England* that Country now.

Modesty and Meekness, in the Language and Writings of the Clergy, is likewise always commendable, and no more than good Policy. The fierce and provoking Stile is not the Christian, nor the gaining Stile; and Pride and Passion are ill Proofs of Religion. But most unpardonable is the Practice of such, who, when a Man differs from them in any Ecclesiastical Point, though utterly foreign from Religion, yet charge him confidently with Infidelity, let his Stile be ever so Christian, and his Professions for Christianity ever so strong. This Practice, follow it who will, is unchristian and malicious, but shamefully common. I therefore like Dr. *Conybear*'s late Book for his Temper and Civility; nor, as far as I have looked into it, could I find any Strokes of Pertness or Anger; two Ingredients very common in the Works of Ecclesiastics. Another Doctor, of some Name in Controversy, and an Advocate and an Answerer on the same Side, hath shewn such wild Trausports, such Virulence and Scurrility, that it is not to be determined, whether the Madman, the Scold, or the Executioner, predominate most in his Composition.

I have heard that even you, holy Father, with all your Affectation of Smoothness and Temper, have treated Gentlemen with very coarse Names, for no other Reason, than that they differed from you about Matters of Power and Speculation. This was not wise: (that it was ill-bred, I do not wonder) and it might tempt, and perhaps warrant Gentlemen so used to treat you very roughly. A *Monster* is by no means a proper Name for Gentlemen, some of them as well esteemed and as generally beloved as you are. I could paint such Usage in Colours which you would not like. I could likewise draw such a Character of some who are dead (for upon the Dead and Living, *Monster* and *Infidel* are Names which, it seems, you freely throw): I say, I could represent some of them in such Lights, such true Lights, as would equal, and, I doubt, much foil the best that you can be shown in. I could represent their [II-321] amiable and benevolent Minds, their great Knowledge, their elevated Capacity, their universal Integrity and Love of Mankind, their Scorn of Hypocrisy and little Party Views, of narrow Spirits, and of every mean and selfish Artifice.

But I want Room and Time to enter fully into the pleasing and mournful Theme. Neither do I think myself qualified to make equal Returns to coarse Usage. Let me just say, that the Words *Infidel* and *Infidelity*, as they are grown Terms of Anger and Reproach, can seldom become the Mouth or Pen of a candid or well-bred Man. Pardon me, when I assert, that every Man living has as good a Right to differ in Opinion from you, as you have to differ from him: If you think, or maintain the contrary, you have a *monstrous* Share of Pride or Folly; nor do I know a greater *Monster* amongst Men, than the solemn Hypocrite, who pretends to derive Pomp and Power, and worldly Wealth out of the New Testament; who would confine the uncontrollable Freedom of the Soul by human Articles and Restrictions, and treats such as follow Reason and not him, with Spite and saucy Language.— — — But I check myself; nor

will I finish my Picture of this Sort of *Monster*, lest the Likeness might be too glaring. I therefore return to advise you; and here let me assure you, that it is repugnant to all Candor, and unworthy your Character, to descend to mean Solicitations, and to teaze for Prosecutions against such Writings and Authors as thwart you. In Matters of Religion, no Book which can be answered, ought to be prosecuted; nor can you find any Honour in such Prosecution, no more than you can shew Charity in procuring it. A Minister of Truth begging the Aid of worldly Penalties, in a Dispute about Spirituals, makes a poor, a strange, and a scandalous Figure. Such Conduct seems only to suit with worldly Designs, and to bewray, if not the Weakness of his Cause, at least his Insufficiency to defend it.

To oppose Force to just Reasoning, is unjust; to answer false Reasoning by Force, it foolish and needless. A bad Cause is quickly refuted, a good Cause easily defended; and Christianity, though it can bear much Severity and Violence, can never exercise nor warrant any; [II-322] nor was the Christian Name ever more abused, than when prostituted to justify Rigour and Violence: And Punishment for Opinion might indeed be of *Ecclesiastical*, but could never be of *Christian* Pedigree.

You have, Holy Father, the Reputation of a strong Churchman; and Charity obliges me to believe you a Christian; (for the Christian Spirit is not suspicious no more than revengeful) be the Churchman still; but let the Christian predominate, and then I dare say you will never solicit another Prosecution. The Clergy, to a Man, believe your Heart bent upon Church Power, and upon all the Means that lead to it. You have also thoroughly convinced the Laity in this Point, though 'tis said that you had rather they were not so convinced, and are wont to speak to them in a Stile not at all savouring of a Passion for sacerdotal Rule: Which Behaviour in you is only artful, and must not be called *false* or *insincere*, since Insincerity is not a Christian Virtue. But such Art, when found out, loses its Use: You would therefore do well to drop such of your grand Views as bode not well towards the Laity; for they are upon their Guard, and I would not have you put them upon trying their Strength and Mettle.

Rather take a contrary and securer Method; surrender your weak Passes, give up indefensible Points, claim nothing but what the Constitution gives you, affect not to be more than what the Law makes you; separate not yourself and Brethren too much from the Laity; for woe be to you, if ever they should separate themselves from you. If upon Examination you find any Milstones about the Neck of your Cause, any excessive Absurdities, any contradictory Tenets, any terrible Claims, any hurtful or oppressive Practices, any unpopular Principles or Rules, such as square not with the general Interests and Sentiments of the Laity: Begin, O holy Father, to throw off such Milstones into the Sea, lest they pull you thither after them. 'Tis better to quit, with a good Grace, even the most favourite Point or Mistake, than be forced to quit it with Shame and the Imputation of Obstinacy.

What those Milstones, those indefensible Points are, I pretend not farther to explain to one of your Sagacity. [II-323] Some of them I have named. In your Researches for others, perhaps it may merit some Inquiry, or perhaps very little, whether Ecclesiastical Courts be any considerable Support or Credit to the Cause of the Church (for I think Religion has little to do with them). I will venture to say, that Excommunication is a Matter of very serious, of very melancholy Attention to every Man who believes in God, and has a Regard for the Bodies or Souls of Men. Are there not moreover some Things in the Oath given to Churchwardens, hard, if not impossible to be kept; either obliging them to be perjured themselves, or uneasy, and even intolerable to their Neighbours? And are there not certain odd and contradictory Oaths in the Universities, which are a Scandal to Religion, and a Contradiction to Learning, and even to Morality? And, does it not become the Zeal of any Christian Pastor, to remove all such Scandals? And, would they not be removed, if Religion were as much considered, as Ecclesiastical Policy and Power?

I would likewise humbly propose, whether a true, a good, or even a Christian Use has been generally made of the 30th of *January*? whether those of your Order have generally acted upon it like Ambassadors of *Truth* and *Peace*? and whether either the Civil Government of King *Charles* I. or the Ecclesiastical Government of Archbishop *Laud*, be proper Patterns to be followed in a free and Christian Country? I think that, in my Sermon, I have amply shewn that they are not. Let me add here one remarkable Passage out of *Rushworth*:

“About this Time (in the Year 1636) the new Statutes for the University of *Oxford* were finished and published in Convocation. The Preface disparaged King *Edward* the VIth’s Times and Government, declaring the Discipline of the University was discomposed by that King’s Injunctions, and that it did revive and flourish again in Queen *Mary*’s Days under Cardinal *Pool*; when, by the much-to-be desired Felicity of those Times, an inbred Candor supplied the Defect of Statutes.”

Was there ever in any Declaration, even from the *Vatican*, more of the Popish Stile and Spirit? The Times and Government of that excellent Prince, that pious Protestant [II-324] and Reformer, *Edward* the VIth. are traduced by an *English* Convocation, for his having unsettled the old Popish Discipline, and reduced it nearer to the Genius of the Reformation. The Days of that Popish Bigot, Queen *Mary*, are wished for; that is, the Days when Popery, with all its Power and Fury, was restored, the Protestant Religion abolished, and Protestants openly and mercilessly burned; a *Romish* Cardinal is mentioned and extolled for his Church Government, and Popish Superstition, and Bigotry, and blind Obedience, are represented as *inbred Candor*.

Say, Holy Father, were the Members of this Convocation Protestants, or was *Laud*, who governed them, a Protestant? And, was it any Hardship or Wonder, that he and they were represented as Papists? And what was that King who submitted to, and assisted them in, all their violent and popish Pursuits? nay, was their Advocate against himself; when, instead of asserting his Prerogative and Supremacy, and supporting the University of *Cambridge*, who opposed *Laud*’s Visitation of them, as what he could not undertake without the King’s Commission; he, even the King in Person, argued for this Usurpation, for this Invasion of his Royalty, for this Seizure and Impropriation of his Power and Dignity?

Strange Condescension and Folly in him, as well as Inconsistency of Character! fond of exalting the Prerogative over the Belly of Law and Justice where the Laity were concerned, yet poorly laying it under the Feet of the Clergy, where the Protection of his People, and his own Duty and Honour, called upon him to preserve and exert it. I shall here add a further Catalogue of his Oppressions, as the same are summed up in a lively manner, by the late excellent Mr. *Trenchard*, in his *Short History of Standing Armies in England*.

— — — “This King’s whole Reign was one continued Act against the Laws: He dissolved his first Parliament for presuming to enquire into his Father’s Death, though he lost a great Sum of Money by it, which they had voted him: He entered at the same time into a War with *France* and *Spain*, upon the private Piques of *Buckingham*, who managed them to the [II-325] eternal Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Nation; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon *Cadiz* and the Isle of *Rhee*: He delivered *Pennington*’s Fleet into the *French* Hands, betrayed the poor *Rochellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in *France* to be quite extirpated: He raised Loans, Excises, Coat and Conduct-Money, Tunnage and Poundage, Knighthood and Ship-Money, without Authority of Parliament; imposed new Oaths on the Subjects to discover the Value of their Estates; imprisoned great Numbers of the most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not paying his arbitrary Taxes; some he sent beyond Sea, and the poorer Sort he pressed for Soldiers: He kept Soldiers on free Quarter, and executed Martial Law upon them: He granted Monopolies without Number, and broke the Bounds of

the Forests: He erected arbitrary Courts, and enlarged others; as the High Commission Court, Star-chamber, Court of Honour, Court of Requests, &c. and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in them, even to Men of the first Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol* and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to come to Parliament; committed and prosecuted a great many of the most eminent Members of the House of Commons for what they did there, some for no Cause at all; and would not let them have the Benefit of *Habeas Corpus*: Suspended and confined Archbishop *Abbot*, because he would not license a Sermon that asserted despotic Power, whatever other Cause was pretended: He suspended the Bishop of *Gloucester* for refusing to swear never to consent to alter the Government of the Church: Supported all his arbitrary Ministers against the Parliament, telling them, he *wondered at the foolish Impudence of any one to think he would part with the meanest of his Servants upon their Account*: And indeed in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he treated them like his Footmen, calling them *undutiful, seditious, and Vipers*: He brought unheard-of Innovations into the Church, preferred Men of arbitrary Principles, and inclinable to Popery, especially those Firebands *Laud, Montague, and Manwaring*, one of whom had been complained of in [II-326] Parliament, another impeached for advancing Popery, and the third condemned in the House of Lords: He dispensed with the Laws against Papists, and both encouraged and preferred them: He called no Parliament for twelve Years together, and in that time governed as arbitrarily as the *Grand Signior*: He abetted the *Irish* Massacre, as appears by their producing a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*; by the Letter of *Charles* the Second, in favour of the Marquis of *Antrim*; by his stopping the Succours that the Parliament sent to reduce *Ireland*, six Months under the Walls of *Chester*; by his entering into a Treaty with the Rebels, after he had engaged his Faith to the Parliament to the contrary; and bringing over many Thousands of them to fight against his People.— — —

“Upon Pretence of the *Spanish* and *French* War, he raised many thousand Men, who lived upon free Quarter, and robbed and destroyed where-ever they came: But being unsuccessful in his Wars abroad, and pressed by the Clamours of the People at home, he was forced to disband them. In 1627 he sent over 30000 *l.* to *Holland*, to raise three thousand *German* Horse to force his arbitrary Taxes; but this Matter taking Wind, and being examined by the Parliament, Orders were sent to countermand them. In the 15th Year of his Reign, he gave a Commission to *Strafford* to raise eight thousand *Irish* to be brought into *England*: But before they could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*; which, forcing him to call a Parliament, prevented that Design, and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he raised an Army in *England* to oppose the *Scots*, and tampered with them to march to *London*, and dissolve the Parliament: But this Army being composed, for the most part, of the Militia, and the Matter being communicated to the House, who immediately fell on the Officers that were Members, as *Ashburnham, Wilmot, Pollard, &c.* the Design came to nothing.”

I could quote much more from the same Pamphlet; but, to use the Words of the Author, *it is endless to enumerate* [II-327] *all the Oppressions of his Reign*. What think you, holy Father, of the Panegyrics made upon such a Prince for almost a Century past by the Clergy, or of the Clergy who made and make those Panegyrics either upon him or *Laud*?

I think nothing is more manifest, than that in those Days there was a settled Purpose, both in the Court and in the Churchmen, to overturn the Reformation and the Constitution; nay, each of these Designs was well nigh accomplished; and it was already the Fashion, not only to treat such who adhered to the Law against the Violence and mad Maxims which then prevailed, as Traitors; but the Name of *Traitors* and *Rebels* were, by *Laud*'s Followers and Creatures, bestowed upon our first pious Reformers; and with the Reformation itself great Faults were found, especially with those Parts of it which retrenched the Wealth and Power of the Clergy: Popish Ceremonies were daily restored, with the Bowings, Grimaces, Pictures, and Forms usually seen at Popish Chapels and Masses; and all Men were persecuted, many

ruined, who opposed such scandalous Innovations, tending only to advance Superstition and Priestcraft.

Why many of these Innovations, and such Defection from the Reformation still continue, I leave you, Holy Father, to consider and explain. I desire this of you the rather, for that I am told, that you often hold up your Hands, and wonder how Clergymen can, by their Writings, contradict what they have once subscribed.

That you should wonder at this, is indeed matter of Wonder. Is there one of you that conforms to the genuine Sense, or even to the Words of the Articles? Are not these Articles *Calvinistical*? Were they not composed by *Calvinists*? And are you not now, and have been long, all *Arminians*? And do you not preach and write against the Presbyterians who defend *Predestination*, which is one of your own Articles?

Will you say that Articles, will you say that Oaths, are to be taken in a Sense different from the Words, different from the Meaning of those who compose them? If you do, then you maintain that *Papists*, nay, that *Mahometans* may subscribe our Protestant Articles, and [II-328] be still *Mahometans* and *Papists*; and that *Jacobites* may take the State Oaths, and be still *Jacobites*.

What Subscriptions or Declarations, or indeed what other Ties can bind Men, who, after they have solemnly testified that they are called by the *Holy Ghost*, yet subscribe the direct contrary to what they believe, subscribe the Doctrines of *Calvin*, yet remain Antagonists to *Calvin*? Is this Practice, this solemn Assertion of a Falsehood, for the Honour of Religion, or of Churchmen? Or, is it not the direct Method to harden Men against Truth and Conscience, and to turn holy Things into Contempt? Yet you still go on to subscribe those Articles, still to disbelieve and contradict them, yet never attempt to alter or abolish them. Does such contradictory Doings shew any Regard for Religion, or for Truth or Decency?

After such Departure from the doctrinal Articles, you cannot, with any Decency, blame such who differ from your Notions about Church Power and Discipline. The Church and Constitution of *England* neither owns nor knows any Clergymen but such who derive all their Power from the Law: All others are Pretenders, or rather Deserters, and would be Usurpers, if the Laity and the Law would let them. Such Clergymen therefore as disclaim all Power, and Pomp, and Revenue whatsoever, but what the Law and Laymen give them, are the only Clergy that Laymen ought to reverence, or indeed acknowledge: All the rest, who assert a prior Right, and have superior Demands, should be considered as lurking Enemies, or bold Invaders, and carefully watched and resisted. Nor is it small want of Modesty in you, and such as are like you, to censure such Clergymen as adhere to the Law and Constitution, whilst you assume to yourselves a Latitude to dissent from your very Articles, with spiritual Characters and Powers, superior to the Law, and independent upon it.

Can any Layman, who has common Sense, or common Notions of Truth and Liberty, bear with Patience a Spirit so arrogant, with such a saucy and inconsistent Behaviour? Far different, and indeed quite opposite was the Spirit of the Reformation. Nor is Reverence due to any Clergyman in whom this last Spirit is not found. [II-329] Neither are they at all Clergymen of the Church of *England*, in whom the contrary Spirit is found. Can any Layman be at a Moment's Loss to know, what Sort of Clergymen are most useful and amiable to him; they who set up to command him, and consequently to put Chains upon him; or they who claim only the Liberty to instruct and advise him, and therefore leave him still as free as he was before?

Be pleased also, holy Father, to instruct me in the Nature and Efficacy of *Absolution*. Is it authoritative, and proceeding from the Power of the Priest only? or is it conditional, and only a Declaration that God will accept, or hath accepted sincere Repentance? If God pardons,

upon Repentance, what Force is in Absolution, or what Use, further than to ease poor Sinners, by assuring them, that if they have repented, God has forgiven them? If this be all, any Man, even the Sinner himself, may pronounce such a Declaration upon himself. Or does God stay to forgive, even after Repentance, till the Priest pronounces Absolution? If so, has not the Priest a greater Share than God in saving Men: nay, a superior Power, if his Part comes first, and his Absolution takes place of, and introduces God's Pardon? If Repentance suffices without a Priest or Absolution, then what signifies either upon such Occasion, further than for a Declaration of Comfort? And without Repentance, what avails Absolution? Will you say that it avails? Or has our blessed Saviour ever said so? You must needs know what extravagant Positions, and what impious Claims of Power, have been confidently derived from this Privilege of Priests to pronounce Absolution, as if it inferred a Power to damn and save; tho' it be really no more than what any Man may pronounce to another, or to himself, or to many, if they desire it, or will hear it. Has not this, therefore, as well as many other pious Practices, been horribly abused and perverted by the ungodly Craft of selfish Priests?

Whilst I am giving you all this Trouble, and tiring you with so many Questions, permit me, holy Father, to mix a little Comfort with so much Freedom and Importunity. I am told that your Ease and Rest are greatly interrupted and broken by the Increase and Prevalence [II-330] of *Free-thinking*. Be not too much frightened; the Mob and the Many will always be orthodox, always true to the Church, to Holy-days, and pious Rioting, for Reasons too apparent to need mention. The Number of Free-thinkers, that is, of Men who bring all Things to the Bar and Trial of right Reason, can never be so very great as justly to alarm the Clergy, can never greatly diminish the Majority of a Country, who will always be of the Church in vogue, always have Religion, if not that of Reason and Nature, yet surely that of Authority and of the Priesthood, who are themselves always conformable to Establishments and to Tithes, and the prevailing Faith.

I doubt it will not be equally pleasing to you, to be told, at least to have the Public told, that it is by no means *Free-thinking* which fills the Gaols, or loads the Gallows, or even peoples *Exchange-Alley*, or increases public or private Knavery, or contributes at all towards it. Was the *South-Sea* Scheme the Effect of *Free-thinking*? Sir *John Blunt* was a great Saint and Frequenter of the Ordinances; nor were any of his Confederates suspected of Deism. Was it *Free-thinking* that contrived or promoted national Massacres, that of *Ireland* or of *Paris*? Has it produced or assisted the Inquisition or Persecution? Was the Monk *St. Dominic* a Free-thinker, or was Bishop *Laud* one? Has *Free-thinking* encouraged, or have Free-thinkers perpetrated particular Murders or Assassinations? Was *Ravillac* a Free-thinker? Or was he who murdered the Prince of *Orange*? Or was he one who offered to murder the late King? Are the Banditti and Assassins in *Italy* Free-thinkers? Are not these Villains good Catholics, and Frequenters of Churches? Do any of our own Thieves die Free-thinkers? Do they not generally die good Churchmen, Catholic or Protestant, and always of some Religion? Was the famous Murderess *Sarah Malcolm* a Free-thinker? Did she die one, or declare that she had lived one?

No; Holy Father: *Free-thinking* has no Proselytes in *Newgate* or *Exchange-Alley*. I doubt it will be found that it is not *Free-thinking* that steals in Shops, or cheats behind Counters, or robs Houses, or cuts Throats. Nor is it *Free-thinking* that *absolves* Criminals of any sort, [II-331] much less *Traitors* and *Assassins*; nor consequently encourages such Crimes. I could, had I time, enlarge with Success on this Subject, and convince all Men, that *Free-thinking* disclaims all Alliance with Vice and Mobs, and dissolute Men; and leaves all Knaves, Profligates, and Hypocrites, to *Conformity* and *Creeeds*, and the numerous Train of *Orthodoxy*.

It seems you have likewise found great Evils occasioned by People's not coming to Church. My own Opinion is, that when People find themselves edified by going, they will go; when they are not edified, their going avails not. If the People had the Choice of their own



Ministers, as in the primitive Times they had, it is more than probable they would go oftener. But when they neither like the Man nor the Matter, it is not likely that they will hear either. I was therefore surprized to hear that some of your *Scouts* and humble Agents (employed, I suppose, to try the Pulse of the Public) have mentioned *compulsory Laws*, still in Force, to oblige People to go to Church. Pray, can you reconcile such a Law, if there be one, to the Principles and Laws of Toleration! Could any such Law be at first procured but by the Solicitations of the persecuting Clergy? Or could any but Persecutors solicit such a Law? Is it just or christian, to force any Man to hear what or whom he likes not? Would a High-churchman care to be forced to hear a Presbyterian Preacher, suppose in a Country where there were no other, as in *Geneva*? And should he not do as he would be done by? No penal Laws whatsoever were, or ever could be, prompted by a Christian Spirit. And besides this Consideration, I wonder how any Man can contend for the Continuance of Tests and Penalties here in *England*, as you do, and yet be against the Exercise of such in *Scotland*. Is this equal Justice, or equal Charity?

I should be quite too tedious to my Readers and myself (to you, Holy Father, I have been so already) should I but touch every Topic that deserves your Animadversion and that of the Public. I cannot forbear mentioning one Practice very common amongst you *Churchmen*, though it be destitute of all Candor, of all Truth and Charity. Whenever any clerical Folly, or Artifice, or [II-332] Usurpation, or false Position, is attacked, he who does so, scarce ever fails of being accused, of having attacked whatever is *serious* and *sacred*; and he is confidently charged with Irreligion, though he has evidently espoused and defended Religion against such as had profaned it, and blended it with Superstition and Power.

This Method of yours may have some Effect upon the Vulgar; but with Men of Sense, it hurts you, by discovering what you mean by *Things serious and sacred*. If by these Words you understood only the *Gospel*, and *Conscience*, and the Duties enjoined by either, you could have taken no Offence at any Writings which commend and vindicate Christianity, and only expose what weakens and defaces it, even the Pride and Violence of domineering and superstitious Priests. That there are such Priests, I presume you will not deny; nor that such Priests act not in all Things, or indeed hardly in any, upon the Foot and Motives of the Gospel.

That my late Sermon is intirely upon the Christian Scheme, and in the Christian Stile, I aver, and every Man may perceive; and therefore no Man, who regards Christianity and civil Liberty, can possibly dislike it. What it attacks is clerical Wantonness, clerical Superstition and Fury, Tyranny and Usurpation, both in the State and in the Church. If therefore that Sermon provoke you, it is manifest what pleases you, what you approve, and what you pursue. For myself I can say truly, and therefore boldly, that my Writings are intirely conformable to the Religion and Laws of my Country: Nor can any impartial Judge affirm of that Sermon, or of any Performance of mine (if there be any more of mine, besides that and this) what I have often heard the ablest Lawyers in this Nation affirm of a bulky Performance of yours, That *it is a Libel upon the Laws and Constitution of England, and ought to be burned by the Hand of the common Hangman*.

Here I humbly bend my Knee, Holy Father, and kissing your Vestment, subscribe myself, with profound Adoration,

*Your Great Admirer and Dutiful Son,*

*Lincoln's-Inn,*  
*March 8. 1732-3.*

A LAYMAN.



***A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Codex, on the Subject of his modest Instruction to the Crown, inserted in the Daily Journal of February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1733. From the Second Volume of Burnet's History.*** ↩

The Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1734.

*Reverend SIR,*

THE Vacancy now in the Church hath been long unsupplied, and the World have beheld this Accident with that Regard which is so justly due to Supreme Authority. No Man hath presumed to allow himself Liberties on this Subject beyond the decent Bounds of private Animadversion; and to these reasonable Limits such Persons as are the most tenderly interested in this Affair, would have restrained their Reflections, had not you, Sir, made your Appeals to the Populace, as privileged beyond other Men, how much soever above you in Rank, or Dignity, or Merit.

What I mean by your making Appeals to the Populace is best to be explained by reciting a Paragraph inserted by your Direction in the *Daily Journal of February* the 27<sup>th</sup>. Your Care and Expencc, at all Times bestowed in so judicious a Manner, can never be too much applauded, but it deserves a most particular Acknowledgment, that you should be at the Trouble and Charge of informing the Public, in a Paper of Coffee-house Intelligence, That

‘In the second Volume of *Bishop Burnet's History*, p. 119. published a few Days since, there is this *remarkable Passage*, viz.

‘The State of *Ireland* leads me to insert here a very particular Instance of the Queen's pious Care in the [II-334] disposing of Bishoprics. Lord *Sidney* was so far engaged in the Interest of a great Family of *Ireland*, that he was too easily wrought on to recommend a Branch of it to a vacant See. The Representation was made with an undue Character of the Person; so the Queen granted it; but when she understood that he lay under a very bad Character, she wrote a Letter, in her own Hand, to Lord *Sidney*, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six *Irish* Bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their Opinion of that Person. They all agreed, that he laboured under an ill Fame, and till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him, so that the Matter was let fall. I do not name the Person, for I intend not to leave a Blemish on him, but set this down as an Example sit to be imitated by Christian Princes.’

This prudent and modest Instruction, which you thus have set forth for Christian Princes, will undoubtedly draw their Acknowledgments, as well as mine, in your Favour. To Persons of their Distinction, who cannot have the Leisure, or Opportunity, or Inclination, of tracing your Steps, as I have done, the Consideration, that none but you could be sufficiently interested to set forth this *remarkable Paragraph*, as you call it, and that none but you could possibly consider it as *remarkable*, more than any other Paragraph: This will to them be as proper a Ground for their Thanks as if they were in the same Light with myself, and possessed the same Evidence which I am Master of, concerning the Person who handed it to the Press, and paid for its being inserted in that Paper.

If the Merit of so much Zeal to find out fit Examples for the Imitation of Christian Princes, could admit of any Delay, it might possibly be objected to the Manner of such a Procedure, that Princes may be applied to by much more decent Means of Information, than by a Paragraph inserted in a common News-Paper, for the Amusement of Coffee-houses. It may be objected, that the Dignity of Princes forbids any particular Subject to dictate publicly to their Conduct, or to make that Counsel public which he submits to their private Consideration: [II-335] That to exhibit Instructions to Princes for the Exercise of any particular Prerogative, or for the Decision of any depending Contest, and to do this in one of the Daily Papers, is a rude Attempt upon the Liberty of the Royal Judgement; an Attempt that rather prescribes to Princes than advises them; an Attempt that lays a Foundation for Clamour and Abuse. It doth not so much convey Matter of Consideration to Princes as it points out a Matter of Censure to partial unexamining Men; so that the Prince who is thus directed by a public Advertisement of an Example fit for him to imitate, must, if he act otherwise than the Instruction requires him to act, either descend to publish minute Accounts in Justification of his own Conduct; or he will be reproached for the free Use of his own Judgment in the Exercise of his own lawful Authority, and will be said to have acted contrary to an Example *fit for all Christian Princes to imitate*.

Give me leave, Sir, to warn you on this Head with all the Caution of a Friend. You convey to the World a Paragraph suggesting the Character of a Person whom you do not approve, to be very bad; you insinuate that he labours under an ill Fame, endeavouring thereby to draw the Displeasure of his Prince upon him. You ought to be strictly careful, on a double Account, in all Attempts of this Nature, that you do not indulge your own Malice against such Persons as you accuse, and that you do not furnish Matter to the Malice of others against those Princes whom you thus propose to influence.

If you, Sir, should ever have had the Honour and Happiness of free Approaches to such Princes, it may still inflame the Charge against you, that you take the Freedom of instructing them in their Behaviour by Paragraphs printed in News Papers: And perhaps some Princes might be of Opinion, that a Person who knew no better how to employ the Privilege of advising them, should, for the future, have no other Means of conveying Advice to them.

If such a Paragraph can be *remarkable* more than any other, if such an Example can be fit for Imitation, more than any other mentioned by the Reverend Historian, it can be so in no other View than this, that particular [II-356] Princes have now a parallel Case before them. And if you mean any thing at all, you must intend to suggest, that there is a present Recommendation to a vacant See, which appears to you in the same Light with Lord *Sidney's* Recommendation to a Bishopric in *Ireland*. You thus suggest that a Great Counsellor of the Crown hath recommended a Person to the Favour of the Crown, with an undue Representation of his Character; that such Person lies under a very bad Character; that he ought not to be promoted till *six Bishops* have certified their Opinion of him; that if they *these six Bishops* agree he labours under an ill Fame, he is not to be promoted. And this is set down as an Example *fit for Christian Princes to imitate*.

If this is a Method of *trying* and *stigmatizing Characters* that I should make Exceptions to, I would not be understood to reflect, at this Distance of Time, on the Wisdom or Justice of that excellent Queen under whom this first Instance happened. We can have no other Lights of such a Transaction, than what this Paragraph in *Burnet's History* affords us; and we may in Charity believe, that the Accident was circumstanced as he relates it to have been, that the Person set aside did labour under an ill Fame; that the Queen heard it from no malicious Whisperers, or interested Tale-bearers; that it could not answer any selfish Purpose to represent him as one of a bad Character, if he really deserved a good one; that the *six Bishops* who were referred to, and who certified their ill Opinion of him, were equal, unbiassed, indifferent Judges, incapable of any Intention to shake off their due Dependency on the *Royal*

*Supremacy*; incapable of any Scheme or Project to turn their Hierarchy into an Aristocracy; incapable of setting on Foot a Cabal to take the Nomination of Bishops to themselves, in Prejudice and Dishonour of the Crown; incapable of any malicious Design to defame and stigmatize all Men, however virtuous or deserving, who would not conform to the Obedience required, and become subservient to the Intrigues carried on by such a spiritual Cabal; incapable likewise of being the Creatures and Slaves of a proud, ambitious, and mercenary Prelate, who aspired [II-337] to engross Ecclesiastical Power, and to usurp on the sacred Prerogatives of the King his Sovereign.

I make these liberal Concessions in favour of those six Bishops, because however willing I am to think candidly of their Certificate, that the Man whom they set aside laboured under an ill Fame, yet it is too plain, should such a Method prevail of trying and disqualifying Candidates for Ecclesiastical Preferments, it must give a dangerous Scope to all the Practices which I have enumerated, and therefore I do not think it a fit Example for *Christian Princes to imitate*, nor a fit Example *for a free People to be fond of*.

I need not tell you, Sir, how odious the Cabals of Ecclesiastics are to the Laws of this Kingdom; you very well know the Law that restrains the B——ps from meeting together without the King's Authority in any Company beyond a certain Number; you know the Supremacy which you have all sworn to maintain in the Crown; you likewise know, that in virtue of this Prerogative, the Crown hath an uncontrollable Power of making Bishops and Dignitaries in the Church, which before the Reformation Ecclesiastics had wickedly incroached on, pretending to the Right of electing one another, and that the Confirmation of such Elections belonged to a sovereign Pontiff: All which, Sir, you have renounced by your Oaths, are *ipso facto* excommunicate, if you pretend to any such exorbitant Power, and incur the Penalties of a Premunire, whereby you forfeit your Goods and Chattels, the Revenue of your Lands, and the Liberty of your Person.

It avails nothing at all in Sense of Justice, or to the Safety of Mankind, that these wise Provisions were made by our Ancestors, if B——ps, eluding the Laws, and their Oaths, shall ever claim that Power from the Grace of the Crown, which they renounce all Right to by the most solemn Sacraments. It would be a much more dangerous Practice than any which can be attempted; because, at the same time that it might seem to acknowledge the Force of the Law, it would destroy the Effect of it, and whilst it might speciously submit to the Forms of the Constitution, would subvert the Foundation of it.

[II-338]

You will therefore allow me, Sir, to consider this Scheme of trying all Candidates for Preserment in the Church with more Indignation, as it tends to give a Junto of B——ps a Negative upon the Nomination to any Bishopric, than it might be proper to express, with regard to that Malice and Defamation which may at any time be employed to deprive a particular Person of the Advancement intended him.

It must be admitted, that nothing can be more cruel, dishonest, and detestable, than to defame an innocent Man, and to fix, by malicious Arts, an ill Fame upon him, in order to make him lose his Preferment. But there are Views and Designs which may be the Motives of such an Attempt, and which will make it infinitely more alarming than any Hardship done to a single Person. There may be the Project of bringing all Promotions in the Church into the Hands of a few ambitious arbitrary Churchmen, so that the highest Counsellor of the Crown shall not recommend the Friend whom he best loves, and the Man whom he most approves, without exposing such Person to be deprived of his Reputation by those who may be averse to his Advancement: And the Prince on the Throne, if he shall espouse the innocent Party, after such Reverend Defamers have testified their Dislike of him, shall be exposed to the

same *Ecclesiastical Malice*, nay, shall be set sorth to all his Subjects, by one who is the Creature of his Power, and the Abuser of his Favour, as an Example not fit for Christian Princes to imitate.

It is Part of the Impeachment of the House of Commons against Archbishop *Laud*, Article VI.

“That he traiterously assumed to himself a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, over his Majesty’s Subjects in this Realm of *England*, and in other Places, to the Disherison of the Crown, Dishonour of his Majesty, and Derogation of his supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters.”

The Commons proceed in the Eighth Article of that Impeachment, to charge him,

“That for the better advancing of his traiterous Purpose and Design, he did abuse the great Power and Trust his Majesty reposed in him; and did intrude upon the Places of divers [II-339] great Officers, and upon the Right of other of his Majesty’s Subjects, whereby he did procure to himself the Nomination of sundry Persons to Ecclesiastical Dignities, Promotions and Benefices belonging to his Majesty, and divers of the Nobility and Clergy, and others; and hath taken upon him the Commendation of Chaplains to the King, by which means, he hath preferred to his Majesty’s Service, and to other great Promotions in the Church, such as have been Popishly affected, or otherwise, unfound and corrupt, both in Doctrines and Manners.”

I chuse, Sir, to cite these Articles for your Consideration, to shew you the Sense and Judgment of Parliament, on the Matter before us; and if it should ever appear in a National Enquiry, that B— —ps have assumed to themselves the Nomination of Bishops, that they have haughtily and arbitrarily claimed the sole Right of advising and recommending in Ecclesiastical Promotions, pretending that the highest Counsellor of the Crown hath no Right to offer his Advice, on such Occasions, it may beget a Question, which I am afraid, some Persons will know not how to answer.

For Instance, if an insolent domineering Prelate should ever pretend to advance it as his Right, to nominate Bishops in the Manner as the Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain* advises the Crown, in the Nomination of Judges, if he should be arrogant enough to affirm, that he might as properly interfere in supplying the Vacancies of *Westminster-Hall*, as that Great Officer may recommend to vacant Sees, there can be no Difference made between such a Behaviour, and the Case of *Laud* himself, as described in these Articles of Impeachment before us.

The Clergy of this Kingdom have sworn to the Royal Supremacy, and hold all their Powers, Emoluments and Ecclesiastical Offices, by the Gift of the Civil Government; and as the Order of Bishops arises from the Institution of Temporal Laws, its Vacancies are to be supplied by the Mediation of Temporal Officers. You know, Sir, it is the Great Seal alone, that hath any Virtue or Effect in the Ordination of Bishops. Without it the Clergy can have no Dignitaries amongst them, and the Holy Ghost must cease in this Kingdom, as to its [II-340] Effect in conferring of Characters. The Chancellor may refuse to affix this Seal, if he shall see Cause in his own Discretion; for, neither the *Conge d’Elire*, nor any Instrument which relates to the making of Bishops, are Writs of Right, nor is he bound to pass them *ex officio*, nor implicitly to obey the Warrants which transmit them to him. He hath no Perils or Fears attending his Refusal; though if he shall think it proper to affix the Great Seal in such Cases, the Clergy of all Orders and Degrees must obey it, on pain of the most severe Penalties. To seal such Instruments of Nomination is, on his Part, an Act of Conscience, wherein he is to advise with his free Judgment, and freely to offer the King his Opinion: But, if he seals them,

the Conformity of the Church and their Obedience to the Crown, are Acts of the highest Necessity, wherein they are no more allowed a Latitude of judging or considering, than Sheriffs are in obeying the King's Writs of Execution. They perform them as Acts of the most simple and unconditional Obedience, which admit of no Delays, nor Deliberations, nor Rescriptions to the Prince. When the Clergy of this Kingdom are without Bishops, they have no Right to any but from the King's Pleasure, who may keep the See vacant to an indefinite Term; for no Time lapses with the Crown. When it is the Royal Pleasure, that such vacant See shall be supplied, the Chapter of the Diocese have Leave to elect, and Letters missive pass with the *Conge d'Elire*, requiring them to elect such Person as the King therein nominates. If they do not return the *Conge d'Elire*, according to the Requisition of the Letters missive, within twelve Days, the Act of Parliament made in the five and twentieth Year of *Henry VIII*. Chapter the twentieth, expressly says,

“that the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, at their Liberty and Pleasure, shall nominate and present, by their Letters Patents under their Great Seal, such a Person to the said Archbishopric or Bishopric, as they shall think able and convenient for the same.”

The Statute proceeds in the next Section thus:

“And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that whenever any such Presentment or Nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, [II-341] by Virtue and Authority of this Act, and according to the Tenor of the same, That then every Archbishop and Bishop, to whose Hands any such Presentment and Nomination shall come, shall with all Speed and Celerity invest and consecrate the Person nominate and presented by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, to the Office and Dignity that such Person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him all Benedictions, Ceremonies, and Things requisite for the same.”

The same Statute proceeds still more vigorously in the sixth and seventh Sections of the aforesaid *Cap. 20. viz.*

“VI. And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That every Person and Persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominate, presented, invested and consecrated to the Dignity or Office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this Realm, or within any other the King's Dominions, according to the Form, Tenor, and Effect of this present Act, and suing their Temporalities out of the King's Hands, his Heirs or Successors, as hath been accustomed, and making a corporal Oath to the King's Highness, and to none other in Form as afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be trononised and installed as the Case shall require; (2) And shall have and take their only Restitution out of the King's Hands, of all the Possessions and Profits belonging to the said Archbishopric or Bishopric whereunto they shall be so elected or presented, and shall be obeyed in all manner of Things, according to the Name, Title, Degree and Dignity that they shall be chosen or presented unto, and do and execute in every Thing and Things touching the same as any Archbishop or Bishop of this Realm, without offending the Prerogative Royal of the Crown, and the Laws and Customs of this Realm might at any Time heretofore do.

VII. “And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the Dean and Chapter of any Cathedral Church where the See of an Archbishop or Bishop is within any of the King's Dominions after such Licence [or *Conge d'Elire* ] as is afore rehearsed, shall be delivered to them, proceed not to Election, and [II-342] signify the same according to the Tenor of this Act within the Space of twenty Days next, after such Licence shall come to their Hands: (2) Or else if any Archbishop or Bishop within the King's Dominions, after any such Election, Nomination or Presentation, shall be signified unto them by the King's Letters Patent, shall refuse, and do not confirm, invest, and consecrate, with all due

Circumstance, as is aforesaid, every such Person as shall be so elected, nominated or presented, and to them signified, as is above-mentioned, within twenty Days, next after the King's Letters Patent of such Signification or Presentation shall come to their Hands. (3) Or else, if any of them, or any other Person or Persons admit, maintain, allow, do or execute any Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Inhibitions, or any other Act or Process, of what Nature, Name, or Quality soever it be to the contrary, or lett, or Hindrance of due Execution of this Act, (4) That then every Dean, and particular Person of the Chapter, and every Archbishop and Bishop, and all other Persons so offending, and doing contrary to this Act, or any Part thereof, and their Aiders, Counsellors, Abettors, shall run in the Dangers, Pains and Penalties of the Estatute of Provision and Premunire, made in the five and twentieth Year of King *Edw. III.* and in the sixteenth Year of King *Richard II.*" *Vide 1 Eliz. 1* and *8 Eliz. 1.*

Thus the Law of the Kingdom, makes the Clergy of the Kingdom, howsoever dignified or distinguished, the meer passive involuntary Agents of the Crown, moved by the absolute Will of the Sovereign, signified to them by Writ or Patent under the Great Seal, to be issued or refused according to the Conscience of him who hath Custody thereof. Whomsoever the Pleasure of the Crown shall prefer as a Bishop, the Clergy have the Honour to adopt as their Election. And though he is to all Intents and Purposes, a Bishop without their Election, yet still they are under the strictest Necessity to elect and confirm him, how little soever he, or the King presenting him, stands in need of their Election or Confirmation; which the Wisdom of our Law hath apparently [II-343] enacted to shew, that they, the Clergy, are at the same time entirely useless, yet absolutely dependent. They are without Power, to do any thing in the Case, but to shew their most humble Obedience. They are, without the smallest Portion of Liberty, to delay, or deliberate about the Election or Consecration required of them. They may, by the King's Permit, make his Nominee their Bishop, who whether they will or not, must in all Events, by the King's Patents, be made their Bishop. Whether he is made by Election or Nomination, they must consecrate him, and whether he is elected or consecrated, the King's Authority, which in that Case can create, will likewise install him Bishop with full Episcopal Power, so that the Great Seal makes him a Bishop of his particular Church, and makes him at the same time, Bishop of the Church at large. Thus whilst the Clergy are bound by all these penal Laws, the Chancellor is under the Injunctions of none; and it is most clear, that as well the Mandates of Consecration, as the Letters of Nomination, are equally trusted to the Discretion and Remonstrances of the Lord Chancellor, for the Time being, equally to be obeyed by the Clergy implicitly, and under the strictest Penalties; whereby it must appear, that the Power of the Great Seal is the only Source of Ecclesiastical Holiness, and Stamp of imagined indelible Characters.

Thus in the making of Bishops or other Dignitaries, Submission, absolute and unreserved Submission to Royal Prerogative, is the only Share which the Clergy are, by the Laws of *England* intitled to; but the Chancellor, who affixes the Great Seal to every Instrument of Election or Creation, He, who by his Office gives Life to every Nomination of Bishops, Dignitaries, and Churchmen preferred by the Crown, it is his Right, and it is his Duty to advise the Crown. It belongs so justly to his Province, that were he to neglect it, there can be no Doubt that it would be a Crime in his Conduct, and he is so far from being restrained as Churchmen are from advising in these Matters, that he is sworn to it when he receives the Great Seal, nor ought to affix that Seal in such Cases, until he hath discharged this Duty.

[II-344]

Do you not see that the highest Churchman of this Kingdom was impeached in Parliament, for that notwithstanding he had taken the Oath of Supremacy, he took to himself the Nomination of Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, in high Dishonour and Dishonour of the Crown. Shall then a subordinate Churchman pretend more Right to advise the Crown in the



Exercise of this Prerogative, than his Metropolitan is by Law intitled to? And, shall he, with superior Insolence, pretend a greater Right than the Great Keeper of the King's Conscience? That Officer, whose Capacity for advising and judging in Ecclesiastical Promotions the Law of this Kingdom acknowledges with the most favourite Distinction, by reposing so high a Confidence in his Wisdom and Integrity, that it is the inherent Right of the Great Seal to present to All the Livings in *England*, valued in the King's Books under 20 *l. per Annum*. The Person who hath Custody of that Seal supplies all Vacancies in the Church of this sort, by his own official Authority, without any Warrant whatever. Can it, after this hath been mentioned, be doubted, where the Law of *England* hath vested the Presentations of the King, to so vast an Extent in the pure Discretion of his Chancellor, that it hath not given him as large a Right to advise in Promotions above that Value, as it hath given him plenary Power to dispose of all under that Value? And, can it be conceived, that this Officer of the Crown, who hath Authority to act in this Extent for the Crown, hath not a much more extensive Province to act in as an Adviser of the Crown? Shall then a subordinate Churchman, whom the Laws have expressly restrained from acting or advising at all, proceed against the fundamental Principles of the Constitution, incroaching upon the Rights of the Seal, and intruding upon the Royal Prerogative? And, shall not the Chancellor of *Great Britain* remember the Oath which he swore when the King delivered the Seals into his Keeping,

“That he shall not know, or suffer the Hurt or Disheriting of the King, or that the Rights of the Crown be decreased by any Means, as far forth as he may let or hinder; and if he may not let or hinder it, he shall make it clearly and expressly known to the King with his true Advice and Counsel.”

[II-345]

You have now, Sir, seen, that this Great Officer hath an undoubted Right of advising, as well in the Nomination of Bishops as of Judges; and that Churchmen have no Right of interfering in the Nomination of either. This is most evident from the Laws, and apparent from Reason. If the Head of that learned Profession is advised with in the Promotion of Judges, it is most undoubtedly true, that none are so fit as Lawyers to recommend those who are best skilled in the Science of Laws; and it can by no means in the World hurt or endanger the Public, that they recommend one another: On the other hand, it is as true, that the Case is very different in the Church, where the essential Qualifications of Priests being *Charity, Humility, and Christian Piety*, may easily be judged of by the Meanest of the People; where likewise the due Discharge of the Trust reposed in them depends more on their Honesty and Moderation, than on their Learning and School Sufficiency; and where the Course of Church Preferment cannot arise from a Cabal of Churchmen, without indangering the Royal Prerogative as well as the Rights of the People.

It would not indeed surprize any Man, who knows the World, if he should hear a Churchman pretend, that “he has as much Right to nominate Judges, as a Chancellor hath to advise in the Nomination of Bishops.” I fear such aspiring immoderate Men, would be glad to nominate one, as well as the other, if it might be permitted them; and considering that wonderful *Codex*, which you have compiled, I should think it extremely natural, that one of your Talents and Temper, in framing a System of Law, should have an extraordinary Passion for introducing a Set of Judges to support it. You will give me Leave to refresh your Memory with some Particulars in our History. When Bishops nominated Bishops, they made themselves Chancellors likewise. When they once incroached so far on the Rights of the Great Seal, they soon obtained the Custody of it, as the Privilege of their Function. But the Reformation of the Church restored the Authority of the Law, and when an exorbitant Churchman began to unravel the Reformation, he made it a Part of his [II-346] Scheme, to subdue the Power of the Law. He took the Nomination of Bishops to himself; he took upon him the Power of controuling the Courts of Justice, and as a Commencement of his Claim, in

making of Judges, he prevailed on the King, to injoin the Lord Chancellor, that half of the Masters in *Chancery* should be appointed from among the Doctors of the Civil Law, because Civilians usually practise and officiate in the Courts of the Bishops.

This Usurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, to use the Words of the Commons in their Impeachment against him, drew the Weight of that Prosecution upon him, and as the Lord *Clarendon* wisely observes, *the Justice of the Kingdom, will at some time or other, be too hard for the strongest Opposers and Oppressors of it.*

It is to be hoped, that after so heavy a Censure on one who was placed at the Head of his Profession, for assuming illegal Powers, and unwarrantable Functions, no subordinate Churchman, will ever pretend to act in that Capacity, which, if it were a lawful one, could only belong to the Head of his Order. What would you, Sir, say, if ever your Fate should mount you up to the Top of the Ladder Ecclesiastical, and one of your Suffragans should assume, in Exclusion of yourself, the most exorbitant Powers, that any in your own exalted Station ever pretended to; despising the Authority of the Law; invading the Rights of the Crown; dictating to Lords High Chancellors what belongs to their Office; and dictating to the King, his Sovereign, by public Instructions in printed Papers, what Examples *are fit for Christian Princes to imitate.*

I hope, Sir, you will agree with me, that if ever any such daring Pretender to lawless and unrighteous Domination over us should appear amongst us, it will be our Duty, and I trust we shall neither want Spirit nor Means, to defeat him. An honest *Englishman*, and a dutiful Subject, must be moved in this Case, by the strongest Dictates, which Love to his Country, or Allegiance to his Prince, can in any Case suggest to him. Whenever an assuming Prelate, whose selfish and arbitrary Views are as evident as his Malice and Cruelty against all who [II-347] oppose them; whenever such a Prelate shall lay claim to the Nomination of Persons to Ecclesiastical Promotions, Dignities and Benefices in the Disposition of the Crown, the Success of his Attempt must indanger the King, and the fundamental Constitution. If once he prevail in this Practice, and gain such an undue Share of Favour, as to recommend in supplying vacant Sees, and to set aside in such Promotions, all who are disagreeable to himself, he will bring the whole Power of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Affairs, into his own Possession; he will draw all the Church Endowments and Dignities belonging to the Royal Nomination, within the Circle of his own Creatures and Dependents; he will divest the King of his princely Prerogative, to reward the Merit of his most deserving Subjects, and to attach the Affections and Gratitude of those who might be most useful to his Service: And when such a Prelate hath long proceeded in this Course of advancing to the highest Stations, and the most valuable Promotions, his own Set of Flatterers and Slaves, it will not, I fear, be found that they hold themselves under Obligations to their Prince, but to this Protestant Pontiff, who will teach them, that the Power delegated to them by the Crown, may be a Weapon in their Hands, to wound the Prerogative of the Crown. Whatever Usurpations he shall attempt on the King's Authority, he will incite them to join with him in, for the Advancement of their common Ambition: And if such Ambition and Insolence shall at any time be repressed by a Prince jealous of his Honour, and justly attentive to the Preservation of the ancient Rights belonging to his Crown, they will threaten to cabal against him; they will tamper with Civil Factions, to revenge the just Rebukes which they may receive from their injured and offended Sovereign; they will contrive Bargains with Parties, to distress the Crown for the Exaltation of themselves; they will employ the Weight and Interest of their Temporalities to make Divisions in the People, to influence the public Councils, and even Parliamentary Elections: Evils, none of which can happen, if the Crown shall retain to itself intire, the Exercise of its own Prerogatives: For, if the Prince on the Throne shall continue to advise with his Civil [II-348] Counsellors, or resort to his own Knowledge of Mankind, in all

his Nominations to Ecclesiastical Dignities; if he shall constantly promote Men whom he knows to deserve his Favour, and to regard him with faithful Affection, if he does this without the Interposition of any selfish designing Churchman, however possible it is, that some Mistakes may happen in Particulars, yet on the whole, it is morally impossible, that the Dependence of those he promotes can belong to any Interest but to that of the Crown; they will owe the Crown their natural Gratitude; and having received the Favour of their Advancement from the King alone, none will stand in the Way to intercept that Duty and Service which they ought to return him; whereas if he should, at any time to come, suffer his Church Promotions to be modelled by any single Prelate, he will see that Prelate vested in a short time with a Power almost able to controul supreme Authority; he will see the Devotion which ought to be paid to him alone, in right of his Royalty, paid in his high Dishonour and Wrong to a Priest, a proud assuming Priest, who will threaten, that if his own Creatures are not advanced, or if any Person, disagreeable to his Humours or Interests, shall be advanced, that he will never be seen in the Court, nor appear in the Service of his Prince; and even that he will arm all the Ecclesiastics in the Kingdom with Clamour and Fury, to avenge his unchristian Quarrel.

Such a Spirit as this, or any that resembles it, ought to be suppressed with early Care. There is no Service to a Court, that can pretend to palliate the Growth of such alarming Encroachments upon the Power of the Crown, and there is no Encroachment upon the Regal Prerogative, so dangerous to Mankind, to Civil Liberty, and common Safety, as the Usurpation of Ecclesiastics. If ever the least Sign of such Encroachment should appear, stop the Progress of it immediately. If indulgent Grace and Favour may at any time suffer it to go too far, let nothing be neglected to restrain it. Nothing can be too great a Venture, to risque in the Undertaking. Nothing can be a more dreadful Hazard, nay, more certain Ruin, than to suffer that it should proceed. If ever its Progress should appear to be beyond Restraint, [II-349] the Power of the Crown, the Legal Prerogative of the King, is then swallowed up, perhaps, beyond Recovery; and the Prince on the Throne, who should suffer his Clergy to flatter him out of his most essential Authority, would find such Flatterers become his Tyrants, and the Power with which he parted to oblige them, would be employed to distress his Affairs; nay, to destroy himself and his Family; he would be but the Cypher of Royalty; he would be environed by the Power of the Church, and engrossed by a vile Cabal of insolent Ecclesiastics.

It is most evident, that the Growth of this Ecclesiastical Tyranny would take its Rise, Sir, from that Scheme which you propose for the trying and disqualifying Candidates to Church Preferments; I must therefore adhere to my former Opinion, that the Example which you advertised for the Use of Christian Princes, in the *Daily Journal* of February 27, is not fit for *Christian Princes to imitate*.

I am apt to fear you have made an ill Applicatson of an excellent Treatise set forth some Years since by a reverend and eminent Person, to conciliate the Minds of the Clergy, when they were divided by a Commitment of one of their Bishops, on a Charge of High Treason. This Letter to the Clergy, which was published in the Year 1722, is still preserved in the 24th Volume of the *Political State of Great Britain*; and as it is there said, by Mr. *Abel Boyer*, was generally reported to have been written by the R. R. Dr. *G——n* then *L——B——* of *L——In*. Now, since so great an Authority must have passed into every Man's Hands, it must be confessed, there were some Passages in that Letter, which coming from one so deservedly trusted in the Depth of Ecclesiastical Secrets, may possibly have misled the Weak and Undiscerning, to entertain false and incongruous Notions of the Manner in which our Church is governed.

I fear, most worthy Dr. *Codex*, you have imagined, that such a Scheme as you have proposed for trying of Ecclesiastical Candidates, might one Day or other prevail, because the Rev. Dr. *G— — n*, if he was the Author of that Letter, after he hath said in the first Division [II-350] of his Discourse, Par. IV. that it had been his Majesty's continual and prudent Rule to consult or be directed by his Bishops, in the Disposal of Preferments of every Rank in the Church, proceeds in this manner to exult upon the Occasion,

“What, says the Reverend Writer, can shew a greater Trust placed in, or Deference paid to, his Bishops, than to share as it were his Royal Prerogative with them, and make himself but a kind of Executor of their Pleasure.— — — Here then adds the Letter-Writer, let us, the Clergy, rejoice, &c.”

Now, should this amazing Passage be thought too much for a modest Clergyman to say of his own Order or of his anointed Head, should it be thought stupendous Insolence, to tell the World that the *K— — —* himself is directed by *B— — — ps*, that he shares his Royal Prerogative with Ecclesiastics, and is but an Executor of their Pleasure: Let us ask ourselves at the same time, hath not this very Clergyman, who writes in this manner during thirty or forty Years past, both preached and sworn to maintain the Royal Supremacy of the King his Sovereign in all Causes, and over all Persons as well Ecclesiastical as Civil? And how is such a Clergyman to be regarded, when after having intitled himself to so many Dignities and Emoluments, by the Repetition of such Oaths, he shall, in Defiance of them, affirm that the *K— — —* himself, his supreme Head and Sovereign, hath been directed by *B— — — ps*, who have sworn to be directed by him; or that a Prince of so sublime a Dignity could ever submit to such Dishonour and Dishonour of his Crown, as to share his Royal Prerogatives with his Ecclesiastics: And what is still more injurious to Imperial Majesty, and ignominious to his sacred Character, that He, our Sovereign Lord the *K— — — g* could ever make himself to be considered and spoken of as but the Executor of the Pleasure of Priests!

Were these Expressions ever to be described in the Language of an Impeachment, and in the vigorous Stile of Parliaments, they would be charged by an House of Commons, as insolent, wicked and traitorous Words, expressed in high Contempt and Derogation of the Royal Authority, in Diminution of the supreme Dignity of [II-351] the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms, and highly disrespectful to the sacred Person of our Lord the *K— — —*, tending to infuse groundless Jealousies into his Majesty's Subjects, that his Royal Prerogative is shared, and his Administration directed, to the Prejudice of the People, and to the Dishonour of the Crown, and tending to lessen that Reverence which all his Majesty's Subjects owe to him their liege Lord and Sovereign.

Yet whilst the Meaning of this Reverend Letter-writer comes under these alarming Considerations, we are still, if possible, startled more by what he says in the second Part of his Discourse, *Section I. Par. V.* where enumerating the Oaths taken by Clergymen, among which the Oath of Supremacy is one, he adds,

“That after this *Gordion Knot* is fastened on the Consciences of Clergymen, which no Art or Time can loosen, and which nothing but Violence and Wickedness can cut, how must they appear to the World? How black, how detestable, if they act contrary to this sacred Engagement? How much must the Christian Religion, how much must even Natural Religion be weakened by such a Behaviour in the Clergy? Believe me, Brethren, continues the Writer, that no Imputation, no Stain can fix so fast to our Church as this. It is a Stab almost in a vital Part, and only a visible contrary Behaviour in us can be the effectual Remedy in a Case of so much Danger.”

Tell me, Sir, what your Opinion must be of a Writer, who, whilst he was cherishing such a Spirit and Disposition in his own Mind, and whilst he was advancing such Pretensions, in the Letter which he was writing, hath in the same Breath loaded them with such Weight of Guilt and Infamy, as the last recited Paragraph contains.

Dr. *G——n*, or the Author of that Letter, was likewise pleased to say in the sixth Paragraph of his first Division, in this Discourse, *That it had been experienced, that it was much safer to lay the Loins of the Law upon a Layman, than the little Finger of it upon a Clergyman.*

However possible it is that vain and ignorant Men may feed their Hopes with such Imaginations, let me as a Friend, warn you not to err on this Head, for if ever [II-352] your Practices shall deserve a public Enquiry, or an exemplary Punishment, you will find, as the worthy Lord *Clarendon* said, *That the Justice of the Kingdom will one Day or other be too hard for you, however strongly you may oppose or oppress it.*

Do not therefore indulge a Dream which reflects so much Dishonour on the Justice of the Kingdom. Do not imagine, that in these Times it can be at all safer to lay the Loins of the Law on a *Layman*, than the little Finger of it on a *Clergyman*. Dr. *G——n*, however he happened to drop this Expression, will be so far from supporting you, that he will be cited to shew you the Folly and Wickedness of such vain Apprehensions.

Give me leave then, Sir, to lay before you his Sentiments on the Crimes of Ecclesiastics, and the Punishments which Societies ought to provide against them. A Lesson which I hope will have some Influence on your Conduct, as it comes from such Authority.

In the tenth Paragraph of the last cited Division of his Letter, he addresses himself to the Clergy in this remarkable Manner.

“I presume, says he to his Reverend Brethren, there is no Protestant among us who believes that a Bishop, as a Bishop, is, or ought to be, exempt, from civil Enquiries. That erroneous Notion was banished from our Isle with Popery, long ago, and the King’s Supremacy over all his Subjects is not doubted of by any Member of our Church. Indeed, when a Prelate acts within his proper Sphere, a larger Portion of Respect is due——But whenever any one of that high Station acts contrary to his Religious Character, and strikes at the Establishment of his Country, it is his Interest that his sacred Office be not regarded in the Question, lest it serve only to aggravate the Crimes proved against him; or to speak in the Language of the great *St. Paul*, to make his Sin exceeding sinful. It may be considered further, that a Crime against the Constitution is equally dangerous, whether it be carried on by Lay or Episcopal Hands, by one that wears a Sword, or a Habit of Lawn. That State must be unwise to a Proverb, which will not take the same necessary Precautions against the one as the other; for, the [II-353] Care of the Public is above any private Regard, because it includes in it all other Relations, whether natural, civil, or ecclesiastical—— For my Part, says Dr. *G——n*, I cannot but look upon this as an Instance of steady and impartial Justice, such as every Government ought to observe; and I would not wish myself a Member of a more *Platonic* Commonwealth, than where every Man who enters into such Measures as endanger my Liberty, my Property, or my Religion, be he civil or sacred, wear he a Garter or a Mitre, is, upon Discovery of his Designs, brought to a fair Trial, and does, upon Conviction, pay that Debt of Punishment which the known Laws of his Country demand.”

In the next Paragraph, he still speaks in the same just and forcible Manner,

“That the Justice and Safety of the Nation require that all Delinquents be considered and censured as Delinquents, without any Regard to the Office, or Title, or Honour, which they bear.”

I hope, Sir, after this you will never delude yourself to think, that it can be safer to lay the Loins of the Law *on a Layman*, than the little Finger of it *on a Clergyman*. You will be of Opinion with me, that it is a Position full of Insolence and Scandal to the Justice of the Kingdom; a Position which is fraught with Malice against our Constitution, and which imputes the most partial, oppressive, and unjust Proceedings to the good People of *England*.

If, Sir, you should still entertain any Fondness for these detestable Notions, let me expostulate with you in the admirable Words of the Reverend Writer, in the third Paragraph of his first Division, where he tells us, *he is appeasing the little Jealousies and Suspicions which such as you are apt to harbour in you*.

“I know, says Dr. *G——n*, that it is natural for Men of all Societies, even of incorporated Trades, though never so mean in the Esteem of the World, to be alarmed at any Thing which may seem to reflect Dishonour on them as a Body, or which brings the Persons of their particular Governors in Danger; for, where there is an Union of Interest, there is always a common Jealousy of Danger. But why should [II-354] not we, Gentlemen, *addressing himself to the Clergy*, we who are bred up to Letters, and have received that generous Education in our Universities, which is usually thought not unworthy the Youth of the highest Quality; why should not we, who understand how to distinguish and separate those things in our Minds which the unwise and unlearned confound, see clearly, that it may be reasonable and necessary for the Government to animadvert upon one of our Order, even in the strictest Manner, at the same time that it reverences the holy Function with which he is invested.”

You will not imagine, now you have heard such Recitals from this judicious Divine, nor durst you suggest, that Dr. *G——n* can possibly serve you as an Authority in any of your unwarrantable Claims, or cover you from the Censures due to your unlawful Usurpations. If any thing, Sir, could reclaim you to the Humility of a Christian Clergyman, or to the Duty and Allegiance of an *English Subject*; if any thing could inspire you with a just Sense of your Oaths and Obligations, it must be the Words of this great and able Churchman, whose *Letter of Advice to the Clergy*, I can never be weary of transcribing.

The second Part of his Discourse, Section the first, is opened in these Words.

“Give me leave to represent that with too many Men, we the Clergy lay under the Scandal of being a restless and ungovernable Body. The Charge, I know, is not a true one, but it would grieve the Heart of a good Man, to find that there should be any the least Handle for such an unworthy Aspersion; for, Sedition, or Designs against the Constitution, is in a Clergyman an accumulated Crime; it is a whole Cluster of Sins in one, and as many more Aggravations when committed by us than by any others. For,

“We have solemnly dedicated ourselves to the Ministry of holy Things, we have turned our Backs upon the Cares of a secular Calling, and have confined ourselves to the more immediate Service of Religion; so that for us to be concerned in public Affairs, which are not made a Part of our Duty by the Laws, even though we should act in them uprightly, is hardly [II-355] justifiable, and may well seem a temporary Departure from the Business of our Calling: Besides, we never had yet much Reputation for our Skill in judging of public Matters—Why then should we quit that sacred Province in which our Fellow Subjects will easily allow us to be able Judges of Divinity, for that in which (let us confess it freely for all the World knows it, and I think it for our Credit) we are not, we cannot well be Judges of Politics.

“We are all of us Men appointed to promote the *Peace of Mankind*, and to preach the Doctrine of *Obedience to the higher Powers in being*, and of mutual *Love and good Will to one another*; and can it seem less than a vile Hypocrisy,

or a direct Disbelief of the great Truths of Scripture, if we give any just Occasion for our civil Governors to suspect us as seditious and disobedient Subjects? We say, and rightly too, in our Sermons, that we are an Order of Men necessary to Government: Let us then, by our Actions, prove this Truth to those who think otherwise of us. We are some of us eloquent and copious, in proving that Society cannot long subsist without Teachers of Religion: Let us then, I beseech you, make it *visible to all Men*, that we endeavour to support the Society in which we are so happily planted, and labour, with all our Power, to disappoint the Attempts of those who would overturn it.

“We of all Men do, with an ill Grace, endeavour to work up our Audience into Fury, especially against the State; it is the very Reverse of our Profession, and is just such a Solecism in Divinity as Superstition in Philosophy.

“We are to consider ourselves still further, as in some sort Pensioners to the State in which we live. Left this be not understood as it is meant, give me leave to express myself more clearly, by saying, that though we have a Claim from Scripture and Reason, to a Maintenance in the Labour of the Gospel, yet the particular Assignment of that Portion which we enjoy, is the Free Gift of our Government; or if any one will make a Difficulty in allowing this, yet he cannot deny that the large Revenues, as well as the Honours [II-356] attending the higher Stations of the Church, do intirely flow from the Bounty of our Laws, and are the Pensions which a wise Society pays to its distinguished Ecclesiastics, for the Reward of their uncommon Piety and Learning, and of the Pattern which they are supposed to give, of *Submission to their civil Governors*. Some of us enjoy not only what is necessary for supporting us in the sacred Business of our Calling, but have an Abundance sufficient to make us sit down in the Rank of the Great and Wealthy. And I have often thought, that if some amongst us, who have been the warmest Advocates for the divine Right of our Incomes, were strictly to take the Measure of them from what is said concerning them in the Gospel, they would *lose at least one half of their Revenues in the dangerous Experiment*, and perhaps have but the *Tythe left them of what they now enjoy* from the Munificence of the Legislature. This therefore is an Argument of much Weight! and may teach us, that as our civil Governors are our Benefactors, whoever resists them must appear basely unthankful, and cannot shake off his Obedience, without taking upon himself a full Load of the Infamy of Ingratitude.”

I have now compleated such Extracts from this Letter of Dr. G——n, as can be sit for your Attention, most Reverend Dr. *Codex*. You have now seen the Judgment of Parliament in the Impeachment of a former spiritual Offender, for taking to himself the Royal Nomination to ecclesiastical Dignities, and intruding upon the Place of great Officers appointed to advise the Crown. You have seen the severe Animadversions of the grave Author, your Reverend Brother, so often cited against you; and it may be expected you will not hereafter advance a Claim of Right, that any of your Profession should direct the K——, or that any Ecclesiastic whatever should share his Royal Prerogative, or that his Majesty should make himself *but the Executor of your Pleasure*.

It is however clear and incontestable, that this will be the Case, this daring and dangerous Encroachment will be carried on, if ever a governing Prelate should assume to himself the Right of repudiating Characters, when they shall be recommended to ecclesiastical Preferment. [II-357] Let any Man consider the Consequence of this Practice, and he must see, that Ambition and Avarice would by such Means have the largest Opportunity of extending their most destructive and rapacious Projects. If an Inquisition were lodged in the Hands of one or more Churchmen, to try and judge any Candidate for Royal Promotion in the Church: If this might be done by the Evidence of low and profligate Persons; by Discoveries of loose Words and private Conversations, pretended to have happened at any former Distance of Time, so that the Opportunities may be irrecoverably lost, of recollecting every material Circumstance, of setting Things in their true Lights, and bringing those who were present, besides the infamous Informer, to bear Witness of what was really spoke in his

Hearing: If this, I say, is to be the Scheme and Process of such an Inquisition, no arbitrary Churchman, in future Times, will ever be without a Retinue of Ecclesiastical Affidavit Makers, and Spiritual Preferment Stoppers, who will prostitute their Oaths and Inventions, to blast the Characters of all Men, who may be likely to rise in the Church contrary to his Interests, so that he may indulge his Love of Power, his Lust of Lucre, his Envy, his Hatred, his Caprice or Whim, to ruin the fairest Reputations: And as the best Men in the World will be the most obnoxious to his Resentments, the most formidable to his Power, and the most to be dreaded by his jealous Ambition, such Men will be the first to feel the Fury of his Inquisition, and to be defamed by the pestilent Tribe of his abandoned Informers.

Such were the Practices common in this Kingdom, before the Reformation of the Church, when *Edmund*, the cruel and violent Bishop of *London*, eclipsed the Power of the Crown, branded the most deserving of the Clergy, and butchered the most innocent of the Laity. As he carried on every iniquitous Project, he retained every infamous Prostitute; and a memorable Instance of his vengeful Temper occurs to my present Recollection. He had seen a Clergyman rise to a Deanary by the Assistance of very honourable Patrons, whose Power he considered with as much Awe as he beheld it employed to his sore Vexation: Whilst the Affair depended, he had [II-358] tried every decent Artifice to defeat them; he was not immediately willing to break with them, and thought that his Ends might be carried by smooth Expedients; but when once he found his Intrigues were baffled by their superior Discernment, and the Promotion was obtained so much to his Disappointment, he gave the utmost Scope to his Malice and Revenge. The first vacant Bishopric was made use of as the fittest Occasion for the Exercise of both. The very Person whose Advancement he had so lately laboured to obstruct, did he himself officiously name to supply that vacant See, when no Man asked or expected it: And this most insidious Offer he made with express Design to possess himself of a proper Opportunity, whereby he defamed the Person, and set him aside in the Promotion which he with so much Treachery had officiously pretended to design in his Favour; making his Reputation the Butt of spiritual Informers, and fixing his Prelatical Brand on his Name, as a lasting Punishment due to that Ecclesiastic who had dared to rise in the Church without his Consent, and as a perpetual Incapacity ever to rise in any future Instance. I must not dismiss this Affair without a just Remark. It was the Glory of a most renowned Protestant Queen, that she mortified the Pride, and crushed the Power of this unchristian Prelate.

If I should view this Scheme of an Inquisition, in the Lights of your own Interest, I believe I could easily deter you from pursuing any such pernicious and detestable Project. Are you, Sir, so warm in your Situation, that you desire no earthly Advancement, or are you so secure in your Reputation, that such a Method of Practice, such an Inquisition, might not easily destroy it? And are you sure that you have no Enemy in the World, whose Aversion to your higher Promotion, might not induce to seek out Witnesses of your former Life and Behaviour? Think then, that if a proud, ambitious, and malicious Prelate, should ever have the Opportunity of obstructing your Exhaltation, by fixing a Stain on your Character, Whether his Resort among your old Comrades might not furnish such an Adversary with fit Instruments to asperse you? And whether the Lure of his [II-359] Favour, might not seduce some hungry starving Ecclesiastic, to testify that which every Man would reject with Scorn, were it not sanctified by those Solemnities which provoke our Abhorrence? Suppose that any one should have so much Ill-will, and allow himself so large a Liberty, as to aver against you, Sir, that thirty Years since, or upwards, you were a most virulent Jacobite, and not only expressed the utmost Rancour against the Revolution, but pledged, in divers Companies, the most unlawful Healths, and refused the Oaths by Law required: Or that such a Charge hath been so notorious, and you so extremely sensible of its Weight against you, that the last Incumbent of the See now vacant, was by your Arts and Influence obstructed for ten Years together, in his Rise to a Bishopric, because he had said, that you was *a Jacobite by Nature*,



*and a Whig by Grace.* Do you not think, that were it possible to procure such Depositions, it would be very hard upon you, if Encouragement should be given to evil or envious Men, in the Business of defaming you, and that such Defamation should prevent you from the Benefit of such Promotions, as the greatest Persons had endeavoured to procure, or Royal Favour intended to give you? And would you have been content to have lost a Bishopric, or would you be willing to hazard an higher Promotion on such an Experiment, as bringing to Light the Iniquities which might be possibly charged on the Course of the Life, in a Train of Exactions, Extortions, Oppressions, and Acts of Injustice?

Do not therefore recommend such Schemes to the Public, or to the Crown, as must, and will be, one Day or other, the Introduction of this Practice, and may be the Destruction of your own Credit. If you did but reflect on what some Men have done, you would tremble to consider what Persons of their Complexion may do. I have heard of a Churchman, who promoted a Prosecution against a very scandalous Offence: and on the Accusation of that unnatural Sin, many were pursued, even to the last Sentence and Execution of the Law. This Person, with great Oftentation, boasted of this Service which he had performed to the Cause of Religion [II-360] and Virtue. It nevertheless happened, that a Priest, in the District where he had Authority, a Man of the most profligate Principles, and in all Respects of the most infamous Character, was known to him by the meritorious Distinction of a most violent Bigot; as he was known to all the World by every immoral Practice, and by his avowed Disaffection to the Royal Family. This wicked Man, and what better could be expected from him, was as unnatural in his Vices, as he was odious in his Behaviour. He had long been made scandalous by his most shocking Amours, and at length was exposed by one of a flagrant kind carried on with the *Clerk of his own Parish*; he had, by his Practices on this Person, brought him into the Hands, and under the Operations of Surgeons. The Fact was too notorious for the Crime to pass unpunished, The honest Laity thought it a Matter fit for the Cognizance and Correction of the civil Magistrate; but whilst this Purpose was in Agitation, his Reverend Superior interposed, for the Honour of his Order, desiring that this vile Delinquent might be first prosecuted in the spiritual Court, where having once been formally divested of his Ecclesiastical Character, he might then be decently delivered up to the Secular Power, and punished in his Lay Capacity, for Crimes which he actually had attempted in his Clerical Habit. The Prosecution under this Management, was begun, was spun out with tedious Delays, and after the most trifling Defence, was at length concluded to the Condemnation of the accused Party. An Appeal was then lodged, was protracted in an extraordinary Manner, and the Appellant found *Guilty* again of those unnatural Practices which had been laid to his Charge. See now the Use of these Delays! The Prosecution had been so long depending, that it would have had no Countenance in the Civil Courts, had an Indictment been preferred so long after the Fact was committed. The Father of the Flock having therefore, with this Design, prevailed by his Influence, that the Process should continue so long depending, did, at last, with great Humility and brotherly Love, by his good Offices, moderate the Judgment, and screen the unnatural Offender from Justice, so that the [II-361] spiritual Judge condemned him as *guilty of all those unnatural Practices*, yet discharged him by a Commutation of 100 *l.* Costs, reproving him in the gravest Style for this criminal Conversation with his Clerk, and enjoining him not to commit such filthy Sins in Time to come. Thus was Justice disarmed of her Power to punish the worst Offences! Thus did an intriguing Ecclesiastic screen Enormities in his own Order, which he had followed with all the Vengeance of Law in the Case of other Men; And do you not think, that were such a Man to be intrusted with supreme Power in the Church, he would employ it as wickedly and as partially, in stigmatizing some, as he hath employed it in screening of others? And that as he can protect the worst sort of Men in their Crimes, for being subservient to his exorbitant Projects, he would blacken the fair Reputation of others, for being too honest to join in supporting his Iniquities?

Such Behaviour in any Churchman, contributes more than all the Works of Infidelity, to blemish the Honour, and subvert the Foundation, of the Christian Religion. Those who have the Cause of Virtue and Piety most at Heart, lose their Zeal in the Service or the Support of a Church, whilst they see Churchmen acting in such a Manner, and Church Authority prostituted to such unchristian Ends. One Pastor of this Complection confutes all the Pastoral Letters that ever were written; and the World will be apt, however unjustly, to conceive, that nothing was ever charged on Ecclesiastics, which was not true, if ever they shall see there is nothing immoral, but what some of the Order can commit, especially if such Offenders should be of such Rank, that their Example cannot be of more extensive Influence, than it ought to be of lasting Infamy.

But if ever we should have the Misfortune to see the Scheme which you have recommended to the Imitation of Christian Princes, obtain under our Constitution; if ever we should see a dishonest and a defaming Churchman, endeavour by his Calumnies and his Informers, to propagate Falshoods, and promote Perjuries, thereby to disgrace an innocent Man, whose Merit he envies, and whose Integrity he looks on with fearful Eyes; if thus [II-362] he shall labour to circumvent the most worthy, and ruin the most amiable Character, may there never be wanting a great and powerful Patron to sustain the Cause of Innocence, whose Authority to protect him, may be as irresistible as that Eloquence with which he shall vindicate his Fame, and whose Honour shall make him incapable of giving up his Friend to the Loss of his dearest Reputation, when the Favour which he sought to procure him, shall have incited such scandalous Church Jobbers to disgrace him.

It is a Security, as it is a Comfort to us, that the Honour of the Crown, and the Wisdom of that Prince who wears it, will never permit his Favours in the Church to be ingrossed by any ambitious Churchman, nor his Royal Grace, at any Time intended to be conferred on a deserving Clergyman, to be intercepted by the base Attempts of prostitute Informers. He will be too jealous of his Imperial Dignity, to suffer that any Ecclesiastic whatever shall openly boast, in Derogation of his Royal Supremacy, *That the K— — is directed by him, that his Majesty shares his Royal Prerogatives with him, and makes himself but the Executor of his Pleasure.*

Our Sovereign, Sir, is not to be treated with such Insolence and Pride. He hath shewn to the World that he will be *King of his People*; and will be as far from allowing an ambitious Churchman to divide his sovereign Authority, as he will be from suffering any such Scheme of Ambition to be carried on by the vile Arts of perjured Information. He will neither gratify the Wicked in their unjust Usurpations, to the Diminution of his own Glory, nor give up the Worthy and Innocent a Prey to their vindictive Revenge. He will, whenever he finds it expedient, abate the Pride of such Men, though they should be as insolent in their Threats of opposing his Service, as they were indecent in their Boasts of making him the *more Executor of their Pleasure*; and they will see, when they provoke his Royal Indignation, that in the steady Course of impartial Justice, it is as safe to inflict the Punishment of Law on an offending Clergyman, as on any Layman whatever.

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As this is the Light in which every faithful Subject regards his Prince, I hope, Sir, that since it is your Duty, you will soon find it to be your Interest to treat his Royal Person with the same Respect and Decency; and that you will apply to Christian Princes, on future Occasions, in a much more becoming Manner, than by Paragraphs printed in the Daily Papers, setting forth to the World *what Examples are fit for such Princes to imitate.*

*I am,  
SIR,*

*Your most humble Servant, &c.*

*Lincoln's Inn,  
5 March 1733.*

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*The Preface to the Fourth Collection of Cato's Letters.* ↩By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq*;

I Readily comply with the Desire of the Publisher to write a short Preface to the new Collection he has made of my Letters for the last four Months. I am more concerned than surprized, that these Letters should be ill understood, and maliciously apprehended by those, who, having no Principles of their own, are apt to wrest my Principles to favour their own Prejudices.

These Men are Friends to Truth out of Anger or Chance, and not for her own Sake. I am, however, glad that they have been brought to read and approve a general Condemnation of their own Scheme. It is more than ever they did before; and I am not without Hopes, that what they have begun in Passion may end in Conviction: I am happy, if I may have been the Means of bringing those Men to think for themselves, whose Character it has been to let other Men think for them— — — a Character which is the highest Shame and the greatest Unhappiness of a rational Being. These Papers having opened the Principles of Liberty and Power, and rendered them plain to every Understanding, may, perhaps, have their Share in preventing, for the time to come, such Storms of Zeal for Nonsense and Falshood, as have thrown these Kingdoms more than once into Convulsions. I hope I have helped to cure and remove those monstrous Notions of Government, which were instilled by the crafty Few into the ignorant Many.

For those who profess to entertain the same Sentiments with myself upon this Subject, and yet have been offended; as this their Offence was neither my Fault nor Intention, I can only be sorry, for their Sakes, that the Principles which they avowed at all Times, should happen [II-365] to displease them at any Time. I am willing to believe that it was not the Doctrine, but the Application that disoblged them. — — — Nor am I answerable for this; they themselves made it, and often made it wrong. I abhor all Attacks upon the Persons and private Characters of Men, and all little Stories and Calumnies invented or revived to blacken them. These are base and dishonest Practices; the Work and Ambition of little and malicious Minds only. Nor wanted I any such ill-bred and contemptible Artifices to gain Readers. I attended only to general Reasonings about public Virtue and Corruption, unbiassed by Pique or Favour to any Man. I can say this with as much Truth as any Writer ever could. As I have abused no Man's Person, and courted no Man's Fortune, I have dreaded no Man's Resentment.

The Faults found with these Letters are so frivolous and ill grounded, that to mention them is almost sufficient to answer and expose them. The putting some Words in *Italics*, or different Letters, has given Offence; and I own, in some Instances it has been indiscreet: But though it was none of my Doing, and I have often blamed it, yet I dare answer that it was not maliciously done. However, I have directed it to be altered in this Collection.

Other Letters and Passages and Advertisements in the Journal, have been dishonestly blended with *Cato's* Letters; and when they were called Crimes, *Cato* has been called the Criminal—A wicked and a base Charge! Any intelligent Man may see that *Cato* has nothing farther to do with the Journal, than the writing those Letters which are signed with his Name.

I know it has been said, and but said, that *Cato* has spoken disrespectfully, nay insolently, of the King. If this were true, I should be the first to own that all the Clamour raised against me, was just upon me. But the Papers vindicate themselves; and it is certain, that no Prince

was ever treated with more Duty and Regard, in any public or private Writings, than his present Majesty has been in these. In Point of Affection and Principle his Majesty has not a better Subject than myself; and if he has any bad ones, they are none of my making. I [II-366] know that this Nation cannot be saved without this King; and I am still persuaded, that nothing tended more to his Advantage and Popularity, or more to the Credit of the Ministry, or more to the Security of the Subject, than the pursuing, with quick and impartial Vengeance, those Men who were Enemies to all Men. And I have the Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, to shew that that great and honourable Assembly were guided by the same Sentiments, as were the whole Nation.

But it seems I once spoke *Latin* to his Majesty, and spoke to him in the singular Number — — — *quis te vituperavit*. If this be a Libel, they who make it so, are the Libellers. In itself it is a Panegyric; nor could it be a Satyr in my Mouth, who have ever thought and spoken dutifully of the King, and endeavoured that all others should do so. As to the Word, *Te*, addressed to his Majesty in the singular Number, which is the Objection, I am told, of some able Lawyers; I would, in answer, acquaint these learned *Goths*, that the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue warrants that way of speaking, and no other, and that none but Monks and Pedants practise any other. *VOS regere imperium* — — — And *hæ VOBIS erunt artes* — — — would be beautiful Emendations in a new Edition of *Virgil*. But as the above ridiculous Objection was made by no Lawyer of Genius or Politeness, it is no Reflection upon his Brethren.

Thus much I think is more than a sufficient Defence against this *Latin* Crime; which however I have cancelled, though not for their Sakes who make it one.

In answer to those deep Politicians, who have been long puzzled to know who were meant by *Cicero* and *Brutus*; intending to deal candidly with them, and put them out of Pain and Doubt, I assure them that *Cicero* and *Brutus* were meant: That I know no present Characters or Story that will fit theirs; and that those Letters were translated for the Service of Liberty in general, without intending by them either Reproof or Praise to any Man living. And if these guessing Sages are in Perplexity about any other Passages in *Cato's* Letters, it is ten to one but the same Answer will relieve them.

[II-367]

In *Brutus's* Letters it is said, *we do not dispute about the Qualifications of a Master; we will have no Master*. Which is the genuine Sense of the *Latin*—*Nisi forte non de servitute, sed de conditione serviendi recusandum est a nobis*. From hence some have inferred, that, because *Brutus* was against having a Master, therefore I am against having a King—a strange Construction, and a wild Consequence! As if in translating *Brutus's* Letter, I was not to follow the Sense of *Brutus*; or as if there was no Difference in *England* between a King and a Master, which are just as opposite as King and Tyrant. In a neighbouring Kingdom, indeed, they say that their Monarch is born Master of the Kingdom, and I believe they feel it too; as they do with a Witness in *Turkey* — — — But I hope it is not so here. We have a King made and bound by the Law; *Brutus* having killed one Usurper, was opposing another, overturning by Violence all Law. Where is the Parity, or Room for it?

It may, perhaps, be expected I should say something here of a late Attempt, to answer this and all other Writings, in a Way that was never before taken, nor heard of — — — a new Way without a new Occasion! And a Way more terrible to Liberty than to me! Nothing is the best Thing I can say of it; and even for that I deserve the Thanks of the Projectors: May it be for ever covered with Oblivion! A Wish, in which I dare say I have their hearty Concurrence. No Man desires to be remembered but with Honour.

Thus much by way of Preface, I thought might be modestly said, in defence of a Paper which has more Friends and Readers, than any Paper that has hitherto appeared in the World; and for its Foes, they are, as to their Number, inconsiderable.

As to myself, who perhaps have more public Spirit than private Prudence, having done my Duty, I can say with Tully, *Quid est, proh deûm hominumque fidem! In quo ego Reip. plas hoc tempore prodesse possim? — — Quid est, quod aut populo Rom. gratius esse debeat, aut sociis extrisq; nationibus optatius esse possit, aut saluti fortunisque omnium accommodatius sit? — — Quis tandem esset qui meum concilium aut factum posset reprehendere?*

[II-368]

“I appeal to Heaven and Earth, whether I could have done more for the Benefit of the Public in this its woful Distress? — — — What more agreeable to the Interest and the Wishes of our People at home, what more conducive to our Reputation abroad, or what more desirable for the Security of the universal Rights and Properties of all Men? What Falshood have I uttered, what evil Counsel have I given, and do the Innocent accuse me?

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*The Preface to the Sixth Collection of Cato's Letters.* ↩

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq*;

I Have said so much by way of Preface to the other Collections of these Papers, that little is left for me to say in This. The present is a Collection of all the Papers written last Winter and till now upon Government, *ex proposito*, and in a System; and those about Caesar being near a-kin to the Design, and containing a good Part of the Argument, I have joined them to the rest, as I have done two late ones about Elections, for the same Reason; and to the Whole I have prefixed one written last *October*, concerning the general ill Condition of Mankind.

I leave the Argument handled in these Letters to justify itself, as it is stated there, I cannot help thinking it is supported by the united Consent of Experience, Reason, and Nature; and is not like to be shaken by any thing that can be said against it. The Sum of the Question is, Whether Mankind have a Right to be happy? or, whether any Man has a Right to make them miserable?

[II-369]

I am not so much surprized, that many of the *Tories* should assent to the Lawfulness of killing *Caesar*, because Men out of Power are naturally in the Interest of Liberty; as I am sorry that any of the *Whigs* should deny it. Is the Unlawfulness of killing Tyrants maintained at last by the *Whigs*, whose very Spirit and Character is founded upon the very opposite Principle? I wish they would define and explain this modern *Whigism*, especially upon the Principles of the old, and distinguish it from the most obnoxious Part of *Toryism*. I doubt I have set them a hard Task.

They who wildly apply to the Court what has been said about *Caesar*, make the Court but an ill Compliment, whatever they may intend. How can any Court, which does not do what *Caesar* did, be affected with what was done to *Caesar*, or with what is said about him?

CATO.

***The Creed of an Independent Whig; with an orthodox Introduction,  
concerning Canons, Councils, Mysteries, Miracles, and Church  
Authority.*** ↩

By THOMAS GORDON, *Esq;*

Anno 1720.

*To all Believers, the orthodox Author sendeth Greeting;*

THE Opinions of Mankind are as various as their Complexions; and he must be a very bad Marksman, who shoots among a Crowd of People, and misses every one: But notwithstanding there is such a Diversity of *Faith* in the World, yet I am persuaded I shall meet with many who will heartily embrace my Sentiments in the following *Creed*. I challenge the Universe to disprove any one Article; and what makes me the more sanguine herein, is, that I am very well assured that there is not a Tenet which can be justly called *Pseudodox*.

I am sensible of the numerous Herds of Bigots, who will not allow a Man to have a Competency of orthodox Learning, who has not trifled away a few Years at a University; but if we would follow the Example of the good Husbandman, and purge our Granaries, we should quickly find more Tares than good Corn.

It grieves me to see that the World has such a just Cause to reflect on *Alma Mater*, and affirm, that (for many Years past, and even to this Day) instead of administring wholesome Nourishment, she has, and does, viciate the most hale Constitutions. Oh, that she would retrieve her lost Reputation of being one of the best [II-371] Nurses in Christendom! But her Milk is become sour, and curdles in each tender Stomach.

I have spent many a tedious Night in searching diligently into the Lives and Characters of the primitive Believers; nor have I been remiss in endeavouring to discover the Manners and Behaviour of the Moderns: For the Satisfaction therefore of our Houshold, to corroborate the Weak, to establish the Wavering, and in full and certain Hope of making Proselytes, I have with much Pains and Watching, Fatigue and Study, finished my *Creed*; a Work much desired, and long wanted.

Take heed, my Brethren, that ye do not relapse into Infidelity; let me caution ye not to be deluded by the Wiles and Artifices of a particular Set of People called *Hocus-Pocus* Blades: These Sons of the Craft pretend to prove a Succession of *Legerdemain* Gentlemen from the first Juglers, and treading in the Paths of their Predecessors, have entered into a mutual Compact to bambouze our Senses, and to deprive Mankind of Reason.

These Men have more Ways of imposing upon you, than by their Hands, though I must acknowledge That to be the chief Imposition of any. You may safely believe one Thing which they tell you, though at the same time they would not have you give Credit to their Words, *viz. If your Eyes are not as nimble as your Fingers, they will deceive you.*

So I have seen a Carpet laid, and when the proper Utensils were spread upon the Table, a Jugler begin his Farce with this short Prologue.

*Behold my little Cups and little Ball;  
See, there are no false Bottoms here at all.*



You may easily judge from this inimitable Piece of Poetry, that the subsequent Oratory must needs be very elegant. He has an admirable Knack of deluding the Credulous with three little Balls, which you see him place fairly under three Cups; but by using a few of his Rhetorical Flourishes, as *Presto, pass, begone*; the three Balls are not to be found, but instead of them, you behold one large one. Now, to convince you that he is a Master of Art, he again pronounces the aforementioned [II-372] Words, which are of such Efficacy, that the one Balvanishes, and the Three appear *in statu quo*. Nay, he will bring back the one Ball, and change it into a living Body; as a Hen, a Chicken, or the like: How great then is the miraculous Power of *Hocus-Pocus*? But I should have told you, that if you have but Ten-pence in your Pocket, he will demand one with an authoritative Air, which you must pay for being deluded; so that he is sure to have you *here* or *there*, as he terms it in the Prologue.

There are another Set of People, whom you ought carefully to avoid, Men of pretended Sanctity, I mean Priests, whose Love to their Bottle and Mistress exceeds any Layman's. And by the Bye you may note (for it is an Axiom that will not bear Contradiction) that much outward Piety is an infallible Indication of an Exuberance of inward Knavery. They will offer to persuade you that they can wash an *Aethiopian* white, and release you from your Debts; but beware that you rely not on their Words, lest you incense your Creditor, and he casts you into Prison for being insolvent.

A Priest, with much Importunity, was prevailed upon to quit his Pipe and Glass, and attend a Gentleman who was making his Exit. The holy Father was very diligent in the Execution of his Office, and performed all the superstitious Ceremonies customary to be done to a dying Person. It happened, that while he was pronouncing the Absolution, and one Hand was signing the Gentleman with the Mark of the *Cross*, the other (through Inadvertency rather than Design) was very busy in picking his Pocket; the sick Man's Thoughts were not so very intent upon the other World, as might be expected from one in his Condition, but observing what the Priest was doing, starts up in his Bed, and laid hold of his Breeches. By this sudden Motion he broke an Imposthume which was within him, and had caused his being so very weak; and recovering his Health in a few Days, renounced the Heterodox Faith in which he had been educated, and embraced and adhered to that which was orthodox.

The last Advice which I shall give you is, to weigh Things maturely before you proceed to a final Determination: [II-373] Condemn not other People because they cannot be of the same Opinion with you in all Matters; for by the same Parity of Reason, they may condemn you. Remember that *there are more Ways to the Wood than one*. Does that Man merit the Name of *Saint, Pope, or Bishop*, who in a diabolical Passion shall pronounce whole Nations damned, who cannot swallow all and singular of his Absurdities? Who shall deliver over to the Devil and his Angels the major Part, not only of the Christian World, but also of all the Inhabitants of the Earth, to be tormented in Hell for ever; merely because they will not sacrifice their Reason (that noble Characteristic of Man, that Portion of Divine Goodness) to Forgeries and Blasphemy? Must we be damned for opposing this false Doctrine? This is a hard Saying, and who can bear it?

As I have laboured hard in the Vineyard, so I hope I have brought forth Wine; and they who approve the Juice of my Grapes, shall drink, make their Hearts glad, and be welcome. I will force no Man; Compulsion is neither hospitable nor lawful; I shall therefore allow a Liberty to all Men, observing the golden Rule, of doing as I would be done unto. I shall not speak in dark Parables to deceive any Man, but am willing to declare the Truth, and abide by it, tho' perhaps this may be deemed *a Work too dirty for the Sons of Levi to meddle with*; which Practice I recommend to you my Fellow Believers, and persuade myself you will fight manfully under so glorious a Banner, even though the Jesuits, or any of the Order of Friar *Francis* should oppose you.

## *The INTRODUCTION.*

THE Imposition of Creeds is looked upon by all thinking People to be analogous to the Imposition of — — — something else; and, indeed, if the Traditions of Men are not to be admitted as a Standard of Faith, which no Protestant will allow, I do affirm, that we ought not to depend on the Decrees of Councils and Synods. The former has been condemned by our Saviour *Christ*, and the latter cannot be deemed orthodox, [II-374] if we look into the History of the Ancients; because each of them has censured and declared some, if not all the Articles of their Predecessors to be heterodox.

From hence I would infer, that their *Credenda* were not the Dictates of a Divine Spirit, because they contradict and clash against each other; but were rather the seeming Opinions of such as were biassed by Interest or Policy. I do not say absolutely that this is a true State of the Case, but to me it seems to carry a Face of Probability; and as I will not pin my Faith upon the Assertion of any Body of Men whatever, so I shall leave every Man at Liberty to believe what, and as much as he judges requisite. Provided, nevertheless, that no Man shall believe all, because he will not then leave a Share for his Neighbours; and I must needs own I hate a Monopoly of any Kind; for which Reason I wish there were a Law to prevent ingrossing of — — —.

He that can read, and has a common Portion of Reason, may find such plain and easy Directions in the *New Testament*, as will instruct him how to find the ready Way to Heaven; by which he will avoid the tedious Ambages of a mercenary Guide. I think that the Gentleman managed the Tack with Prudence, who resolving to travel to the *Lands-End*, contracted for the Journey: If he had hired a Guide by the Day, no doubt but the Fellow would have conducted him the farthest Way about.

Happy the Man who swallows the Absurdities of the Popish Religion; he need not be anxious of his Welfare hereafter; and I could name another Religion, which has gained so much Ground, that it is thought 'twill come up with, if not overtake, the former: They resemble the *Bank* and the *South-Sea* Companies in vying with each other; and I wish that we may not at last discover a *Mississippi* in both.

That the Bible is the Rule of Faith, abstracted from its Interpolations and erroneous Translations, dare not be denied by the most consummate Priest-craft; and therefore he who endeavours to persuade me that such Articles are necessary to Salvation, which are not made fundamental in Scripture, palms his own, or another's [II-375] Suggestions upon me, and gives great Cause of Suspicion that there is some vile Roguery at the Bottom.

How pathetically does St. *Paul* speak! how noble are his Thoughts! how beautiful and how amiable his Description of *Charity*! and he concludes with assuring us, that all Moral Virtues, that even Faith without Charity availeth nothing. If therefore Charity is so essential, what Opinion must we entertain of *that Creed*, in which Uncharitableness is placed in the most glaring Light, and made an Article of Faith! a Creed, whose Author, or Authors, cannot be proved, nor its Tenets plainly made out from Scripture.

There is a Religion which has three Creeds, and yet properly speaking, they *Three* are but *One*. This is very Emblematical, and I love an out-of-the-way Fancy; 'tis something new, and may be of great Emolument in this improving Age.

I could mention a Creed, which has its Title from some Men, who were as little concerned in the Composure of it, as the late King's *James's* Queen: And there is one Article or two, which have been proved by a Gentleman now living, to be foisted upon us by some zealous — — — [\*]: This Gentleman is as well versed in the Divinity, as in the Laws of his Country; and if Merit may be allowed to take Place, he ought not to give the Right-hand to

any of the Long petticoat Tribe, of what Denomination soever.

I have Reason to imagine, that there is not a Shop where *Titery*, *Quorum*, or *Gin* (call it by what Name you will) is sold, but what has its peculiar Devotees, and peculiar Sect of Faith. And if it be an undeniable Maxim, that Orthodoxy must surely be found where the Spirit is most predominant, then the Distiller can furnish us with Infallibility, either by Wholesale or Retail.

Faith has of late Years been bandied about like a Ball in a *Tennis-Court*; and every old Woman believes, as justly as any young *Levite*, that she has a Right to dabble in Politics, find Fault with the Administration, and meliorate our Constitution; and truly I think the one has as legal Pretensions as the other.

[II-376]

Si. *Toby* [\*] is a very eminent Lawyer, and took the Oaths when tendered to him; declaring, that he defied any Parliament to frame an Oath which he would refuse; for, says he, I will trust G—d with my Soul, before I will trust Man with my Estate. How stupendous is some Men's Faith! no doubt but the Knight had an Exuberance; and though I will not say that he can remove a Mountain, yet I affirm he has removed many a weighty Cause.

The Creeds of the Papists are innumerable; I shall therefore recite only two Articles of their voluminous Catalogue, the Legend which carry the surest Face of Probability: This I propose to do with all the Brevity imaginable.

'*St. Agatha* was a Virgin of the strictest Virtue, Piety, and regular Way of living; she was the Domina of a Nunnery, to which some Corn-Fields were appropriated for the Support of the Faithful. It happened, that some wild Geese infested those Fields, and eat up the Fruits of the Earth; but upon Complaint to the Saint, she ordered 'em to surrender themselves Prisoners to the Steward, who confined the passive Enemy in the Barn. It happened that one of the Sisterhood was in a longing Condition, and yet she had preserved her Chastity; and by the Consent of some others, killed one of the Geese, and eat it. *St. Agatha* taking into Consideration the Sufferings of the Captives, who had fasted forty Days, which was Penance enough, as she thought, dismissed 'em; however not without a Reprimand for the Sacrilege they had committed, and upon Promise not to offend for the future. The Prisoners were released, but hovered about the Nunnery for three Days. *St. Agatha* commanded their Leader to declare their Grievance, who, in a prostrate manner, thus spoke; *O thou merciful and forgiving Virgin, some of your Houshold have killed and eaten one of our Flock, contrary to the Articles to which we consented.* The compassionate Saint inquired into the Merits of the Complaint, and finding them to be true, commanded the Goose to rise from the [*Editor: illegible word*], assume its Feathers, which had been [II-377] scattered by the Wind, and join with its Associates.'

This was effected as soon as spoken; but 'tis said that all the Flock soon turned Tail.

'The Devil appeared to *St. Francis* in the Shape of a Flea, who being as nimble as one of the *French* Harlequins, skipped up and down, to and fro, and disturbed the Friar in his nocturnal Lucubrations. The pious old Man, by incessant Prayer, prevailed to have Dominion over the Devil, and confine him to stand Centinel on the Page of his Book when he left off reading.

'This he did constantly till the Time of his Confinement was elapsed. But the Devil resolving to tempt him again, essayed many Ways to delude the Saint, but did not prove successful; for the Friar having a Power given him, ordered him upon Duty a second time, to hold a Candle in his Hand, which he was forced to obey, till he burned his Fingers to the Stumps; and then he was released.' Some People affirm, that 'tis a hard thing to hold a Candle to the Devil, but sure 'tis the Devil to hold a Candle to a Friar. 'However the restless Fiend would not desist,

but (not regarding the Proverb, *Beware of the third Time* ) makes another Essay, with all the Rashness and vain Hopes of a Modern Tory. The good Saint *Francis* finding that wholesome Severities rendered the Devil more obstinate and daring, made a Noose of his Girdle, and slipping it about Satan's Neck, hanged him on a Beam in the Monastery, till he was dead, dead, dead.'

I shall now hasten to a Conclusion, believing that *a Word to the Wise is sufficient*; and shall only give this Advice to my Readers,

— — — *Cum socio credere finge tuo.*

This, I hope, will not be looked upon as an Encouragement of, or promoting Hypocrisy; for we ought to *become all Things to all Men, in order to save some.*

[II-378]

### *The CREED.*

I *BELIEVE* that no Bishop nor Presbyter, Priest or Deacon, of what Church or Persuasion soever, whether *England, Rome, or Geneva*, can *remit Sins*; and he that pretends to it, does blasphemously usurp the Prerogative of God, and surreptitiously make void the Mediatorship of *Christ*.

*I believe* that the *Protestant* Religion is the most pure and undefiled of any Religion in the Universe; nevertheless it may admit of Emendations.

*I believe* that the Mystery of the *Blessed Trinity* cannot be proved by the Light of Nature; and he that attempts to do it must be a Man of much Vanity, and an Impostor. His Vanity is manifested in asserting what is in its own Nature *absurd* which no Man of Learning, Piety, and Integrity ever; essayed; and his imposing upon the Credulity of the World, his empty Arguments, Self-Contradictions, and ridiculous Sophistry declare him to be a Knave.

*I believe* that the Inferior Clergy are a Sett of *Clean, Spruce, Sociable, Fashionable, Spiritual Beaus*.

*I believe* that King *George* (whom God long preserve) has a just Title by the Laws of God and Man to the Imperial Crown of these Realms; and that the Person called the *Pretender* was not begotten by King *James*, or came from the Body of his Queen *Mary*.

*I believe* that it is necessary to have a *Regimen* in the Church, such as is now Established; and that they ought not to be independent on the State.

*I believe* that the *Clergy* exercise a Jurisdiction, which *Christ* and *his Apostles* never did, or ever gave them Authority to do.

*I believe* that few of the inferior *Clergy* adhere to the *Canons* of the Church, or to the Oaths they have *taken*, or the Subscriptions they have *made*.

*I believe* there are three Things, which will prove a *Blot* to Old *England* for ever: The Case of the *Rochellers*, the horrid Regicide of King *Charles* the *First*, and the Sacrifice of the brave *Catalans*.

[II-379]

*I believe* that *Church-Organs* are not very edifying to such who have no *good Ear*, or *Judgment* in Music.

*I believe that the Nonjuring-Clergy are Men of more Conscience and Probity than Those who for Interest swear Allegiance to King George, yet disown him in their Hearts, and countenance Rebellion. — — — It was not my Enemy did this; but thou my Familiar, my Friend, and Acquaintance, whom I trusted.*

*I believe that St. Paul was no Prevaricator, maugre the Opinion of Mr. Secretary H—gs; but I concur with that pious Gentleman in saying there are many erroneous Translations in the Bible; and 'tis hoped that he will speedily favour the World with his new Version of the Revelations; a Piece of many Years Work.*

*I believe his Subscribers would rejoice to see their Money returned, or to have the long promised Book.*

*I believe that the Apostles and Primitive Christians soon wrought the Redemption of their Brother's Covering, when St. Paul told them that he left his Cloak at Troas; but had that Declaration been made in our Days, I Believe it might have laid dormant till Moth-Eaten.*

*I believe it was once deemed a Crime to speak in Favour of the Hanover Succession; I Believe such evil Times will never return.*

*I believe I shall not be hanged for plotting against his Majesty King George, or any of his Family, being Protestants.*

*I believe it is no Crime to drink to the Memory of the Dead, especially to a certain Monarch lately deceased; with Submission to that once great Lover of King William, of ever Glorious and Immortal Memory, Dr. Peter Browne, the present Bishop of Cork.*

*I believe the surest way to get a good Place is not to stand in need of one.*

*I believe I shall displease some People, and please others.*

*I believe that as the Corruption of the Army in the late Wars proceeded from the many Upstarts who were in it, seeing there were Men in Commission, who had no other Qualifications to recommend them than their being Pimps, Pages, or Valets; so the Corruption of the High Clergy proceeded from the Ordination of Beardless Young Men, and Indigent Souls.*

**[II-380]**

*I believe that Religion is not a Cheat, though many of its Professors do justly fall under that Denomination.*

*I believe that St. Paul spoke Truth, when he said, He that covets the Office of a Bishop covets a good Thing.*

*I believe that all Men have Portions in this World; and therefore I advise them to follow my Example, and each Man take unto him a Wife.*

*I believe it is better to Marry than Burn; yet Marriage produces many a Heart Burn.*

*I believe that a Rich Man's getting into a Shop-keeper's Book is like a Lawyer's getting a Foot into a poor Man's Estate; if he can make no farther Encroachment, he will be sure to keep his Possession.*

*I believe that Daniel de Foe was in the Right when he said,*

*Of all the Plagues with which Mankind are curst,*

*Ecclesiastic Tyranny's the worst.*

*I believe that the People of England talk more of Religion, and practise it less than any one Nation under the Sun.*

*I believe that a Beau, who has Wit, and a Courtier that's affable are as great Rarities as a Brace of Wood-cocks at Mid-summer.*

*I believe that Great-Britain is the Land of Promise.*

*I believe that Dr. Sacheverell will not be fobb'd off with an Irish Bishoprick.*

*I believe that a Westminster Justice has a good Benefit Ticket.*

*I believe that a Day of Judgment will come, when the Secrets of all Hearts will be opened; and then we shall see 'Squires who have no Right to their Estates, Lords who have no Title to their Honour, and Soldiers who fought more for Interest than Principle.*

*I believe the Pretender will not want an Heir, provided the Polish Young Princess be fruitful.*

*I believe there is many a broad-shouldered brawny-backed Priest in Italy; and the Rhemish Bible asserts, we may do Evil that Good may come of it.*

*I believe the best Way to reform the Age, is for the Inferior Clergy to begin a Reformation of themselves.*

*I believe that the Czar will be glad to make Peace, when the Squadrons of England and the Allies appear in the Baltick.*

*I believe that the Regulation of the Army was very apropos.*

**[II-381]**

*I believe there's as much Honesty in a Stock-Jobber, as Sincerity in a Jew, or Chastity in a Bawd.*

*I believe that Exchange-Alley has ruined more Families, than the Groom-Porters or the Royal-Oak-Lottery.*

*I believe we have very good Laws, but very ill executed,*

*I believe that many a Scoundrel jumps into Preferment, while many a Loyal Poor Gentlemen loses his Aim.*

*I believe there is little Regard to Merit.— — —Gold has an attractive Virtue,*

*I believe there are more Plays than are good, more Sermons than are orthodox, and more Whores than will ever be reclaimed.*

*I believe there are four, I may say five, Things in this World, which we shall not be troubled with in the World to come. Saucy Valets, Corrupted Juries, Perjured Clergymen, Cannibal Creditors, and Scoundrel Attorneys.*

*I believe that the Word Church, an innocent Word in its Nature, has done more Mischief, than ever I fear it will do Good; for when Artfully mouth'd by a Priest, it stirs up the People to Rebellion, and is made a Cloak for Murder and Treason.*

*I believe* that the Author of the *Independent Whig* is a facetious, witty, smart Fellow; but hang him, he'll ne'er make Proselytes, because he has such an unseasonable Knack of speaking much Truth.

*I believe* there are many, who go to Church with the same Intention which draws 'em to a Play-House; to see and be seen. But sure he must needs be endued with the *Apathy* of a Stoic, who cannot be moved with the Gestures of *Harlequin*, or the Grimaces of *Scaramouch*.

*I believe* there is as much Sanctity in a Black-Cloak as in Black-Gown.

*I believe* that many a Man has paid through the *Nose* for *taking up Linnen*, and being benevolent to his Neighbour.

*I believe* the Poor Prisoners will greatly rejoice when the Bill for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors has passed.

*I believe* if every one's Faults were wrote in the Forehead, Masks would be much more in Fashion than Hoop-Petticoats.

[II-382]

*I believe* that he who has a good Wife ought to make much of her; for 'tis a thousand to one if e'er he gets *another*.

*I believe* that he who marries, does well; but he who does not marry, *may* do better. And if there be no *Harmony* without a *Dissonant*, Matrimony must sure be a pleasant State.

*I believe* if there be any such Place as Purgatory, it must be in *Newgate* or the *Marshalsea*.

*I believe* the Apostles never took Money for Baptizing those who required it, or for Visiting the Sick; I wish I could say as much for all our inferior Clergy.

*I believe* I shall never become a Subscriber to the *Charitable Society* in *Spring-Garden*, even though I should *be worth Fifty Pounds, and all my Debts paid*.

*I believe* I have very good Reasons for saying so.

*I believe* that the *Westminster Bubble* will never catch half as many Gudgeons as have been *hooked* by the Bubbles about the *Royal Exchange*.

*I believe* that the Man is unworthy to eat the King's Bread, who reflects on the late Expedition to *Vigo*.

*I believe* Mr. *Law* is as much embarrassed to keep up the Credit of his *Mississippi Project*, as our Neighbours the *D* —to find Ways and Means to make good Deficiencies.

*I believe* that the Great *Athanasius* was not so wicked as some Writers have made him; and I believe there is no Necessity for putting him into the Kalendar.

*I believe* he was not the Author of the *Creed* which goes by his Name.

*I believe* the Story is true of the Butcher's cleaving the *Pericranium* of a *Levite*, whom he caught in Bed with his Wife; and that the Clergyman spoke from his Heart, when (upon the Jury's acquitting the Butcher of Murder) he said, *If such Things are suffered, there will be no living for us*.

*I believe that Sir Harry Wotton spoke with the Spirit of an Englishman, who, when he was asked by a Monk, Where was your Religion before Luther? answered without Hesitation, In the Bible, where yours never was.*

*I believe there was many an honest Gentleman in the Army, who never said Amen heartily to the following [II-383] Petition in our Common-Prayer-Book; Give Peace in our Time, O Lord.*

*I believe that Self-preservation is the first Law of Nature, and consequently that Resistance is lawful on many Accounts, any thing contained in Dr. Sacheverell's Doctrine to the contrary, notwithstanding.*

*I believe that Aristocracy is inconsistent with the Constitution of Great Britain.*

*I believe there are many of our British Youth who glory in deflouring a Virgin: 'Tis stabbing a Person that's weak and defenceless; and I believe the Mock Hero will gain as little Applause by the Action, as a General who should draw down all his Forces and Artillery, to oblige a poor Country Village to surrender.*

*I believe that Lord have Mercy upon us ought to be writ on every Man's Door, if it be a damnable Sin to resist upon any Pretence whatsoever.*

*I believe there is Priest-craft in England, as well as in Popish Countries.*

*I believe that one Man cannot serve two Masters; if so, how can Pluralities be justified?*

*I believe that no Ecclesiastic has Power to force or bind Men's Consciences.*

*I believe there are more Ways to Paradise-Row, than going through Chelsea-College.*

*I believe that Three are more than One, and One is not as many as Three.*

*I believe it is better to continue the War with Spain, than to give up Gibraltar or Port-Mahon.*

*I believe he's no Friend to Great Britain, who would advise the Surrender of either.*

*I believe that those B——s were Protestants who signed an Address to his Majesty, declaring their Detestation of the late unnatural Rebellion.*

*I believe that the late Duke of Ormond repents his flying from England.*

*I believe he had never been impeached had he staid,*

*I believe he has Reason to curse the Hour in which he was Priest-guided.*

*I believe that Scammony is a Drug of the Convolvulus or Caterpillar kind; that our present Scammony is different [II-384] from the Scammony of the Ancients, and is adulterated; that which is black is not much esteemed.*

*I believe that Scammony wants a Corrector, and is very adhesive.*

*I believe that the Compilers of our Common-Prayer-Book were very sensible, that every Man must needs be in a languishing Condition, who enters into the State of Matrimony; else why did they place the Visitation of the Sick immediately after that Piece of Formality.*

*I believe that Cardinal Alberoni is in Lim. Pat.*

*I believe that the Jacobite Faction do not relish his Confinement.*



*I believe* there are many in Places of Profit, who were averse to the *Hanover* Succession.

*I believe* I could name some.

*I believe* a perpetual Motion may be found at *Billingsgate*.

*I believe* that some of our inferior *High Clergy* have studied Rhetoric in the *Billingsgate Grammar*.

*I believe* that too much Learning will ne'er make 'em mad.

*I believe* that *Tory* and *Traitor* begin with a Letter, so do *Priest-craft* and *Perjury*.

*I believe* I need not pause long to determine, whether they are synonymous Terms.

*I believe* that to find out a *Longitude*, a Man would do well to attend a Law-Suit in the Chancery of *Ireland*.

*I believe* that a Woman is generally at the Bottom of Mischief, and that great Mischief is generally at the Bottom of a Woman.

*I believe* I could prove, by the Rule of *Good-fellowship*, that a Beau makes a *Figure* only among *Cyphers*, and that he is a *Cypher* among *Figures*.

*I believe* that my very good Friend, Mr. *Congreve*, was in the Right, when he questioned whether the Bible saved more Souls in *Westminster-Abbey*, than it damned in *Westminster-Hall*.

*I believe* that some Lords are wise, and some are *otherwise*.

*I believe* that Father *Abraham* was older than his Son *Isaac*.

*I believe* that *three* Groats make *one* Shilling, and not *three* Shillings.

[II-385]

*I believe* that the *Anathemas* of our inferior Clergy are not ratified in Heaven; and that there is a Power on Earth which can reverse them, maugre the Opinion of the charitable and meek Dr. *Sacheverell*.

*I believe* that the said Gentlemen love *Eating* and *Drinking* as well as their Neighbours.

*I believe* that some Lords deserve to be *Kenmurized* who now sleep in a whole Skin.

*I believe* that *Gregg* was a Fool and a Traitor.

*I believe* — — —

*Sat est quod sufficit.*

*There are now in the Press, and will speedily be published, the following Books, viz.*

1. THE Independency, Supremacy, and Divinity of the P — — — Clergy asserted. By *Harry of Holbourn*.

2. A Canker in some Men's Estates, or the Necessity of restoring *Abby-Lands*. By *St. Michael of Hammersmith*.

3. Faith without Reason: Or, The Laity have no Right to their Senses. By the wealthy Dean of C — — —.

4. Modern and orthodox Inconsistencies: Or, *Papists* better Friends to the [\*] Church than *Dissenters*. By *Luke Presbyter*.

5. *St. Peter* robbed of his Keys: Or, the Porters of Heaven found guilty of Fraud and Corruption. By twelve *Laymen*.

6. An Argument proving that to preach the Lawfulness of Vice and Immorality, is the most effectual Method to prevent those Evils. By a Lover of the Mathematics.

*Nititur in Vetitum.*

7. The Clergy reformed. A very valuable Piece.

*Diu multumq; desideratum.*

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***Priestianity: or, A View of the Disparity between the Apostles and the  
Modern inferior Clergy.*** ↵

By the Author of *The Creed of an Independent Whig*.

Anno 1720.

***The PREFACE.***

*TO promote Peace and Quietness, to endeavour a Reconciliation among Neighbours, is undoubtedly a Duty incumbent on all Mankind; but surely They, who call themselves the Servants of the Lord, the Successors and Followers of the Apostles, are under a double Obligation to perform this Christian Office. If we make a Scrutiny into the Actions and Ingratitude of the Inferior Clergy, we shall find, that, Viper-like, they attempt to sting the Bosom, which took Compassion on them, nourished them, and gave them (as it were) second Life. If we search for the Original of our domestic Feuds and petty Quarrels, we shall discover that they are caused by the Chaplain, or one of his Tribe; at least it will appear, that he was the Encourager, if not the Author, of them. When a Shepherd will intrust a Wolf with the Care of his Flock, then I shall consent that a Priest may be Superintendant of my Family.*

*Whether it be by Nature or Compact, I shall not at present inquire; but it is demonstrable beyond Contradiction, that a Priest is no sooner admitted into a Family, than he begins to worm himself into every Secret; and when he has discovered their Failings (for who is there that does not fall seven Times every Day?) he lords it over them with a supercilious Countenance, and haughtily usurps an arbitrary Sway. He glories that he has it in his Power to create Quarrels, and foment Animosities; he expects great Advantage from troubled Waters, and, if Threats will not prevail, creates Divisions in the Family, disunites the [II-387] Affections (those mutual Bands of harmonious Wedlock) and seruples not to put asunder whom God has joined. But these spiritual Busy-bodies do often meet with Punishment; though not in proportion to their Demerit: The good Man of the Family (to use the Country Phrase) perceiving the Tricks and Artifices of the well-fed Levite (not to mention his Amours and Intrigues) gives him a Dimittis, and reduces him to his primitive Necessity of Preaching and Praying for Bread.*

*If as due Care was taken in the Execution of our Laws, as in the Enacting them, it would conduce much to the Preservation and Continuance of that Oeconomy and good Order, that Amity and even Temper, which is requisite in every Family. There is a Penalty on every Master and Mistress, who shall take any Servants without a Certificate of their good Behaviour from the Person by whom they were last employed; and this Law was thought to be so reasonable and just in its Nature (and who can make any Objection to it?) that it affects all Men alike: The highest Quality are as liable to this Penalty, as the inferior Subjects. If therefore they, who are resolved to keep Chaplains (whether from a Motive of Pride, and to gain the Esteem of the World, or for Fashion-sake only) would demand a Certificate from such as cringe for the Office; we should find few Levites, who could produce Credentials sufficient to intitule them to a second Reception. Besides, much Confusion and Heart-burnings might be avoided by complying with this Law; and much more be prevented, if no Priest were admitted to direct or dictate to a Family, but when he appears in his consecrated Asylum.*

*A Levite, take him in the Capacity of a Chaplain or Parish-Priest, is but a menial Servant; and I have met with one only, (and never heard of another) who was so just to his own Conscience, and ingenious to the World, to confess that undeniable Position. Will they preach*

*or pray without Hire? No. Will they guide and direct you without a Reward? No. Are they not maintained by the Parish, or by such Persons who unhappily take them into their Houses? No Man can deny it. Why therefore should they disown the Appellation which their Wages intitle them to? We can assign no other Reason than an innate Disposition to Pride and Arrogance. If they were kept at that Distance, [II-388] which is absolutely necessary for the Humiliation of a Servant, they would be more mannerly and less aspiring. A pampered Chaplain flatters himself with having as much Right to my Lady's Favours as her Lap-dog, and no doubt but he would willingly supply his Place; while the Parish-Priest, through our Indulgence and Familiarity, first assumes to be our Equal, and then commands Admittance to our Wives and Daughters. There is one Thing worthy of our Notice, clean Straw and slender Diet (to speak in the Language of Sportsmen) preserves a Spaniel's Nose, and causes him to remember his Duty.*

*I know not any Subject which is so liable to Laughter and Ridicule, no Topic, which lays so justifiable a Foundation for Banter, as to hear the Inferior Clergy affirm, that they are indued with the Holy Ghost. If they studied to do Religion a Disservice, they could not more effectually accomplish it, than by such an Assertion. I own, indeed, that they pretend as much to Religion, as the Warming-pan Gentleman does to the Crown of Great-Britain; but their Actions manifest a Distrust of their Doctrine, and run counter to their own Rules. From what Period of Time do they date the Gift of Inspiration? From the Moment, no doubt, of their Ordination: It will follow, therefore, that all who receive Holy Orders, are endued with that divine Blessing. If this be granted, then it is impossible for a Priest to preach or write amiss, or indeed to be guilty of any Crime. But we are convinced by Experience, that they preach and write what is not Orthodox, and lead enormous and irregular Lives: From whence it is evident, that they pretend to have that heavenly Gift, which they have not.*

*Can the Holy Ghost speak with a double Tongue? No Man sure will be so presumptuous to own such glaring Blasphemy: And yet we must give Credit to this, if we believe or acknowledge the Tribe of Levi to be inspired. For let us enquire into the Tenets of the Priests of Rome, and those of England (omitting all others) and we shall find them as opposite to each other as North to South: Yet no Man will deny the Validity of their Ordination. Nay, let us compare the Doctrine of our English Priests with one another, and we shall find them to clash violently; so that we are brought under this Dilemma, that the Holy Ghost contradicts himself, [II-389] or the Priests are not inspired: It is execrable Blasphemy to assert the former, and a obld but necessary Truth to affirm the latter.*

*It is impossible to foretel what may be the Fate of the ensuing Treatise; but if I were certain that it would meet an ill Reception from the World, yet it should not give me the least Uneasiness. I am sensible, that many a Book has been made a Sacrifice for telling what is [improperly called ] unseasonable Truth; because (like a Mirror) it discovers those Deformities, which Flattery might have varnished over.*

*When I behold a Priest with so much Sanctity in his Countenance, that it portends the D — — — I and all of — — — in his Heart, it calls to my Remembrance, what History informs us of a certain Apple in the Eastern Parts of the World: This Fruit has a beautiful Outside, whose Temptation is so very strong, that it allures many an unwary Traveller to partake of its hidden Poison. As therefore our Nature is so easy to be imposed upon, we ought to be very circumspect, and guard ourselves from the Wiles and Sophistry of Priestcraft. And indeed it behoves us to be doubly watchful, and keep a strict Eye upon our Children, when we suffer them to be tutored by a Priest, or imbibe their Sentiments. For we know by woful Experience, that they will infuse such Principles into them, as are most consistent with Priestly Interest, and will advance their Power and Authority.*

*There is not one Observation in this Book, but might furnish Matter enough for a large Volume; but I have used all the Brevity imaginable, because I would not tire my Reader with dwelling too long upon the same Subject, nor be thought to aggravate the Crime, which I endeavour to expose.*

*As I have no personal Pique against any Clergyman, or against the Body of the Clergy in general, so I cannot justly be charged with writing out of Envy or Revenge; my sole Intent being only to expose their Vices, in hopes they will one Day convince us of a thorough Reformation: And it is my constant Custom to put forth some pious Ejaculation, so I beseech Almighty God, that as Charity covers a Multitude of Sins, he would pour down a double Portion of this Blessing on all Priests, who are in so great Need of it.*

[II-390]

*Mr. Collier tells us, that Chaplains are like so many Houshold-Gods, and ought to be esteemed as such: To which Orthodox Report I readily consent. But tho' this was intended as a Compliment to his Reverend Brethren, yet, in my Opinion, there cannot be a more severe Satyr against them. For we are sensible, that the Houshold Deities of the Ancients were errant Blockheads, kept more for Show than Use; they had nothing in them, and were justly deemed to be Lumber, and superstitious Trumpery. And indeed if every Chaplain had his Sportula, as his Office naturally requires, each Family might fare the better, and the Sanctified Interloper would learn Humility.*

*It was customary with Archbishop Laud to say, that he hoped to see the Time, when ne'er a Jack Gentleman in England should dare to stand before a Clergyman with his Hat on. Such an haughty and imperious Expression manifested the genuine Spirit of the Sons of High-Church: And no doubt but this Upstart, Semi-Protestant Prelate, would have endeavoured to fulfill his Hopes, had not God Almighty, thro' his infinite Goodness, thought fit to cut him short, and deliver our World from such a Plague. But in Return to his graceless Grace's meek and humble Wish, the Author of the following Pages heartily and fervently desires, that a Day may speedily come, when ne'er a Scoundrel who pretends to Divinity, [ whether a Stripling, or an overgrown Pensioner ] shall be admitted into the Company of his Betters, be they Gentlemen or Peasants, except he supplicates with his Hat in his Hand; even tho' he be equipp'd with his Spiritual Harness.*

*I am the more sanguine in my Expectations, because I perceive that the British Spirit begins to re-assume its Reason; that it shakes off the Bigotry of Priestcraft, and daily disesteems the Delusion of juggling Impostors. Can there be a greater Slur upon an Englishman, than to say that he dares to act bravely, yet dares not to think freely? Is not Liberty of the Mind preferable to the Liberty of the Body? If therefore we have preserved the One from Foreign Enemies at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure, we ought to secure the Other from Domestic Invaders. And let us always lay before us this salutary and glorious Maxim,*

Non minor est virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.

[II-391]

*It would puzzle the wisest Heads in the Universe to account for the Defection among his Majesty's Subjects, and the Alienation of their Allegiance, did they not consider the Power of Priestly Men. The bad Clergy are like so many malevolent Planets, which shed their baleful Insuence, and affect the Inhabitants of this World; And how many are there, who eagerly swallow whatever proceeds from the Mouth of a Priest? They take for good Food and wholesome Nourishment, what they too often find by Experience to be rank Poison to their Minds. Such are the direful Effects of Bigotry and the Want of Thought! Such the pernicious*

*Consequence of sacrificing our Reason to the arbitrary haughty Will of an aspiring Chorahite!*

*How like Patriots and Britons did the People in the West behave themselves at the Time of the Revolution! They were truly sensible that they must inevitably have sacrificed their Religion, Liberties and Properties to the Humour of Tyranny, had they not joined King William of ever Glorious and Immortal Memory. And indeed Twelve Years are not elapsed, since those very People (of my own Knowledge I speak it) retain'd a just Sense of those inestimable Blessings, which their Monarch had secured and confirmed to them: Nor did they fail to manifest their Gratitude, and acknowledge the Goodness of their Benefactor with unfeigned Hearts, upon every Occasion.*

*But alas! Tempora mutantur— — And how many of these once Glorious Men have (to their eternal Shame) converted their Loyalty into Rebellion! The Unanimity, Love and Affection, which was formerly so conspicuous among them, is now changed into Discord, Hatred, and burning Envy. They will not hearken to Reason, nor suffer themselves to be convinced of their Errors; no Arguments can prevail with them, or the plainest Demonstrations work upon 'em. They are stupid and obstinate, and will not be undeceived: They have Eyes, but see not; Ears, and hear not: Which confirms the following Observation, that they who are debauch'd in their Principles, will quickly be so in their Intellectuals.*

*Now if we enquire into the Time and Cause of this unhappy and deplorable Metamorphosis, we shall quickly be able to give entire Satisfaction in those Particulars. Whig and Tory, High-Church and Low-Church, [ Words of Ignominy, [II-392] invented to nourish Faction ] were perfect Strangers to our Ears, or at least grown obsolete, and buried in Oblivion; but when the Spiritual Hydra began to belch forth his Poison, when the Convicted Priest went his Progress, the Air was corrupted with his Breath, and the fell Contagion spread it self far and near. The Snakes, which had lain so long in the Grass, began to shew their Heads, and hiss; they stung many, and did much Mischief for the Space of four Years, or thereabouts: But Providence deprived them of their Sting in due Season, and now the Party-coloured Animals are insignificant.*

*Had this sturdy Boutefeu been endued with a just Sense of the Priesthood, he must needs have known, that Humility was one of the fundamental Pillars that supported it; and consequently that he was sapping her Foundation, when he rode in Triumph round the Country (rejoicing in the Pride of his Heart) attended with factious Crowds, and received by disaffected Magistrates. But had he been treated according to his Demerit, a Cat-of-nine-tails and a Cart would have graced him better, and his Progress ought to have been from Newgate to Tyburn.*

*From hence we may date the Æra of all those Animosities and Heart-burnings, those Divisions, Seditions and Rebellions, which have plagued our Sion: And as they had their first Rise from the Pulpit, so they are as wickedly and industriously fomented from Pulpits or private Conversation to this Day.*

*I do not so much wonder, that the Vulgar, and more illiterate Part of the Kingdom were seduced and deluded with the specious and false Notion of the Church being in Danger, when I reflect, that too many Men of Parts and Education fell under the same Infatuation: But that they should still continue under that Delusion is unaccountable.*

*If the Church had no better Friends to protect and support her than her black Guard, we might justly say, that she were in Danger; but as it is manifest, that she flourishes under the Guardianship of the best and most pious of Princes, to Him surely we ought to return our sincere and hearty Thanks, and pay the Allegiance and Love to Him, which our Duty requires from us, and our Religion calls upon us to perform.*

*As the inferior Clergy call themselves the Physicians of the Soul, so they ought to confine themselves to that particular Practice; but when they deviate from this, and pretend [II-393] to a Knowledge of what is beyond their Sphere, they may truly be called spiritual Quacks, and no Regard ought to be paid them. He runs a great Risque who ventures himself under their Management; and ten to one but he comes off a Sufferer in the End.*

*Notwithstanding the Case is so plain and undeniable, yet they have rivetted themselves into the good Opinion of the common Herd, who not allowing themselves Time to think, place an implicit Faith in these Empirics; and not admitting the Advice of able Judges and sound Practitioners, their Wounds must turn to a Gangrene. So Mountebanks, by their Assurance and Volubility of Tongue, vend their poisonous Packets at a cheap Rate, and ingratiate themselves with the Vulgar; while regular Physicians and Surgeons, who make the Health of Man their Study, are laughed at and despised, their Practice postponed, and their salutary Prescriptions and Medicines set at nought, undervalued, and neglected.*

*An ill Story in the Mouth of a Clergyman runs like Hedge-firing from one to another, till it has passed the whole Line: And no Consideration is had, whether there are any justifiable Grounds for such a calumnious Rumour. And indeed if they will not spare their own Fraternity, (as we have a recent Instance of their not doing so, in a late Controversy among the Doctors of the Church;) how should the Laity expect to find better Quarter from such Hands. Fama vulgi is a weak and bad Foundation, yet we know that too many Reputations have been sacrificed upon no other Proof: So that such Clergymen, who give a Loose to their Tongues, and mangle a Man's Character, may not improperly be called Spiritual Butchers.*

*He that relates a Tale to any of the inferior Clergy, with a Design that it should pass no further, will find himself miserably baulked in his Expectation: It could not possibly spread further, had he put it into the Gazette. Examples of this Kind are numerous; but I shall only mention one, which is of the freshest Date.*

*A Gentleman, without Premeditation, or any malicious Intent, told a young Priest, in private Conversation, a Story which he had heard relating to one of his Acquaintance. It is not proper to mention the Particulars, because the Words are of a glaring Nature; and the Gentleman, I find ( having [II-394] traced the Story ) is intirely innocent of what he is charged with, the Accusation being as false as scandalous. However, the Suckling in Divinity growing big with his Burden, and impatient to be delivered, hastes to the usual Place of Rendezvous, and there disembogues himself to his Fraternity, who, you may rest assured, resolved that the Story should not lie dormant. How consistent the rash Behaviour of this pious Strippling was with good Fellowship and Charity, I leave the World to judge; nay, I'll submit it even to his own Friend's Determination.— —He that has a Mind to be further informed, need go no farther than the Charter-house Coffee-house, and associate himself with the Black Locusts.*

*I little thought, when I began this Preface, that I should have dwelt so long upon such a dirty and unsavory Subject. I shall therefore conclude with the following Epistle, which was sent to Cardinal Alberoni during his Administration of foreign Affairs.*

*May it please your EMINENCE,*

*“WE have an High-church Priest among us, who condemns your Politics in endeavouring to excite the People of France to Commotion and Rebellion, while others applaud your Design: For this Son of Levi alledges, that you have only copied after him, with this Difference: You acted by Agents no way qualified for so grand an Enterprize; but he rode about the Country, poisoning, *vivâ voce*, the Minds of the deluded People, who most eagerly imbibed the Venom. Thus he had [as he most impiously terms it] *his Desire over his Enemies*, by appearing in *propriâ personâ*; whose brawny Shoulders and smooth Face, recommended him*

to the kind Graces of the *Fair Sex*, who at that time were Ladies of the *Ascendant* over their Husbands, and their Purses.

“To dissipate that chagrin Air, which is no way agreeable to a Person of your *sanguine* Temper and Vivacity, permit me to relate a Tavern Jest. I was lately invited to drink a Glass at the *Pope’s Head*; our Room was commodious, our Wine had a true Flavour, but every Man complained of the cold [II-395] Weather. One of the Company called for the Cardinal, another for the Doctor, the Fire being much upon a Level with the Credit of us *Tories*, *viz.* almost extinct. I could not for my Life imagine what they would be at, till I saw the Drawer come up with an Instrument in his Hand, ycleped a *Fire-pan*; I quickly perceived, that its Property was to *raise a Flame* in an Instant. I smiled to myself, judging the Appellation to be very *à propos*.

“The Question was put, Whether your *Eminence* could not lay a juster Claim to this *Tool* of Combustion, than the *Doctor*? After a long Debate, it was carried in the *Negative*; being urged strenuously, and proved to a Demonstration, that the Doctor had been a more successful Engineer (and your *Senior* ) in *setting Fire* to the *Mines* he had laid, and *inflaming* a whole Nation. However, it was agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that if you can make Interest at *Rome* for the Doctor to fill one of the Vacancies in the sacred College, he shall give you the Right Hand in this Affair, and promise to renounce all Claim and Title to it for himself, and his Heirs for ever. I have the Honour to be

Your EMINENCY’s, &c.

[II-396]

*Priestianity: Or a View of the Disparity between the Apostles and the modern inferior Clergy.*

THAT the Contempt of the modern inferior Clergy increases daily, is obvious to every Man; nor will it be otherwise, while Men are allowed to see with their own Eyes, and hear with their own Ears, except the Sons of *Levi* begin a Reformation among themselves. Vain and groundless is the Cause which they assign for the Disrespect that is shewn to them, *viz.* a Combination of a Set of People, who call themselves *Free-thinkers*, to asperse the Gentlemen of the Long Petticoat Tribe, and cast an Odium upon them: And this, they say, is done without any justifiable Foundation, without any Regard to their Function, which ought to be held sacred.

I know no Man who disesteems the Priesthood: But since there is almost a total Defection among the Priests, and no Sign of Amendment; since they are become supine and indolent, and will not put a Stop to the growing Evil, which may easily be effected; since their Principles are bad, and their Morals worse, it is a Duty incumbent on every Christian to reprove them openly. For he that respects and countenances such Persons, may be justly said to approve their wicked Ways, or at least to encourage them to persevere therein.

There is a *Nescio quid* in the Face of a good Clergyman, which naturally commands Reverence and Respect; and he merits not the Name of *Man*, who pays them not with Cheerfulness. But there is somewhat so Tour and distasteful in the Looks of a bad Clergyman, that he draws an Odium from us instead of Esteem: To the former therefore of these Gentlemen we are willing, and rejoice to grant such Honours as may justly be attributed to them; but no honest Man can allow that the latter have the least Pretence to a Share of them. God Almighty seems to have set a Mark upon these reprobate Animals, as he did upon *Cain*; and which is hourly visible in the scattered *Jews*, and the perjured Bailiffs: And as Providence never did any thing in vain, we certainly [II-397] deserve to be censured, if we neglect and despise so salutary a Caution, or endeavour not to shun such common Enemies to our Peace and good Society.



I cannot chime in with the black and numerous Herd, who would persuade us, that an equal Respect ought to be paid to all Persons in holy Orders, without enquiring into their Worth and Merit. I must confess, that their Argument to enforce this Acknowledgment seems to carry a good Colour with it, namely, their being the immediate and peculiar Servants of Christ: And therefore, they say, we ought to honour them for their Master's Sake. But with Submission to these aspiring, pious Men, we may argue, by the same Parity of Reason, that a Traitor, a Murderer, or a Profligate, might claim a due Deference from us, because they have been employed in some honourable Family, or descended from ancient and Praise-worthy Ancestors. So that the Argument which they bring to countenance, or rather to support their Assertion, is so far from being of any Service to them, that it quite overthrows it: And this is demonstrable from the following Maxim, which will not admit a Contradiction or Exception.

— — — *Tantum conspectius in se*  
*Crimen habet, quanto major, qui peccat habetur.*

Now, since these *Abiramites*, these false Apostles, would deceive us with an Opinion of their being Successors to *Christ*, and his Disciples; since they claim a Privilege extraordinary, and an uncommon Respect from thence; I shall make a Scrutiny into their Morals and Behaviour, and shew how alien their Characters are from the holy Twelve, and their Brethren. This I purpose to do with all the Sincerity imaginable; and so ingenuous a Declaration will surely take away all Umbrage of Malice or Partiality.

Many substantial and very good Reasons may be given for our Saviour's chusing such laborious and painstaking Men for his Apostles; to mention which would be digressive from my present Purpose; I shall therefore avoid all Ambages, and begin with observing, that the Apostles were Men of such a mean Extraction, that there [II-398] was no room to boast of their Pedigree, if their Inclinations had prompted them to it. It would be no difficult Matter to prove, that most of the Clergy are upon a Level with them in this Particular; but as they are willing that the censorious World may remain in Ignorance of their Affinity to each other as to this Point, I shall keep my Mouth as it were with a Bridle, being always cautious not to lay a Stumbling-block of Offence in the Way of our weak Brethren. Wherefore I now proceed to my second Observation, namely,

That the Apostles had an immediate Commission from *Christ* to preach the Gospel, and baptize all Nations, with a Power to remit or retain Men's Sins.

The Clergy pretend to have the same equal Power and Authority, though not immediately from *Christ*; for they assert, that their Commission is derived from the Apostles by a long Succession, who granted to their Successors for ever such Power as *Christ* had invested them with. I am apt to think, if any Man should question the Validity of their Power, they would chuse to plead Prescription for remitting or retaining Sins, rather than be put to prove it. *Christ* very well knew, that he could confide in the Sincerity and Uprightness of his Apostles, when he delegated such a Power; but I do not find that he entailed it upon their Heirs and Successors; nor is there Reason to think he did, because he foresaw their Degeneracy and Corruption: Therefore the Apostles had no Title to, and consequently could not give and bequeath a Power to their Successors, which was settled upon them only during Life. But to put the Matter beyond Dispute, since the Clergy do claim an equal Power with the Apostles, let them convince us by an ocular Demonstration, as our Forefathers were convinced: Let them work Miracles, and we will give Credit to their Testimony. If they fail in the one, as they themselves are sensible they do, then we have all the Reason and Justice in the World to conclude them to be Usurpers and Impostors in the other.

A third Observation is, that the Apostles were meek and humble; they called themselves the Servants of *Christ*; they meddled not with State Affairs, or denied the Authority of the Civil Magistrate.

[II-399]

Nothing can be more engaging in Society than Courteousness and Assability; they are two Qualifications essentially necessary to constitute a Gentleman, and without which, the Name is an empty Word. Is it not therefore strange, that the modern Clergy, who are as covetous of the Appellation as any Men living, should manifest a Behaviour full of Pride, Haughtiness, and Insolence. They ridicule and despise a *Lowness of Spirit*, [which *Christ* recommends to his Apostles from his own Example] calling it an Indication of a vulgar and Plebeian Soul. Pride is a Distemper so catching, that it has infected the Clerks, and in time may reach the Sextons: Look on that Lump of Mortality, that Emblem of a Chaos Man *Hugh*. He thinks that he stoops very low, if he vouchsafes a Nod to a Shopkeeper, though the honest Tradesman unvails his Head, and makes his Obeisance with all the Humility imaginable. Now, what shall we say to this? Why, truly, Man *Hugh* observes the Fashion, and treads in his Master's Footsteps. He knows the old Proverb, *Trim Tram*. — — — What Pity it is that these two, who are upon rising Ground, are not *raised higher!* Heaven grant they may be *advanced* according to Merit, since they are in the great Road to Preferment.

We may reasonably imagine, that the Garb of the Apostles was plain and innocent, and their Deportment agreeable to their Garb; but the inferior Clergy are wiser than their Predecessors. They look upon a *Jantee* Air and Mien to be excellent Virtues; and he that is not a Man of Mode will gain few Proselytes. There is a *je ne sçay quoy* (they say) in the decent Adjustment of a Cambrick Band; and when a Spruce Bob is placed in a due Decorum, or when the Ringlets of the Hair fall in nice Order, they manifest a captivating Power. Is not a brilliant more attractive than a Cramp-ring? A Cloth-gown and Cassock preferable to a Frize-Jacket and Trowzers? A smooth-faced Priest, with his Lilly-hand, fixes the Eyes, and consequently the Ears of his Audience; but one of the *Barkin* Tribe, with weather-beaten Countenance, and freckled Fist, would throw the tender-hearted Ladies of this delicate Age into Convulsions.—Oh! that I may live to see [what is yet in the Womb of Time] [II-400] the Day when some enterprizing Son of the *Laudean* Race shall exchange his Inkhorn for a *Bilboa* Blade, and convert his canonical Rose into a white Feather! Who shall frequent Operas to improve his Voice, and the Theatre to regulate his Port and his Mien! Who shall become a pious Sir *Foplin*, or a holy Sir *Courtly!*

A farther Manifestation of the wide Difference between the Apostles and the Clergy is, that the latter do ambitiously arrogate to themselves the Titles of *Shepherds of our Souls*, and *Heaven's Ambassadors*. But with Submission to these religiously, aspiring Priests, they would do well to take Care of their own Souls, before they pretend to be Guardians of other Men's. If I see a Banker profuse of his Money, will not the World condemn me as a Fool or a Madman, if I entrust him with mine? They will acknowledge that *Christ* is Head of the Church, provided that you own them to be the Body, and the Laity the Members: To which they add an indefeasible Maxim, that all rotten Members ought to suffer Amputation. Indulge me, ye Men of Humility, to carry the Metaphor farther, and say, that Corrosives ought to be applied to proud Flesh; and if so, what will become of the Church's Body? Will it not quickly appear a mere Skeleton?

— — — *Risum teneatis?*

Can there be a more romantic Notion, than for a Priest to call himself *Heaven's Ambassador?* This is Presumption in the Superlative. *Ambassadors!* Can a greater Indignity be offered to the King of Kings? Are not all the People in the Universe, Princes and

Potentates, as well as the inferior Sort, his Subjects? To whom then should he send Ambassadors? Not to his own Vassals. However, to gratify their aspiring Humour, we will admit their Title of Honour, if they produce their Credentials; that is, let them heal the Sick, give Sight to the Blind, make the Deaf to hear, and the Lame to walk.

Politics are now become an universal Theme, and we hear more of them from the Pulpit than Soul-saving Doctrine: No Man is reckoned orthodox, who does not [II-401] dabble in State-Affairs. As soon as a beardless Youth is accoutred with his spiritual Habiliments, he begins to arraign the Constitution which nourishes him, and condemn the Proceedings of the Prince's faithful Ministers under whom he lives. He usurps an Authority to which he has not the least Shadow of Pretence; nor will he defist till his Wings are clipped, and his Ambition pinioned. But to do Justice to the Innocent, I must own that this Crime is to be found only among Popish and Half-Protestant Priests, viz. High Church.

The Apostle *Paul*, who was a *Roman*, and a loyal Man, submitted to be tried by the civil Magistrate; but Priest *Paul*, who was an *Englishman*, and a Traitor, denied that the civil Power had any Jurisdiction over him, or that he ought to be tried by any other Power than the Spiritual: And there are few *Clergymen*, who do not adhere to the same Principle. The Reason is so very obvious, that to mention it would call the Judgment of my Reader in question. — — It is said, that when *Kid*, the Pirate, was going to Low-water Mark, he cried, *Had Avery been my Judge, and twelve of the Madagascar Buccaneers my Jury, I should not have feared a safe Deliverance.*

A fourth Observation is, that the Apostles met frequently to eat Bread and drink Wine; whose Lives and Conversation were conformable to their Doctrine.

It must be owned by the most inveterate Enemies of the Clergy, (if any such there are) that the Sons of *Levi* have more frequent Meetings than the Apostles had, especially when they hear of good Wine and liberal Parishioners. But then, perhaps, it may be objected, that the Apostles met in a religious and spiritual Manner, and the Clergy in a more sociable and natural one. I must concede to this Objection, knowing what is most agreeable to Priests. Nevertheless, to alleviate the Imputation of their frequenting Taverns and Coffee-houses, [in which they spend a triple Proportion of Time, to what they do in their Churches and Closets] we must do them the Justice to say, that as they are not endued with as large a Portion of Grace as was given to the Apostles, so consequently they cannot undergo the great Burden and Fatigue of preaching once, and reading Prayers thrice a [II-402] Week, without recruiting their exhausted Spirits. Now if this cannot be done in a private House, at the Expence of some of their Flock, why should they be censured, or esteemed blame-worthy, if they go to a Tavern, *eat their Bread with Joy, and drink their Wine with a merry Heart?* Why should not the diligent Labourer be indulged in refreshing Nature? Has he not as keen an Appetite, as distinguishing a Palate as another Man? Besides, Wine enlivens the Understanding, and gives fresh Vigour to a jaded Invention: And let me tell you, a well worded Expression in Conversation may furnish a Man with Topics for an orthodox Sermon.

Precept without Example avails little in making Proselytes; it were therefore to be wished that Priests would adhere to the Rules which they lay down for converting Infidels to Christianity, and confirming those who are converted. I frankly confess, that they will sometimes give us the best Advice how to save our Souls, though they neglect their own; and it is undoubtedly a Mark of Tenderness to put us in the Way to eternal Happiness, and a particular Token of their Civility and polite Breeding, not to jostle us in the Road. They exclaim against Usury and Extortion, yet try all the Ways and Wiles imaginable to gather Riches. Oh! that I were so well skilled in Divinity, to know what Length a Man may take to *improve his Talent!* They recommend Fasting and Abstinence as necessary to subdue the Lusts of the Flesh; how near they conform to these Recipes, let their fat Joles and ruddy

Cheeks bear Witness. They inveigh against Profuseness in Dress and Apparel, yet think it no Crime to give an extravagant Price for Wigs, Hats, and *Holland* Shirts. Decency indeed is commendable; and to the Praise of the inferior Clergy be it said, that they take Care *to make clean the Outside of the Platter*.

A fifth Observation; the Apostles were charitable.

Charity is so often in the Mouths of the Clergy, that there is too much Cause to suspect it seldom enters into their Hearts; or if they have any, it *begins at home* (according to the Proverb) and there I fear it will end. St. *Paul* has spent a whole Chapter in praise of this most excellent Virtue; Prophecy and Learning cannot come in Competition with it, and Faith profiteth nothing without [II-403] it. No Christian surely will dare to question the Authority of St. *Paul*, and since Charity is so absolutely necessary, and that we cannot go to Heaven without this Passport, this Badge of Admission; what Opinion must we entertain of those Priests, in whom the least Glimpse of Charity does not appear? Can we reasonably think, that they believe a future State, who will not embrace and manifest the Means which must bring them thither? It is not my Business to shew the Latitude of the Word *Charity*; I shall leave it for those, whose Duty it is to do it, and heartily wish that they would convince us of the Necessity of this divine Virtue by practising it. I never heard or met with a Clergyman, who declared his Want of Charity, [and that too in the most barefaced Manner] except the Pious and Reverend Doctor [\*] — — — who lives between *Newgate* and *Tyburn*.

An intimate Friend and Acquaintance of the Doctor's wrote a Letter to him, in which he recommended the Bearer as the Son of a very worthy and orthodox Clergyman, who had been bred up in the Principles of the Church, and never swerved from them, who had University Education, and was an honest, loyal Gentleman, though in narrow Circumstances. For these Reasons he requested, that as the Doctor was to preach before the Sons of the Clergy, and the rest of that honourable Society, he would recommend the Gentleman to the Stewards as a proper Object of, and as one justly intitled to, their Charity. The Doctor, having read the Letter (and out of a Pique, I suppose, to the Name, which he could not digest since a remarkable Trial in *Westminster-Hall* ) answered, *I have no Charity for those who are not of my Church*. The Doctor being called upon to explain what he meant by *his Church*, would have evaded the Charge; but being closely pressed, replied, *The Gentleman was educated in the Principles of the Church of Ireland, and I in the Church of England*. — — — O rare! Name, if you can, any Differences in their Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies. — — — *Cede mejoribus*, ye Men of *Levain* and *St. Omers*; or match, if you can, the uncharitable Doctor.

#### [II-404]

A sixth Observation is, that the Apostles preached constantly, and in all Probability without Hire; they baptized those who were worthy of Baptism; they visited the Sick, and prayed with them *gratis*.

Preaching is accounted the most apostolical of all the Acts of the Ministry; and *Gregory* says, *Censemus eos, qui Apostolorum figuram tendent, prædicare*. *Thomas Aquinas* asserts, that *Prædicatio est actus principalissimus & proprius*; and St. *Chrysostom* calls it, *Omnium bonorum summum*. St. *Paul* gives a strict Charge of Preaching to *Timothy*, who was a sickly Man: His Words are, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the Quick and the Dead, at his appearing, and in his Kingdom, preach the Word, be instant, &c.*

How happy would it be for the inferior Clergy, how pleasing to God, and acceptable to Man, if they were half as diligent and assiduous in the Salvation of Souls, as they are in obtaining a rich Benefice! But, alas! when they have once obtained the desired Port, they grow supine and negligent, and imagine that they discharge their Duty, if they procure a

Journeyman to officiate for them. A rich Priest will visit his Flock, and preach to them perhaps as often as he comes in Person to fleece them, *viz.* twice a Year, to receive an Equivalent for his Tithes. The labouring Oar is given to some indigent Hireling, while the lazy *Man of God* (I cannot say the *Man after God's own Heart*) eats the Bread of Idleness. He that will work cheap shall be first employed, though a Novice in his Business; but what will the Lord say to his *negligent Steward*, when he comes into his Vineyard and finds rotten Fruit?

The Validity of Lay-Baptism has been often controverted, but never refuted; and if Original Sin cannot be washed away by any other Hands than the Priest's, how hard and deplorable is the poor Man's Case! Must a Soul perish for want of a Piece of Silver? Must Christ lose a Subject through the Avarice and Extortion of one who calls himself his Servant? Will not his Death be required at the *Levite's* Hand? I do not find that there was a Book of Rates in our Saviour's Time, when he commanded the Apostles to baptize all Nations; their Commission was not limited to the Rich and Wealthy; [II-405] the Poor and Needy had an equal Claim to the Benefit of their Administration: They gloried in having an Opportunity to visit the Sick, the Distressed, and those who were in Prison: They comforted the Fatherless and the Widow; they fed the Hungry, and clothed the Naked; they rejoiced in Things Spiritual: but the inferior Clergy glory in Things Temporal: They did all Things for the Sake of Christ, and the Clergy will do nothing but for the Sake of Mammon. — — — *No Penny, no Pater-noster.* This is a Saying too often verified.

A Person past Hopes of Recovery sent for the Priests of the Parish, who promised to come, but did not: Whether they were hindered by Love, or a Bottle, I shall not determine. At the Expiration of three Days, Application was made to Dr. *K* — — —, who said he would go, provided the Person should pay the Expence of his Coach-hire. The Messenger consented to this, but the Conditions could not be performed till the sick Person's Apparel (which lay on the Bed, and kept off the Cold) was sent to the Pawn-broker's to raise Money. The Doctor was an Eye-witness to this, and *graciously* took but *two* Shillings.

What says the Prophet? [\*] *Your Priests teach for Hire:* I think he might also have said *pray* for it. — — — I will not be so uncharitable to affirm, that the inferior Clergy will do an ill Thing for Money; but this I may say, I never knew them do a good one without it.

A seventh Observation: The Apostles were Men of Moderation; they used not Compulsion to oblige People to conform to their Doctrine; they reasoned with their Hearers.

*Moderation* is one of the shining Characteristics of a Christian; but Moderation among the modern Clergy, is like King *Arthur* and the *Knights of the Round Table*, much talked of, but never seen. We exclaim against the Tyranny of *Rome*, and the *Spanish Inquisition*, but we may find unchristian Treatment in Courts nearer home. I do not find by the Laws of God, that an Ecclesiastic has a Power to punish the Body or Pocket of a Layman: There were no Libels, Citations, Articles, Penance, Imprisonment, (and a long Train of *Etceteras* to [II-406] be read in the spiritual Catalogue) when Christ and his Apostles were on Earth: There were no *pecuniary* Mulcts or Commuting in those Days, for a *Lapsus Linguae*, or Things of small Moment. Will not the Acceptance of a *pecuniary* Mulct bear this Interpretation? The rich Man may fornicate, while he that is poor shall be debarred the most intense Pleasure. The Apostles were averse to such inhuman and diabolical Inventions as wholesome Severities; and yet who are more ready to put them in Practice than the Half-protestants? What are wholesome Severities but the Fire and Faggot, Whips and Dungeons? Are they not the killing Arguments of Dragooning Jesuits? How close they stick to the Letter of the Text! *Compel them to come in.* 'Tis true, indeed, our Saviour gave such Command; but I challenge the Clergy to give me one Instance of Severity used by Christ or the Apostles. They were certainly the best Interpreters of their Master's Words; they used no other Compulsion than

solid Arguments. But there is a Generation of — — — who value themselves upon the Wisdom of this World, and would display their Christianity by savage Cruelties. As if Religion, like the Laws of *Draco*, were to be founded in Blood. How pleasing is Persecution to a tyrannizing Priest! How opposite to a Christian Spirit!

Implicit Faith is the Doctrine of worldly Men, and though we are enjoined *to search the Scriptures*, because *in them we have eternal Life*, yet I could name a Person within ten Miles of *Hammersmith*, who said, *That we have had no good Times since the Laity were permitted to read the Bible, nor should we have any till they were prohibited the Use of that Book*. Is this conformable to the Protestant Religion, or incompatible with it? Methinks it has an ill Smell, and squints wishfully at *Rome*.

God Almighty does not require us to make Brick without Straw; he does not expect to reap where he has not sown; but since he has given us Reason whereby we may distinguish between Good and Evil, it behoves us to set a true Value upon this glorious Talent, and not sacrifice it to the *ipse dixit* of any spiritual Jacobite whatever. Let every Man steer by his Reason, and he that offers to deprive you of it is a designing, crafty [II-407] Knave. Every Man living has a Right to think freely, and Reason ought to direct him: This I will maintain, though every *Levite* should become an Opponent. For he who takes up his Religion upon Trust, may with Ease be deluded into the most erroneous and damnable Opinions. *Try all Things*, says St. Paul, *and hold fast that which is best*. Now, how can we try or judge what is good, what bad, if we do not make use of our Reason? The Apostles did not upbraid those whom they could not convert, with opprobrious and infamous Names: But the inferior Clergy stigmatize them who are not on their Side, and call them *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Libertines*, *Atheists*, &c. Nay, that excellent Pattern of true Protestant and Christian Piety, Archbishop *Tillotson*, is called a *grave Atheist*; but there is no other Cause for this unjust Imputation than his having a larger Share of Religion and sound Learning than other People.

Conscience in the Apostles is an eighth Observation.

He that can fathom the Conscience of a Priest, may quickly discover the Depth of the Ocean, and find out the Longitude. He is seldom for giving, but always for getting: And when his Heart is opened, which happens as frequent as a Jubilee at *Rome*, he manifests his Liberality with a Finger and Thumb, as if the other Parts of his Hand were seized with the Gout. But when you make an Offering, he receives it with as keen an Appetite as an hungry *Jack*; and had *Solomon* lived in our Days, he might with Reason have said, *There are Things which never are satisfied*.

What shall we say in favour of our High-church Clergy, who swear Allegiance to King *George*, yet secretly own, and privately pray for a Popish Pretender? And, what shall we think of others who take the Oaths, yet countenance Men dismissed from their Lectureships for scandalous Words, and black Insinuations against the most merciful Prince on Earth? They may hoodwink the Vulgar, but Men of the least Penetration will see that *Birds of a Feather will flock* — — —. This touches somebody's Copyhold, but I shall not say a Word of the uncharitable Doctor.

I could mention a certain *Levite*, of no ordinary Rank, who called the late Rebellion a Rising of the [II-408] People; *for a Rebellion*, says he, *is taking up Arms against a lawful Sovereign*: Wherefore he would not acknowledge the *Presion* Prisoners to be Rebels. This scrupulous Gentleman abjured the Pretender, and no doubt he is a Man of Conscience — — — very capacious. Search all the Records of Time, and find out a Plot the blackest that Hell ever hatched, and a Priest will appear at the Bottom.

A ninth Observation is, That the Apostles were zealous for the Church of Christ at all Times, without that jesuitical, and consequently modish, Distinction of *High* or *Low*.

I am very well aware, that some clever staunch Bigot will take me up short, and smartly ask me, if I dare deny that the orthodox inferior Clergy (as they term them) are for the Church? To which I ingeniously answer in the Negative, provided they mean High-Church. And therefore should any one question me, why did the People so furiously rage, and why did a [\*] Convict become an Itinerant? Oh, for the Church. Why are their Sermons stuffed full of double *Entendres*, and why do they rail at the Friends of King *George*? Still for the Church. Why are [‡] the *Priests and the Prophets prophane*? And why [‡] *do they err through strong Drink*? Why do they preach in an orthodox *Billingsgate* Stile? And why do they slander, defame, back-bite, and snarl at Dissenters? All, all for the Church.

If the inferior Clergy had heartily espoused the Welfare of the true Protestant Church, or had any Regard for the Purity of our most holy Religion, immediately after the scandalous Peace of *Utrecht*, they might justly have said we were falling a Sacrifice to the *Roman Baal*. We then stood on the Margin of the deep and terrible Abyss, when Providence of its tender Mercy brought forth the First of *August*, and made the potent *George* our second Deliverer. There was room in those Days for Dr. *Sacheverel* to have said truly, we were *in Perils among false Brethren*. He should then have told bold Truth, and preached in Season, as he did out of Season at *St. Paul's*; his Harangue on the Fifth of *November* having little in it that was pertinent to the Business of [II-409] the Day, being calculated to reflect on the Presbyterians, and cast an Odium on the happy and glorious Revolution.

That the Apostles did not condemn or stigmatize other People, for preaching and adhering to that Doctrine, which they themselves were under an Obligation to preach and adhere to, is my tenth Observation.

Here is a spacious Field to traverse; a Subject fit for a Polemic Writer. I might with Ease demonstrate that there is not one Sect of Religion now upon Earth, which does not differ widely from the Apostles in this Particular: But as I design to write with all the Brevity imaginable, I shall only give one flagrant Instance of our own Inferior Clergy's Deviation from the Apostles in this Matter.

I have been told by a Gentleman in Black, [and may the other *Gentleman in Black* reward him, if he has deceived me] that every smart, dapper Fellow, who stands Candidate for spiritual Authority, must subscribe his Assent to, and inculcate the orthodox Doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*, before he be admitted a Dictator to a Congregation.

That *Predestination* is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, appears from the seventeenth Article among the Thirty-nine which were agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London* in the Year 1562, and was approved and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm, by the Assent and Consent of Queen *Elizabeth*, and subscribed to by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper House, and by the Subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation, in the Year of our Lord 1571. *Vide* Thirty-nine Articles.

I shall transcribe as many of the Words as are most necessary to my Purpose. — — —

“ *Predestination* to Life is the everlasting Purpose of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his Counsel, secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour. — — — As the godly Consideration [II-410] of *Predestination*, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable Comfort to godly Persons, and such as feel in themselves the Working of Christ, &c. so for curious and carnal Persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have before their Eyes the Sentence of God's *Predestination*, is a most

dangerous Downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into Desparation or into Wretchlessness of most unclean Living, no less perilous than Desperation.”

Now, if any Regard is to be had to Oaths and Subscriptions (which no *Corinthian* Priest will, I hope, deny;) surely those sacred Ties and Obligations will prompt them to cherish and propagate the Doctrine which they have so openly and so solemnly espoused. But, alas! how many are there who warmly embrace, and cordially believe and support this Tenet! Or, rather how many are they who rail at, and vilify those who preach this Doctrine, branding them with the Name of *Predestinarians* ( viz. all the Dissenters of what Denomination soever) as a Mark of Infamy, Contempt and Pseudodoxy! — — Are these the legitimate or spurious Sons of the Church? Are these Men the true Servants of the Omnipotent, Just and Merciful God? *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Ascalon.*

The eleventh Observation is, That the Apostles went from Place to Place to make Converts, and strengthen those whom they had converted; without taking any Money to defray their Expences, or furnishing themselves with Necessaries requisite for the Time of their Abode among the Brethren.

There is no Religion whatever, which has not its Itinerants, who keep close to this Example of the Apostles, except our own Inferior Clergy; among whom I cannot find one Example. I must own, indeed, that there is sometimes a Transmigration from one Parish to another, where one Minister (with Pockets well lined) will swop a Sermon with his Brother: A sure and certain Symptom of a Debauch, or idle Week.

“What Pity it is, that among the many Projects now on foot, some pious and zealous Christians will not open a Book for Subscriptions to erect *Houses of Call*, where lazy, well-fed, pampered Priests may [II-411] find a Labourer for the Day of Sabbath! No doubt but this would be of more Emolument to the Undertakers, than the Project for the Grand Fishery, and many indigent Souls would be capacitated to pay for a Dinner, who had no other Dependance, than the Assistance of the Spirit, to appease his mutineering Intestines, and prevent them from flying into Rebellion.”

Upon second Thoughts, it is no difficult Matter to prove, that several Ministers have travelled fourscore or an hundred Miles to preach the Gospel: But then we must take notice, that it is for the Sake of a more profitable Benefice: That they do not travel without Money, without Company; but carry with them their Bags and Baggage, Wives and Children, Maid-servants and Men-servants, their Cattle, and all that are within their Houses and Gates. So charitable are they even to the brute Beasts! And yet I believe there is not one of them, who, if he speaks from his Heart, can say with the Philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto.* — —

A twelfth Observation is, That the Apostles disagreed not among themselves concerning Fundamentals necessary to Salvation; neither did they contradict one another in their Definitions and Notions of Mysteries and Fundamentals.

The Opinions of Men, relating to the Means conducive to eternal Salvation, are as different as their numerous Sects and Divisions: However, all the Nations in the Universe agree in this one grand Point, an Object of Worship and Adoration. This was allowed throughout the World, before the Coming of our Saviour; but with this Difference, that some worshipped the *True God*, others (like the Papists) most religiously bent their Knees to Gods made with their own Hands. Now that they, who profess and call themselves Christians, and have but one unerring Compass to steer by, should pursue such Courses as are diametrically opposite to each other, in hopes of reaching the desired Port at last, is a Subject which affords much Speculation. I have here a spacious Field before me, and should I enter into a Detail of the Principles of every Christian Sectary, I should [II-412] deviate from my first Resolution,



and swell this little Tract into numberless Volumes.

As there are many Divines and Enthusiasts, who have undertaken to explain and unfold the Mystery of the *Blessed* Trinity, (a Task too difficult for the Performance and Comprehension of human Frailty, and which indeed is a presumptuous Undertaking;) I shall here recite their own Words, and shew how they contradict and clash against each other.— [\*] Some of the inferior Clergy make the Three Persons to be external Relations of the one Substance of the Deity to Mankind, viz. *Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier*: and the same Reverend Person makes each Person a Third of God, as [†] Length, Breadth, and Thickness make a Cube; or as [‡] Three Groats make a Shilling, or Three Nobles a Pound.

[§] Some make the Persons to be Eternal Modes of Substance, or Internal Relations of the Substance of the Deity it self.

[‡] Some maintain Three Distinct, Unequal, Eternal Beings; the First whereof is alone Self-existent, and the Second and Third subordinate.

[\*] Some maintain Three Distinct, Eternal, Equal Beings, whose Unity is partly numerical, and partly specifical.

Again [†] Some make the Doctrine of the Trinity to consist in Three Distinct, Eternal, perfectly Equal Beings agreeing in a Specific Unity.

[\*\*] Mr. *Puzzle-Text*, the *Anthropomorphite*, is of a different Opinion from all the Divines who ever wrote upon the *Trinity*. He says,

“There are Three Lives; and that such a Notion will very much contribute to the Honour of God, the Ease of good Christians, and the Discouragement of Heretics. How can it comport [II-413] (continues he) with God’s infinite Goodness, or consist with his infinite Wisdom, and so conduce to his Honour and Glory to make the main Article of the Christian Faith so puzzling and intricate, as that none of ’em yet could understand it themselves, or explain it competently to others? Nay, which is far worse, and so dishonourable to God, as not to be endured. Were Christians obliged to believe the Trinity according to the common Notion, or standing Model of it, in order to their future Bliss, they must then assent to a thing impossible, to a rank Contradiction, and to a notorious Lie, to obtain Salvation; even that Three Modes are Three distinct Persons, and so every one of them God most truly, — — —

“For the Body of Christians to recommend unintelligible Things, and to impose it on its Members; and induce People to swallow them, to tell them that they are profound Mysteries, when they are perfect Nonsense, what can be more infamous and disparaging?

He asserts, That all Men had a wrong Notion of the *Trinity* to this very Day.

“For Christians (says he) to enjoy the Benefit of the Gospel for seventeen hundred Years; to be baptized into a Trinity, and profess that they believed it as a prime and fundamental Article; and yet during all those Centuries, to have no Notion of it among the Learned and Wise, but what was light and empty, silly, impertinent and nonsensical; to say no worse, (if searched to the Bottom) is not this sad and dismal?”

But his Notion of a Trinity runs thus:

“Allow the Divine Essence to be an Infinite, Eternal Spirit, quickened and actuated by Three distinct *Lives*, and the First naturally and from Eternity springing up in it, and as naturally and eternally begetting the Second *Life*, they *Two* by a like Prerogative Power breathing or sending forth a *Third*; in which the

prolific Force and Virtue of Divine *Life* was fully spent, and did fully terminate; and the Adorable *Trinity* is most perfectly and gloriously constituted, and, I think, intelligibly enough.”

Let the Reader judge, whether this Notion is more intelligible than any of the rest. — — —  
He further observes, that

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“The Three Divine Persons have each of them an Image in human Figure, symbolically representing their Adorable Selves.”

This he proves from several Texts of Scripture; but sure he had little Regard to, or had forgot the second Injunction in the Decalogue. — — — I remember the Time when a Book not half so glaring and barefaced as this, was deemed worthy of a flaming Sacrifice; and I admire that no pious Informer, out of the Abundance of his Zeal for the *Athanasian* Fundamental of Christianity, has been moved by an internal Impulse of Religion or Malice, to present and prosecute this Pamphlet. No *Scourge*, no *wholesome Severites* for this audacious *Levite!* He is one of the Inferior Clergy, a weak Brother; and these are Motives sufficient to protect him from the Resentment of other priestly Delinquents.

The Thirteenth Observation is, That the Apostles were strict Followers of their own Constitutions, or By-Laws.

I must confess, that this Observation might very naturally have fallen under the Tenth; but since I omitted to recite it in that Place, what follows, I hope, may be allowed as an Appendix to it.

If I should assert, That there is not any Religion whatever, whose Laws and Canons have not been violated by the Inferior Clergy, I should incur the Censure of Zealots and Enthusiasts: But I see no Reason for loading such Assertion with the Calumny of *Rash Judgment*, since it is a Truth daily Observation confirms. I shall not descend to give particular Instances of each Kind, but hope it will suffice for the present to mention one of our own Canons, and shew how our *High-Church* spiritual Worthies, or *Half-Protestants*, do become Delinquents: Which small Sketch may give us an Idea of the whole.

— — — *Ex pede Herculem.*

The 55th Canon enjoins every *Priest* to pray for the King upon the Throne *nominatim*, in the Prayer preceding the Sermon. But tho’ these Conscience-Dispensers have taken the Oaths to King *George*, (and would dispense with an Hundred more as big as St. *Paul*’s, for a Living half as large) yet what Evasions and Quibbles do [II-415] they use! One says *Pray ye*; another, we are *commanded to pray*, but does it not: Such a Servant should be beaten with many Stripes. A Third, *Let us pray*, but banters his Audience like an *Orthodox Juggler*; for he does not pray for the King, tho’ he mentions his Name. A Fourth, with an hereditary *Corinthian* Face, legitimately *High-Church*, regards not the Injunction of the Canon. Now may we not say to these *Hypocrites*, what our *Blessed* Saviour said to their Brethren the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? *Woe unto ye!*

*P. S.*

TO avoid the Censure of each snarling *Priest-ridden* Cynic, who talks much of the Church and Religion, yet frequents not the one, or practises the other; I am obliged, in Justification of myself, and to satisfy my Friends and Acquaintance, to declare, That I have not any Design to strike at the Priesthood. For I am thoroughly convinced, that there ought to be a Regimen in the Church, and its Government by Bishops is necessary and scriptural; but

yet I will not presume to determine, whether they are such by a *Divine* or *Human* Institution.

Good Clergymen are (to me) like beautiful and strong Pillars in an antique and stately Edifice; but vicious Priests are the Emblems of corrupted Rafters. As among the *Apostles* there was one false Brother, whom the *Papists* acknowledge as the Foundation of the *Church*, viz. *Peter*; one Traitor, as *Judas*; ambitious Persons, as *James* and *John*, who prevailed with their Mother to solicit the most honourable Places from *Christ*: This to sit on his Right Hand, That on his Left: So likewise there were some, who were wholly spiritual, and had no ambitious, no worldly Views before them. And tho' among the Tribe of *Levi*, there are *Proud*, *Persecuting*, *Covetous*, *Rebellious*, *Perjured Priests*; yet there are some [and oh! that they were a thousand times more in Number, than what *Abraham* proposed to God for the Preservation of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ] who are of an humble and meak *Spirit*, *Religious*, *Loyal*, *Charitable Men*; Men of *Conscience* and *Moderation*.

[II-416]

But after all, I greatly fear that the crying Evils of the *Inferior Clergy* will never cease, till a Stop be put to the Ordination of *Beardless Boys* and *indigent Souls*. These are the Persons *who come before they are called*; and creep in at the Window, when they should enter at the Door of the Temple. These are they whom Necessity obliges, or Prejudice persuades to act contrary to the Laws of God and Man, to humour their Patrons, and support a *Party*. These are they of whom the *Psalmist* speaks, they are *corrupt* and *become abominable*, Happy would it be for this Nation, if the *Tares* which are now growing, and those which are already run to Seed, were rooted out!

As I am resolved not to be deluded by *Priestcraft*; so I could wish that every Man would resume his *Reason*, and not regard any Clergyman, of what Title or Denomination soever, merely because he is a Clergyman; but be guided in this Particular by the Words of St. *Ambrose*, and give a more than ordinary Attention to them. *Nihil est in hoc saeculo excellentius Sacerdotibus, sublimius Episcopis, si Nomen congruat Actioni, & Actio respondeat Nomini; si non, Nomen inane, Crimen immane.* Ambros. de Dignitat. Sacerdot.

***The End of the SECOND VOLUME.***

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*Just publish'd, Price 3s.* [↩](#)

ORDERS, STANDING ORDERS, and RESOLUTIONS of the Honourable House of COMMONS, relating to their FORMS of PROCEEDING, PRIVILEGE, &c. &c. Collected out of the JOURNALS, and digested under their several HEADS.

IF it is reasonable to wonder, that this Manual was never published before, it will be so much the less necessary to apologise for publishing it now: And, surely, if it appears, that not only all who have Seats in Parliament, or who are in a Capacity to sit, or who have Business to transact there, but the whole People in general, are interested in the Rules and Orders of their Representatives, it will not be disputed, that they ought to be acquainted with them; and the Persons will rather deserve their Thanks than Censure, who put it in their Power to be so.

Now, barely to read them, is to be convinced of this; for they will be found to reach almost all Orders of Men, either mediately or immediately. And it is fit for those *without Doors* to reflect, with a due Mixture of Reverence and Attention, that the Word *Privilege* is become as sacred as the Word *Law*; and that Ignorance may be held as insufficient a Plea, in case of an Offence, against the one as the other.

Then for those *within*, if we may presume to speak of them at all, it can scarce be said, that they are qualified for the Trust reposed in them, till they are acquainted, in some Degree, with the Methods in which it is to be discharged: And this is a known Truth, that Men of very slender Parts, by rendering themselves thorough Masters of the Forms of the House, have made themselves considerable, have fancied themselves to be more so; and, by the mere Dint of calling to Order, and quoting Journals and Precedents, have sometimes defeated Arguments they could not answer, and triumphed over Talents and Abilities that infinitely transcended their own; which is all that need be said to recommend a Study, hitherto, perhaps, too much neglected; and to justify this Publication.

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## Endnotes to Vol. 2↔

- [\*] The Subscribers of the Annuities in the Year 1720.
- [†] The late *South Sea* Directors.
- [‡] See *Kennet* 's Roman Antiquities.
- [¶] Leviticus xxv.
- [\*] *Eellers* on Trade, and Dr. *Davenant* 's Essay on Ways and Means.
- [\*] Treaty of *Oliva*, Art. 2. p. 3. *Puffen. de Reb. Sue.*
- [\*] *Vide* Report of the House of Commons.
- [\*] Earl *Cowper* 's Speech at the giving Sentence to the Six Lords.
- [†] The King's first Speech to his Parliament.
- [\*] Sir *Peter King*, who wrote on the Apostle's Creed.
- [\*] He flourished about forty Years ago in *Ireland*.
- [\*] Qu. *What Church?*
- [\*] *Sacheverell*.
- [\*] Micah. iii 11.
- [\*] *Dr. Sacheverell*.
- [†] Jer. xxiii. 11.
- [‡] Isa, xxvii. 7.
- [\*] *Wallis*'s *Letters of the Trinity*, Let. III. p. 40, 41.
- [†] *First Letter*, p. 11.
- [¶] *Third Letter*, p. 42.
- [§] *Dr. South*' s *Animad. and Tritheism charged*.
- [‡] *Fowler*' s 28 *Prop. Bulli Defens. Fid. Nic. Cudworth*' s *Intellect. System. Payne*' s *Sermon*.
- [\*] *Sherlock*' s *Vind. of the Trinity and its Defence*.
- [†] *Braddeck*' s *Doctrine of the Fathers, &c. Part. 1*.
- [\*\*] *An Antidote against Arianism: By Erasmus Warren, Rector of Worlington, Suffolk, Anno 1712*.